SIXTY CENTS

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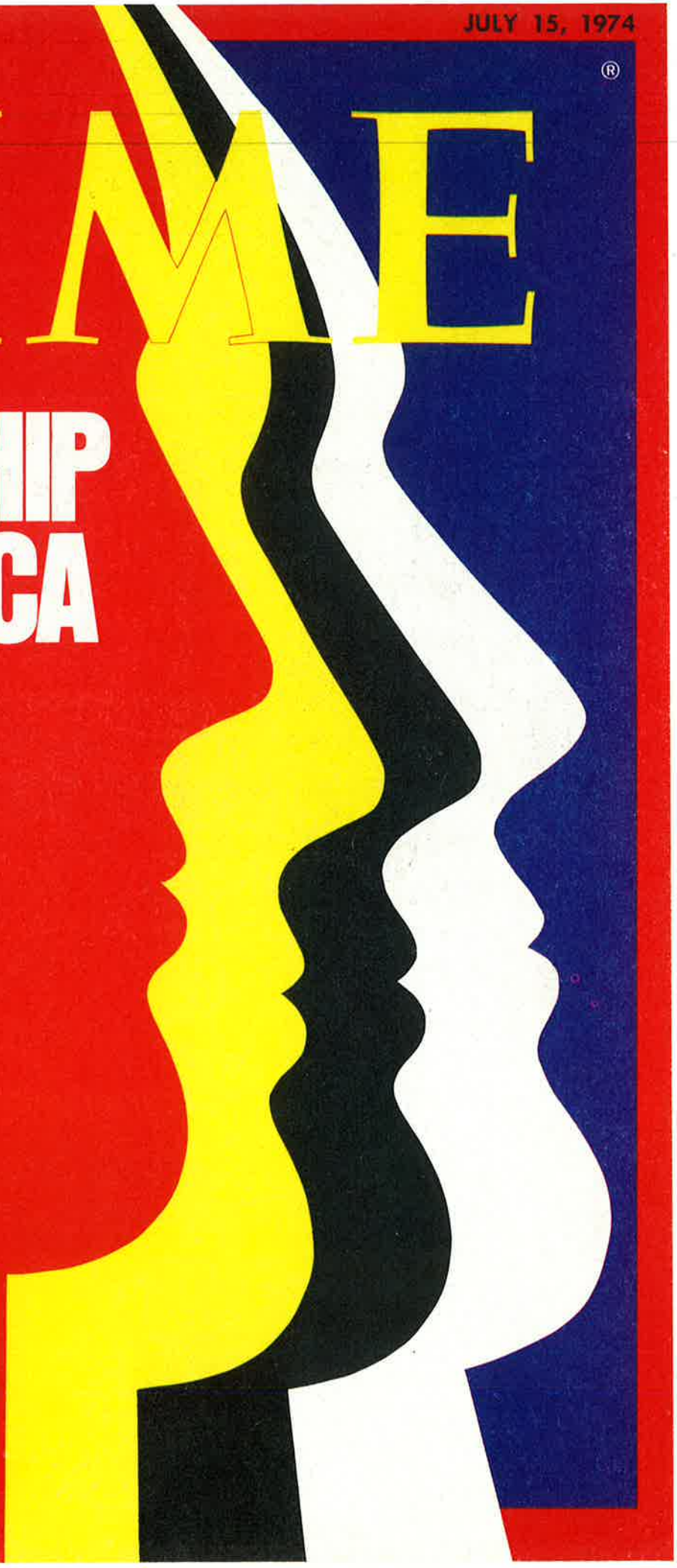
LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA



Special Section: 200 Rising Leaders

COVER STORY

IN QUEST OF LEADERSHIP

The pop cosmologist Erich von Däniken conjures up primordial heroes from the plain of Nazca and the temples of Palenque —extraterrestrial astronauts who strayed to this planet long ago and then vanished. Today heroes and leaders bred on the earth seem almost as scarce. "There is a very obvious dearth of people who seem able to supply convincing answers, or even point to directions toward solutions," says Harvard President Derek Bok. "Leadership," observes Northwestern University Political Scientist Louis Masotti, "is one of those things you don't know you need until you don't have it." In the U.S. and round the world, there is a sense of diminished vision, of global problems that are overwhelming the capacity of leaders. As Journalist Brock Brower wrote three years ago, if Martian spacemen were to descend and demand, "Take me to your leader," the earthlings would not know where to direct them.

Americans have a special sensitivity to the problem now, but it existed well before Watergate and is far broader than that shabby attempt to corrupt the U.S. constitutional system. Moreover, the phenomenon is worldwide. In one country after another, chronic, debilitating inflation tends to undermine the social contract. Waves of strikes and shortages erode public confidence. A number of democratic governments are merely crippling along. Since 1973, the governments of all nine Common Market nations have changed hands. Shaky coalitions exist in Belgium, Finland and Israel, vulnerable minority governments in Britain, Denmark and Sweden. Italy stumbles on with virtually no government at all.

Changes of government are not in themselves a discouraging sign. On the contrary, they may signal the emergence of fresh leadership. In France, Georges Pompidou was succeeded by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, whose narrow victory over Socialist opposition marks the end of Gaullism but may mark the beginning of a new, more human exercise of power that will test whether France can exist short of "grandeur" without lapsing into disorder. West Germany's Willy Brandt resigned amid scandal; yet even in resigning he displayed a sense of responsibility that is itself an element of leadership. He was succeeded by fellow Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt, who may yet prove to be a better manager. Portugal's authoritarian regime was ousted with at least a chance, slim though it is, that democratic leadership may take hold.

Yet along with these modest gains, there remains a sense of unease, not only of giants having departed, but of mere competence being all too scarce. Partly the malaise is due to the fact that large areas of the world have gone through the war, the cold war and anticolonial revolutions —all situations in which good and evil could be sharply perceived. Leadership is easier in such times. Now this relative simplicity has been succeeded by confusion and pessimism, a sense

that the real problems of the world are so technical and complex that the traditional way of running things is inadequate. Perhaps for the first time, even Americans, the world's foremost solvers of technical problems, have been afflicted by this feeling. "Governments are trying to do a 20th century job with 19th century methodology," says University of Pittsburgh Historian Joseph Malone. "There is a kind of administrative sclerosis around the world that breeds mass suspicion and distrust. Leadership casualties result."

Leadership usually begins with a vision of success, a glimmering intuition that solutions are possible. Now, as Critic George Steiner has said, "we no longer experience history as ascendant." At the same time, there seems to be something naggingly excessive about such gloom, out of proportion with the great amount of skill, intelligence and energy that exists in America and elsewhere. Even while the largest problems (including the largest cities) seem to have grown unmanageable, there have been countless new examples of leadership, imagination and dedication on a lesser scale: in smaller communities, in many organizations, in business. The gallery of rising American leaders that appears following this story contains many examples. Thus there should be hope for the emergence of a new generation of leaders—if only, somehow, the stubborn obstacles in their path could be understood and reduced.

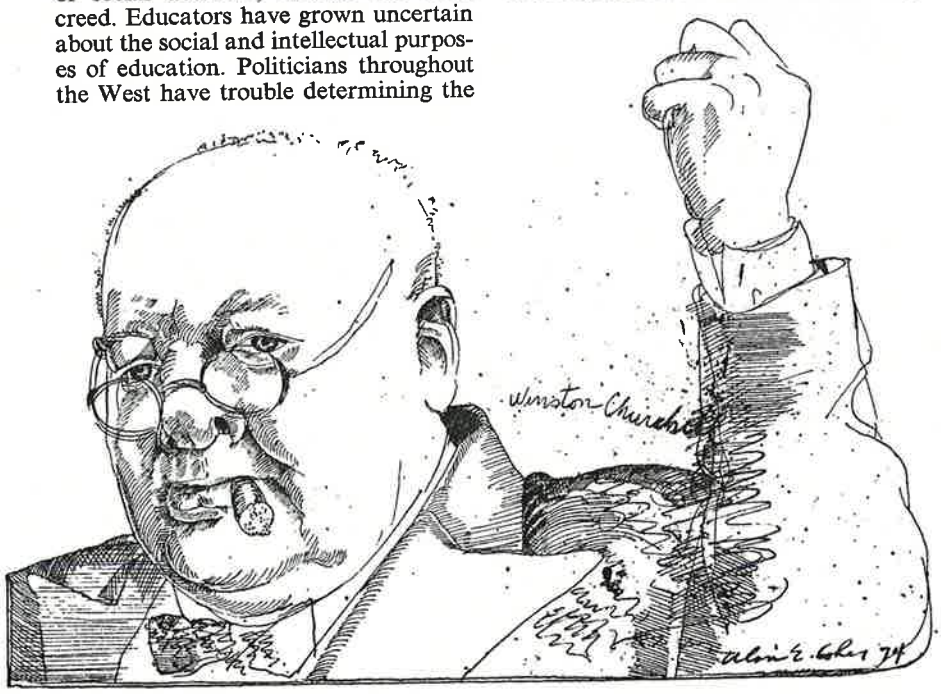
What Blocks Leadership?

Some reasons for the loss of leadership can be identified readily enough:

▶ Institutions are changing in ways that their leaders cannot always grasp. Churches have been dramatically altered by internal disputes over questions of social activism, morals and even creed. Educators have grown uncertain about the social and intellectual purposes of education. Politicians throughout the West have trouble determining the boundaries involved in a free-enterprise system mixed with government control. Moreover, in place of the heady economic expansion of the past quarter-century, they must now cope with the counterfeit of growth—inflation. Even those who do not accept the gloomy prophecies of the Club of Rome realize that at least some limits to growth must be expected. The feeling of having reached a frontier, a limit of possibility, brings on grave anxieties and confronts politicians with an issue that they sidestepped for years: if there is no longer an ever-expanding pie, how are the portions to be parceled out?

▶ Such changes have contributed to the fact that leaders are increasingly naked and vulnerable. Newspapers, magazines and especially television subject potential leaders to devastating scrutiny. Says Columbia University Historian Henry Graff: "We have become a nation of Madame Defarges. We sit in judgment on our political leaders because we know them so well. We have a kind of Naderism in politics. For the first time since man came down out of the trees, government no longer operates in a cocoon of mystery. I suppose the world changed a lot when Eisenhower's bowel movements were described by Paul Dudley White."

At the same time, politics has been frequently contaminated by the law of celebrity. It works two ways. According to Andy Warhol's dictum that "in the future, everybody will be famous for at least 15 minutes," overexposure or premature adulation tends to burn up talent too quickly; the public becomes bored. There may also be a deeper 20th century Western instinct that anyone or anything believed in too long may turn the believer into a fanatic. Despite a real desire now for some public inspiration from leaders, there is also a wariness and skepticism about it. Simultaneously,



press and television journalists have the habit of falling into ruts, of overcovering the same familiar figures and failing to seek newer talent. The process, says John Gardner, head of the public lobby Common Cause, represents "bad horticulture," for it destroys the seedbeds of fresh leadership.

▶ Politics is frequently perceived as a somewhat unappetizing career, and not only in America. Historian Henry Steele Commager notes that "talent grows in whatever channels are available and are popular. It goes where the public rewards are." Thus the birth of the U.S. was attended by a breathtaking array of intellectual talent—Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, Washington, Franklin—because public service was the ideal and one of the few outlets for talent in late 18th century America. But in the 20th century, says Commager, talent is best rewarded in private enterprise, and the better leaders leave politics to the mediocre. He might also have mentioned that in the late '60s and early '70s, some promising young talents exhausted themselves in protest. Gardner has calculated that in proportion to population, the U.S. should now have some "850 Jeffersons and Madisons." He believes that today, Jefferson would probably be a university president, having started out as a high-energy physicist.

▶ In every industrialized society a common problem for leaders is the proliferation of demands upon them. Observes Harvard Sociologist Daniel Bell:

Original drawings for TIME by Alan E. Cober

"More and more issues get thrown into the political arena, and the political system becomes overloaded with a multiplication of claimants, constituents and contending groups, which results in more frustrations and resentments building up for leaders to deal with." To cope with the load, bureaucracies become fragmented and specialized, sometimes competing with one another, frequently smothering political initiatives. The whole immense mechanism of the central government grows so ponderous that it is virtually immune to necessary change.

The Special U.S. Malaise

In the U.S., there are some further and all too familiar reasons why leadership has lost much of its psychological accreditation: the assassinations of the 1960s which introduced an unprecedented measure of terror into American politics; the era of riot and protest, offering glimpses of a hitherto unthinkable challenge to the entire social system; the Viet Nam War—a deeply confusing experience to a people schooled in the justice of its wars and the infallibility of its technology. In that strange enterprise, conventional American leadership failed badly and at great expense —or so the outcome of the war was widely perceived. And Americans do not yet know how to go about forgiving themselves for failure.

On top of the disorders of the '60s, the nation had, back to back, two Presidents who left it deeply cynical, suspicious that the Government had grown incapable of telling the truth. Says one House Democratic leader: "We've had two men widely viewed as cynics and manipulators. Johnson created a credibility gap, which is a polite way of saying that your Government lies to you. Then Nixon came along." Nixon exercised bold and imaginative leadership in foreign policy, demonstrating that old patterns could be broken and people could be brought to see the world in new ways. But the situation at home was drastically different.

In early June, Pollster Louis Harris found that 59% of Americans feel disaffected with the country compared with 29% in 1966. The sharpest rise, from 26% in 1966 to 63% today, came in response to the statement: "People running the country don't really care what happens to you." Fully 78% believe that "special interests get more from the Government than the people do."

Says Gerry Studds, a young liberal Democrat from Massachusetts: "People aren't happy with either the President or Congress, and that's why there's hope. I think that bumper sticker—IMPEACH SOMEONE—says it all."

Is there really hope in anger? Perhaps. But, as Commager observes, "there is no consensus. There is less harmony in our society, to my mind, than at any time since, say, Reconstruction. Perhaps the '60s and '70s are a great divide—the divide of disillusionment."

How can this divide be bridged? The almost ritual answer is, "Through leadership." But the argument becomes tautologous: the way to get leadership is through leadership.

For and Against Heroes

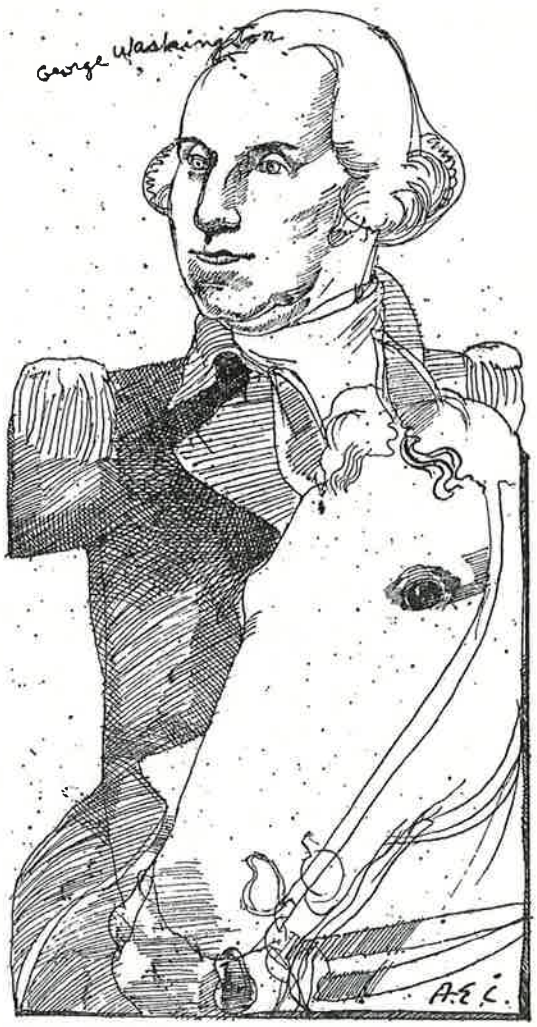
And no one of course is sure just what leadership is. Historians and others who have thought about it cite innumerable definitions and distinctions involving politics and war, moral force and intellectual power, good and evil *(see box page 26)*. Among the most lucid and sweeping definitions is this one, proposed by the French critic Henri Peyre: "Leadership can be but a broad ideal proposed by the culture of a country, instilled into the young through the schools, but also through the family, the intellectual atmosphere, the literature, the history, the ethical teaching of that country. Will power, sensitivity to the age, clear thinking rather than profound thinking, the ability to experience the emotions of a group and to voice their aspirations, joined with control over those emotions in oneself, a sense of the dramatic ... are among the ingredients of the power to lead men."

Most definitions emphasize honesty, candor and vision combined with sheer physical stamina and courage. Not that courage without brains was ever sufficient. An episode from British history emphasizes the point. When the British Cabinet summoned the Duke of Wellington and asked him who was the ablest general to take Rangoon, the unhesitating reply was "Lord Combermere." "But we have always understood that your Grace thought Lord Combermere a fool," the Cabinet protested. "So he is a fool, and a damned fool," said Wellington. "But he can take Rangoon."

What of that mysterious quality called charisma? "It would be nice to have charisma," says M.I.T. President Jerome Weisner. "But you would like it to be based on an understanding of what the hell is going on." (Weisner adds that anyone who claims to understand all the issues is a fraud.) Forget charisma, suggests Columbia University Historian Richard Morris. "Do we really need the charismatic, individualistic leadership that the nation boasted in its infancy?" he wonders. "Perhaps our century has had a surfeit of charismatic figures. Today we could do with honest ones." Like many other historians, Morris seems to perceive two starkly contrasting types of leadership—the charismatic *v.* the more or less commonplace. More often the two poles are defined as the romantic and the functional.

It was Thomas Carlyle who articulated the beginning of the modern romantic cycle. "The history of the world," he wrote in 1841, "is but the biography of great men." Hitler elaborated the argument with Hegel's theory of the "world-historical figure"—the heroic genius who emerges when the historical moment is right to lead a people to their preordained destiny.

That thought merged a kind of messianism with Hegelian and Marxian determinism, the idea that vast and blind historical forces sweep across the world's stage without important regard to personalities. But of course that Marxist thought is invalidated by Marxist history—the crucial "heroic" role played by men like Marx himself, and Lenin



and Stalin. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. suggests that "men have lived who did what no substitute could ever have done; their intervention set history on one path rather than another. If this is so, the old maxim 'There are no indispensable men' would seem another amiable fallacy. There is, then, a case for heroes."

Henry Kissinger does not deny that this case can be made, but he worries about the damage that such towering figures can cause. "Institutions are designed for an average standard of performance—a high average in fortunate societies, but still a standard reducible

to approximate norms," Kissinger wrote six years ago in an essay on Bismarck. "They are rarely able to accommodate genius or demoniac power. A society that must produce a great man in each generation to maintain its domestic or international position will doom itself."

Can Leadership Be Taught?

Such exceptional figures remain one of the enigmas of civilization. Leaders, wrote Peyre, "are indeed mystery men born in paradise or some devil's pit." In his brilliant study of Gandhi, Erik Erikson detected a "shrewdness [that] seemed to join his capacity to focus on the infinite meaning in finite things—a trait which is often associated with the attribution of sainthood." The rule that great leaders are summoned forth by great issues can be persuasively argued from, say, the Churchillian example—a brilliant, irascible aristocrat who was settling into a relatively unsuccessful old age when the war called him forth to embody a people's grand defiance.

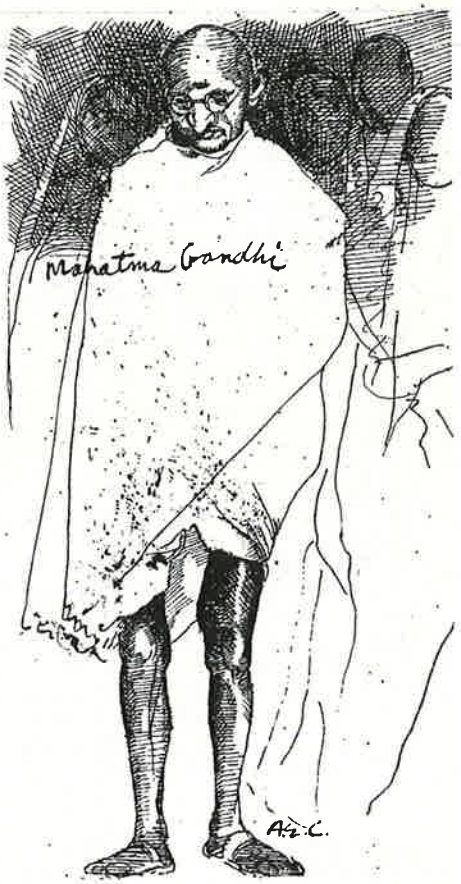
Another example is Charles de Gaulle, who lived through his country's defeat and waited through political exile before he re-emerged and then managed through a combination of shrewdness, style and, indeed, charisma to act on the world stage as if France were still a great power. But he also had the courage to ignore passion and face reality in Algeria, cutting his country's losses in a disastrous colonial war.

In the U.S. perhaps only Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt played comparable roles in profound crises that threatened the very survival of the society. But the phenomenon is wholly unpredictable; there have been numerous upheavals in human history—the medieval plagues in Europe, for example—in which the event did not summon a savior. Ireland's eternal troubles illustrate history's frequent refusal to beckon a great leader with a solution. At the same time, great leaders throughout history have arisen seemingly from nowhere, like the Mahdi, an Islamic mystic who drove the Egyptians and their British allies, led by General Charles Gordon, out of the Sudan in a 19th century holy war.

Men have often dealt with the unpredictability of leadership by citing a hero's or prophet's appearance as divine intervention, since ordinary historical rules could not explain it. Thus Moses. Thus the emergence of Mohammed, whose startling religious and political career could scarcely have been predicted at the time.

The darker side of the thesis that great issues summon great men is the fact that great issues often mean simply great confusion, and that chaos can just as well call forth monsters. Psychiatrists D. Wilfred Abse and Lucie Jessner believe that "in its most extreme form, the leader-follower relationship exists in the rapport of hypnotist and subject." In the periods of instability, when a people feels itself lost and humiliated—Weimar Germany, for example—a world-historical banality like Hitler can somehow give expression to the frustration and lead his people—not a primitive, uneducated people, but one with the highest intellectual traditions—into bestial ecstasies. The holocaust is perhaps the single most important reason for the Western wariness of great leaders. In a way, as George Steiner has said, it was mankind's second fall. From it emerged a lesson: never submerge a people and its diversity in a single vision, a single personality. Accordingly, the *Führerprinzip,* so often linked with the cult of personality, has made 20th century man healthily skittish of having a visionary ego at the nuclear trigger.

In the U.S., the balance between charismatic and pragmatic leadership has usually been weighted toward the latter. The earliest American concept of leadership was really neither; it had its roots in the Age of Reason and Greek political philosophy. Plato's intention was to make the joys and sorrows of every citizen the joys and sorrows of all. The individual was an integrated part of the whole social body striving for excellence. The ideal was total *noblesse oblige,* an excellence of virtue based on justice, or *paideia.* Something of that ideal informed Jefferson's notion of the



aristoi—the natural aristocracy based on virtue and talents whose members were the best governors for society. It survives in the deepest roots of the American establishment, even though the aristocratic tendency runs counter to Jacksonian exuberance, the more egalitarian American strain that makes every man a king.

Whether aristocratic or egalitarian in concept, can leadership be taught? It is one of the more tantalizing questions at a time when the quality is seen to be in such short supply. The military has often proved an effective, if not the only, school for leadership—consider Alexander, Genghis Khan, Napoleon. The late Harvard sociologist Pitirim Sorokin has documented the stunning extent to which the military has been the route to power for men of humble origins. "Of 92 Roman Emperors," Sorokin wrote, "at least 36 climbed to this position from the lowest social strata up the army ladder; of 65 Emperors of Byzantium, at least 12 were really upstarts who obtained this position through the same army ladder." In the U.S. a military career has rarely led to wider leadership in this century except in the very special case of Dwight Eisenhower.

Various societies have set about schooling their young for leadership. It is an ambiguous enterprise. Four of the nine British public schools known as the Clarendon Schools (Eton, Harrow, Winchester and Rugby) have produced a disproportionate number of leaders over the years. Someone who passed through the system wrote: "It was assumed that

every boy would be in such position as Viceroy of India and must be brought up with this end in view. The government of the country was made an almost personal matter." So too with Oxford and Cambridge, which have produced British leaders for centuries. At work there was a deep tradition of elitism and stability, a continuity of assumptions and expectations.

But the English aristocracy was capable of disastrous follies. There is no more perfect indictment of such leadership than the fatuously self-confident direction by the Lords Raglan and Cardigan of the charge of the Light Brigade. The event must be seen in retrospect not just as a piece of heroic military stupidity (worse ones have occurred since), but as a symbol of what happens to a trained elite that is closed to new blood and new ideas.

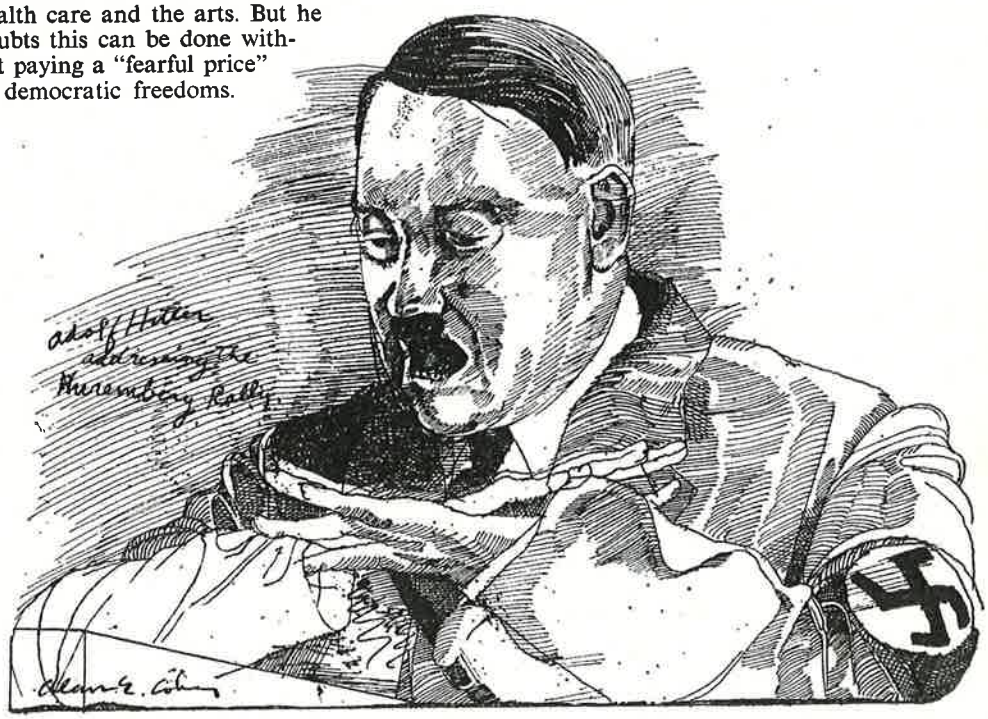
In the U.S. perhaps the most important form of leadership training has been the legal profession. However one may feel about lawyers, their predominance among U.S. political leaders suggests a deep American desire to mediate between opposing passions.

But Americans have had little patience with formal leadership training outside the military academies and some business-management courses, where the emphasis is often on case studies and field work. "Leadership can be developed and improved by study and training," General Omar Bradley once told a class at the Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, Kans. "But don't discount experience. Someone may remind you that Napoleon led armies before he was 30 and Alexander the Great died at 33. Alexander might have been even greater if he had lived to an older age and had had more experience. In this respect, I especially like [the] theory that 'judgment comes from experience and experience comes from bad judgment.' "

The U.S. has generally operated on the theory of a laissez-faire of merit. Despite its injustices—the disastrous schooling of the poor, for example—the diverse system has remained sufficiently open to allow leadership to rise from nearly every rank of the society. In fact, the WASP establishment has long wondered what went wrong, how it lost control to the coarse ethnic heirs of Jacksonianism. The dispossessed of American life are to be found in *The Education of Henry Adams* as well as *The Autobiography of Malcolm X.*

Alexis de Tocqueville foresaw that democracy would have the effect of flattening the peaks of excellence while elevating the sub-par or the average. The danger is that in glorifying the least common denominator, democracy mandates mediocrity. The hope is that such a system will encourage a universal standard of excellence in every pursuit. Tocqueville took it for granted that the leveling process in a democracy would produce a mean—but not a happy mean. Nonetheless, democracy possesses a resilience and fluidity that are capable of defying such predictions: classes rise above themselves, ambition remains plausible. Indeed, Americans hardly realize how revolutionary—and vulnerable—is the idea that a nation can have leadership without a trained elite, a leadership subject to popular mandate.

There is widespread fear today of new "men on horseback," of new demagogues. As governments wrestle with the problem of distributing ever more limited resources, thinkers like U.S. Economist Robert Heilbroner foresee a Hobbesian descent into authoritarianism and a siege economy in many nations—even in America. Heilbroner believes that perhaps modern man's aggressive and competitive instincts can be transferred from nature-destroying production to services—education, health care and the arts. But he doubts this can be done without paying a "fearful price" in democratic freedoms.



Defying Determinism

The validity of such visions and the nature of leadership itself depend very much on time and place, the deepest patterns of a society. Arnold Toynbee and Oswald Spengler constructed cyclical, organic theories of history. All civilizations, they said, passed through similar stages of growth and decay and eventually perished, whether from internal or external wounds. The 14th century Berber historian Ibn-Khaldun prefigured the idea by concluding that history repeatedly moves through the same cycles. According to Ibn-Khaldun's theory, a youthful, growing society is animated by *'aṣabiyya,* the spirit of social solidarity found in what he called "the desert aristocracy." But as the society becomes more "civilized," the cohesive group feeling begins to deteriorate in the face of the luxury and diversity of pursuits that become available. Mao Tse-tung might well be a student of Ibn-Khaldun; he deliberately plunged China into the tumultuous Cultural Revolution of 1966-69 to prevent precisely the sort of deterioration foreseen by the Berber sage. But Ibn-Khaldun also warned that such interventions would prove futile. "Several rulers," he wrote, "have sought to cure the state and restore it to normal health. They think this decay is the result of incapacity or negligence in their predecessors. They are wrong. These accidents are inherent in empires and cannot be cured."

Ibn-Khaldun, and later, like-minded prophets, did not calculate that the cycles could be broken, that history could simply veer off in another direction. As Journalist-Critic A.J. Liebling noted, Ibn-Khaldun's determinism was refuted by "the vigor of Renaissance thought, the technological advances and the discovery of the New World."

Societies have the talent for lumbering on, and more than any other country, the U.S. has always defied determinism. No successful American leader is likely to believe that he is presiding over the twilight of his culture.

Patterns Around the World

Regardless of where the U.S. may stand today in its historical cycle, a look at the rest of the world confirms the rarity of democratic leadership. Given the vastly diverse needs, traditions and social assumptions of the world's nations, it is extremely risky to venture any cultural generalizations. But some patterns seem evident nonetheless. In Black Africa, where the idea of a powerful paramount chief was deeply ingrained long

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Who Were History's Great Leaders?

What makes a great leader? Throughout history, who qualifies? TIME *asked a variety of historians, writers, military men, businessmen and others for their selections.*

MORTIMER ADLER, U.S. philosopher: In Aristotelian terms, the good leader must have *ethos, pathos* and *logos.* The *ethos* is his moral character, the source of his ability to persuade. The *pathos* is his ability to touch feelings, to move people emotionally. The *logos* is his ability to give solid reasons for an action, to move people intellectually. By this definition, Pericles of Athens was a great leader.

Winston Churchill, Thomas Jefferson, or almost any of the founding fathers —Adams, Madison, Washington. Perhaps Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson as well.

GIOVANNI AGNELLI, Italian industrialist: There are at least two kinds of leadership. One is leadership that cannot be challenged, the other is democratic leadership. The most representative leader of the first kind is the Shah of Iran, who rules over a country where he has absolute powers and has transformed his country into a modern state. At the opposite extreme is the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, whose opposition has reached 50%. His country represents the maximum of social evolution.

RAYMOND ARON, French historian: If you want to name a great conqueror, Genghis Khan and Alexander the Great. If you want a legitimate king who was at the same time a statesman and a military commander, Frederick II of Prussia (1712-86).

CORRELLI BARNETT, British military historian: Greatness has nothing to do with morality. A leader gets people to follow him. Napoleon led the French to catastrophe, but they followed him almost to the end. Marlborough and Wellington had greatness. And Hitler, unfortunately. Al Capone was a leader in a primitive environment.

LUIGI BARZINI, Italian author: Three Italian leaders, fused into one man, could be useful today. The greatest is Julius Caesar, penniless patrician, demagogue, traitor to his class, brilliant lawyer, writer, invincible general, creator of an empire. After him, Lorenzo de' Medici, banker, merchant, poet, who ruled Florence with a firm hand. He invented the balance of power to keep the quarrelsome Italian states at peace. Then Camillo Benso di Cavour, farmer, financier, journalist, businessman, who turned tiny Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy in a matter of months.

OMAR BRADLEY, U.S. general: George Marshall. He had the imagination and foresight and leading genius to prepare this nation for war. Franklin Roosevelt —a great President. George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Charles de Gaulle—he pulled France through. I did not agree with him on many points, but he was all Frenchman.

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, U.S. columnist and editor *(National Review)*: Lincoln comes always to mind, because with all that we know now about his flawed historical perspective, the rhythms of his spirit took the soldiers and the poets through the crises of a Civil War. I wish we had, too, some of the Whiggish optimism of Theodore Roosevelt. It may not be our manifest destiny to conquer Khe Sanh, but it ought to be ours to cultivate liberty and subdue the state.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, U.S. historian: Washington and Jefferson. Both had character and intelligence, and people had confidence in them. Leadership is intangible. You can't define all the parts.

MARTIN DIAMOND, U.S. political scientist (Northern Illinois University): In the last 200 years, Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill and James Madison. Lincoln proved that the highest grace can be attained by a person of ordinary origins. Churchill showed that a person from the aristocracy who excelled in all ways could become a servant of democracy. Madison, a 126-lb. weakling with no charisma, framed perhaps the most incredible document of our time: the U.S. Constitution. Until Madison, no famous or thoughtful person—from Socrates to Montesquieu, from Plato to Hobbes—had ever endorsed democracy.

JAMES GAVIN, U.S. lieutenant general (ret.): Among leaders who have made the greatest impact through the ages, I would consider Mohammed, Jesus Christ, maybe Lenin, possibly Mao. As for a leader whose qualities we could most use now, I would choose John F. Kennedy.

ALEXANDER HEARD, U.S. educator (chancellor, Vanderbilt University): No concept of leadership is complete without the element of zeal and fervor, an almost spiritual element. Martin Luther King had it. Adolf Hitler had it, so did Gandhi and Nehru. The Old Testament prophets had it. It's commitment, it's a kind of self-confidence which can be

egotistic and arrogant. But a degree of it has to be there. The leader must have a belief in what he is doing, almost a singlemindedness.

IRVING KRISTOL, U.S. writer, professor and editor *(The Public Interest):* Abe Lincoln is the prototype—the leader who is uncommon but not beyond emulation by the common man. He's not a Napoleon. This is American democratic politics. You don't want a world conqueror. In latter days John Kennedy had that uncommon-common quality; so did both Roosevelts, T.R. and F.D.R., although they were distinctly below Lincoln.

ROBERT JAY LIFTON, U.S. psychohistorian (Yale): Mao was able to articulate, live out and connect with the aspirations of the Chinese people at a time of crisis. Like most great religious and political leaders, he had some relation to a holocaust (the disintegration of Chinese culture, the warlords, Japanese invasion).

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH, U.S. poet: In my own experience, the man who most obviously possessed the quality of leadership was General Marshall. He was a man of enormous moral authority.

GOLO MANN, West German historian: Marcus Aurelius, emperor and philosopher, valiant pessimist and warm philanthropist, was good for his own age. In our time, vacillating between two very different types, Franklin Roosevelt and Konrad Adenauer, I choose the former because his achievements had greater significance for world history. His demagoguery was tempered by humanity; he could not hate. He was fearless and had humor, two virtues that Bismarck, too, possessed; he radiated hope and meant well by people, which Bismarck did not.

JULES MASSERMAN, U.S. psychoanalyst: Leaders must fulfill three functions —provide for the well-being of the led, provide a social organization in which people feel relatively secure, and provide them with one set of beliefs. People like Pasteur and Salk are leaders in the first sense. People like Gandhi and Confucius, on one hand, and Alexander, Caesar and Hitler on the other, are leaders in the second and perhaps the third sense. Jesus and Buddha belong in the third category alone. Perhaps the greatest leader of all times was Mohammed, who combined all three functions. To a lesser degree, Moses did the same.

MARSHALL McLUHAN, Canadian communications philosopher: The late Siegfried Giedion, Swiss art historian and author of *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948). He was a student of formal structures in the man-made world and instituted the study of forms in everyday life. His book is a study of the death wish in modern man, with specific application to the mechanization of bread baking and meat packing. His most exciting moment was his discovery of the American barber chair.

WILLIAM McNEILL, U.S. historian (University of Chicago): If you measure leadership by impact, then you would have to name Jesus, Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, the great prophets of the world. Among political leaders, Alexander may have been the greatest. He brought the Greek and Oriental civilizations together, and it's hard to conceive of this happening without his personal intervention. Lenin and Woodrow Wilson, who set the terms for political discussion. But both pale before two 19th century intellectual giants, Sigmund Freud and Lenin's own mentor, Karl Marx, the secular prophets of our time.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS REVEL, French author *(Neither Marx nor Jesus):* A great leader has original ideas and succeeds in having them accepted by millions or billions. These ideas can be wonderful or dreadful. Thus I have chosen the Athenian philosopher Epicurus and Adolf Hitler—the best and the worst. Epicurus because he defined a model way of life that was followed and is still followed today by many billions of people, which makes them happy without hurting anyone. Hitler because he had as much influence, although of an evil sort, through his ideas, which meant misery and destruction for millions.

C.P. SNOW, British author: I don't believe much in great leaders. Great leaders emerge from circumstances and normally don't create them. Very occasionally one or two produce a difference. If Lenin had not existed, it is hard to see how the Russian Revolution could have succeeded. Further back, Augustus Caesar brought order out of chaos and created the imperial peace.

WILLIAM IRWIN THOMPSON, U.S. historian-mystic: Gandhi. For a society to be healthy, it must seek centers of authority and leadership that do not necessarily derive from political or economic power but from cultural and spiritual values as well. Mao recognized this; he did try to give up his power and lead through the authority of his Little Red Book—but he abandoned this effort because of the chaos that resulted from the Cultural Revolution.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE, British historian: Chinese Emperor Kao-Tsu (founder of the Han dynasty in the 2nd century B.C.) and Roman Emperor Augustus each gave to millions unity and peace that lasted because their policies were based on moderation which won consent. Thus they repaired the breakdown of the coercive unity briefly imposed by their unsuccessful predecessors, Shih Wang-ti and Julius Caesar.

BARBARA TUCHMAN, U.S. historian: George Washington. He did a marvelous job, achieving his objective, surmounting incredible opposition and obstacles of lethargy and cowardice.

YU YING-SHIH, Chinese historian: Gandhi, a religious saint of the highest moral principles, but also a political leader who worked for the rights of the depressed and disinherited classes. He had no personal greed for power but cared rather for the welfare of the people, using persuasion instead of violence, never allowing expediency to justify a deviation from the truth.

before the white man's appearance, forms of dictatorship come naturally. Respect for authority is taught from birth, and in Africa as nowhere else, might means right. Most Africans shrug and accept the winners in the power game. Opposition in much of the continent is regarded as not only unhealthy but also a bit improper. Leaders tend to be military usurpers; there have been two dozen military coups in the past decade. New leaders emerge literally overnight, but Africa is not fruitful ground as yet for the steady and gradual development of leadership.

In South America, as a young Peruvian politician says, "it is very difficult to get to the palace by political means; the usual way is by money or guns." The continent has been much dominated by the military. Youth counts for little. When the late Juan Perón won the presidency of Argentina last fall he was 77, and his closest rival was 69. The very frequency of military coups makes party politics an unattractive career. The best of the young either go into private business or the law, or they join leftist guerrilla movements.

In non-Communist Southeast Asia, men like Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos and Indonesia's Suharto developed their talents during or soon after their countries achieved independence. All received a heavy dose of Western culture, and their concepts of national leadership were molded in the pattern of the imperial traditions by which they had been ruled. They were indoctrinated in character patterns thought necessary in the West to achieve supreme power in industrialized political democracies, although the traits, such as charisma or coolness under fire, have often degenerated into parody. Such leaders are less concerned with providing a sense of moral direction than with exercising a firm managerial hand. Inevitably, their countries endure considerable political apathy, and the average under-30 citizen of Malaysia or Singapore does not think of challenging the state of affairs. As long as the economy is not doing badly, he expects no more "leadership" than a General Motors assembly-line worker expects from the corporation president.

In Japan, none of the Westernized notions of personal leadership apply. According to an old Japanese proverb, "A nail that protrudes is hammered down." The qualities of individualism, original thinking and outspokenness are not admired. What counts is reliability, confidence that the chosen man will not violate the defined perimeter of consensus. Within that perimeter, he should have a talent for manipulation and accommodation so as to minimize friction and confrontation.

Needed: Followership

In sharp contrast, the U.S. still believes in self-reliance and initiative (though not as strongly as in the past). But even in the U.S., the danger in the concept of leadership is that it can all too easily become a talisman, a form of magic. Instead of facing the problems and working at them, people tend to sit back and hope for leadership. "Everybody is looking for somebody else to do something for them, to take the responsibility," says Nelson Rockefeller. According to Chicago Psychoanalyst Jules Masserman, "We never get over being children. We're always looking for a parent figure." In a democracy, leadership always requires collaboration between the leader and the led. As George Shultz and others have pointed out, the problem is not just a lack of leadership but a lack of followership.

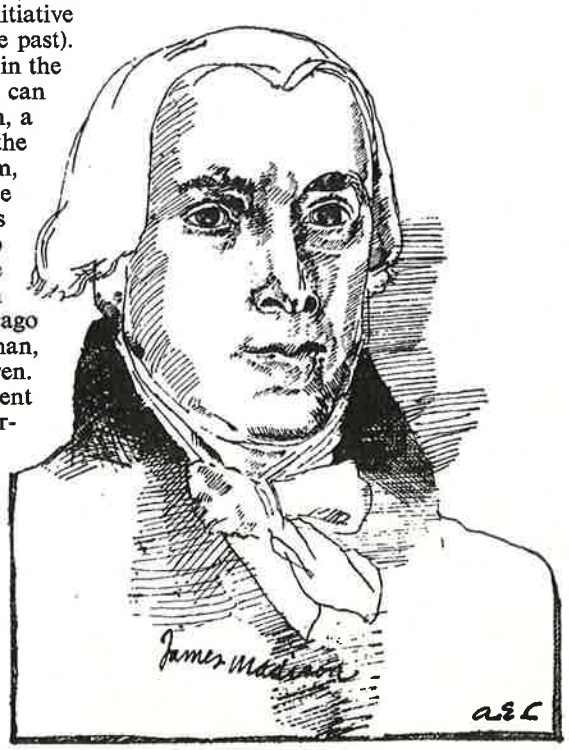
It is apt to be a circular dilemma: Is a leader chosen only after a critical, reasonably mature, well-informed public has decided roughly where it wants to be led; or does a leader appear first to tell the public where it wants to be led? Woodrow Wilson held that leadership is "interpretation" or articulation: "The forces of the public thought may be blind; [the leader] must lend them sight; they may blunder; he must set them right." But Wilson cautioned that the leader must not get too far ahead of his public: "He must read the common thought; he must test and calculate very circumspectly the preparation of the nation for the next move in politics." (On the League of Nations issue, Wilson himself failed to heed his own advice and indeed got too far ahead of the country.)

But what if hard solutions to hard problems turn out to be unintelligible or unpalatable to the majority? Always assuming that the leaders and their experts have figured out what the solutions are in the first place, leadership then requires an extraordinary effort of persuasion and education—beginning in the home, which is everybody's first leadership class.

When this fails, as it often will, the leader must have the courage to "go against the weight of public opinion because he knows such a course is right," as Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan puts it. "He must be willing to get out in front and wait until his constituents catch up with him."

There are not nearly enough political leaders today willing to heed this truism. But everywhere there seem to be people ready and willing to play a role, but somehow without quite knowing where to take hold, where to fit in, in what way to bring their energies to bear.

No one has yet furnished a work-



able solution to that dilemma, but it is clear that leaders and potential leaders will have to work in three interrelated yet distinct areas: 1) institutional reform; 2) political philosophy; 3) personal attitudes.

Reform: Balance of Powers

Long before Watergate, it was obvious that the balance of power between the U.S. presidency and Congress (as well as, to some extent, local government) had been seriously upset. For American leadership to reassert itself, this imbalance will have to be righted, and the current constitutional struggle relating to Watergate is only part of the picture.

What has become known as "the imperial presidency" troubles many Americans, although quite a few see nothing wrong with the aggrandizement of the office ("Leave it to the President; he knows more," is the often voiced sentiment). The office, having reached out to meet the crisis of the 1930s, then a world war, and finally the cold war with its threat of apocalypse, has grown so huge that it dominates and distorts a Government built upon the principle of coequal branches.

Yet, says Stephen Hess, once a speechwriter for Dwight Eisenhower: "Most of the social progress in our country has been initiated by our President, and those who would limit his power may well regret it when they have a President with whom they agree. You must think of powers you'd give a President you agree with and one you disagree with. You can't have a double standard."

While two generations of Presidents have been concentrating power in the White House, Congress has been relaxing its grip, sometimes to the point of irresponsibility. Says former Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus: "When I was administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, I saw Congress pass bills on clean air and clean water when they knew—absolutely knew—that the goals couldn't be fulfilled." Both Houses are poorly led. The machinery is creaky, the resources scant, and efforts at effective reform seem once again to have been smothered.

Another area for urgent institutional reform: the cumbersome way in which presidential candidates are chosen. The nominating process is an interminable circus, an obstacle course of costly and wearing primary campaigns culminating in a political convention which, whatever its advantages as spectacle, seems an unreliable way for the nation to go about selecting its leaders. The Democrats in 1972 tried to open the process to more popular participation, but the results were mixed, and the party became distracted by being bogged down in arguments over minority quotas and

continued on page 34

Women: Tyros and Tokens

History resounds with their names. The biblical Deborah, who led the Israelites to victory against the Canaanites. The Byzantine Empress Theodora, who inspired most of the important legislation of Justinian's reign. Catherine the Great of Russia, who had skills—and drives—as prodigious as her legendary predecessor Peter. From Nefertiti, the Maid of Orléans and Elizabeth I down to modern times, women leaders have left their mark. The 1970s alone have seen no fewer than four female heads of state: Israel's Golda Meir, India's Indira Gandhi, Sri Lanka's Sirimavo Bandaranaike and Argentina's Isabelita Perón, who took over the presidency last week on the death of her husband.

These are clearly the exceptions, however, and extremely rare ones at that. Historically, male-dominated societies have been willing enough to accept female monarchs who came to power by succession as well as women of great charisma or excellent family connections. But more often men have been reluctant to regard women as equals, much less as superiors. According to Betty Friedan, whose book *The Feminine Mystique* established her as the founding mother of women's liberation in the U.S.: "Women have made amazing progress. But they are hardly present in any numbers as leaders."

The past decade has drastically changed the image many women have of themselves (as well as the image many men have of them). But the revolution in the real status of women is only beginning. "There are plenty of token women around, but none in top leadership roles," says Rita Hauser, former U.S. representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. "Younger women very much want to break through and I think they will, but we won't see the results until ten years from now."

The statistics bear her out. Among first-year medical students three years ago, 13.5% were women compared with 10% in 1967. Such prestigious law schools as Harvard's now accept about twice as many women as they did in the mid-1960s. But as yet only 7% of the doctors, 3% of the lawyers and 4% of the 35,000 architects in the U.S. are women.

In politics, women have thus far made only small advances, however well publicized. This fall 108 women will be running for Congress (up 74% from 1970), nearly 700 for state legislatures, a dozen for Lieutenant Governor and ten for Governor. But now there are only 16 women in the House of Representatives and not a single one in the Senate. There are no women Governors and only four ambassadors. Among 18,500 American towns and cities, only some 30 are led by women mayors, while a mere 6% of state legislators are women.

In business, women rarely rise above middle management. A FORTUNE survey of 1,220 large American corporations revealed in 1972 that men outnumbered women at the top board-member and officer levels by a staggering 600 to 1. Less than 10% of the full professors on all U.S. campuses are women. "There are spotty examples of emerging women leaders," sums up Heather Booth, a civil rights activist from Illinois, "but it is not clear whether they are the tip of the iceberg or all of the ice."

Worldwide the situation is not much different. Finland leads Europe in the numbers of highly placed women, with Sweden a fairly distant second, but Britain and France are not progressing toward sexual parity any faster than the U.S. There are far more women than men in medicine in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, while 37% of the country's lawyers and 32% of its engineers are female.

Significant progress is also being made in Asia, where women have traditionally had low status. In Japan, a fast-growing feminist movement and a sex-blind college-admissions policy are propelling women into politics and business at high levels. In China, sex discrimination is officially considered a reactionary remnant. Though Mao's wife Chiang Ching is the only woman among the 20 regular members of the Politburo, Peking's highest ruling body, a more impressive 40 women belong to the 309-

member Central Committee of the Communist Party.

While discrimination by males has a great deal to do with the small number of women leaders, women's concept of themselves may also be a significant obstacle. Psychologist Matina Horner, now president of Radcliffe College, found a fear among college women that professional advance can come only at the expense of femininity. To Cynthia Fuchs Epstein of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research, what is most frightening is "the punishment" a woman suffers, because of the male-oriented values of society, if she achieves success.

Affluent white women show more ambivalence toward careers than do others. Horner has found that 29% of black female students are fearful compared with 88% of the whites. Explains

Epstein: "Black women have less agony of decision because they had to work —there was no choice."

Those women who do seek leadership positions run into obstacles that are either unknown to men or thrown up by men. Female politicians complain that they have a far harder time raising funds than their male counterparts; many of them favor public financing of campaigns. Says Jean Marie Maher, a political consultant in California, "While contributors might write a check for $500 or $1,000 for a man, if the candidate is a woman, they write a check for $100." A *Harvard Business Review* study shows that male executives are more apt to discipline women for minor infractions than men, go to far greater lengths to retain male employees, and tend to hire and promote male managers rather than females with virtually identical qualifications.

Among the most vexing problems is reconciling a career with the demands of motherhood. Susan Catania, 32, a Republican member of the Illinois house of representatives, takes her fifth daughter Amy to sessions of the state legislature and regularly repairs to a brand-new women's lounge to breast-feed the infant. Other women have solved family demands in somewhat less dramatic ways. Says Radcliffe's Horner: "One morning my daughter said: 'It's not like you're my mommy any more.' Wow! I said I would wake her up when I came home and we would have an evening chat." Horner has since made a regular practice of it.

Many women avoid the problem by not having families at all. A study by Helen S. Astin published by the Russell Sage Foundation shows that only 55% of women holding doctorates have married, compared with 90% of other women in the same age group. Conversely, the conflict with family responsibilities keeps many women leaders from careers that might open the way to leadership roles. "It is too optimistic to think that women will not be held back by marriage," says Ida Lewis, black editor and publisher of the two-year-old magazine *Encore*. "They always will be."

Writer-Editor Midge Decter, whose book *The New Chastity and Other Arguments Against Women's Liberation* enraged women's libbers, dissents: "A lot of women have not assumed roles as leaders because they are occupied elsewhere—with their homes or children, perhaps. They don't become leaders because they don't feel like it."

The fact remains that for those women who do seek leadership roles, the road often requires a degree of stamina and sustained brilliance not always demanded of men. Even those who have succeeded are concerned lest their own success prevent their sisters from moving up. Says Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City's human rights commissioner: "I am the exception that sexists and racists would like to rely on." Norton, who is black, thus echoes the widely held concern that getting beyond tokenism may be the most difficult challenge yet. Indeed, few women's libbers believe that men are ready to tolerate complete equality.

Women have proved so far that the best of them can struggle to the top. What remains to be proved is that someone less than spectacular can do well. Frances ("Sissy") Farenthold, 47, the then Texas legislator who came in second for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination in 1972, has this advice for women: "Stop worrying, as I did for a time, about being unqualified. Just look at how many incumbents are incompetent and unqualified." Only half in jest, she adds: "I am working for the time when unqualified blacks, browns and women join the unqualified men in running our Government."

the like. Also obviously needed are reforms in campaign financing, to enable candidates to run without requiring huge amounts of money, and an effort to cut short the grueling length of most political contests.

Politics: Recovering Consensus

Leadership is impossible in the abstract without a framework of more or less shared goals. The U.S. still seems able to articulate goals in general terms, but it is deeply divided on the specifics, the realities. It has, in short, lost its national consensus (although that consensus may never have been quite so solid as it has appeared in times of surface unity, such as of the Eisenhower years).

No clear majorities exist today. Says Massachusetts' State Representative Barney Frank: "Up to World War II, there were many more majority-type issues than there are now—Social Security, labor benefits, social and economic programs. Today most issues are not of concern to the majority, and we can't count on it to be self-sacrificing enough to pass them." Of course, inflation is becoming the new majority concern, along with such matters as energy, health care and food prices. But constructing new majorities for action, and creating even the beginnings of a new consensus, remains the most formidable task of all.

This process cannot succeed without a willingness to compromise. That is not the easiest requirement in an era that still hears echoes (fortunately diminishing) of "unconditional demands" and "nonnegotiable terms." Nor is a meeting of minds foreseeable in the bitter era of Watergate. Indeed, any kind of reconciliation or unified action will be impossible for a long time, unless Watergate ends with a sense of justice having been done.

To persuade people of the need to effect compromise, to restore the belief in consensus, not only inspiration will be needed but, perhaps more important, a very old political skill. Harry Truman spoke of it when he said: "You know what makes leadership? It is the ability to get men to do what they don't want to do and like it." That really amounts to a redefinition of self-interest. As Barney Frank puts it: "The great leader is the one who can show people that their self-interest is different from that which they perceived." Unfortunately, that ability does not seem much in evidence in U.S. politics today. Its outstanding example lies in the international field, where Henry Kissinger has so brilliantly practiced it. At its heart are intelligence and the imagination to put oneself fully in another's place. The principle will have to be applied to a divided U.S., and it will take leadership on all levels to show that, if it fails, the result is common disaster.

Personal Attitudes: Trust

To make leadership possible, the essential link between leaders and followers must be restored: trust. As Toynbee has put it, the leader must "make his fellows his followers." This can happen only if they trust him enough not to examine or attack each of his individual actions and are willing to go along with him for a while. At what point does this partly automatic following, which Toynbee calls mimesis (literally, imitation), turn into blind obedience and abdication of responsibility? That is the crucial problem in a democracy, and it can be solved only if leaders and would-be leaders are far more open in their dealings than is customary in U.S. politics.

But for leaders to be open, followers must help. They must pay serious attention to the issues, for otherwise leaders have no incentive to take them into their confidence. Followers must be willing to forgo the clichés and platitudes that an indifferent or impatient public almost forces its leaders to utter. On the personal side, followers must also be more willing to accept their leaders as they are and less ready to buy the tiresome public relations conventions that require the American politician to be always one of the boys and hide every trait that might cause alarm—from intellectuality to a bad temper—behind a smiling mask. True, most politicians have an instinct for the phony, but the American public need not accept it. Indeed, there are signs that Americans are readier than ever to be dealt with frankly, even if it takes some effort to live with frankness.

In sum, in a democracy, to be led is not a passive exercise; it takes work, and work by many people. As John Gardner put it: "Leadership in the U.S. is not a matter of scores of key individuals. It is a matter of tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of influential men and women [who] create the climate in which public opinion is formed."

Among its vast assets, the U.S. retains a remarkable reservoir of talent *(see portfolio beginning next page)*. Will all that talent find release, a chance to make a difference? The magnitude of today's problems could easily lead to a chronic sense of helplessness.

But it could also lead to a new sense of concern and commitment. And such a sense could prove to be the crucial ingredient that has been missing from the elusive formula for successful leadership in the modern world. Says Duke University Political Scientist James David Barber: "Sore as the public is, there is strong evidence that they are American to the core: uninterested in revolution, increasingly concerned for the civil liberties, ready for sacrifice on an equal basis with the privileged and, above all, watching and waiting for leadership to express and effect their new sense of the country's commitment to community, humaneness and candor."

200 Faces for the Future

While the lack of leadership is everywhere felt and deplored, there are in America a great many leaders, both actual and potential—or so TIME believes. The forces that hinder them from coming to the fore are huge, as the preceding cover story points out. But we are convinced that America has men and women who can assume leadership roles in the right circumstances—and given the right spirit in the country.

That is why, in the following 27 pages, TIME presents a portfolio of 200 young American leaders. The number 200 is arbitrary. So is the definition of youth, which ends at 45, at least in our judgment and in that of a contemporary dictionary. We know that growth is possible well past 45 and that many people do not discover their leadership qualities until much later. But we wanted to draw attention to a rising generation.

In setting this age limit (ruling out anyone who has reached 46 by the date that this issue first appears on the newsstands), we had to exclude, often by a narrow margin, some remarkable figures. Treasury Secretary William Simon missed by eight months, and Adwoman Mary Wells Lawrence by 44 days. As it turned out, the difficult part was not finding 200 people who met our criterion of leadership but confining the list to that number.

What indeed was our criterion? The touchstone was civic or social impact. That automatically included politicians and government officials, as well as businessmen, educators, lawyers, scientists, journalists. The definition ruled out many Americans who are truly outstanding in their fields but who really belong in another category. They exemplify what John Gardner describes as "virtuoso leadership"—the diva, the poet or novelist, painter or actor. They may be a fresh inspiration and their audiences may be vast, but they are basically soloists, and we felt that they should be included only if their work had a clear, direct impact on society.

In some cases, our choice was based on considerable accomplishments; in others, it rested more on promise. We were not looking for greatness, but for men and women capable of leadership in many ways and many spheres. To create our portfolio, TIME correspondents last April began gathering recommendations from university presidents and professors, Congressmen, church figures, industrialists. The editors trimmed, amended, sifted and resifted the lengthy list that resulted. What follows is not —and was not intended to be—a reflection of the geographic, political, racial or sexual makeup of America. But some characteristics of our gallery deserve special note.

There are an encouraging number of mayors and Governors, which may be a sign of increasing vigor on the local level. Less encouraging is the fact that there are not more women and blacks. Were a list to be compiled in 1980, say, their numbers would surely be greater; just now their presence in leadership positions is still limited.

There would undoubtedly have been more businessmen had our age limit been higher. André Malraux, that archetypal *homme engagé*, once noted that America's "sense of civism" was among its most striking features, especially in the private sector. Yet at 45 most financial and industrial whiz kids are still preoccupied with climbing corporate ladders, and their deepest involvement in civic affairs occurs only after they have reached the top.

The list is intended neither as an endorsement nor as TIME's version of "The Top 200 Americans." It is a fallible selection, a sampling to suggest the great diversity of the country's abilities. Any list maker runs the risk that some of his choices may prove to be eccentric and some of his omissions unforgivable. But that seems a risk worth taking if it helps start a debate about who the future leaders are and what leadership really means, and to demonstrate that there may be cause for hope in a time of deep concern.

Thus, on the following pages, 200 faces for the future.

PORTFOLIO DESIGN BY DENNIS WHEELER

1

A. Robert Abboud, 45. Deputy chairman of the First Chicago Corp., holding company for the powerful First National Bank of Chicago, Abboud is certain to have considerable influence on U.S. and world economic matters in the years ahead. The Boston-born grandson of Lebanese immigrants, Abboud collected business and law degrees from Harvard. As head of First National's international banking section, he helped turn a provincial institution into a worldwide banking power, is now the favorite to become the bank's next chairman. A monetary and economic conservative, Abboud considers himself "a liberal in social matters," advocates that the Government adopt an income floor below which no person would be allowed to fall.

2

James Abourezk, 43, one of 14 Lebanese-Americans in South Dakota, is a relaxed, informal politician who finds the U.S. Senate a bit too stuffy. Liberal Democrat Abourezk (pronounced *Aber*-esk) decided to study law at 32, went to Congress at 39 and, after a single term, captured his Senate seat in 1972. Besides being the Senate's most forceful spokesman for the Arab cause in the conflict over a Palestinian state, Abourezk, who was born on a Sioux reservation and knows more about the American Indian than any of his 99 colleagues, is chairman of the Senate's Indian Affairs Subcommittee and is pressing to increase both its staff and its effectiveness.

3

Lamar Alexander, 33, rarely mentions any more that he was a White House aide to Richard Nixon in 1969. A graduate of Vanderbilt and New York University Law School and a former newsman, Alexander coordinated Tennessee Republican Howard Baker's Senate race in 1966 and was campaign manager for Tennessee Governor Winfield Dunn in 1970. Now he is a candidate himself for this year's G.O.P. gubernatorial nomination. Chairman of the state's Council on Crime and Delinquency, Alexander has made a point of announcing, "I'm going to disclose every single contribution I get although I'm not required to and although it will be a big, burdensome task."

4

Alan Altshuler, 38, a farsighted urban planner, became Massachusetts' secretary of transportation and construction in 1971, after leading the effort to persuade Republican Governor Francis Sargent to halt all new expressway construction in the Boston area until a plan balancing environmental and social consequences, mass transit, and automobile use could be fully worked out. A Cornell graduate and former M.I.T. political scientist, Altshuler lobbied for three years for the transfer of interstate highway funds to urban areas for mass transit; last May the Bay State was granted the first such transfer —$670 million worth.

5

Anthony Amsterdam, 40, went to Stanford University to teach law in 1969 but has spent as much time in court as in the classroom. One of the nation's ranking experts in criminal law and civil rights, he has defended Chicago Seven Attorney William Kunstler, Black Panther Bobby Seale and Militant Angela Davis. He became principal architect of the campaign to abolish the death penalty, successfully arguing his case before the Supreme Court in 1972. A former clerk for the late Felix Frankfurter and U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia, Amsterdam has a passion for underdogs of any kind. "After the revolution," he says jokingly, "I will be representing the capitalists."

6

Wendell Anderson, 41, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota, has frozen property taxes for the elderly, initiated stringent environmental measures and given his state a tough campaign-financing law. Son of a St. Paul meat packer, he worked his way through college and law school, played on the U.S. Olympic hockey team in 1956 and won a seat in the state legislature —all by the time he was 25. Anderson won the governorship in 1970 even though he endorsed a sizable increase in personal income taxes. His detractors now call him "Spendy Wendy," but the increase has paid for the most equitable school-financing program in the nation, and Anderson is expected to skate through this fall's re-election campaign.

7

Cecil D. Andrus, 42, Governor of Idaho, is a sturdily independent sort who refused help from Idaho's Democratic boss in his first unsuccessful run for the statehouse. When the four-time state senator tried again in 1970, his name was better known, and he became Idaho's first Democratic Governor in 24 years. Voters are "looking for leadership that's willing to lead, not someone they have to kick into the next century," says Andrus, an advocate of environmental and educational causes. Son of a lumber-mill operator, Andrus is a man of modest means. His race for re-election in November should be a cakewalk; he is interested in campaigning for the U.S. Senate when his second term is up in 1978.

8
Jerry Apodaca, 40, was a successful insurance and real estate man in Las Cruces before he won a state senate seat in 1966. Three years later he became chairman of the legislature's reform-minded school study committee and head of New Mexico's Democratic Party. "If you're right on the issues, you may get in trouble with the politicians but not with the people," says Apodaca, who beat his closest opponent by just over 10,000 votes in a six-man scramble for the gubernatorial nomination last month. Supported by labor, Chicano activists and liberals, Apodaca favors establishment of ombudsman-like "citizen service centers" throughout the state.

9
Paul J. Asciolla, 40, a member of the Italian-founded Scalabrini Fathers, was assigned to a quiet post in a Chicago suburban old people's home in 1965 as a reprimand for his public involvement in civil rights. As an Italian-American concerned with the problems of ethnic groups in the U.S., Asciolla has become one of Chicago's—and America's—leading spokesmen for immigrant Americans. A colorful, somewhat garrulous priest from Rhode Island, he crisscrosses the U.S. as a lecturer on everything from migration to intergroup relations.

10
Reubin Askew, 45, is the odds-on choice to be re-elected this year as Governor of Florida. The keynote speaker at the 1972 Democratic National Convention, ex-Paratrooper Askew had served in both houses of Florida's legislature before becoming Governor in 1970. He has achieved significant tax reforms while working actively to improve prison, judicial and election systems, expand consumer and environmental protection, and broaden programs for Florida's elderly. Askew is on practically everybody's list as a vice-presidential possibility in 1976.

11
Les Aspin, 35, went to Congress armed with an M.I.T. doctorate in economics and two years in the Office of Systems Analysis in Robert McNamara's Defense Department. The second-term Democrat from Wisconsin has waged an all-out war on military waste and cost overruns. He helped expose ballooning costs at Litton Industries' naval shipbuilding yards and mechanical troubles with Lockheed's C-5A cargo plane. Aspin also led the move that cut $1 billion from last year's Defense authorization and shot down flight pay for admirals and generals whose active flying days are behind them.

12
Herman Badillo, 44, the only Puerto Rican member of the U.S. House, represents a South Bronx district that consists largely of families with annual incomes close to or below the official poverty mark ($4,550 for an urban family of four). An orphan who came to the mainland at eleven, Badillo earned degrees in accounting and law, in 1965 won a tight race for Bronx borough president. A Democrat, he was first elected to Congress in 1970. He has also run unsuccessfully in two mayoral primaries, and since his real interest is New York City, he can be expected to try again.

13
David Baltimore, 36, a microbiologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is noted both for discoveries made in his lab and policies articulated outside of it. His co-discovery in 1970 of the enzyme reverse transcriptase helped scientists in their search for a cancer-causing virus and led him to synthesize for the first time a portion of a mammalian gene, thus bringing closer the prospect of genetic engineering and control over life. Fearful about what that might mean, the M.I.T.-educated Baltimore is now spearheading efforts to protect the public from "biohazards." "Science-fiction fantasies may come true very soon, and we should be prepared," he warns.

14
William Banowsky, 38, president of Pepperdine College since 1971 and a conservative Republican, won his Ph.D. in communications at U.S.C., served as G.O.P. county chairman for Los Angeles during President Nixon's 1972 campaign, and was named state Republican national committeeman in May 1973. Offered financial support for a gubernatorial campaign this year, he surveyed the crowded field and declined. Instead, he increased his political visibility as host of a local TV talk show and columnist for the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner.*

15
Clarence C. Barksdale, 42, president and chief executive of the old-line First National Bank of St. Louis, is involved as a banker and a private citizen in trying to revitalize his city. A director of the executive committee of the St. Louis Regional Commerce and Growth Association, "Cedge" Barksdale is promoting several civic projects, including development of a man-made lake in the nearby Meramec River basin that will serve as a community recreation center. During the four years that Barksdale has headed the bank, its deposits have topped $1 billion for the first time and its international business has tripled.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Geno Baroni, 43. "Unless you can understand the ethnic factor, you can't understand the cities," warns the director of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, which runs programs aimed at developing skills and leadership. Son of an immigrant Pennsylvania coal miner, Father Baroni was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1956, served in working-class parishes in Altoona and Johnstown, Pa. Transferred to Washington, D.C., he became active in civil rights and in 1965 was among the first priests to go to Alabama for the Selma-Montgomery march. He helped launch Washington's Head Start program, and a decade of his community action programs culminated in the establishment of the Urban Ethnic Center in 1971.
17
Robert L. Bartley, 36, may exert more influence on U.S. businessmen than any other journalist. He is editor of the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page, an operation regarded as being separate from the rest of the paper. Born in Marshall, Minn., and educated at Iowa State and Wisconsin, Bartley became a *Journal* staffer in 1962. After ten years of reporting, writing editorials and turning out think pieces for the editorial page, he was tapped for his present post. The *Journal's* editorials generally reflect Bartley's economic conservatism but are less predictable than in previous years. Lately the paper urged the House Judiciary Committee to seek support for its subpoenas in court and called for the impeachment inquiry to go forward.
18
William J. Baxley, 33, is a flamboyant politician who was elected Alabama's youngest district attorney at 25 and the youngest attorney general in the state's history at 29. A bachelor given to loud clothes and fast cars, he is an energetic crusader who, in his self-styled role as "the people's attorney," has tilted with strip-miners, polluters, and, in an effort to lower prices, the Alabama dairy commission. The only thing between Baxley, a native of Dothan, and the governorship is George Wallace. That is quite an obstacle, but then Baxley figures to be around for a long time.
19
Richard Ben-Veniste, 31. Known as a quick-thinking, aggressive prosecutor of corrupt officials, labor racketeers and organized crime figures while he was with the U.S. Attorney's office in New York City, Ben-Veniste was recruited by Archibald Cox for the Watergate task force. He became head of it when Leon Jaworski was named special prosecutor and, with the task force's six other lawyers, helped obtain subpoenaed tapes in a major victory over the White House legal staff. "He bores in on you like a God-damned termite," said one lawyer who has watched Ben-Veniste in action. A Columbia law graduate, Ben-Veniste will be a major Government prosecutor in the cover-up trials of the "Watergate Seven" scheduled to begin in September.
20
C. Fred Bergsten, 33, earned a Ph.D. in international economics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts and spent four years in the State Department before joining the National Security Council staff in 1969 as Henry Kissinger's main economics adviser. Convinced that Kissinger considered economics peripheral to foreign policy, the Brooklyn-born Bergsten bailed out in 1971, later joined the Brookings Institution. A monetary-problems specialist, Bergsten warns that the West faces cartelization in timber, bauxite, rubber and coffee as well as in oil. He also cautions that Kissinger will become an anachronism if he does not pay more heed to economic questions.
21
Joseph Biden Jr., 31. Two years ago, this self-confident Democrat persuaded Delaware's traditionally Republican voters to send him to the U.S. Senate, where he is now the youngest member. A few weeks after he was elected, his wife and infant daughter were killed in an auto accident. Biden admits to being compulsively ambitious. An active proponent of environmental and consumer-protection legislation, he has criticized the Senate for failing to stand up to the Executive Branch and has called for greater accountability on the part of Government decision makers—"so I will know whom to crucify."
22
Barry Bingham Jr., 40, wanted to be the world's greatest French-horn player. Lacking the talent, he turned to his family's two newspapers—the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and the Louisville *Times*—and burnished their reputations as two of the finest instruments of journalism in the Midwest. Though he has extended the papers' liberal editorial positions, Harvard-educated Editor-Publisher Bingham has left the day-to-day news operation alone, and was one of the first publishers to hire full-time ombudsmen to monitor both reporting and advertising. To avoid conflicts of interest, Bingham and other top executives have submitted lists of all their charitable activities to the staff. When critics referred to his printing company, radio and TV stations and two newspapers as "the Bingham Empire," he replied with full-page ads exclaiming, "What this town needs is another newspaper!"
23
Joseph Blatchford, 40, set up ACCION, a privately financed, youth volunteer group in Latin America in 1960—before John Kennedy started the Peace Corps. Named to run the Peace Corps for the Nixon Administration, he resigned in discouragement in 1972 because nobody was listening to his ideas (for example, giving college students academic credit and living expenses for a year of domestic volunteer work). Blatchford, an unsuccessful California congressional candidate in 1968, is sidelined this year by a lack of campaign funds, but he is helping Republican Houston Flournoy campaign for Governor. "Right now," says Blatchford, "the challenge is to juice up the Republican Party and get some young people in it."
24
Derek Curtis Bok, 44, president of Harvard, is a scion of the Curtis publishing family and son-in-law of Swedish Sociologists Gunnar and Alva Myrdal. Bok graduated from Stanford and Harvard Law, studied in Paris as a Fulbright scholar, collected a graduate economics degree from George Washington University. A top labor-law specialist, he was named dean of Harvard Law in 1968, president of the university three years later. Democrat Bok helped organize opposition to Harrold Carswell's Supreme Court nomination, was among the academicians who went to Washington to protest the 1970 Cambodia invasion. An adroit administrator, he is amply qualified for a judicial or political career.
25
Christopher S. Bond, 35, the first Republican to occupy the Missouri Governor's mansion since 1945, has transformed the state's labyrinthine government into 13 Cabinet-like departments. He has also abandoned the patronage system of his Democratic predecessors by recruiting talented administrators from all over the U.S. Scion of an old Missouri family and a graduate of Princeton and the University of Virginia Law School, "Kit" Bond uncovered scandals and inefficiencies in the state administration while serving as state auditor until 1973. Now the U.S.'s youngest Governor, he is helping to create an effective G.O.P. in a traditionally Democratic state.
26
Julian Bond, 34, had to win three elections and a Supreme Court order before he was finally admitted to Georgia's house of representatives at the age of 26. A founder and former information director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.), Bond riled the legislators with his anti-Viet Nam pronouncements and support of draft-card burning—not to mention his color. On the political move again, he will run in November for the Georgia senate from a safe black district. Meanwhile, he has been maintaining a national profile and winning enormous popularity among students with 200 or more speaking engagements per year.
27
William G. Bowen, 40, a trim onetime tennis champion at Denison University, became president of Princeton at age 38. Co-author of *Performing Arts—The Economic Dilemma* (1966), a pioneering study of the finance of culture, Bowen is a practical as well as a scholarly economist: as Princeton's former provost, he put in a budgetary system that erased the school's operating deficit in two years. A thoughtful scholar and decisive administrator, he has notably strengthened Princeton's faculty. He once rescued from a pond a woman who had fallen directly onto an alligator; the beast, Bowen observed, was "probably as scared as she was—but it seemed something you didn't leave up to the alligator."
28
William Bradley, 30, trained himself to be a basketball player by approaching the sport scientifically—measuring trajectories, memorizing, experimenting. That cerebral approach helped him become All-America at Princeton, and later a star of the New York Knicks. It also helped him win a Rhodes scholarship. Now "Dollar Bill," whose frugality has become something of a legend, has found something new to shoot at: politics. A Democrat, Bradley has worked with young people in Harlem's so-called street academies; he is currently laying the groundwork for a possible congressional bid in his New Jersey district with public speaking between games and during the off season.
29
William E. Brock III, 43, left his family's candy business in 1962 and became the first Republican Congressman from his Tennessee district in 42 years. Four terms later he defeated Albert Gore for the U.S. Senate. Civic-minded (he was involved in literacy programs and projects for the handicapped in his native Chattanooga) and tenaciously conservative in social and racial matters, Brock played a central role in organizing the G.O.P. Youth Division for the 1972 convention. As a result, he has nationwide political contacts and the nucleus of a campaign organization. Like his senior colleague, Howard Baker, he is a possible contender for the 1976 Republican vice-presidential nomination.

SPECIAL SECTION

30

Edmund G. Brown Jr., 36. Once a candidate for the priesthood, "Jerry" Brown is now the Democratic candidate for Governor of California. The bachelor son of former Governor Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown chose to switch from a Jesuit seminary to Yale Law School in the early 1960s, became a civil rights activist and antiwar crusader. By using the long-ignored power of his office—secretary of state—to implement campaign reform, he soon began making a name of his own, most recently by launching a well-publicized investigation into President Nixon's tax returns. Stiffer than his convivial father, he is nonetheless winning strong support as an outspoken reformer.

31

J. Carter Brown, 39. Washington's National Gallery of Art welcomes more than 2 million visitors a year and influences more people than any other U.S. fine arts institution. "We have a mandate to serve more people than those who are able to come through our doors," says Brown, a Harvard-educated native of Providence who became director in 1969 after eight years on the staff. Under his stewardship the gallery has expanded an art extension service so that exhibits reach 4 million people a year in 4,000 U.S. communities. He has also begun a building program that will double the museum's size and provide space for a contemporary American art collection and advanced study center.

32

Willie L. Brown Jr., 40, chairman of the California assembly's ways and means committee, is one of his state's most powerful lawmakers. Since entering the assembly in 1965, the liberal Democrat from San Francisco has had little trouble winning re-election, in 1972 rolled up 76% of his well-integrated district's vote after spending only $192. Brown, who sponsored more bills that were vetoed by Governor Ronald Reagan than any other legislator (including one to decriminalize homosexuality and another to ban discrimination by real estate agents), co-chaired his state's delegation to the Democratic Convention in 1972 and figures as a leading contender for mayor of San Francisco should he choose to run next year.

33

Patrick Buchanan, 35, was the first full-time aide Richard Nixon hired as he began to assemble his presidential campaign team in 1966. A Georgetown graduate and former editorialist for the right-leaning St. Louis *Globe-Democrat,* Buchanan remains the President's most pugnacious defender. While serving as idea man, speechwriter, press adviser and political consultant to Nixon, he has emerged as one of the nation's leading conservative ideologues. Despite his often acerbic defense of the Administration, he has retained the admiration of those conservatives who are dismayed by his boss.

34

Josiah Bunting, 34, joined the Marines at 17 after he was expelled from prep school. Finding his métier in the military, the Philadelphia-born Bunting entered Virginia Military Institute and earned an Army commission, a Rhodes scholarship and a disillusioning tour of duty in Viet Nam. While teaching history at West Point, "Si" Bunting wrote a bestselling antimilitary novel based on that experience *(The Lionheads).* In 1972 he resigned from the Army and last year became president of Briarcliff, a women's college (300 students) north of New York City. While arresting the school's academic and financial slide, the protean Bunting produced a second novel, *The Advent of Frederick Giles.*

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Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, 41, had been an attorney for ten years when, in 1966, she became the first black woman ever elected to the California state assembly. After three terms, plus TV exposure as vice chairman of the 1972 Democratic Convention, she captured a newly created congressional district in Los Angeles, becoming the first woman to represent California in Congress in 20 years. An articulate advocate of consumer and environmental protection, women's and minority rights, she seems certain of re-election this fall and of a prominent role in the 1976 Democratic Convention.

36

John H. Bustamante, 44. In 1971 he was named a director of Higbee's, Cleveland's largest department store; in 1972 he was elected to the board of the Northern Ohio Bank; in June he opened the First Bank and Trust of Cleveland, Ohio's only black-owned and -operated bank which he helped found. A wealthy Harvard graduate with a lucrative law practice, he moves easily in both black and white society, and through his ventures is easing the way for more blacks to enter the economic mainstream. Born in Santiago, Cuba, he grew up in Atlanta. Future projects: black-owned radio and television stations and a major league baseball team.

37

Patrick Caddell, 24. Already a veteran psephologist, Caddell did election projections for a local TV station as a high school student in Jacksonville, Fla. In 1970 he polled for Ohio's Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate (now Governor) John Gilligan at a salary of 18¢ an hour plus expenses and produced an ungainly —and largely unread—2,000-page report. But by 1971 the Harvard senior and two partners had refined their technique and formed Cambridge Survey Research. Their first of many clients: George McGovern, whom C.S.R. projected as the Democratic nominee. Next, C.S.R. plans to offer quarterly economic reports to business executives.

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Guido Calabresi, 41, professor at the Yale Law School, is tagged by his peers as Supreme Court or World Court material. A former Rhodes scholar and top-ranking Yale law graduate, Calabresi has frequently advised the U.S. Department of Transportation and various state agencies and is a member of Nelson Rockefeller's Commission on Critical Choices. He has recently been concentrating on an examination of modern technology and its effects; in 1970 he wrote *The Cost of Accidents,* a study that served as a prime source of data for the designers of the national no-fault insurance bill now before the House.

39

Joseph A. Califano Jr., 43. A *magna cum laude* Harvard Law graduate, Califano was general counsel to the Department of the Army and chief troubleshooter for former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara before moving to the White House in 1965 as Lyndon Johnson's top domestic aide. In that capacity he coordinated almost all aspects of the President's ambitious Great Society legislative program. Currently writing a book about the presidency, Califano is actively involved in national Democratic Party affairs, and has been particularly successful in gaining some equal air time for opposition rebuttal to presidential policy speeches.

40

Daniel Callahan, 43. As a writer, philosopher and executive editor of the liberal Catholic magazine *Commonweal* until 1968, Callahan aimed his iconoclasm at such churchly concerns as priestly celibacy (against it), divorce reform (for it) and abortion (for it). Increasingly concerned that mankind's social and scientific skills were developing in a moral and ethical vacuum, he founded in 1969 the Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences in the New York suburb of Tarrytown. Through conferences, newsletters and testimony before legislative bodies, the 84-member institution seeks to influence policy in areas like genetic engineering, behavior and population control.

41

Ivan Chermayeff, 42. One of the nation's foremost designers, he has literally left his mark around the world. He created the interiors and landscaping for the U.S. Pavilion at Montreal's Expo 67, and is doing the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library's displays. Seeking to put personality into corporate identity, he has designed trade logos, exhibitions and lobbies for such clients as Pan American World Airways, Mobil Oil, the Chase Manhattan Bank. Born in London, he lived in Canada, graduated from Yale, is now a partner in design firms in New York and Cambridge, Mass. Recently he conceived the symbol and identity program for the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission.

42

Lawton M. Chiles Jr., 44, Florida's self-styled "progressive conservative" Democratic Senator, won election four years ago after staging a 1,000-mile, cross-state walkathon. As a member of the "Class of '70," a small group of freshmen legislators bent on reforming the Senate, Chiles, a lawyer, decries the chamber's inefficiencies and has sponsored a "sunshine" bill that would open most congressional committee meetings and federal agency hearings to the public. "We're hidebound and hobbled," he says. "We're so far behind the state legislature of Florida in our decision-making capacity that it's kind of pitiful."

43

Richard Clark, 44. When Iowa Congressman John Culver warily backed off from a bid for the U.S. Senate in 1972, his administrative assistant and veteran campaign manager Dick Clark stepped in to accept the Democratic nomination. Though virtually unknown to voters, Clark made a 1,312-mile walking tour of the state and upset a two-term Republican incumbent. An outspoken critic of old-style politics and pork-barreling, he exerted major influence in shaping the Senate's campaign reform bill, is now seeking to bring federal regulation to the often chaotic commodity exchanges.

44

William S. Cohen, 33, a poetry-writing lawyer from Maine, has already turned down an offer from some state Republican leaders to back him for Governor. A former mayor of Bangor, he handily won election to Congress in 1972 and was given a seat on the Judiciary Committee. This year he was the sole Republican to join committee Democrats in rejecting President Nixon's proffer of transcripts instead of tapes as final evidence. A moderate Republican with a youthful following, he has sponsored social legislation such as the nursing-home patients' bill and the newsmen's shield law.

45

Robert Coles, 44. Probably the most influential psychiatrist in the U.S., he is an authority on poverty and racial discrimination and a prolific author. His multivolume *Children of Crisis,* a study of the effect of social stress on children, won a 1973 Pulitzer for nonfiction. After studying at Harvard, Columbia and the University of Chicago, Coles joined the Harvard staff in 1963, and now lives near his native Boston. Viewing all men and women as strong and sensible, weak and full of faults, Coles voices faith in America: "This is the world's richest and most powerful nation, so it has not only the potentiality but the immediate possibility for reform."

46

Joan Ganz Cooney, 44, revolutionized children's television in 1969 when she began producing *Sesame Street* for the Public Broadcasting Service. A former NBC publicity director, she now presides over the nonprofit Children's Television Workshop, Inc., which produces 130 segments of *Sesame Street* and 130 of *Electric Company* each year. Elegant and outspoken, Mrs. Cooney has served on the President's Commission on Drug Abuse and was recently appointed to the media-monitoring National News Council. In the past year she has formed two C.T.W. subsidiaries to produce shows for commercial TV and ease *Sesame Street's* reliance on Government and foundation funds.

47

Richard N. Cooper, 40. On the eve of Henry Kissinger's appointment as National Security Affairs adviser to President Nixon in 1969, he turned to Cooper for a crash course in international economics. A Yale professor, Cooper served as a senior staff economist for President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Monetary Affairs under Lyndon Johnson. The author of *The Economics of Interdependence,* he has a suitably international background: born in Seattle, he grew up in Germany, was educated at Oberlin, the London School of Economics and Harvard. Named Yale's provost in 1972, he helped ease the financially hard-pressed university out of the red this year.

48

John J. Cowles Jr., 45. "People need to be informed in order to govern their lives well," says the chairman of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co., who oversees an "information and ideas" empire that includes four daily newspapers, *Harper's* magazine, suburban weeklies and television and radio interests. Born in Des Moines, he moved to Minneapolis soon after the senior Cowles bought the *Star.* After Harvard, he joined the *Tribune,* inheriting the editorship from his father in 1961. While making the two newspapers independent of each other, Cowles persuaded the Guthrie Theater to establish itself in Minneapolis and raised $2.3 million to support the venture.

49

Joseph F. Crangle, 42. "I grew up believing that the Democratic Party was the instrument for the common good, to correct social ills," says New York State's Democratic chairman, an issue-oriented politician. At the 1968 Democratic Convention, Crangle presented the only minority plank to be adopted: abolition of the unit rule, which opened the way to democratizing the delegate-selection process. A nonsmoking teetotaler who studied for the priesthood in his youth, Crangle was named chairman of the Erie County Democrats at 32. In 1971 he became state chairman and ever since has been trying to unify his fractious party and to eradicate its reputation as a boss-ridden machine.

50

John C. Culver, 41, a former captain of the Harvard football team, later studied at Cambridge University in England, spent three years in the Marines and won a law degree before going to Washington as an assistant to his friend and former classmate, Ted Kennedy. Democrat Culver ran for Congress from a Republican district in Iowa in 1964, sweeping into the House on Lyndon Johnson's coattails and increasing his margin of victory in each of the next four elections. A prime mover for congressional reorganization, he entered the 1974 Senate contest when Harold Hughes bowed out and is favored to win.

51

John Dalton, 42, began his political career by passing out bumper stickers for his father Ted, a longtime Virginia state senator and now a federal district judge. While pursuing his law career, the younger Dalton rose through G.O.P. ranks to become chairman of the Virginia Young Republicans, state Republican treasurer and then general counsel. After three terms in Virginia's house of delegates and one as state senator, Dalton won a three-way race for the lieutenant governorship last year. A moderate from southwest Virginia's farm country, he will almost certainly be the Republican nominee for Governor in 1977.

52

John C. Danforth, 37, a wealthy Ralston Purina heir, won degrees from Princeton and Yale (Divinity and Law), dabbled in New York law and politics before returning to his native Missouri and, in 1968, winning election as state attorney general. As founder of Missouri's New Republicans, a group of young, liberal G.O.P. reformers, Danforth has bypassed the old party establishment and helped break a 38-year Democratic stranglehold on top state offices. Though he lost a bid for the U.S. Senate in 1970, he was easily re-elected attorney general two years ago by an astonishing 460,000-vote margin and will probably make another Senate run in 1976.

53

Price Daniel Jr., 33, son of a former Texas Governor and U.S. Senator, started his own legislative career as a moderate Democrat in the Texas house. When the Sharpstown State Bank scandals erupted three years ago, the young lawyer-politician led the way in drafting reform legislation for financial disclosure by state officials, public access to government documents and open campaign financing. At 29, he was elected speaker of the house. Last year Daniel resigned this post to become president of the constitutional convention charged with revising the state's 98-year-old constitution. Thanks to his image as an incorruptible, energetic politician, he has attracted substantial support should he seek higher office.

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SPECIAL SECTION

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Charles Dascal, 42, fled to Miami from Cuba in 1961 with only a few dollars in his pocket. He and another refugee scraped together $3,000 within a year, went into the electronics business and made a fortune. With six other Cuban Americans, Dascal, a college dropout, founded the Continental National Bank last May to serve the Miami area's roughly 350,000 Cubans (whose annual gross income tops $1 billion). Operating out of two trailers while permanent quarters are being built, the bank, says Chairman Dascal, "will enable the immigrants to build the solid foundation that any minority group needs for its own development."

55

Peter Dawkins, 36. An All-America halfback and Heisman Trophy winner at West Point, Dawkins went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar, won combat medals in Southeast Asia, earned a Master's at Princeton and is about to complete his doctoral thesis there (topic: resistance to change in large institutions). Long regarded as Chief of Staff material, Lieut. Colonel Dawkins, currently one of 18 White House Fellows, was in Viet Nam as an ARVN adviser in 1965-66 and again the next summer, when he collaborated on an Army "pacification" study. In the Pentagon in 1970, he helped refine the concept of an all-volunteer army. Last summer he finished a stint as commander of a battalion in Korea.

56

L.B. Day, 42, a native Nebraskan, took a degree from Willamette University in 1958 and stayed on in Oregon as a cannery worker and member of the Teamsters Union. Entering politics, he served two terms in the state legislature as a Democrat, then switched and served a third as a Republican. Named director of Oregon's Department of Environmental Quality in 1971, this self-styled "concerned volunteer citizen" cleaned up the Willamette River by cowing the mighty Boise Cascade Corp. into shutting its Salem plant and seemed destined for political heights. But in 1973 he resigned and returned to his "first love" as secretary-treasurer of Oregon's 23,000-member Teamster local.

57

Karen DeCrow, 36. "Gender should not be a very important aspect of how one functions in society today," says the newly elected president of the National Organization for Women, the largest (40,000 members in 700 chapters) and most influential group in the U.S. women's liberation movement. DeCrow, a Northwestern alumna, was raised in Chicago and held a series of editorial jobs there and in New York City before moving to Syracuse in 1965. Protesting unfair wage practices toward women, she joined NOW in 1967, won a degree from Syracuse University's law school five years later. She is the author of *The Young Woman's Guide to Liberation* and *Sexist Justice,* published this year.

58

Morris Dees, 36, sold everything from cakes to pine cones as a student at the University of Alabama, and in four years earned $150,000. Capitalizing on his salesmanship after law school, he and a partner started a publishing company that specialized in cookbooks. Dees sold the firm for some $6 million in 1969, opened the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery the next year, and established himself as one of the region's leading civil rights attorneys. He filed suits that forced the hiring of black state troopers in Alabama, integrated the Montgomery Y.M.C.A., and generally discomfited the Establishment. In 1972 he helped George McGovern organize a spectacularly successful mail appeal for contributions.

59

Alfred D. Del Bello, 39, is the first Democrat ever elected county executive of affluent Westchester, N.Y. (pop. 900,000). A two-term city councilman in Yonkers, N.Y., he ran as the underdog for mayor in 1969 and won, the first Democrat to do so in 32 years. In two terms, the Fordham-educated lawyer cleaned up corruption, balanced the budget and restored Yonkers, his birthplace, to a semblance of civic health. Since his upset victory last year, which made him the youngest county executive in Westchester's history, he has laid plans for recycling garbage into energy and begun to put together a program to provide county residents with civil as well as criminal remedies in consumer-fraud cases.

60

Ronald V. Dellums, 38. Running for Congress in 1970, Berkeley City Councilman Dellums won votes for his antiwar stand and picked up another bundle when Spiro Agnew called him a "radical extremist." "If being an advocate of peace, justice and humanity toward all human beings is radical," he responded, "then I am a radical." Completing his second term and probably en route to a third as Democratic Congressman from California's Eighth District, Dellums still leans far to the left; he was one of only eight House members to earn a perfect score in the latest rating of the ecology-minded League of Conservation Voters. A Marine Corps veteran, Dellums is a former psychiatric social worker.

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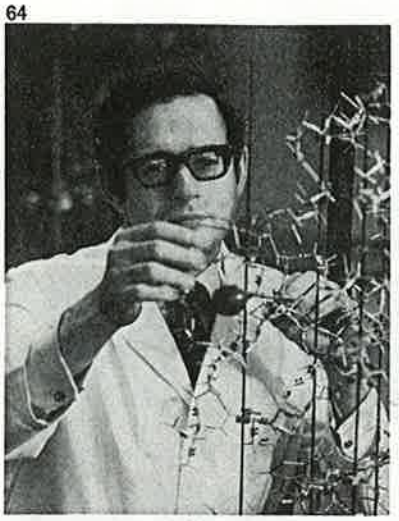

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Ralph DeNunzio, 42, chief operating officer of the investment banking firm of Kidder, Peabody since 1967, predicts an eventual daily market volume of at least 20 million shares. DeNunzio was elected to a three-year term as a governor of the New York Stock Exchange in 1968 and helped develop a method of insuring customer accounts in the event of a firm's financial failure. As chairman of the exchange in 1971 and 1972, the Princeton-educated DeNunzio oversaw the paring of the board from 33 to 20 members and the creation of a salaried, full-time chairman. As head of the exchange's costs and revenue committee, he succeeded in bringing the commission rate structure into line with Wall Street's current capital needs.

62
Pete V. Domenici, 42, an all-conference pitcher at the University of New Mexico, found the political strike zone in 1972 when he won a seat in the U.S. Senate. The son of Italian immigrants, Lawyer Domenici was elected a city commissioner in Albuquerque in 1966, city chairman a year later, and he pushed hard for Model Cities and urban-renewal programs. Though he lost a gubernatorial bid in 1970, two years later this once liberal Republican endorsed right-wing positions against gun control and abortion and won 54% of the vote in his Senate race. In his rookie term, Domenici sought higher fuel allocations for his state during the energy crisis, and explored problems facing the elderly.

63
Pierre S. du Pont IV, 39, whose family founded the chemical company that has the tallest industrial smokestacks in Delaware, won his seat in Congress in 1970 by campaigning for stricter controls on industrial pollution. A Republican whose victory margins have broken records, "Pete" du Pont has been working hard to link his name with clean politics as well as clean air. He rejects contributions in excess of $100 from anyone, including himself, has voluntarily disclosed his net worth ($2.5 million), and has been an outspoken critic of the Administration on Watergate. His rating from the choosy League of Women Voters: a respectable 83%.

64
Gerald M. Edelman, 45, is an accomplished violinist who once chaired a symposium on the scientific basis of stringed instruments. He is better known as the discoverer of the molecular structure and composition of antibodies, the blood proteins that combat disease in the body. The 1972 Nobel laureate was born in New York City, educated at Ursinus College and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. Now a specialist in immunology, he joined the teaching and research faculty of Rockefeller University in 1960. He is also a trustee of Israel's Weizmann Institute.

65
Marian Wright Edelman, 35. A graduate of Spelman College and Yale Law School, Marian Wright became the first black woman admitted to the bar in Mississippi. In 1968 she went to Washington, soon became chief counsel to Ralph Abernathy's Poor People's Campaign. Later, as director of the Washington Research Project, a public-interest law firm, she pressed the Government to enforce federal agency guidelines in desegregation cases. With husband Peter *(see below),* Mrs. Edelman moved to Boston in 1970, is now director of the Children's Defense Fund, a broadened outgrowth of her Washington work. Her current concern: treatment of retarded, poor and handicapped children by public schools and other institutions.

66
Peter Edelman, 36. Like many New Frontier veterans, this onetime legislative assistant to Robert Kennedy has taken a sabbatical from politics—he is now vice president for university policy and planning at the University of Massachusetts. "Some of us who have been enamored of Washington tended to forget how much you can accomplish at the local level," says the Minneapolis-born, Harvard-educated Edelman, who has launched university courses for prison inmates and other nontraditional students. Like his wife Marian, he is a supporter of children's rights. A onetime law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, Edelman worked for Common Cause before he went to UMass in 1971.

67
Lewis A. Engman, 38, was expected to be an obedient errand boy when he was named last year to head the Federal Trade Commission, which the Nixon Administration felt had become a bit too aggressive. But the Harvard lawyer has shown a broad streak of independence. For starters, he filed an antitrust suit against Exxon and seven other major oil companies who both produce and distribute oil. With Ralph Nader as ally and Budget Director Roy Ash as adversary, Engman has been fighting to require more detailed financial reporting from major U.S. corporations. Recently he attacked TV ads aimed at children. With Engman's approval, an investigation of food pricing is contemplated, and several in the energy field are currently under way.

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M. Stanton Evans, 39, has spoken eloquently for conservative viewpoints in such books as *The Future of Conservatism* and *The Politics of Surrender* and in newspaper editorials of consistently high quality. Chairman of the American Conservative Union, Texas-born Evans developed his philosophy at Yale in the 1950s. He refined it in various journalistic jobs: editor of a short-lived special Louisville, Ky., edition of William Buckley's *National Review;* managing editor of *Human Events;* and 15 years with the Indianapolis *News* as chief editorial writer, news editor and, since February, as senior editor.
69
Marshall Field V, 33, was only two years out of Harvard when his father died and left him heir to Field Enterprises, Inc., one of the nation's largest publishers (Chicago *Sun-Times,* Chicago *Daily News, World Book Encyclopedia).* He spent the next five years training to fill his father's shoes—and earning a considerable reputation as a *bon vivant.* A moderate with occasionally liberal political views, Field has grown into a tough, profit-minded executive and won the support of the company trustees. In 1969 they elected him publisher of the two newspapers and in 1972 chairman of the parent company.
70
Robert J. Fitzpatrick, 34, a Canadian-born, onetime Jesuit seminarian, holds a master's degree in medieval French and oscillates between Johns Hopkins University, where he is dean of students, and city hall, where he is Baltimore's youngest city councilman. "More people should spend a limited time in public office, rather than a lifetime," says Fitzpatrick, a liberal Democrat. His goal: to be a U.S. Senator and a college president—not simultaneously.
71
Patrick Flores, 44. He tried to quit school twice but returned at his parents' urging. In 1970 Flores, son of a migrant worker, became the first Mexican American to be named a Roman Catholic bishop. One of nine children, he grew up near Houston, graduated from St. Mary's Seminary there, was ordained in 1956. Flores closely identifies with his many Mexican-American parishioners. Raising more than $20,000 for Mexico's earthquake victims, Flores ignored Mexican President Luis Echeverría's declaration that no U.S. aid would be accepted, went to Mexico and personally distributed the funds.
72
Houston I. Flournoy, 44, a Princeton-educated Ph.D. (political science), won by more votes in his 1970 race for California controller than the margins of the three other major Republican candidates combined. A three-term California assemblyman, Flournoy is a boyish-looking, easygoing politician who outpolled three opponents by almost 2 to 1 in June's primary for the G.O.P. nomination to succeed Governor Ronald Reagan when he steps down at the end of this year. Known as the ranking "liberal" in the Reagan administration ("moderate" would be more accurate), Flournoy was untainted by the Watergate-related scandals that tarred a number of California Republicans.
73
Max Frankel, 44. As Sunday editor of the New York *Times,* he runs an empire within an empire. Frankel began his *Times* career as a stringer, joined the paper full-time after graduating from Columbia University in 1952. Born in Germany, Frankel fled the Nazis with his family in 1938; 18 years later he returned to Europe to cover the Hungarian revolt and serve as Moscow correspondent. In Washington, Frankel established himself as one of America's top diplomatic reporters, winning the influential job of *Times* bureau chief there in 1968. Frankel picked up a Pulitzer Prize in 1973 for his dispatches from China, the same year he took over as Sunday editor.
74
Charles E. Fraser, 45, bought a 4,000-acre tract on South Carolina's Hilton Head Island from his father in 1956 and during the next decade turned it into an elegant retreat for the well-heeled and sports-minded. A Yale-educated lawyer, Fraser earned a reputation as an ecology-minded developer who left Hilton Head's rich marshlands and nature trails intact. He has lately extended his Sea Pines resort empire to Florida, Puerto Rico and Daufuskie Island, S.C.
75
Louis Frey Jr., 40, though he lacks both age and seniority, was unanimously elected by his colleagues last year as chairman of the House Republican Research Committee, one of six official House leadership positions. A middle-of-the-road third-term Representative from a heavily Democratic district in Orlando, Fla., Frey is investigating whether the G.O.P. should toughen its stand on antitrust policy and privacy laws. He is trying to decide whether to run for the seat now held by a former law partner, conservative Senator Edward Gurney, but worries that Watergate will make 1974 a bad year even for good Republicans. "The pendulum will eventually swing back," he says. "I want to be here in '76 to help pick up the pieces."

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David P. Gardner, 41. Appointed president of the 21,000-student University of Utah in 1973, Gardner arrived in Salt Lake City when town-gown relations were at a low ebb from past university indifference to community needs. But Gardner, a native of Berkeley, Calif., had served seven years as vice chancellor of the University of California at Santa Barbara—and he remarks dryly, "I could not imagine any problem Utah would have that California had not had earlier." He dined with several dozen top state legislators and met and listened to Salt Lake's businessmen. A year later, most major conflicts resolved, he is free to pursue a larger goal—"cultivating the respect in which the entire higher education system is held."

77

Murray Gell-Mann, 44, entered Yale at 15 and by 26 had already earned a doctorate in physics from M.I.T., and been appointed a full professor at the California Institute of Technology. Groping through the jungle of subatomic theoretical physics, Gell-Mann has attempted to bring some order to chaos by designing the "eightfold way," a system that explains the behavior of all subatomic particles, and by dreaming up the "quark," a theoretical bit of matter out of which all other particles could be built. Awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1969 for his work on the theory of elementary particles, Gell-Mann has extended his influence beyond the lab to the policymaking realm by serving on President Nixon's now defunct Science Advisory Committee.

78

Kenneth A. Gibson, 42, was prepared for disaster in 1970 when he became the first black mayor of Newark. His white predecessor was on trial for extortion and income tax evasion, and the reverberations from the 1967 race riots had not died down. Democrat Gibson lowered both the crime and property-tax rates and reduced corruption, but he acknowledges that "whatever troubles American cities have, Newark will get them first." A onetime civil engineer noted for his civil rights and community affairs work, Gibson recently won a second term and, as advisory board chairman of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, is in line to become the first black president of the organization.

79

Neil Goldschmidt, 34, sounds old-fashioned when he talks about the need for "royalty" in the political process and says, "We are really short on heroes." But as the liberal mayor of Portland, Ore. (pop. 381,000), Democrat Goldschmidt, an expert organizer and personable politicker, has mustered the support of an army of young activist voters. Though he suffered a setback in May when a city-county consolidation measure that he backed was roundly defeated, Goldschmidt has inspired fealty by campaigning successfully for clean-air statutes and mass-transit improvements.

80

James C. Goodale, 40, a gutsy executive vice president of the New York Times Co., is a former Wall Street lawyer who was schooled at Yale and the University of Chicago. He went to the *Times* in 1963 as general attorney, six years later was named one of the company's then half-dozen vice presidents. As top adviser to President Arthur ("Punch") Sulzberger, he led the company's executives in urging publication of the Pentagon papers in 1972. With a reorganization of management last year, he was picked by Sulzberger to be one of three executive vice presidents and to handle legal, financial and other corporate affairs.

81

Robert Gottlieb, 43, president of Alfred A. Knopf, is a compulsive reader and passionate editor who once thought of himself as purely literary. After graduating from Yale and studying English at Cambridge University, he returned to his native Manhattan and, he says, "I found to my astonishment, gratification and horror that I had some business talents as well as literary ones." He joined Simon & Schuster in 1955, left to become editor-in-chief at Knopf in 1968. Convinced that good writing sells, Gottlieb has won a devoted following of top authors. Among those he personally edits are John Cheever, Doris Lessing, Anthony Burgess, John le Carré, Jessica Mitford.

82

Earl G. Graves, 39. Chase Manhattan has a friend in Earl Graves. The bank put $25,000 into his monthly *Black Enterprise* magazine four years ago, now values its investment at nearly $500,000. Graves went from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto to win a scholarship at Morgan State, later was an adviser to Senator Robert Kennedy's Bed-Stuy redevelopment project. An ex–Green Beret captain and federal narcotics agent, he started *Black Enterprise* in 1970, turned a profit the first year, now earns more than $2 million in ad revenues. Suave and ambitious, Graves has expanded into book publishing, urban consulting, land development and market research.

82

83

Harold Greenwood, 42, was an ex-policeman and college dropout when he became a clerk at a modest Minneapolis savings and loan company in 1955. Today the Midwest Federal Savings and Loan Association has assets of $1.1 billion, and Greenwood is its president. An energetic proponent of inner-city rehabilitation, he co-authored part of the 1968 Federal Housing Act; this year he is increasing the proportion of his firm's inner-city lending from 17% to 41%. He has given 20% of his officer and supervisor jobs to women. Greenwood regards inaction on critical issues by both the Administration and Congress as a boon to grass-roots leadership: "It's a healthy thing, this feeling that we'll have to do it ourselves."

84

Charles Gwathmey, 36. He is best known as the designer of university buildings like Whig Hall, the contemporary student center built into the burned-out shell of a building at Princeton, as well as private residences and beach houses. Within his profession, however, the North Carolina–born, Yale-educated architect is conspicuous for his innovative approach to high-density housing. "Low-cost housing is a social problem," he says, noting that lack of privacy is the chief shortcoming of most public apartment projects.

85

Donald J. Hall, 45, joined the board of his family-owned greeting-card business six years after graduating from Dartmouth, a decade later replaced his father, the company's founder, as Hallmark's president. A civic-minded Kansas City booster, Hall has set up an inner-city training center for the poor and inexperienced and has also taken charge of a project begun in 1967 by his father—Crown Center, a privately financed $200 million redevelopment that is transforming 23 dilapidated city blocks into a handsome apartment, hotel, office and shopping complex.

86

Elizabeth Hanford, 37. The days of total *caveat emptor* are past if Hanford, one of five members of the Federal Trade Commission and an experienced consumer advocate, has anything to say about it. A Phi Beta Kappa from Duke University, she took a law degree at Harvard in 1965. She was a legislative aide to Lyndon Johnson's consumer adviser Betty Furness, became deputy director of Richard Nixon's Office of Consumer Affairs under Virginia Knauer. Her biggest interest is the promotion of consumer education. Immediate goals: tighter regulations on credit bureaus and federal aid to states for improvement of small-claims courts.

87

Neil F. Hartigan, 36, is a product of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic machine, but he has remained untarnished by its recent scandals. Now Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, the Loyola Law School graduate spent five years as a Daley aide, establishing a political base of his own from which he could some day run for mayor of Chicago or Governor of the state. Hartigan has sought to broaden his base by speaking out for the elderly, mental health and a new airport to serve St. Louis and southern Illinois.

88

Richard Hatcher, 40, scratched his way through college and law school and, since beating his party's machine in 1967, has been the Democratic mayor of racially divided Gary, Ind. An important link between black politicians in North and South, Hatcher has run into problems in the grimy steel city: white animosity, an exodus of white businessmen and a lack of capital to develop downtown areas. But Hatcher—who easily won a second term and will probably run for a third—has involved ordinary citizens in Gary's administration, waged war against corruption in city hall and the police department and obtained federal funds to erect the first public housing to be built in more than a decade.

89

Rita E. Hauser, 39. "Some day there will be a woman on the Supreme Court," predicts Hauser, who was among those mentioned for a seat when Justice John Marshall Harlan retired in 1971. A moderate Republican who has campaigned for both Richard Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller, she was U.S. representative on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, 1969-1972. A founder of the soon-to-open First Women's Bank & Trust Co. of New York, she now heads the international practice of a Wall Street law firm. Brooklyn-bred Hauser holds degrees from four universities; she earned a Ph.D. from the University of Strasbourg at 21 and a New York University law degree at 24.

90

Raymond A. Hay, 45. A persuasive salesman, the head of U.S. operations for Xerox Corp. talks with everyone from switchboard operators to branch executives while making his cross-country rounds. Among the divisions Hay oversees from headquarters in Stamford, Conn., are Xerox's Information Systems Group, Information Technology Group and Business Development Group. Born in New York City, he worked his way through Long Island University to an economics degree as a dance-band pianist. An avid athlete—golf, tennis, swimming—he runs on a treadmill every morning in the company gym. He was named Republican finance chairman of Connecticut last year.


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H. John Heinz III, 35, has found politics more to his taste than the more than 57 varieties of food found in his family's business. Now completing his first full term in Congress, Republican Heinz represents a Pennsylvania district that embraces both aristocratic exurbs and grimy mill towns. He specializes in health and environmental affairs, has toiled to keep his Pittsburgh-area fences in good repair, and is a shoo-in for re-election. A graduate of Yale and the Harvard Business School, Heinz is a moderate who has fought with the Administration to end U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and to secure funds for the national Community Mental Health Centers Program.

92
Rafael Hernández Colon, 37, wrote a brilliant thesis as a law student in Puerto Rico, outlining the cultural, political and economic advantages of the island's commonwealth status. After serving as Secretary of Justice, President of the Senate and head of the Popular Democratic Party, Hernández in 1972 upset the incumbent and became the youngest Governor in Puerto Rican history. Today, with his old thesis for a platform, Hernández is concentrating on improving his island's troubled economy. To increase efficiency, the commonwealth is purchasing the telephone company, and to reduce high freight costs, Hernández is negotiating to buy several shipping lines and consolidate them under commonwealth ownership.

93
Stephen H. Hess, 41. Scholar-Activist Hess alternates between working in Government and writing about it. A senior fellow at Washington's Brookings Institution, a nonprofit organization that analyzes public policy, he is a Johns Hopkins political science graduate who briefly taught government, at 26 became a White House speechwriter under Dwight Eisenhower. In 1969 he was appointed national chairman of the White House Conference on Children and Youth. Writer or co-author of five books on politics, he is now writing *Organizing the Presidency,* a book he describes as a primer for future Presidents.

94
Luther H. Hodges Jr., 37, is the son of a former Governor of North Carolina, and political observers in the Tarheel State expect him to launch his own bid for the statehouse before the decade is out. Hard-driving and talented, Hodges is chairman of the North Carolina National Bank, which he has helped propel from 65th to 25th largest in the U.S. (assets: $2.7 billion) in the last 14 years. A Phi Beta Kappa from the University of North Carolina and a Harvard Business School graduate, Hodges has never held a public elective office, but he has been active in such civic affairs as the state's manpower development corporation, which trains school dropouts for jobs, and in county Democratic politics.

95
James Fred Hofheinz, 36, won only a paper-thin victory last January to become mayor of Houston, America's sixth largest city (pop. 1,233,000), but that has not prevented him from making some unpopular decisions. A Ph.D. in economics and son of Astrodome King Roy ("Judge") Hofheinz, he has raised property taxes 8½% and water rates 30%. To improve Houston's mass-transit system, Hofheinz purchased a private bus company, and has been laboring to enlarge and upgrade the city's police and fire departments. Once a month Hofheinz fields phone calls on television to answer whatever questions his constituents may want to ask.

96
Albert Hofstede, 33, wanted to go to medical school, but his application was late, and so he had to take a civil service job with the state of Minnesota to make ends meet. The son of a Dutch-born truck driver, Hofstede decided to stay in government, became a Minneapolis alderman at 26. Last year he was elected mayor of Minneapolis in a startling upset over the law-and-order incumbent, Police Detective Charles Stenvig. Since taking office, he has begun an ambitious multimillion-dollar urban-renovation plan, reorganized equipment to provide better mass-transit service and placed considerable emphasis on preserving the flavor—and safety—of Minneapolis' old neighborhoods.

97
James F. Hoge Jr., 38. The editor of the Chicago *Sun-Times,* seventh largest U.S. morning newspaper (circ. 569,000), started as a police reporter after graduating from Yale, then was a White House correspondent before becoming assistant city editor in 1964. Son of a wealthy New York City lawyer, he became editor in 1968, has brightened layouts, emphasized investigative reporting and broadened coverage of the underprivileged. A handsome bachelor-about-town since his divorce from Alice Patterson Albright, whose family of Medills and Pattersons made newspaper history with their Chicago *Tribune,* New York *Daily News* and the late Washington *Times-Herald,* the politically liberal Hoge has seen *Sun-Times*men collect four Pulitzer Prizes, while the paper's circulation rose by more than 40,000 under his editorship.

98
Richard Holbrooke, 33, a Brown University history major, worked on Viet Nam policy as an ambassadorial assistant in Saigon, in the State Department and as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Paris peace talks. In 1972 his late but growing reputation as a pithy critic of some aspects of U.S. foreign relations helped win him the managing editorship of *Foreign Policy* magazine, a small (circ. 12,000) but increasingly influential quarterly with an eye for such lively, sometimes irreverent details as Columbia Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski's recent report card on the Nixon Administration's foreign policy (overall 1974 grade C+, compared with a B for 1971).

99
Elizabeth Holtzman, 33, challenged Emanuel Celler in 1972 for the congressional seat that he had held for 50 years, and her vigorous campaign convinced Brooklyn's 16th District that it was indeed time for a change. As a House freshman, she brought suit against the Defense Department and the Air Force to stop the bombing in Cambodia but lost in the Supreme Court. A graduate of Radcliffe and Harvard Law School, Holtzman spent summers working on civil rights cases in Georgia and served a three-year stint as an assistant to former New York Mayor John Lindsay. She is now a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

100
Matina Souretis Horner, 34. When this expert on feminine achievement was elevated from assistant professor of clinical psychology at Harvard to sixth president of Radcliffe College in 1972, she became an instant role model for U.S. women. Her success has its ironic side—her doctoral research at the University of Michigan paved the way for subsequent studies revealing that most American women fear success. The daughter of Greek immigrants, raised in Boston's mixed ethnic section of Roxbury, Horner attended Boston Girls' Latin School and Bryn Mawr College. One of her tasks is presiding over the integration of Radcliffe and Harvard under one university umbrella on a trial basis. Her major concern: helping women and minority groups achieve equal access to education and jobs.

101
Michael B. Howard, 31. "We want to make waves," asserts *Rocky Mountain News* Managing Editor Howard. "What better advertising is there than that?" This spring the increasingly splashy *News* exposed as a phony Ph.D. the official running the state air pollution control program, caught the state revenue director in a conflict of interests and has waged a running battle with Colorado polluters. Grandson of the co-founder of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, young Howard was raised in New York City, took his B.A. at Yale in Russian literature. He has helped add about 30,000 new subscribers to the once listless tabloid (circ. 219,000) since joining it in 1965, making it a real challenger to the flabby Denver *Post.*

102
John Jay Iselin, 40. As federal and foundation support for public television continues to shrink, the president of the Manhattan-based Educational Broadcasting Corporation and boss of its lively station, WNET (Channel 13), is forced to scramble for funds to keep his operations going. His innovative approach to programming has brought viewers *The American Family* and the *Theater in America* series, *VD Blues* and ballet, movie classics and public affairs programs. By stationing fund raisers in front of elegant stores like Tiffany's, he has helped boost the number of contributors to Channel 13 from 50,000 to 200,000. Before joining the station as general manager three years ago, Iselin, a Harvard Ph.D. in government, was a *Congressional Quarterly* writer, *Newsweek* senior editor and Harper & Row publishing executive.

103
Maynard Holbrook Jackson Jr., 36, entered politics at the top in 1968 by challenging Georgia's Senator Herman Talmadge. He lost the primary but carried Atlanta by 6,000 votes, within a year was elected the city's vice mayor. A hulking (280 lbs.), courtly, articulate attorney who graduated from Morehouse College at 18, the well-connected Jackson last year won Atlanta's mayoralty to become the first black leader of a major Southern city. Popular with both the black and white business communities in Atlanta, he is likely to run again for the Senate if and when Talmadge steps down, but with blacks accounting for only 26% of Georgia's population, he faces an uphill battle.

104
J. Bennett Johnston Jr., 42, a conservative Democrat from northern Louisiana, began his climb in his state's house of representatives a decade ago. Though he failed to win the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1971, the following year he captured the U.S. Senate seat vacated by the death of Allen Ellender. A racial moderate, Johnston is an exceptionally effective television candidate. He has co-sponsored an extension of national wage-price controls and, for his oil-rich home state, has proposed building a port for supertankers.

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Clarence B. Jones, 43. As publisher of York's *Amsterdam News,* black America's leading weekly newspaper, Jones carries considerable authority with both the black and white communities. A graduate of Columbia and Boston University's law school, he was special counsel to Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Wall Street investment banker and stockbroker, and founder of a multiracial insurance company. An erudite man with a gift for organization, Jones is trying to build a Harlem-based newspaper, broadcast and entertainment empire in concert with other black leaders.

106
Barbara C. Jordan, 38, began in politics stamping envelopes for the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in 1960, and six years later won election to the Texas state senate. After sponsoring Texas' first minimum-wage bill, she ran for Congress, in 1972 became the first black woman ever sent to the House from the old Confederacy. "I didn't get here by being black or a woman," she says. "I got here by working hard." A Boston University–trained lawyer, Jordan now serves on the House Judiciary Committee.

107
Paul T. Jordan, 33, was a young physician in charge of a Jersey City drug-rehabilitation center in the late 1960s when he joined the Community Action Council, a local group of disgruntled citizens. When then Mayor Thomas Whelan was packed off to prison for extortion and conspiracy in 1971, Democrat Jordan won a special election to become the youngest mayor in Jersey City history and end the corrupt, malodorous 57-year dynasty of Bosses Frank Hague and John V. Kenny. Since taking office, he has announced plans for a $2 billion renovation of the city's waterfront and for new housing in older Jersey City neighborhoods. Last year he won reelection by a lopsided margin to a full four-year term.

108
Vernon E. Jordan Jr., 38. Successor to the late Whitney Young as executive director of the National Urban League, Jordan is considered to be one of the top black leaders in the U.S. today. A 1960 Howard University law graduate, he is a cool-headed peacemaker who earned his civil rights stripes escorting Charlayne Hunter through snarling white students at the University of Georgia. As head of the Southern Regional Council's 1968 voter-education drive, he helped put 2 million new black voters on the rolls and ultimately increase the region's number of elected black officials from 72 to 564. He is a director of Xerox, J.C. Penney and several other large corporations.

109
Thomas L. Judge, 39. A Notre Dame journalism graduate, Montana's Democratic Governor was running an advertising and public relations agency in his native Helena when he became the state's youngest assemblyman in 1961. He was elected to the state senate six years later, in 1968 ran for Lieutenant Governor and won, and in 1972 was elected Governor. "A politician who does not respond to public opinion will find himself in trouble," he says pragmatically. After running into stiff opposition from environmentalists, he has recently soft-pedaled efforts to promote tourism and industry.

110
Rhoda H. Karpatkin, 44. The consumer movement has flowered only during the past decade, but Consumers Union has been advising buyers for 37 years. For 16 of those years Rhoda Karpatkin, a Yale law graduate, served as the organization's counsel. Appointed executive director last January, she left her Manhattan law firm to take over a 330-member staff, product-testing laboratories in New York, a Connecticut auto-test center, a Washington, D.C., advocacy law office and the monthly magazine, *Consumer Reports* (circ. 2.2 million).

111
Richard Kattel, 38, dazzled the financial community with his rapid climb to the presidency of Atlanta's Citizens and Southern National Bank, whose $3 billion in assets make it one of the largest in the South. Son of a New York City banker, Kattel joined C & S as a trainee in 1958, later attended Harvard's Program for Management Development. A hard-driving executive who gets to work each day by 7 a.m., Kattel was jumped over many more senior officers to the top job in 1971 and became chairman last month. Kattel has led C & S into heavy investing in Georgia, and the bank's program of loans to black enterprise is a model. A poster on the wall of his office reads: "Either lead, follow or get out of the way."

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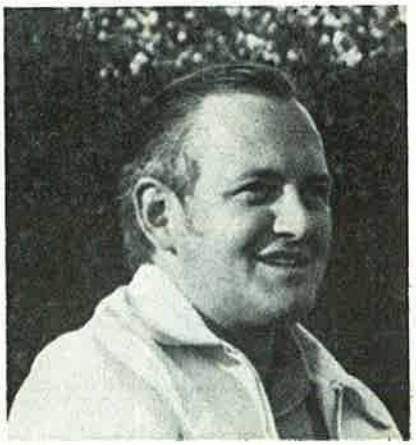

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112
Doris H. Kearns, 31. As a White House Fellow in 1967 she danced with Lyndon Johnson five days before publication of her *New Republic* article, "How to Remove L.B.J. in 1968." Johnson might have dumped Kearns. Instead, he asked the Harvard government professor to edit his memoirs. She did, writing as well a soon-to-be-released psychohistory of Johnson subtitled "The Tyranny of Benevolence." A graduate of Colby College with a Ph.D. from Harvard, Kearns has her eye on a policymaking position in a future Democratic Administration.

113
Jack Kemp, 38, played quarterback for the San Diego Chargers and Buffalo Bills before he decided to call some political plays as a Republican Congressman from the Buffalo, N.Y., suburbs. An outspoken conservative, Kemp was narrowly elected to Congress in 1970, won re-election two years later with 73% of the vote. A staunch environmentalist and strong national security advocate, he introduced 115 bills in Congress during his first term. "Problems are not problems; they are opportunities," Kemp says.

114
Edward M. Kennedy, 42. With his magic name and broad appeal, the Democratic Senator from Massachusetts can practically write his own ticket—including a presidential one. Teddy's recent trip to the Soviet Union and Western Europe, plus his well-publicized sponsorship of health-care legislation and an income tax cut, may well be the opening shots in a bid for the White House. But the twelve-year Senate veteran has been troubled by illness within his immediate family, and by public memories of Chappaquiddick.

115
Billie Jean King, 30. One of the world's leading sports personalities, she has won five Wimbledon championships. For the past three years she has earned more than $100,000 annually; largely because of her audience appeal, the once measly purses on the women's tour are now nearly on a par with those paid to men. In 1973 feminist supporters everywhere applauded as she ran Bobby Riggs, the male supremacist, off the court. This year King and her husband are co-publishing a new magazine, *womenSports.*

116
Richard F. Kneip, 41. In the past two years Governor Kneip, a Democrat, has trimmed South Dakota's executive branch from 160 departments to 14, set up a state personnel system based on civil service, and pushed through plans for the first degree-granting medical school in a state whose ratio of one doctor for every 1,100 people is the nation's poorest. Kneip was raised in Elkton, S. Dak., built a dairy-equipment business and then entered politics, winning the first of three terms in the state senate in 1964. First elected Governor in 1970, the folksy, breezy politician is favored for a third term in November.

117
Dick Lamm, 34, began his political career in 1966 by winning an at-large seat in the Colorado state legislature. A year later he introduced one of the first laws in the nation to legalize abortion where fetal deformity or psychological hazard is likely to occur. Though the bill passed, he later came to believe it was too moderate and persuaded the U.S. Supreme Court to declare it unconstitutional. Lamm led the successful fight against holding the 1976 Winter Olympics in Colorado. Now he is the man to beat for Colorado's 1974 Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

118
Moon Landrieu, 43, mayor of New Orleans since 1970, governs with the help of a coalition of blacks, white liberals and blue-collar workers. A keenly instinctual politician, Landrieu was elected to the Louisiana legislature at 29 and won notoriety by standing almost alone against a bundle of bills that sought to prevent compliance with federal desegregation orders. As chairman of the legislative action committee of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, he helped to negotiate federal revenue-sharing money for cities.

119
John Lewis, 34, dreamed of becoming a Baptist minister as he grew up in Alabama's Pike County, but he changed direction when the Supreme Court declared segregation unconstitutional. As a civil rights worker, this apostle of nonviolence was frequently arrested and beaten. He headed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from 1963 until 1966, then added a philosophy degree to one in theology. In 1970 Lewis became head of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project, which seeks to register black voters. What is happening now is "a revolution," Lewis claims, pointing to the South's more than 3.5 million black voters.

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SPECIAL SECTION

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Richard G. Lugar, 42, won election in 1967 as the first Republican mayor of Indianapolis in nearly 20 years. A former Rhodes scholar, Lugar merged the city and county governments, attracted heavy transfusions of federal funds into the Hoosier capital, and won re-election in 1971 by a 3 to 2 majority. He has long been known as "President Nixon's favorite mayor," but his star has been dimmed by Watergate and a police scandal. Lugar, who is campaigning for Democrat Birch Bayh's Senate seat, has begun to divorce himself from the President, criticizing Nixon for "sorry conduct that is deeply disappointing."

121

Paul Macavoy, 40, professor of economics at M.I.T., is probably the nation's foremost expert on Government regulation of private industry. A Phi Beta Kappa from Maine's Bates College with degrees in economics from Yale, Macavoy argues that regulation is inefficient and retards production. He favors instead a gradual end to regulations over the price and quality of service, feeling that these should be the province of private industry. While this position disturbs some fellow Democrats who generally favor regulation, his service on Lyndon Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers and his unquestioned expertise in the energy and railroad fields should assure him an important role in a future Democratic Administration.

122

Peter MacDonald, 45, elected chief of the 150,000-member Navajo Indian nation, is rapidly becoming the foremost spokesman for all Southwestern Indians. He is a World War II Marine and University of Oklahoma–educated engineer who once worked on the Polaris missile project; his guiding principle is to adopt change when it really represents progress and to hold to tradition when it does not. Under his leadership since 1970, more Navajos than ever before are attending college; paved roads and shopping centers are being built and industries developed on the Navajo reservation, which is the size of West Virginia. MacDonald has led an effective fight against further commercial development of the Indians' sacred San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff, Ariz., already the site of a ski area.

123

Bruce K. MacLaury, 43. As president of the Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank, MacLaury oversees economic affairs in an area from Michigan to Montana. He also co-chairs a 40-member panel charged with mapping a development strategy for the state of Minnesota and serves on the board of the Guthrie repertory theater and on a citizens' committee dealing with long-range financing for the school system in the Minneapolis suburb where he and his family live. Recalling what Woodrow Wilson said about their alma mater —"Princeton in the nation's service"—MacLaury says: "That gets everybody fired up for about two minutes, but some of it hangs on to you."

124

C. Peter Magrath, 41. "I call myself a university man and that's where my loyalties are," declares the incoming president of the University of Minnesota. Magrath (pronounced Ma-*graw)* grew up in Brooklyn, is a 1955 *summa cum laude* graduate of the University of New Hampshire and a Ph.D. in government from Cornell. Before his selection to head the nation's tenth largest university system (49,935 full-time students), he was president of the State University of New York at Binghamton. At Minnesota, faced with mushrooming costs and declining enrollment, he has begun a review of the school's long-term goals to determine whether new priorities should be adopted.

125

Thomas C. Maloney, 32, has stunned even fellow Democrats with his innovations since he became mayor of Wilmington, Del., two years ago. The LaSalle College graduate filled city hall with young academicians. After a cost analysis of city services, he cut garbage collection crews by 40% (precipitating an unsuccessful strike), proposed similar reductions in fire department and school administration personnel. While offering tax incentives to businesses to locate in Wilmington, he started the nation's first urban homesteading program: abandoned buildings are given to people willing to make improvements. Maloney is expected to run for the U.S. Senate in 1976.

126

Charles Manatt, 38, heads his own law firm, is the founder of a Los Angeles bank, and owns 1,300 acres of farmland in Iowa, where he was raised. But his real work is politics. Chairman of the Democratic Party for Southern California, he has worked for Democratic candidates in every state or national election since 1962, including Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern. Manatt too has ambitions: his target is appointment to a top government job or election to office within the next five years.

SPECIAL SECTION


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Donald B. Marron, 39. The president and chief executive of Mitchell, Hutchins Inc., a major Wall Street institutional brokerage firm, started his own investment banking firm in 1958. Seven years later he merged with Mitchell, Hutchins, then a small Chicago firm and by 1969 was its president. Shifting emphasis from small-investor business to the institutional trade just in time to catch the new wave in the market, he has seen revenues grow by more than 40% a year since 1966 (last year's total: $20 million). One of his innovations has been to hire noted experts in other fields (Henry Kissinger, Bill Moyers *[see below]*, Economist Otto Eckstein, Columnist David Broder) to relate politics, foreign affairs and economics to investments.

128

Joseph S. Mattina, 41. A high degree of visibility distinguishes this county court judge. Four years after his 1965 appointment to the Buffalo city court, Republican Mattina won a ten-year term on the Erie County (N.Y.) court with bipartisan support. Refusing offers to run for statewide office, Mattina prefers to continue attacking root problems of urban society, among them alcoholism and unfair employment practices. A vigorous crusade against drug abuse has carried him from lecture halls to San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury clinic, where he spent one vacation as a volunteer worker.

129

Joseph D. McNamara, 39. The police chief of Kansas City, Mo., is the youngest in any major city and the only police officer in the U.S. with a Harvard doctorate in public administration. The Bronx-born son of a New York policeman, McNamara pounded a beat in Harlem for ten years. After he succeeded Clarence Kelley, now head of the FBI, McNamara caught a lot of flak—including an unsuccessful lawsuit charging that he lacked the required experience for his job. McNamara wants to apply computer analysis to crime prevention and to eradicate Hollywood's image of cops. "The norm of police work is not violence," he says. "Most of a policeman's time is spent helping people."


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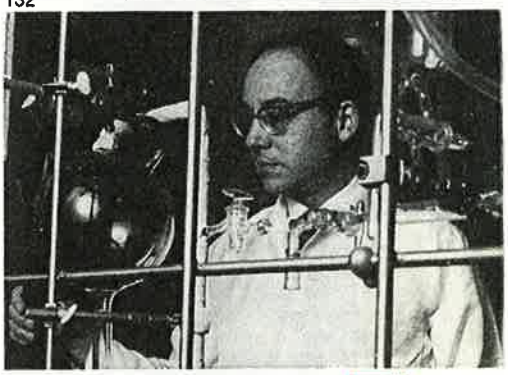
Gerald Carl Meyers, 45. As a vice president in charge of product planning for American Motors Corp. Meyers urges his designers and engineers to create smaller cars that consume less gas. With a degree from Carnegie Tech and a classical background in autos—he held responsible jobs at Ford and Chrysler—Meyers has developed a keen appreciation for the conflicts between zooming costs and design innovation. Now Meyers is a champion of the rotary engine and is experimenting with an auto whose engine would be in the middle of the vehicle.

131

Andrew Pickens Miller, 41, first sampled Virginia politics while chauffeuring his father Francis Pickens Miller, an anti-Byrd, anti-machine candidate, through an unsuccessful 1949 campaign for Governor. After Princeton and the University of Virginia Law School, the younger Miller became president of Virginia's Young Democrats and in 1969, in his first bid for public office, won election as state attorney general. Last year he was re-elected with 71% of the vote. A moderate who has led the legal fight against busing in Virginia schools, Miller is a top contender for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1977.

132

Stanley L. Miller, 44. Shooting electric sparks through a mixture of hydrogen, methane and ammonia in a glass container of water, Miller created an organic soup containing amino acid, duplicating in the laboratory the early steps in the creation of life. He performed this classic experiment in 1953 while studying for his Ph.D. under Nobel Laureate Harold Urey at the University of Chicago. A native of Oakland, Calif., he taught biochemistry at Columbia, is now at the University of California, La Jolla. Miller took part in a NASA study of the feeding of astronauts on journeys of 500 to 1,000 days, recently directed a group of students in a project to design a steam engine for automobiles.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Jonathan Moore, 41. As director of the Institute of Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Republican Moore is responsible for building bridges between politicians and Cambridge's scholarly community. He earned a Harvard M.A. in public administration before embarking on a Government career that spanned the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Administrations. Recently an aide to Elliot Richardson, Moore resigned shortly after the Saturday Night Massacre. Moore, who took over the institute last week, will be in charge of offering prestigious fellowships to politicians and public officials, under which they lead discussion groups on the practical aspects of public issues.


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James P. Morton, 44. Since Morton was named its dean two years ago, New York City's Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine has become a home for music and dance workshops and other non-church activities, played host to non-Christian spiritual disciplines such as Sufism, and started a program in which poor families rehabilitate and eventually own their apartments. St. John's is "a holy place for the whole city," explains the Houston-born, Harvard-educated ecumenist. The holder of a degree in architecture, Morton is considered an urban affairs expert. As onetime director of Chicago's Urban Training Center for Christian Mission, he sent would-be city pastors out to live on the streets on $2 a day.


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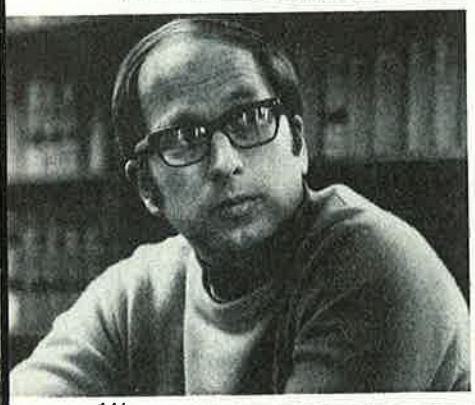
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135
Bill Moyers, 40. One of the most thoughtful and effective voices in the nation, Moyers has been a wonder, boy and man. The top journalism student in his class at the University of Texas, he joined Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's staff in 1959, six years later became President Johnson's press secretary. Moyers was named publisher of the Long Island daily *Newsday* in 1967, resigned in 1970 to write *Listening to America,* and appeared for three years on his weekly Public Broadcasting Service *Journal*—a literate and imaginative television series. Moyers insists that he is fresh out of things to say, but it is a safe bet that he will be back saying something worthwhile before long.

136
Michael Murphy, 43, helped give the word encounter a new definition and made rubbing shoulders with strangers an eloquent gesture. A Stanford psychology major, Murphy emerged from two years of meditation and study in a Hindu ashram in India convinced that a new world view was on the horizon and co-founded the Esalen Institute on California's Big Sur, spawning an international "human potential" movement. Utilizing group-therapy techniques, humanistic psychology, Eastern thought and approaches to physical and emotional awareness, Esalen aims to help individuals assemble "the pieces of the puzzle" of identity by making connections between disparate disciplines.

137
Ralph Nader, 40, indicted U.S. automakers *(Unsafe at Any Speed)* in 1965 and has been rolling ever since. Aided by "Nader's Raiders" —some 28 full-time attorneys and 56 congressional lobbyists, researchers, organizers and others—as well as thousands of volunteers on campuses across the U.S., he has been accused of spreading himself too thin and launching crusades with inadequate preparation. Still, he has turned automobile recalls into a seasonal event, forced the removal of monosodium glutamate from baby foods, spurred creation of a national consumer-protection agency and inspired a host of health and safety measures. Prickly and single-minded but a paradigm of honesty, the reclusive Nader is now battling the spread of nuclear power plants, which he considers unsafe.

138
Aryeh Neier, 37. His first name means lion in Hebrew, and as executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, Neier—who is not a lawyer—has been ferocious in seeking out infringements of the Bill of Rights rather than waiting for them to be brought to him. Among the celebrated causes he has championed are legalized abortion, the rights of prisoners and legal equality for women. Born in Berlin and brought to the U.S. by way of London after World War II, Neier earned a degree in industrial labor relations from Cornell. He joined the New York Civil Liberties Union as a field organizer in 1963, became its director two years later, and was named chief of the parent A.C.L.U. in 1970. A controversial activist, Neier called early for the impeachment of Richard Nixon.

139
Barbara Newell, 44, president of Wellesley College, is bucking the trend among women's colleges to go coeducational. Newell, who took the helm of the top-rated Massachusetts school in 1972, is in a good position to judge, since her own background includes a B.A. from Vassar (which has since gone coed), and an M.A. and Ph.D. in economics from the University of Wisconsin. In 20 years of teaching economics at Wisconsin, Michigan and Pittsburgh, she rarely found more than a dozen women in her graduate and undergraduate classes. Her conclusion: "Coeducation has increased, rather than lessened, male domination of American higher education."

140
Eleanor Holmes Norton, 37, a black graduate of Antioch College and Yale Law School, entered a Manhattan courtroom in 1968 to defend Alabama Governor George Wallace's right to address a political rally in New York City. Her skill in winning the case against John Lindsay's administration so impressed the mayor that two years later he hired her as chairman of the city's Commission on Human Rights. While attacking alleged discrimination from the New York Philharmonic Orchestra to the Board of Education, Norton has survived in her post despite Lindsay's departure. With her growing popularity among New York City's Democrats, she could emerge as a candidate for a major state office.

141
Sam Nunn, 35, was already a political veteran when he became the second youngest Senator in the current Congress. The Georgia Democrat, a onetime all-state high school basketball player, became legal counsel to Granduncle Carl Vinson's House Armed Services Committee shortly after earning his law degree from Emory University, then served two terms in the Georgia legislature before winning his Senate seat. Though he is rated a conservative, he enjoys widespread support from blacks as well as whites. As a hard-working member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Nunn favors trimming substantial flab from U.S. forces in Europe, not as a step toward total withdrawal but toward greater combat effectiveness.

142
Donal Neil O'Callaghan, 44, signs the name "Mike" to all documents issuing from the office of the Governor of Nevada, which he has occupied since an upset victory over a Republican in 1970. A former amateur boxer who lost a leg while trying to rescue a wounded companion in Korea, O'Callaghan has enjoyed a large measure of success with his social-services program, giving his state a strong consumer-affairs agency and a narcotics and drug-abuse program. A bluff, competitive native of Wisconsin and a graduate of the University of Idaho, he is given an edge in his race for re-election this year.

143
Arthur Okun, 45, suffered withdrawal symptoms after the Democrats left the White House: "The phone never rang, and when it did, it was never the President." A wry former Yale professor who devised several economic "laws" that are now widely accepted in the field, Okun joined the Council of Economic Advisers in 1964, became its chairman in 1968. His warnings that inflation was to be feared more than recession led to a 10% tax surcharge. A Keynesian who advocates federal budget manipulation to correct economic imbalances, Okun served as adviser to both Edmund Muskie and George McGovern in 1972. Since 1969 the New Jersey–born, Columbia-educated Okun has been at the Brookings Institution.

144
Wayne Owens, 37, is a likely successor to Utah's retiring Republican Senator Wallace Bennett, though he is just completing his freshman term in the House. Democrat Owens took his law degree from the University of Utah. In 1968 he became Bobby Kennedy's Rocky Mountain coordinator, thence an aide to Ted Kennedy, and in 1972 walked and talked his way through 700 miles of Utah's largely rural Second District. An effective critic of Congress's creaky machinery ("We lack the tools for the job"), Owens has proposed a major study of how best to streamline executive agencies, offered bills to improve Congress's oversight of laws passed by it.

145
Bob Packwood, 41. In 1962 he was the youngest man in the Oregon legislature; six years later he bested Wayne Morse to become the 93rd Congress's youngest U.S. Senator. A Willamette University and N.Y.U. law alumnus, this hard-working Republican is concerned with congressional reorganization and environmental protection. Long before the Supreme Court's proabortion decision, he campaigned for nationally legalized abortion. Visiting the White House last fall he told President Nixon bluntly: "When you fired [Archibald] Cox, you broke your promise ... The public no longer believes you." This year he faces Morse in a rematch, has an early edge because of Morse's age (74).

146
Nicholas A. Panuzio, 38, a roly-poly former administrator at the University of Bridgeport, his alma mater, became mayor of Connecticut's second largest city by a nine-vote margin in 1971. Bridgeport's first Republican mayor in 44 years, Panuzio has given the 156,000 residents two years of tax cuts, created a Department of Aging to provide assistance and job training for older people, and operated one of the few self-sufficient transit systems in the state. Panuzio was re-elected by 2,000 votes in 1973, is now seeking the G.O.P. gubernatorial nomination. Though his chances of getting it are slight, he figures to win wider recognition.

147
H. Ross Perot, 44. "Making money per se never really interested me," insists the clean-cut mule trader's son from Texarkana, Texas, who quit a salesman's job at IBM in 1962, worked briefly as a data processing manager for Blue Cross/Blue Shield, then set up the Dallas computer software firm of Electronic Data Systems with $1,000. By 1970 his assets had soared to as much as $1.5 billion. He promptly took an oceanic bath as the computer market went stale (in a single day the value of his stocks dropped $376 million), next scuttled tens of millions of dollars trying to bail out two sickly Wall Street brokerage houses. Still easily a centimillionaire, this U.S. Naval Academy alumnus has shelled out more millions in behalf of U.S. prisoners of the Viet Nam War.

148
Salvatore Polizzi, 43. No mere pulpit priest, the associate pastor of St. Ambrose Roman Catholic Church in St. Louis spends most of his time on the streets of the Hill, the city's Italian district. Raised in St. Louis, Polizzi saw the beginnings of decay in the neighborhood and in 1964 formed Hill 2000—"because we plan on the Hill's being right here in the year 2000." Since then the neighborhood improvement organization has planted trees, renovated dozens of old homes to be sold cut-rate to young families, and run a popular educational summer youth program, transforming a declining district into one whose property values are among the city's highest and whose crime rate is the city's lowest.

149
J. Stanley Pottinger, 34. A politically conservative, Harvard-trained lawyer from Ohio, Pottinger joined the Nixon Administration almost five years ago. He spent most of 1970 traversing the South for HEW, helping complete the integration of public schools. As Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Justice Department's civil rights division since 1973, he played a key role in reopening the Kent State investigation and started an Office of Indian Rights. Pottinger points out that in the last 18 months, "we've filed more [civil rights] suits than in any comparable period in the division's history."

150
Thomas F. Railsback, 42, served two terms in the Illinois legislature before going to Congress in 1967 with Richard Nixon's help. Since then his brand of moderate Republicanism has won such broad appeal among conservatives and union workers alike around Moline that he ran unopposed in 1972. A graduate of Grinnell College and Northwestern law, he has worked for such reforms as equal representation for men and women in state delegations to political conventions. As a House Judiciary Committee member, he urges that support be sought from the courts in obtaining evidence from the White House. "If the President doesn't comply with a final court order," says Railsback, "he's impeached. It's that simple."

151
Charles B. Rangel, 44, a former high school dropout, now represents one of the nation's largest black communities in Congress. A Harlem native, Rangel returned to New York City after combat in Korea to win a law degree, appointment as an Assistant U.S. Attorney and election to the state assembly. After a bruising contest in 1970, he narrowly defeated Adam Clayton Powell for the Democratic nomination to Congress. Two years later he was re-elected with 96% of his district's vote. The ebullient Rangel is chairman of the congressional Black Caucus and a Judiciary Committee member who outspokenly advocates the President's impeachment.

152
Dan Rather, 42. "Are you running for something?" asked Richard Nixon when Rather was applauded at a Houston press conference. "No sir, Mr. President," was the response. "Are you?" Such volleys have made Rather, who has covered the White House for CBS on and off since 1964, a nationally recognized combatant in the cold war between the President and the press. Rather has a nervy knack for eliciting news-making answers from Presidents and other potentates. Texas-born, educated at Sam Houston State College, Rather joined CBS in 1962, covered racial strife in the South and the Kennedy assassination in Dallas before being sent to the White House and later to Viet Nam. He has won Emmy Awards for his Watergate reporting and coverage of the George Wallace shooting in 1972.

153
Richard Ravitch, 41, studied law at Yale before becoming president of his family's HRH Construction Corp., whose volume totaled $150 million last year. In addition to erecting such well-known Manhattan structures as the Whitney Museum and Gulf & Western Building, Ravitch has attacked slum housing by putting up low-rent skyscraper developments in Harlem and Lower Manhattan. A politically active liberal Democrat, he now is a director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and the Fair Campaign Practices Committee.

154
Robert D. Ray, 45, Republican Governor of Iowa since 1968, is widely respected for his integrity (he accepts no campaign contributions greater than $1,000). Ray quietly guided 31 bills through the 1974 legislature, including a measure requiring the creation of a department of transportation. A Drake law graduate, he advanced through the ranks as a Republican Party worker, In 1963 was named state G.O.P. chairman to help bring an end to party factionalism before winning a three-way race for Governor.

155
John S. Reed, 35, an industrial management graduate of M.I.T., four years ago became the youngest executive vice president in the history of First National City Bank. Put in charge of the tangle-prone back office at New York's largest bank, he approached the operation—which employed 8,000 people and had a $100 million budget—as if it were a factory whose product was processed paper. To help him run the factory, Reed recruited experienced industrial employees from Ford and Chrysler. Regarded as a potential successor to Citibank's presidency, Reed has written articles seeking to interest students in corporate careers and is now studying the electronic (paperless) transmission of credit.

156
Joseph Rhodes Jr., 26. Though he was the only black in the class of 1969 at Caltech, Rhodes, the son of a steelworker, was twice elected student-body president—a foretaste of his current political career. As a junior fellow at Harvard, he was named the youngest member of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest in 1970, but soon joined the White House enemies list for wondering aloud whether Nixon's reference to "campus bums" had encouraged the killings at Kent State. Democrat Rhodes soon afterward quit his studies and in 1972 won election to the state legislature from Pittsburgh. He is virtually assured of re-election this year.

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Donald B. Rice, 35, took over the Rand Corp., the prototypical think tank, three years ago, at a time when the outfit was in deep disfavor with the Government because a former employee named Ellsberg had pinched some classified papers from its files. Young as he was, Rice was highly experienced: he became Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense just eight years out of college, and a year later, in 1970, was an assistant director at the Office of Management and Budget. Rice has sought to balance Rand's emphasis on war games and other national security matters by expanding its clientele and focusing on such domestic problems as urban decay, education programs and future energy needs.

158

Donald W. Riegle Jr., 36. As an aggressive first-term Republican legislator from Flint, Mich., Riegle was named one of the nation's two best Congressmen by the *Nation* magazine in 1967 and quickly made known his presidential aspirations. Because of his liberal voting record, he and the G.O.P. soon soured on each other, a disenchantment he documented in a cathartic diary, *O Congress.* Last year he jumped to the Democratic Party ("I'm on the same wave length with Bella Abzug"). If he survives the turncoat stigma, as now appears likely, Riegle could be a contender for the Senate in 1976.

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John D. Rockefeller IV, 37. To his critics in West Virginia, Native New Yorker "Jay" Rockefeller is a suspect Democrat from a Republican family—and a carpetbagger to boot. Still, two years after arriving in Appalachia as a poverty worker, the nephew of Nelson Rockefeller and grandson of John D. Jr. easily won a seat in the state house of delegates, in 1968 was elected West Virginia's secretary of state. Handsome, rich, well educated (Exeter, Harvard, Yale) and well wed (his father-in-law is G.O.P. Senator Charles Percy), Rockefeller lost his bid for governorship in 1972 at least partly because he opposed strip mining. Now president of West Virginia Wesleyan College (enrollment: 1,525), he plans to try again in 1976.

160

William D. Ruckelshaus, 41, lost his job in the Nixon Administration but preserved his reputation for integrity. A liberal Indiana Republican, he was the first freshman legislator ever elected majority leader of the Hoosier house. In 1970 he was named the first administrator of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, two years later replaced L. Patrick Gray as acting FBI director. Since his departure as Deputy Attorney General last October after refusing to sack Archibald Cox, he has visited 40 states and scores of campuses as a much-sought-after lecturer.

161

Donald Rumsfeld, 42. A onetime Princeton wrestler, Rumsfeld occasionally finds himself grappling with boredom these days as U.S. Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. After a brief stint in investment banking, Rumsfeld was elected Congressman from suburban Chicago's affluent North Shore in 1962, earned a reputation as a moderate conservative. In 1969 President Nixon persuaded him to give up a promising House career to direct the Office of Economic Opportunity. Appointed to NATO in 1973, he may be thinking of taking on Governor Daniel Walker in 1976.

162

Bill Russell, 40, has been a big man in professional sports since 1956, when he led the University of San Francisco to its second straight national championship and won an Olympic gold medal as a member of the triumphant U.S. basketball team. Soon afterward the 6-ft. 9½-in. Russell joined the Boston Celtics, and in 13 years of competition he was named most valuable player five times and starred on eleven championship teams. During two of those championship seasons (1968 and 1969), Russell was player-coach for the Celts, the first black coach in the history of the National Basketball Association. Since 1973 the Louisiana-born Russell has been at the helm of the newly formed Seattle SuperSonics.

163

Martin Olav Sabo, 36. As the Democratic-Farmer-Labor speaker of Minnesota's house, Sabo has political power second only to that of Governor Anderson. Sabo grew up in Alkabo, N. Dak., worked his way through Augsburg College in Minneapolis, ran for the state legislature only a year after graduating. He won again and again, each time carrying on old-fashioned doorbell-ringing campaigns. In 1969 he was elected minority leader, became house speaker when the D.F.L. won the house four years later. He calls himself "a pragmatic liberal"; as speaker, he manages rather than initiates bills.

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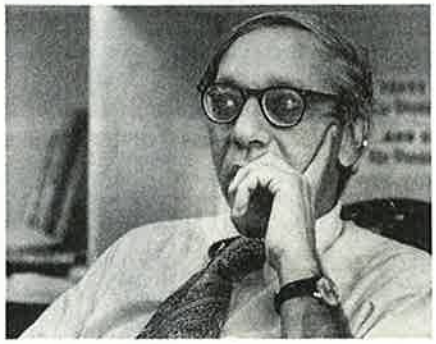

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164
Carl Sagan, 39, director of Cornell's Laboratory for Planetary Studies, is the nation's leading researcher and writer in exobiology, the study of extraterrestrial life. A former Harvard astronomer, he has helped develop models for the atmospheres of other planets and for the conditions on primitive earth. He and a Cornell colleague created the celebrated "extraterrestrial message," showing a nude man and woman along with mathematical and astronomical symbols, that rode out of the solar system aboard Pioneer 10.

165
Thomas P. Salmon, 42, in 1973 became Vermont's second Democratic Governor in 119 years. He was helped by a divisive G.O.P. primary and a shirtsleeve campaign against development: "Vermont is not for sale." A lawyer who was a judge at 30 and the youngest minority leader in the history of the state house of representatives at 35, Salmon has helped enact stringent laws to control land development and speculation. Rather than seek retiring Senator George Aiken's seat, he is running for a second term, intending to complete the programs he has begun.

166
Robert Sanchez, 40. The newly appointed Archbishop of Santa Fe, a native New Mexican who spent four years studying theology at Rome's Gregorian University, vaulted to eminence from a parish priesthood in Albuquerque. Sanchez is a pleasantly informal clergyman who has already stirred up his predominantly Hispanic Roman Catholic archdiocese in New Mexico. He has requested that the churches in his domain contribute a Sunday's offering to Cesar Chavez's farm workers' movement and has called on his flock of 275,000 to boycott lettuce and other vegetables picked by nonunion labor.

167
Paul Spyros Sarbanes, 41, calls himself an "urban populist." After a single term in Maryland's House of Delegates, this liberal Democrat toppled 13-term Congressman George Fallon in 1970. A Judiciary Committee member, he was one of only ten Representatives named to a select committee that recently recommended a reshuffling of jurisdictions within the House committee structure. The thoughtful son of a Greek-born restaurant owner, Sarbanes is a former Princeton basketball player, Rhodes scholar and Harvard law graduate.

168
John C. Sawhill, 38. The Baltimore native had been in Government only 13 months when he succeeded William Simon as chief of the Federal Energy Administration and its staff of 2,000. The crisis had eased by then, but the problem remained: constructing a policy to free the U.S. from dependence on foreign oil. A Princeton-trained administrator with a Ph.D. in economics and finance from New York University, Sawhill has pledged a blueprint for "Project Independence" by Nov. 1. To go to Washington he took a $60,000 pay cut from his $100,000-a-year vice presidency at Commercial Credit Co.

169
Henry B. Schacht, 39, went from Harvard's Business Administration School to a small management outfit run by a member of the board of Cummins Engine Co. He soon was lured to Cummins, a manufacturer of heavy-duty diesels based in Columbus, Ind., as financial vice president. Within five years, at age 35, he became president. While rapidly expanding the company (1973 net sales: $686 million), Schacht has tenaciously supported strict antipollution standards and advocated a more socially conscious stance for industry. Business, he says, should create change and force its pace.

170
Patricia Schroeder, 33. "If businesses were run the same way Congress is, the country would be shut down," says Colorado's freshman Representative. A Democrat, she is the first woman to be sent to Congress from her state. A former law instructor and attorney for the National Labor Relations Board, Schroeder is a Portland, Ore., native, graduated Phi Beta Kappa in three years from the University of Minnesota and earned a Harvard doctorate. In her re-election campaign, she is emphasizing the need for congressional reform, improved mass transit and better child-care facilities.

171
Howard Simons, 45. "Don't gloat," Simons advised his colleagues on the day John Ehrlichman and H.R. Haldeman resigned from the White House. As managing editor of the Washington *Post,* Simons was instrumental in launching and sustaining the paper's superb day-to-day coverage of the Watergate story. Simons, an award-winning science reporter for the *Post,* became managing editor in 1971, ten years after joining the paper that he and Executive Editor Ben Bradlee have turned into one of the country's best.

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SPECIAL SECTION

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William S. Singer, 33. At the 1968 Democratic Convention Singer saw Chicago Mayor Richard Daley deliver the Illinois votes without polling the delegation. "I realized then that we had to work from the bottom up to bring out a more open political process." In a stunning upset, the independent Democrat was elected alderman in a strong machine ward in 1969, by 1972 was able to unseat Daley's delegates at the Democratic Convention. A onetime aide to Illinois' former Senator Paul Douglas, Singer was schooled at Brandeis and Columbia law. He has announced his candidacy to challenge Daley in next February's mayoralty primary.

173

Harvey I. Sloane, 38. The fragile appearance is deceptive; Sloane plays championship squash and jogs two miles every morning before taking up his work as mayor of Louisville. Son of a Manhattan broker, Sloane is a graduate of Case Western Reserve Medical School who worked with the U.S. Public Health Service in Appalachia. In Louisville he has encouraged hundreds of volunteers for city programs and has established a health center in a poor black area. Using his clinic as a base, he won a resounding victory last November over a popular former Louisville chief of police.

174

Michael Sovern, 41. The dean of Columbia University's Law School is a skillful labor mediator (earlier this year he helped resolve a dispute that could have led to a transit strike) as well as an imaginative educator (he has proposed a program in which students will serve as apprentice lawyers). Sovern was *summa cum laude* at Columbia, took his law degree there before joining the faculty in 1957. After the spring riots in 1968, he helped establish a university senate that has kept the campus cool ever since. Two years later he was appointed dean. Although he avoids politics, he did use his position to protest the Attorney General's use of wiretaps.

175

Stephen Stamas, 43, has proved to be something of a heretic since becoming public-affairs chief for the gargantuan Exxon Corp. in June 1973. Youngest of the company's 13 vice presidents, Stamas muses that oil companies might be able to manage quite well without an oil depletion allowance today had prices been hiked gradually in the past. A Rhodes scholar and Harvard Ph.D. in economics, Stamas joined Exxon in 1960 as a financial analyst, rose to head its international petroleum planning division before a six-month tour of duty in the U.S. Commerce Department. Before joining the public-affairs department in 1971, Stamas spent nearly a year as chief economist working on oil-import policy at Exxon.

176

Alan W. Steelman, 32, a G.O.P. moderate from Dallas, spent nearly three years with the Nixon Administration promoting minority enterprise before he became the youngest Republican member of the House of Representatives in 1973. Despite his youth, the Baylor-educated Steelman was a major force behind legislation requiring Senate confirmation of the director of the Office of Management and Budget and of the deputy director. Steelman led a successful fight last year to prevent construction of a $1.6 billion, ecologically damaging barge canal between Dallas and the Gulf of Mexico. Because his district has been redrawn and is now 60% Democratic, he faces a tough re-election fight.

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William A. Steiger, 36. Often mistaken for a page during his freshman term on Capitol Hill, this energetic Republican has matured into a masterly legislative technician. A fourth-term Congressman from Oshkosh, Wis., he was elected to the statehouse after his 1960 graduation from the University of Wisconsin and at 28 won a seat in the U.S. House. A leading advocate of the volunteer army, Steiger sponsored the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 and last year's comprehensive Manpower Training Act.

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Saul P. Steinberg, 34, was barely out of the Wharton School of Business when he decided that he could make money by borrowing funds, buying computers and leasing them to users. Borrowing $100,000 from his family, he launched Leasco Data Processing Equipment Corp. in 1961, within six years held stock and warrants worth more than $10 million. Though the stock has declined, Steinberg's company is in good shape. His bid to buy New York City's Chemical Bank was rebuffed in 1969, but Steinberg has branched into insurance, management consulting, and ship, barge and aircraft leasing, now runs his companies from Manhattan as chairman of the Reliance Group Inc. An active fund raiser for charities, he contributed $250,000 to Richard Nixon's 1972 campaign.

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Gloria Steinem, 38. "The main accomplishment is a change of consciousness and the way of looking at the world, the raising up of the grid on sex and race. But the change in view has yet to take economic and structural forms." During three years of tireless lecturing about the women's movement, Steinem has done much to change viewpoints, and now she is retiring from the talk circuit to concentrate on writing. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Smith, she serves on the advisory board of the National Organization for Women, helped convene the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971 and is a co-founder and editor of the highly successful *Ms.* magazine (circ. 378,000).

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Herbert J. Stern, 37, used his prodigious memory and zeal for work to enforce high morality in positions of public trust. As U.S. Attorney for New Jersey, he waged a war on corruption that yielded indictments of 70 public officials—including a mayor, secretaries of state, an ex-speaker of the New Jersey assembly, a police chief, assorted judges, postmasters, highway superintendents, even a U.S. Congressman. A graduate of Hobart and the University of Chicago Law School, Stern headed the investigation of the Malcolm X murder case as assistant district attorney in New York City. It led to three convictions. In 1973, after only twelve years in law instead of the usual minimum of 15, he was appointed by President Nixon to the federal bench in Newark.

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Adlai E. Stevenson III, 43, has little of his late father's eloquence, but has proved every bit as successful a vote getter in Illinois. In his first campaign in 1964, he outdrew all 235 other candidates for the state legislature, two years later led the Democratic ticket again when he ran for state treasurer. Since his election to the Senate in 1970 to complete Everett Dirksen's term, Stevenson has been one of the Nixon Administration's sharpest critics. Scholarly and hard-working, he called for funds to develop alternative energy sources as far back as 1972, recently directed the unsuccessful Senate effort to retain stand-by controls over wages and prices and has opposed the concept of federal revenue sharing on the grounds that some of the local governments receiving money are in better financial condition than Washington. He does not face strong opposition for reelection this year.

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Howard Swearer, 42. The president of Minnesota's Carleton College has a knack for making things work. As chairman of the student-faculty-administration College Council, he has ably run Carleton's affairs for the past four years, aided greatly by the academic novelty of a balanced college budget. A Princeton graduate with a Harvard Ph.D. in political science, Swearer taught at U.C.L.A., was voted most popular teacher one year by political science majors. Lured to the Ford Foundation, he handled European and international programs, particularly in Iron Curtain countries, before going to Carleton in 1970. Recently he set up a well-received internship program there that allows students to try out jobs while still enrolled in school.

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Arthur R. Taylor, 39, found the study of Renaissance history at Brown University so stimulating that he contemplated a teaching career and served briefly as an admissions officer. But after taking his master's in U.S. economic history at Brown, he joined the investment banking house of First Boston Corp. instead. Stunningly adept at financial analysis, he rose to a vice presidency and the board of directors by 1969, joined International Paper Co. a year later and revamped its financial structure. In 1972, though inexperienced in broadcasting, the corporate *Wunderkind* was tapped for the presidency of CBS. An outspoken opponent of Government interference with the media, he has also taken steps to accelerate the advancement of women at the network.

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Nancy Teeters, 43, is one of Washington's most knowledgeable people on the federal budget, Government programs, and the impact of federal spending and taxing on the economy. As a member of the Library of Congress's legislative reference service, she passes that expertise on to hundreds of Congressmen and other policymakers. The Marion, Ind., native studied at Oberlin and the University of Michigan, came to the capital in 1957 as a Federal Reserve Board economist, later worked with the Council of Economic Advisers during the Kennedy Administration. For three years she helped produce the Brookings Institution's series *Setting National Priorities*—influential analyses of the federal budget and its implications for future Government policy.

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James R. Thompson Jr., 38, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, has done more to dismantle Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's political machine than all his predecessors combined. In less than three years he has convicted former Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, Cook County Clerk Edward Barrett, three aldermen, two police captains and more than a dozen other state and local officials, most of them Democrats. A strapping (6 ft. 6 in.) Chicago native and ex-law professor who describes himself as a "middle-of-the-road" Republican, "Big Jim" Thompson is the favorite choice of Cook County Republicans to run for Daley's office in 1975.

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Lester C. Thurow, 36, has been a full professor of economics and management at M.I.T. since he was 33. Montana-born, educated at Williams, Oxford (as a Rhodes scholar) and Harvard, Thurow was a staffer for the Council of Economic Advisers during the opening shots of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. As a member of George McGovern's 1972 Cambridge brain trust, he proposed a potent inheritance tax as a step toward redistributing the 45% of the wealth held by 2.5% of the U.S. population. That and other such programs stirred a row, says Thurow, because "our society has not held a real discussion about economic justice."

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Matthew J. Troy Jr., 44. An energetic New York City councilman, Troy is also leader of the state's second largest Democratic county organization. His election to the Queens County post in 1971 elicited congratulatory phone calls from a gaggle of presidential hopefuls. Although he opposes busing and led a pro–Viet Nam parade in 1965, the unpredictable Troy endorsed George McGovern in 1972—probably just to stymie the ambitions of his *bête noire,* John Lindsay. A Fordham-educated lawyer who has proved expert at traditional back-room gambits, he is the son of a retired local judge who was, he says, "very independent and a pain to everybody —so I guess we're alike."

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Wes Carl Uhlman, 39, won election to Washington's state house of representatives while he was still in law school, served four terms before moving on to the state senate, and in 1969 became Seattle's mayor. An affable, attractive, moderately mod Democrat, he has begun refurbishing Seattle's waterfront Skid Row, started a free downtown bus system that has rejuvenated the area, and helped lead the city back from the economic doldrums of 1970. "I don't want to grow old in this job," Uhlman confesses, and with his appeal to voters and his ambition to win high state office, he probably will not.

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Michael Walsh, 32. In 1971, after just two years in his adopted city of San Diego, the Binghamton, N.Y.–born Walsh formed a chapter of Common Cause, the public-action lobby. Today he is California state chairman (60,000 members) and serves on the national governing board. A Yale law graduate, Walsh wants to clean up the U.S. political system. This June he made an impressive start, leading the successful fight for passage of California's Proposition 9, a tough political-reform act restricting campaign spending and lobbyists' activities and requiring strict reporting of contributions.

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Barbara Walters, 43. "I didn't have a blazing talent, marvelous beauty or great ease," admits the ubiquitous television broadcaster. "I got where I am by hard work and perseverance." Co-host since April of the NBC *Today* show, whose daily audience is estimated at 10 million, she also conducts her own daily half-hour show, *Not for Women Only,* which has broken new ground for TV by exploring such controversial topics as male sexual dysfunction and police-community relations, and has also probed into the changing social and economic roles of women. Boston-born, Walters graduated from Sarah Lawrence in 1951. From a series of secretarial and writing jobs she went to *Today* as a writer in 1961, was made an on-camera panel member three years later. Using her talent as a provocative, well-informed interviewer, she has become TV's first lady of talk.

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Lowell P. Weicker Jr., 43, "the bull in the Watergate shop," was a politically inconspicuous Republican Senator from Connecticut until he gained renown as a sharp questioner and independent investigator in the Ervin committee hearings. Moderately wealthy and Yale-educated, Weicker was elected to Congress in 1968 as an antiwar conservative, two years later squeaked into the Senate when state Democrats split their vote. Recent polls show that by combining a pro-Administration voting record with dogged pursuit of Watergate witnesses, he has become his state's most highly regarded G.O.P. officeholder.

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Jann Wenner, 28, is known around the San Francisco offices of the biweekly *Rolling Stone* as "Citizen Wenner." The more or less jocular analogy to William Randolph Hearst is apt: Wenner is a brilliant, brash autocrat with an eye for lucrative markets and talented writers. Perceiving a vast audience for a rock-music magazine, he borrowed $7,500, produced his first issue in 1967. Since then, the staff has grown from six to 90, circulation has jumped to 415,000, and *Stone's* irreverent, meandering and sometimes erratic reportage has been extended to politics and society in general as the magazine grew up along with its audience. Wenner, born in New York City and a dropout from the University of California at Berkeley, grossed $6 million last year from *Stone* and Straight Arrow Books.

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Kevin H. White, 44, Democratic mayor of Boston, has succeeded John Lindsay as the most visible articulator of urban problems. Educated at Williams, White was elected Massachusetts secretary of state in 1959 and went on to win the mayoralty in 1967 against anti-busing candidate Louise Day Hicks. Though he has earned a measure of good will with a sizable suburban residential rebuilding program and a network of "little city halls," trouble looms this fall when citywide school busing is scheduled to begin despite strong community opposition.


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Marina v.N. Whitman, 39. "I was going to get a master's in journalism and one in economics," she recalls, but she chose economics and went on to become celebrated in 1972 as the first woman member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. The daughter of Computer Pioneer John von Neumann, Mrs. Whitman was a junior Phi Bete who graduated *summa cum laude* from Radcliffe and won a Ph.D. in economics from Columbia. A feminist, she got a chapter on women's economic status into the 1972 Economic Report. An authority on international trade, she returned to teaching in 1973 at the University of Pittsburgh.

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George F. Will, 33. Tired of teaching politics, Will went to Washington in 1970 to watch the workings of government firsthand. He was an obscure Congressional aide until two years ago, when he signed on as Washington editor of *National Review.* He started a column in the Washington *Post* soon afterward, and almost overnight his perceptive political commentary made him a leader of conservative opinion. A native of Champaign, Ill., he studied at Trinity, Oxford and Princeton, and taught at Michigan State and the universities of Illinois and Toronto. Among the first conservative leaders to break with President Nixon, Will says: "I agree with him on most of the issues [but] I think he is guilty."

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James Q. Wilson, 43. His Harvard title is Professor of Government, but Wilson is a criminologist, a sociologist and an urbanologist as well. During the '60s, he wrote a book a year on subjects like the civil rights movement, the war on poverty, campus unrest, police behavior and urban politics. Wilson, presently a consultant to the Drug Enforcement Administration, was born in Denver, graduated from California's University of Redlands and the University of Chicago, has taught at Harvard since 1961. Having just completed a book on crime and human nature, Wilson is commencing a study of bureaucracies and the problems they were set up to solve.

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Pete Wilson, 40. An effective opponent of unchecked urban sprawl, Wilson swept into the San Diego mayor's office in 1971 on an antidevelopment campaign that some fellow Republicans regarded lightly. Reversing his adopted city's boom-minded policies, he led the city council to impose strict curbs on San Diego's growth, raise bond issues for parks, and activate a plan to revitalize the downtown. Born in Lake Forest, Ill., Wilson attended Yale and won a law degree from the University of California. Elected to the first of three terms in the California assembly in 1966, he was named Republican whip in his first term—an unprecedented honor.

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Thomas Wyman, 44. Following complaints from black militants, Polaroid Corp.'s senior vice president and general manager developed a widely emulated policy for his firm's South African operation that includes a black education foundation and executive training. "We may not know for 25 years whether our pathetic and uncertain efforts will have any effect," admits the thoughtful St. Louis-born Wyman, who is widely regarded as heir apparent to Polaroid Founder Edwin Land. A Phi Beta Kappa English major at Amherst, Wyman worked in the Nestlé Co.'s new products division, where he was concerned with foreign acquisitions, now keeps close watch over Polaroid's fast-growing foreign sales.

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Andrew J. Young Jr., 42. In 1970 he was the first black man in 102 years to win a Democratic nomination for Congress from the South. Failing in that bid, he headed Atlanta's Community Relations Commission before making it to Washington in 1973 as Georgia's first black Representative since 1871. A New Orleans native and alumnus of Howard University and Hartford Theological Seminary, Young is a minister in the United Church of Christ who has held pastorates in Alabama and Georgia. For many years he was one of Martin Luther King Jr.'s top lieutenants in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

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Norton D. Zinder, 45, an eminent microbiologist and geneticist, is also a tree shaker in the politics of science. Chairing a committee of scientists assessing the National Cancer Institute's virus research, Zinder helped draft a report that prompted a major reorganization of the program. A native of New York City, he went from Columbia to graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, where he and Nobelist Joshua Lederberg co-discovered transduction—the process by which a virus deserts its home cell and invades a new one, often altering the new cell's genetic profile. Zinder, an associate editor of *Virology,* researches and teaches graduate students at New York's Rockefeller University.