

**POLITICS & GOVERNMENT**

services (e.g., sewers, police protection, schools, etc.), no-growth proponents see no gain in *any* type of residential development. Some cite the pleasures of preserving a small-town atmosphere with open space and less congestion. Others fear fiscal burdens; higher municipal-bond interest rates (up from 2.3 percent in 1954 to 6.09 percent in 1974) have made new public facilities more expensive.

The shift of business to the suburbs has yet to peak, warns White, who urges that the states increase the access of low-income workers to suburban housing. This could be done by monitoring all zoning to bar exclusionary schemes or by forcing communities to permit a certain amount of low-rent housing as a condition for admitting new industry. States could also agree to absorb all or part of the cost of facilities required by new residents.

*The President  
as "Executor"*

"James Madison: The Unimperial President" by Ralph Ketcham, in *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Winter 1978), University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 22903.

No constitutional issue more consumed James Madison than that of achieving the "vital balance of republican government" between executive needs and executive excess, writes Ketcham, a historian at Syracuse University. Criticized by one contemporary as a weak, indecisive, "withered little applejohn," Madison remained true to his convictions, first as one of the architects of the U.S. Constitution and then as the fourth President (1809-17).

Madison received an early lesson in the disadvantages of a weak executive when he served (1778-79) in Virginia's eight-member Council



*"Strict constructionist"  
Madison opposed  
increased federal power.*

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of State during the Revolutionary War. The Virginia governor had little power and could act only with the council's approval. The same problem plagued the Continental Congress, where committees exercised executive powers.

At the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Madison supported the idea of a single executive with power to appoint and dismiss officials; and with responsibility for conducting war and foreign affairs. At the same time, he resisted John Adams' suggestion that the executive be called "His Most Benign Highness" and later contested Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton's conception of the executive branch, as a "machine to lead and dominate the nation," rather than as the *executor* of congressional will.

The balance between authority and restraint was most precarious during war. As President, Madison encountered "near treasonable opposition" from the Federalists at home while trying to direct the War of 1812. "What are you to gain by giving Mr. Madison men and money?" asked Gouverneur Morris, former minister to France. Faced with obstructions to recruiting, tax-collecting, and the movement of troops, Madison, like later Presidents, believed that domestic discontent was "the greatest, if not the sole, inducement with the enemy to persevere."

Unlike some later Presidents, however, Madison refused to crack down on dissent, believing that to do so would be "to 'lose' the war by waging it incongruously"—by ignoring the principles he was fighting to preserve. "Madison won the war," Ketcham concludes, "by his republican conduct of it."

*Taxing Vices*

"No Smoking: New Sanctions for Old Habits" by Tabitha M. Powledge, in *The Hastings Center Report* (Apr. 1978), 360 Broadway, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10706.

Recent efforts to reduce cigarette smoking in the United States may foreshadow a host of other measures designed to encourage—or compel—people to take responsibility for their own health by changing the way they live, says Powledge, research associate at the Hastings Center.

A package of proposals from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the National Commission on Smoking and Public Policy, and the Food and Drug Administration are aimed directly at decreasing the number of smokers (currently estimated at 55 million) through education, advertising, and restrictions on smoking in certain public areas. In Virginia, where state law entitles all firemen who develop heart or lung disease to retire on larger-than-usual pensions, the town of Alexandria now requires all recruit fire fighters to give up smoking within 14 weeks of their employment.

The HEW proposals include a plea to the insurance industry to offer lower premiums to nonsmokers, not only for life and health insurance,