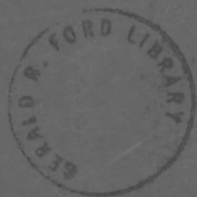


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Stronghold of the Intellectual Left



A Critique of
**The Center
for the Study
of Democratic
Institutions**



by W.S. MCBIRNIE

A CRITIQUE OF THE CENTER FOR
THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS

Crater of Ideological Subversion?

A Critique of

**The Center
for the Study
of Democratic
Institutions**

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A CRITIQUE OF THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Citadel of Ideological Subversion?

THE BEGINNING

In Santa Barbara, California, an aging white mansion, somewhat reminiscent of a large Pompeian house, stands atop a hill overlooking the Pacific Ocean. This former private house, surrounded by forty-one acres of land, comprised an estate established at the turn of the century by manufacturer Frederick Forrest Peabody. After the death of his widow in 1958, the property was purchased by a foundation called The Fund for the Republic as the location for its new project, The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In these quarters, the Center began operations on September 15, 1959. There it remains, "the infection spot for the intellectual Left on the West Coast."

The Fund for the Republic was authorized by the trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951. The Fund received an initial grant of \$15,000,000 from the Ford Foundation, and in 1953 it became an independent organization. Since its inception the Fund for the Republic has showed an unswerving determination to engage

in all kinds of extreme left wing projects. In the 1950's it launched an "educational career with an attack by Cyrus Eaton on J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I." (*Human Events*, June 25, 1966, p. 408)

Both the Fund for the Republic and the Center enjoy tax exemption and deductibility in spite of the fact that the HCUA has demonstrated many times that the Fund has attempted to influence legislation, which should disqualify it for further tax deductibility. The Center itself of course disclaims any connection with *political* activity and asserts that:

contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Center are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Center is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of a Free Society . . . (The above quotation appears on the inside covers of publications released by the Center.)

The Center is frank to admit that conservatives have little place in its program. In an undated publication, *The Dialogue*, conservatives are pictured as:

. . . Persons who do not recognize change and/or are not willing to consider new ideas . . . (page 2, page numbering added)

The Center publishes numerous position papers, pamphlets, and books to a mailing list of about 25,000 persons. ("Bulletin for the Center,"

November, 1963) Radio broadcasts are made over the extreme leftist Pacifica Foundation stations and many tapes, transcripts of discussions and interviews, are available.

The Center very proudly explains that its method is that of *dialogue* and says that its "prejudice is democracy." (*The Dialogue*, p. 1) Its motto is, "Feel Free."

It is most interesting to note that in all of the Center publications examined by this writer, the word *democracy* is invariably used as being descriptive of the American system of government. Since a most elementary knowledge of political science and American history would serve to show that the United States is a *republic*, not a *democracy*, one is compelled to wonder why these erudite scholars constantly make such a brazen mistake. The object of this endless talk—dialogue—is, according to *The Dialogue*, clarification, not necessarily settlement of issues.

The Center is financed, according to its own statement, by contributions from individuals and organizations. At present the Center's annual budget is about \$1.2 million. The original grant of \$15 million has been used up, and the Ford Foundation has made no further contribution. Part of the budget is used to bring some 300 temporary consultants to the Center each year for visits that may last from days to weeks.

THE PEOPLE AT THE CENTER

The president of the Center, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, has long been a very controversial figure in the field of education. His university years were spent at Oberlin College and Yale University. He was dean of Yale University Law School at twenty-nine years of age and president of the University of Chicago at thirty.

Observes Fulton Lewis Jr:

He had very violently progressive ideas . . . and began having conflicts with the faculty from the time he took over in Chicago . . . By 1951, public criticism from alumni had reached such a high pressure, and financial condition of the University . . . had become so critical, and the enrollment so inadequate that he resigned voluntarily and became an associate director of the Ford Foundation . . . — Fulton Lewis, Jr., *Report on the Fund for the Republic*, p. 13.

Dr. Hutchins has continued to espouse extreme liberal and leftist causes. He has used his position as president of the Center to host radical left wing conferences, to publish occasional leftist position papers, setting forth the Marxian and Fabian socialist viewpoints, and to gather together at the Center a group of people eager to remake the United States into a socialist nation.

In an article copyrighted by the *Los Angeles Times* in 1967, Dr. Hutchins stated that:

One of the most pernicious prejudices in our society is that people who are not earning enough to support their families are not entitled *as a matter of right* to

anything . . . The answer has to be a *guaranteed annual income as a matter of right*.

The above quotation clearly indicates that Dr. Hutchins believes in the socialist doctrine of the welfare state. He asserts that the state must abolish poverty and must eliminate slums. (*Los Angeles Times*, June 21, 1965)

Dr. Hutchins' socialist bias can also be seen in his statement in a Modern Forum Lecture, delivered in May, 1961, that:

Scholars call for a Utopian elite group to take on the responsibilities of government—the people are to have civil liberties but no political discussion . . . — (Quoted in *Freedom Press*, Feb. 10, 1965)

Dr. Hutchins is convinced that if there ever was such a thing as a communist conspiracy it no longer exists. In speaking of impressions he gained while on a trip to the Soviet Union he says:

The first [impression] concerns the great communist world conspiracy in which all Americans have been brought up to believe.

It may have existed once. It does not exist today, and the possibilities of making it a reality are remote. — *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 6, 1965. (This of course was before the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia.)

Limitations of space do not permit a lengthy discussion of Dr. Hutchins' activities in connection with the Center. It must be added, however, that Dr. Hutchins takes the Center's motto, "Feel Free" quite literally — in fact so much so that, according to *Human Events* a communist has

recently been retained as consultant by the Center. The man, Nikolai N. Inozemtsev, is listed as a director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. What is not widely known is that Comrade Inozemtiev is also deputy editor of the Kremlin mouth-piece, *Pravda*. He will make periodic trips to California for "consultation" at the Center. These trips will be financed by the Center's treasury — a fund the IRS has allowed to go tax free on the fiction that the Center is a "non-partisan, educational" institution. (*Human Events*, June 24, 1967, p. 389)

Harry S. Ashmore, Chairman of the Center's executive committee, was for some time a highly controversial figure in Southern newspaper circles because of his extreme liberal views. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic and has become a fixture at the Center.

In January, 1967, Mr. Ashmore and Mr. William Baggs, editor of the *Miami News*, also a member of the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic, journeyed to Hanoi. Their purpose was to invite Ho Chi Minh to attend a convocation sponsored by the Center, ostensibly to study *Pacem in Terris* encyclical of Pope John XXIII.

On returning home, Mr. Ashmore eulogized Ho Chi Minh as a:

man of great charm, great sophistication, great intelligence . . . I believe historically he will rank with Gandhi . . . and there is nobody else around in the world today in any country who seems to provide a

similar blend of spiritual and political power. — *Human Events*, May 13, 1967. (ED., "Spiritual power," out of the mouth of the gun?)

In February, 1967, Ashmore and Baggs met with some second level officers at the State Department and drafted a letter to Ho Chi Minh, stating that the United States was willing to stop bombing and negotiate provided North Vietnam offered "reciprocal restraint." When the Ashmore letter reached Hanoi, Ho already had a letter from President Johnson spelling out just what the "reciprocal restraint" should consist of — an immediate cessation of infiltration in South Vietnam by North Vietnam. That letter, said Mr. Ashmore, "effectively and brutally sabotaged" his own efforts. The State Department later intimated that Ashmore was determined to play diplomat, so they let him send his letter. It is interesting to note that Senator Fulbright assisted Ashmore in composing the letter to Ho Chi Minh. (*National Review*, Oct. 3, 1967, pp. 1054-1056)

This incident points up the fact that, contrary to its pious disclaimer of political activity, the Center does try to influence government decisions. The fact that the Logan Act clearly states that private citizens are forbidden to negotiate with foreign governments in relation to the settlement of disputes and controversies with the United States, deterred Mr. Ashmore and Mr. Baggs *not at all* from attempting to interfere in foreign policy. But who *enforces* laws anymore?

It would be impossible to list all those connected with the Center either as Fellows, Consultants or Staff. A listing of a few of the better known names will bear out the Center's own statement that conservatives are conspicuous by their absence!

Dr. Linus Pauling has been associated with the Center as a Fellow. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee stated, in 1961, that Dr. Pauling has been connected with various communist-front political activities and has figured as the chief scientific name in every major activity of the communist peace offensive in this country. (SISS, Testimony of Linus Pauling, Mar. 17, 1961, pp. 1-53)

Harvey Wheeler, about whom more will be said later, is listed as political scientist and a Fellow at the Center. He also sponsored the New Left School in Los Angeles in 1965.

In 1962 Wheeler collaborated with the late Eugene Burdick in writing *Fail-Safe*, a book purporting to show the certainty of accidental nuclear warfare. The theme of *Fail-Safe* was a lurid, sensational plea for disarmament and appeasement.

Dr. Sidney Hook authored a book entitled, *The Fail-Safe Fallacy*, in which he successfully refutes the thesis of *Fail-Safe*. He points out that the book dishonestly represents the safeguards developed by the American military men to prevent acci-

dental nuclear warfare. Dr. Hook makes the following observation:

It [Fail-Safe] is an emotionally surcharged political tract designed to prove that the greatest danger to the survival of free institutions in the world today is our defense system. . . . Nikita Krushchev [is] portrayed by the authors as a man of noble character and profound thought. — Sidney Hook, *op. cit.* Quoted in Francis X. Gannon, *Biological Dictionary of the Left*, p. 119.

Walter Millis, a consultant to the Center, is listed as a "former editorial writer, New York Herald Tribune." It is true that Mr. Millis did serve in this capacity but what the Center *does not* mention is that Mr. Millis' views were so far on the liberal side that his column was dropped from the newspaper. In speaking of the Government loyalty-security program he said:

What I object to is not the procedure in the program but the very fact that the system is there . . . The truth seems to be that the great structure of internal security does not rest upon hard facts at all, but on a series of indefinable fears and unverifiable assumptions. — Fulton Lewis Jr., *Report on the Fund for the Republic*, p. 101.

Rexford G. Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture under Henry Wallace, was a part of President Roosevelt's Brain Trust in 1932. Today, at seventy-six he is busily at work at the Center on the task he set for himself in college — to make America over. The Center has assigned to Tugwell the modest task of rewriting the Constitution

of the United States, and he is now working on his thirty-first draft!

Dr. Hutchins calls the group working on this project the "refounding fathers." It is their hope, apparently, to set themselves up as an elite ruling class. Thus, the *Chicago Tribune* scathingly observed,

. . . there is no room in their grandiose dreams and schemes for a free society. . . . They do not want a Bill of Rights; they want a bill of fare for the serfs who will do what Big Brother in Washington tells them to do and not complain about it. . . . They want a government of unlimited and undivided powers, a government for the people but of and by an elite and privileged ruling class. — *Chicago Tribune*, April 14, 1968.

The Center has been equally busy writing a constitution for the formation of one world government. The preliminary draft for a world constitution was written in 1947 by a group of the intelligentsia led by Robert Hutchins, then president of the University of Chicago. Mrs. Elisabeth Mann Borgese (daughter of Thomas Mann) and a Fellow of the Center, has been active in the writing of the world constitution. The entire world constitution is based on *social democracy*, which simply means Fabian socialism or worse.

(For a comprehensive critique of this world constitution see *World Government, Nearer Than You Think*, by Dr. W. S. McBirnie, published by the *Voice of Americanism*.)

Another consultant to the Center is *Dr. Harrop A. Freeman*, professor of law at Cornell University Law School. He was also director of the Pacifist Research Bureau, an organization dedicated to "research, publication, and education on aspects of non-violence, social change and an end to the [Vietnam] War." (*Santa Barbara News Press*, Nov. 19, 1965)

Dr. Freeman believes that the United States violates "World Law" in Vietnam and that Americans are clearly committing crimes against humanity. He has called for an international criminal trial of Americans who he says are "bombing defenseless villages, napalming . . . torturing . . ." Freeman believes that, "only by punishing individuals who committed such crimes can provisions of international law be enforced. (*Ibid.*) (He says nothing about the deliberate tortures of helpless South Vietnamese by the Red Viet Cong.)

William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, is also listed as a consultant to the Center. Justice Douglas' left wing views are well known for he has long and consistently advocated a policy of appeasement and accomodation with the entire communist bloc.

Douglas has asserted that the "21st Century belongs to the Chinese Reds," and has called for the United States to reach a rapport with Peking. He desires Red China's admission to the UN and a demilitarization of Nationalist China under UN

trusteeship. (*Human Events*, Nov. 12, 1966, p. 722)

"Bishop" James Pike is also one of the latest additions to the Center's staff.

PUBLICATIONS

By 1965, according to a statement on page 5 of the *Center Diary*, for April, 1966, 6,500,000 pamphlets had been distributed and tapes from the Center were in use in over 1000 radio stations, schools and colleges. A discussion of some of the publications released by the Center will serve to show the reader that the people in positions of responsibility at the Center are eager to make America over into a socialist state, preferably as merely a unit in a one world socialist international government. They do not shrink from frankly advocating government by an elite group.

One of the occasional papers put out by the Center bears the innocuous title of *The Restoration of Politics*, by Harvey Wheeler. The theme of the whole essay is that in the future the United States must radically change its political and economic structure in order to adopt a national planning program. Mr. Wheeler believes that free enterprise economy is inadequate for the supplying of public needs and wants. Central economic planning is advocated as the solution for any and all economic ills that may befall the nation.

The fact that the American Constitution does not allow bureaucratic dictation to take the place

of representative government bothers Mr. Wheeler not at all. Concerning the Constitution, under which the nation has developed the freest and most prosperous society known to man, Mr. Wheeler makes the following statement:

In America today, the Constitution stands spiritually vacated, an empty throne waiting out an ideological interregnum. . . . The Constitution must be fundamentally altered. — Harvey Wheeler, *Restoration of Politics*, p. 6 and p. 31.

Under a planned society, Mr. Wheeler feels that freedom of movement by people will have to be curtailed.

People do not automatically go where they cause the least trouble. . . .

Treasured ideas about freedom of movement nurtured by the long-departed American frontier, may have to be forgotten. Men can be allowed to pull up stakes and resettle wherever their fancy takes them only as long as this freedom for each does not interfere with the more precious freedom for all. — *Ibid.*, p. 20

Mr. Wheeler also believes that the family as an institution is most unsatisfactory.

. . . the middle class family system that accompanied capitalism is already disappearing. It may, in fact, go down in history as one of the most unsatisfactory institutions in human experience. — *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Toward Community: A Criticism of Contemporary Capitalism is the title of a pamphlet distributed by the Center in 1966. The essay was

written by *Robert Lichtman* who at that time was a staff member at the Center.

Lichtman's theme is that the free enterprise system should be abolished because it is "inhuman." He wants to move "toward community," by which in fact he actually means some form of socialism. In the main, the essay represents a rehash of stale Marxian arguments and sets out to prove that "political responsibility must be exercised over the economic fabric of society." Lichtman believes that the most reasonable method of control would be to allow people to produce only such products as required directly through an agency of the government.

Research centers and plants responsible to the government . . . would produce for the service of the community, rather than for profit, . . . with the object of superior quality, minimum cost and co-ordination of activity. — *Human Events*, July 2, 1966, p. 426.

According to Lichtman, the basic flaw in the free enterprise system is that prices measure the value of things. He says that prices are a "corrupting" factor. He believes that "nothing is measured by price."

The noted economist, Ludwig von Mises, asserted, a generation ago in his well known book *Socialism*, that, "socialist countries are incapable of economic calculation because they have no price system." Other economists have agreed that von Mises pointed out a very basic flaw in the

socialist system. "Personal competition repels social cooperation," says Lichtman.

Adam Smith proved the contrary almost two centuries ago, and modern writers have clearly demonstrated that free enterprise is the only method of achieving social cooperation in a complex society. — Lawrence Fertig, in *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1966.

In a report entitled, *Cybernation: The Silent Conquest*, by Donald N. Michael, and copyrighted by the Center in 1962, the author discusses the greater leisure that will be available to many persons due to a widespread application of cybernation. He reiterates the theme of the necessity for national planning and control but admits it is "thoroughly incompatible with the way we look upon the management of our economic and social system today." He states, with apparent approval, that, ". . . the centralization of authority, would seem to imply a governing elite and a popular acceptance of such an elite." (Michael, *op. cit.*, p. 45)

The author does not believe that "Congress, composed in good part of older men, acting from traditional perspectives," could handle the problems resulting from the complexities of cybernation. As a result he is convinced that the United States must change its "operating style" drastically. (*Ibid.*, p. 40)

One of the most irresponsible pamphlets ever written about the Vietnam war, entitled, *How the*

United States Got Involved in Vietnam, was published by the Center in 1965. The author, *Robert Scheer*, editor-in-chief of *Ramparts* magazine, has been consistently identified with extreme Marxism, having been an unsuccessful candidate for Congress of the radical "peace" movement in 1966. He was a former member of the University of California Subversive Fair Play for Cuba Committee and paid an unauthorized visit to Cuba in 1960.

The thesis of this widely distributed pamphlet is that:

American anticommunism, as shown at home and in Vietnam, is fascism and no more moral than communism itself. . . . Must we not . . . speak of the United States' involvement in Vietnam in terms of a "democracy of the gallows." — *Human Events*, Sept. 25, 1965.

This single publication contains almost all the arguments used against the Vietnam War by the intellectual pacifists in the United States. These people are united in their desire to see the United States lose its war against communist aggression in Asia. It is a publication which:

Whines that the American press never describes a communist as altruistic . . .

and is very concerned lest U.S. officials purge known communists and their dupes from American life. (*Ibid.*)

It would be of comfort to conservatives to learn that the latter assertion is fact, but experience and

observation will not permit acceptance of the statement.

It is a publication made possible by a front of respectable names connected with the Center, and by financial aid furnished by the Fund for the Republic and the Center itself. The pamphlet is much more hurtful to the war effort of the American people than if it were authored and published in Peking or Moscow.

Space does not permit a further review of the many, many publications sponsored by the Center. It must be said, however, that in the considerable number of these "studies" and "papers" reviewed by this writer, there has not been one which does not either openly or subtly propagandize against American policies and institutions! Because it is tax exempt, the Center uses public money to propagandize its extreme left wing, socialist views upon the American people. Their assumed neutral political position has given them entrée to the platforms of state supported universities, where they conduct various lecture series. This is one of their most effective means of molding youth and the future.

CONFERENCES

The Center has sponsored a number of conferences or convocations covering a wide range of subjects. The encyclical of Pope John XIII, *Pacem In Terris*, was the subject for the study conference, previously referred to, held by the

Center on February 18-20, 1965, in New York City. Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Secretary of the UN U Thant, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and scientist Linus Pauling were among those who addressed the conference. Individuals from the USSR and the communist bloc countries also attended the conference. (*Special Report, Center for Study of Democratic Institutions*, p. 7. Published by Church League of America)

According to *Tocsin* for March 11, 1965, James Farmer of CORE; Dagmar Wilson, Women Strike for Peace founder; Norman Cousins of SANE; Bayard Rustin, executive secretary of the War Resisters League; and A. J. Muste, of the leftist, pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, were all invited to take part in the panel debates. Gus Hall, secretary of the Community Party in the United States, and other persons prominent in radical left wing circles were invited to be present. (*Ibid.*)

While there were a few delegates who dared call attention to the fact that communist regimes represent the negation of all attempts at peace among nations, the main theme was appeasement of the communists and harsh criticism of America. At one point, however, the delegate from West Germany, Carlo Schmid, remarked that the UN is simply "another form of power politics — not an alternative to power politics, but only a new mode for it." For a moment, at least, a sharp ray of truth pierced the fawning, cup-in-hand attitude of

the free nations toward the communist bloc. (*National Review*, March 23, 1965, pp. 233-236)

Senator J. William Fulbright, who addressed the assembly on the last day, asserted that "every nation must be willing to sacrifice its ideology for the common good!" Fulbright also advised against holding any moral values in politics very seriously. Steve Allen, who also addressed the conference, said that the real enemy of peace was not Russia but the American Right Wing. (*Ibid.*)

Throughout the entire conference there was a very strong sentiment for world government, using a vastly strengthened UN as the vehicle of that government. In all fairness it should be pointed out that a small number of people vigorously defended the idea of national sovereignty, but the majority of the delegates spoke in "idyllic tones."

The most popular slogans at the meeting were, "We are all people," and, "It exists" (this applied in various ways to China, East Germany, Cuba, the UN) and, "It is obsolete," referring to war, or sovereignty . . . or our Asian policy, or the United States. — *Ibid.* p. 236.

A second convocation, known as *Pacem in Terris II*, was held in Geneva, Switzerland, May 28-31, 1967. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions was again the sponsor. The conference was supposed to be concerned with world peace and to be based again upon Pope John's Encyclical, but there was no mention made of God or of moral law! World peace can surely

never be achieved by a humanistic philosophy — the philosophy widely held among liberals.

Moscow, Hanoi and Peking refused to participate in the conferences, and the United States Government, foreseeing violent attacks upon American foreign policy, was unwilling to attend. Dr. Hutchins was very much disappointed at the failure of the communist governments to be represented, after he had even sent Harry S. Ashmore, executive president of the Center, to Hanoi in January to give Ho Chi Minh a personal invitation to attend!

As was to be expected, the conference turned out to be a forum for bitter criticism of the United States. Dr. Linus Pauling headed a panel of scientists who were loud in their condemnation of the United States for “carrying on a cruel vicious attack on a poor, small, weak people on the other side of the world.” (*The Wanderer*, June 15, 1965)

The following quotation is typical of the comment heard at the conference:

On the campuses of America they cry out against the war in Vietnam, they burn their draft cards, they court prison, they preach love not war, they are ready to sacrifice themselves for peace in a country where it is considered more patriotic to mourn a dead soldier than honor a living conscience. — *Ibid.*

There were a few voices raised in defense of the United States, but these speakers were not well

received. The highly applauded speakers were those who condemned the United States and praised the communists.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas made an uncalled for attack on Chiang Kai-shek, and praised Khrushchev and Ho Chi Minh. He compared the American War for Independence with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917! (*Human Events*, June 24, 1967)

The whole tone of the conference was so anti-American that Porter McKeever of New York, executive vice president of the UN Association of the United States, felt impelled to protest. Mr. McKeever, certainly no America-firster, made the following statement:

[A] narrow-focused passion . . . has marked many of the expressions of the past three days. I have sat here and heard words like “savage,” “brutal,” “uncivilized,” applied to a country which has poured its human and material resources into the hands of others on a scale for which history has no precedent. — *The Wanderer*, June 15, 1967.

It was in August 1965 that Julian Bond, Simon Cassidy, Stokely Carmichael, and many other radical leftist militants gathered at the Center to found the *National Conference for New Politics*. (Though the Center says it is “not political!”) This group held a Black Power dominated conference in Chicago in September, 1967. This frankly Marxist organization gained nationwide notoriety for its advocacy of revolutionary radical-

ism and for its freely expressed determination to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence. (Alice Widener, *USA Special Report on Student Subversion*, p. 58)

Late in August, 1967, the Center hosted a three day meeting of student leaders of the radical left movement prevalent on campuses throughout the nation. Nineteen of these student leaders met for sessions on *Students and Society*. Senior and Junior Fellows of the Center took part in the discussions.

The entire mood of the Conference was one of open, menacing hatred of America. The participants, according to W. H. Ferry, one of the Senior Fellows who took part in the discussions:

“look upon the United States and find it abounding in hopeless contradictions, hypocrisy, and wrongdoing. They see . . . a new imperialism that . . . shows itself everywhere . . . as the selfish exploitation of human beings.” — Alice Widener, *op. cit.*, p. 58

Devereaux Kennedy, then student body president of Washington University in St. Louis, called for an outright revolution and the overthrow of the United States Government. He advocated terrorism on such a scale that it would demoralize America.

Stephen Saltonstall, of the famous Republican Saltonstall family, a student at Yale University, was actually serious when he suggested that the “introduction of LSD in five or six government

department coffee urns might be a highly effective tactic.” (William F. Buckley, Jr., in *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 4, 1967)

These quotations are indicative of all of the discussions held during the Conference. The Center, however, piously disclaims any responsibility for positions taken by the participants! There was little if any “dialogue” since the conservative side was not represented by any recognized or authentic conservative spokesman.

Richard Lichtman, a member of the Center staff since 1962 (whose publication, *Toward Community*, has been discussed) was a sponsor of the New Left School in Los Angeles in 1965. (*The Worker*, Sept. 14, 1965) This was a radical Marxist school and carried the name of Dorothy Healey, Southern California Communist Party chairman, among its sponsors and faculty! The Center states that as of June, 1966, Lichtman “is now teaching at the University of California in Santa Barbara.” (*Human Events*, June 25, 1966, p. 409)

Irving Laucks, a chemical scientist who is listed as a consultant to the Center, was also a sponsor of the New Left School in Los Angeles. (*Ibid.*)

James A. Pike, former bishop of the Episcopal Church, is listed as a Fellow of the Center. Bishop Pike has long been the center of much controversy in religious circles because of his rejection of many fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith.

In his lectures he often ridicules the Bible, and, in October, 1966, in Wheeling, West Virginia, he was censured by the Episcopal Church's House of Bishops for making "offensive" and "irresponsible" statements on theology. (*National Observer*, Nov. 28, 1966)

Bishop Pike has been openly opposed to the war in Vietnam, and has encouraged young men to resist being drafted into military service.

"It's much better to live out your life in another country (or jail) than having to commit one more unjustified killing in Vietnam." — from an address by James Pike at Stanford Memorial Church, quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1968.

It is significant that in commenting upon the Conference, President Hutchins said *nothing* in defense of the United States and allowed every libel against the American people and their government to stand unchallenged. There were some rather feeble objections raised by one or two of the Senior Fellows, but they were totally ineffective.

The Center—in August 1965 and August 1963—was a womb for monstrous activism such as that which took place at the *National Conference for New Politics* in September, 1967, and the demonstration at the Pentagon in October 1967. — Widener, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions cannot avoid the charge that in almost all of its publications, sponsored conferences, and its dialogues it has contrived to present the United

States and its institutions in the most unfavorable light possible.

This then is a brief outline of the activities and nature of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. It has not earned the respect which the liberal press seems to give it but is a hot bed of subversive thought and the infection point for intellectual leftist philosophy on the West Coast.

IRS SHOULD DENY ANY TAX EXEMPTION
IN THE EVENT THE CENTER'S TEACHINGS,
SPEAKES ETC. IS NOT + ARE NOT IN VIOLATION
OF THE CONSTITUTION AND CANNOT BE
PROSECUTED.



DR. WILLIAM STEUART McBIRNIE

Was born in Toronto, Canada, his father was a minister and his mother a concert cellist.

ATTENDED: Hampden Du Bose Academy, St. Paul Bible Institute (Diploma, 1939), Drake University, Kletzing College (B.A., 1943) Bethel Theological Seminary (B.D., 1945), Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (M.R.E., 1947; D.R.E., 1952); Honorary Degree Trinity College (D.D., 1958), Elected (F.R.G.S., 1960). Knighted, Order of St. John, Hospitallers, Knights of Malta (O.S.J., 1964).

HONORS: Texas Junior Chamber of Commerce Award "One of the Five Outstanding Young Texans" — 1955. Listed, "Who's Who in the South and Southwest. Listed, "Who's Who in Protestant Clergy."

ACTIVITIES: Dr. McBirnie is a radio news analyst, author, archeologist, world traveler, and is the Senior Minister of the United Community Church (233 S. Kenwood, Glendale, California).

The author of more than 125 books, he is known for his responsible, defense of Americanism, and his unrelenting war on socialism, appeasement, accommodation, and coexistence with communism. He is the speaker on a daily news radio broadcast.

Dr. McBirnie, described by various state and national leaders as one of the most interesting and dynamic speakers in America, is a frequent speaker before civic clubs, business groups, universities, and international groups.

In the past few years, Dr. McBirnie has made three news journeys around the entire globe, visiting Europe, the Far East, Africa, and Latin America.

RIOTS

FIRES

SEDITION

STRIKES

MURDER

DRUGS

ARSON

PROTEST MARCHES

ANARCHY

The IMMORALITY of the NEW LEFT

W.S. McBIRNIE

For the moment, let's forget Vietnam, Mao, Castro, the Berlin Wall, the Soviet's Mediterranean fleet, student riots in the streets, all of which are the fruits of communism. Beyond Marx' wildest dreams, we might add.

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Kyushu University in Jukuo-ka, southern Japan, has been tense since a U.S. plane crashed into the campus

the students are protesting the use of U. S. Army grants for research by the university's medical school.

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The IMMORALITY of the NEW LEFT

One of the gravest dangers facing mankind today is not nuclear war, but the breakdown in morality everywhere throughout the world. The Communists and the New Left have spread so rapidly, that the country is a world today that is under the evil influences of all levels of immorality. The New Left, the taxing power, the growth of bureaucracy, the hallmark of socialism, in government both in the United States and abroad has created a class whose very survival depends on maintaining and expanding the power of government.

The basic factor which has caused the growth of autocratic government and the erosion of individual liberty, is the steady encroachment of socialism into government. The Far Left espouses socialism as its political creed. Socialism is based on deception in that socialists are self-proclaimed moralizers and pose as great humanitarians—always concerned, so they say, with bettering the lot of the poor. Their real goal is to exploit the poor.

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THE FAR LEFT'S CLAIM TO COMPASSION

One of the gravest dangers facing mankind today is not nuclear warfare, but the breakdown in morality everywhere throughout the world. The worst of all immoralities are socialism and Communism. These malevolent forces have spread so rapidly, that there is not a country in the world today that is untouched by their evil influences at all levels of society. Governments have become immoral through the excessive use of the taxing power. Coupled with this, the growth of bureaucracy, the hallmark of socialism, in governments both in the United States and abroad has created a class whose very survival depends on maintaining and expanding the power of government.

The basic factor which has caused the growth of autocratic government and the erosion of individual liberty, is the steady encroachment of socialism into government. The Far Left espouses socialism as its political creed. Socialism is based on deception in that socialists are self-proclaimed moralizers and pose as great humanitarians—always concerned, so they say, with bettering the lot of the “common man.” In reality, their goal is to exploit the “common man.”

The welfare state, as conceived and carried out by the socialists, is an example of the paternalistic government which the socialists hope to create throughout the world. Under a paternalistic government, people in all walks of life are encour-

aged to seek aid or accept subsidies from the bureaucratic power of the state. The liberal Left is constantly emphasizing "social justice" and "equality." These terms actually mean:

... concepts of public ownership of all means of production, price setting by economic planners and investment decisions [to be] made by the public authorities . . .

– George Lichtheim, *The Future of Socialism*, published in the *Radical Papers*, p. 58.

Conservatives have always realized that the welfare state is a cruel hoax, and is only made possible by the legalized plunder of private property through confiscatory taxation. Communists and socialists share a common goal, the creation of the all powerful state ruled by an elite group, bent on the extinction of human freedoms. Viewed in this light, the welfare state no longer appears as a great humanitarian undertaking, but as a completely ruthless scheme for imposing Communism or socialism on a nation.

They [the Communists] have subverted the United States and other countries into adopting many of the socialistic regulations, regimentations and laws which have been corroding our fundamental freedoms.

Aiding in this conspiracy have been countless, well-intentioned sentimentalists and idealists. Stalin baptized these groups as "useful idiots." – Spruille Braden, *Immorality and Communism*, p. 4, an address, January 15, 1965.

Socialists, with great indignation, accuse conservatives of putting *property rights* above *human rights*. Actually, this is complete nonsense,

for the right to possess property which is your own, is one of the most fundamental of human rights

... democratic socialism has ruptured the most basic of all economic inhibitions—personal rights to property—the *elan vital* which causes man to follow virtue in himself and respect the work of others. Let society or individual man respect the personal rights to *property* of any person, and that person cannot be destroyed or oppressed. Since property is merely what a man has earned or been given, personal rights to property are the *fundamental* rights to own and control what is justly one's own. When the government itself becomes a plunderer, removing the just protection which it should provide, replacing it with a forced seizure of property to which it has no moral claim, then the *state* has traded morality for legalized immorality; the breach has been driven, the fracture of morality has begun—and the ultimate result is to engage in government by pragmatism rather than morality. – W. S. McBirnie, *Handwriting on the Wall*, p. 2.

PACIFISTS

The war in Vietnam is another area in which these self-proclaimed moralizers actively assume a role of great humanitarianism. The various peace groups, almost without exception, are composed of left wing elements. They range from the far out Yippies to groups of people, who, perhaps are sincere in their desire for peace, but who have been deceived by distorted propaganda. The United States is always denounced for waging an unjust and immoral war. American soldiers are pictured as fiends and the Viet Cong extolled as patriots fighting for their homeland. No mention

is ever made by the left wing of the atrocities committed by the Communist Viet Cong. Ho Chi Minh has come to be a hero of the Left and has been praised lavishly. Harry S. Ashmore, of the extremely liberal Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, after visiting Ho Chi Minh during the winter of 1967, had the following to say:

... it occurs to me there is nobody else around in the world today in any country who seems to provide a similar blend of spiritual and political power – Alice Widener, quoted in *Human Events*, May 13, 1967, p. 294.

Senator Wayne Morse (D. Ore.), an ultra-liberal, has called Ho a “democratic Communist” and likened him to George Washington. He also believes that if all of Vietnam were to be united under Ho the people of South Vietnam would have far more freedom than they now enjoy. A Library of Congress Report issued in 1966 points out that Ho has instituted a bloody campaign of agrarian reform, and that North Vietnam has deteriorated into a vast prison. The people are overworked, underfed and underpaid.

Herbert Aptheker, theoretician of the Communist Party USA, defied a government travel ban to visit Hanoi in 1966, and came home calling the American participation in the Vietnam War, “atrocious and immoral,” and he referred to the, “barbarity of the American people.” (*Human Events*, June 4, 1966, p. 365)

Actions of the terrorist Viet Cong constitute merely a “genuine peasant revolt,” which the United States, “should try to understand.” So stated Alfred Hassler, one time executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization. (*The Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1965)

The following quotation presents in stark reality the actual conditions in Vietnam as opposed to the untruthful image of the Viet Cong as “peasants in revolt.”

... the communist terrorism is no mere accident of war but a program of systematic butchery. [It is] a deliberate and brutal assault against the ... citizenry

The full record of Communist barbarism in Vietnam would fill volumes. If South Vietnam falls to the communists millions more are certain to die at the hands of Ho's imaginative tortures. – John G. Hubbell (Quoted in *The Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1966).

With these facts in mind, those Americans who praise the Viet Cong, even honoring the Viet Cong flag, and who call the United States “immoral” and “unjust” are traitors.

ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNISM

No clearer sign of the moral bankruptcy of the Far Left has been recorded than the statement of Senator William Fulbright (D. Ark.) wherein he said:

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“The single-minded dedication with which we Americans have committed ourselves to the struggle with Communism is a manifestation of a national tendency to interpret problems in *moral* and absolutist terms.

“Because of these predilections, the cold war has seemed to represent a profound challenge to our *moral* principles as well as to our security and other national interests. We have responded by treating Communist ideology itself, as distinguished from the physical power and expansionist policies of Communist states, as a grave threat to the free world. The cold war, as a result, has been a more dangerous, costly and irreconcilable conflict than it would be if we and the Communist states confined it to those issues that involve the security and vital interests of the rival power blocs.

“The fears and passions of ideological conflict have diverted the minds and energies of our people from the constructive tasks of a free society to a morbid preoccupation with the dangers of Communist aggression abroad and subversion and disloyalty at home.”

If the counsel of the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate is heeded, and surely he does not speak for himself alone, then the ultimate victory of Communism is assured. There is only one force which can stop Communism, and that is a sense of moral and spiritual indignation. A holy war, if you like, though not necessarily a shooting war. Communism is not only “ideology”, as Fulbright euphemistically said, but a subversive danger, a military threat, a hemispheric peril and a menace to the entire civilized world. It must be destroyed and the only power capable of destroying Communism, a spiritual evil, is a spiritual anger linked to planned action.

Perhaps there is much in our civilization which could perish without meaningful loss. But if *freedom* has lasting value, and is the climate in which man finds his greatest fulfillment, then most assuredly that freedom of politics and thought, which is likely to perish under Communism, can and must be preserved by a moralistic crusade to *destroy* Communism! No great reform has ever followed or destroyed any public evil unless there has been first a sense of *moral outrage* over the wickedness of the entrenched evil.

The Left is very fond of saying that in matters of “social justice” and “social equality” there is much to be learned from the Communists. It is most difficult to understand how people who claim to be compassionate humanitarians can be so deceived. There is overwhelming concrete evidence of the basic wickedness of the Communist system. It abounds on every hand, but perhaps is nowhere more forcefully expressed than in the *Revolutionary Catechism* by Sergey Nechayev. His chilling description of the *revolutionary* should be read by every person who believes there is any good in Communism.

The revolutionary is a doomed man. He has no personal interests, no business affairs, no emotions, no attachments, no property and no name. Everything within him is wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution. — Nechayev, *op. cit.* (Quoted in *The Life and Death of Lenin*, Robert Payne, p. 24)

The Left often points to the fact that Nikita Khrushchev did not approve of many of the harsh

measures Stalin instituted against the Russian people, as he sought to strengthen the stranglehold of Communism upon the nation. This fact is referred to as evidence that Communism is “mellowing” and discarding the ruthless methods of quelling opposition that have been (*and still are*) the hallmark of its system. That Khrushchev *did not* condemn terror or dictatorship as such, can be readily seen in the following quotation:

... Bolshevism [Communism] believes in the use of terror. Lenin held that no man was worthy of the name of Communist who did not believe in terror. — From a speech by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, Moscow, February 24, 1956 (Quoted in *Facts on Communism*, Vol. II, HCUA, 87th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 321).

Eugene Lyons, senior editor of the *Readers Digest*, and an expert on Communist affairs, has written a scathing indictment of Soviet rule in his book entitled, *Worker's Paradise Lost*. In it he points out that since 1917 the world has been in almost constant turmoil with bloody civil wars and larger conflicts such as Korea and Vietnam, all fomented and encouraged by Communism.

The USSR was the first totally immoral state, so proclaimed by its founders, so maintained by their successors It has treated immoralism as a positive virtue, derided ethical scruples, and boasted of its capacity for what others call evil . . . — Lyons, *op. cit.*, (Quoted in *News Press*, Nov. 11, 1967).

In March, 1965, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee released the hitherto secret testimony of Peter Deriabin, a former official in the

Soviet security apparatus before his defection in 1955. Deriabin testified that the Russians engaged in kidnapping, murder and terror to hold subordinates in line and to punish enemies. He said that these activities are worldwide and that members of this department are, “men whose hands are covered with blood.” He also testified that murder and kidnapping are instruments of the Soviets’ international policy. (*Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1965)

Examples of the immorality of the Left could be multiplied indefinitely, but the most flagrant immoral act in recent times was, of course, the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This aggression caught the Communists in the United States by surprise and they were hard pressed to justify such an open act of aggression. The non-Communist world was rudely shocked—at least for a time—out of its tolerance and complacency toward Soviet behavior.

American newspapers had little to say about any Russian terror tactics used in Czechoslovakia. That murder and horror were rife is only now being mentioned in a few segments of the press. One such account is published by *Treasure Valley Associated Newspapers* (Idaho), relating the experience of a former citizen of Czechoslovakia who was visiting his old home when the invasion occurred. He reported:

Talk about brutality In one instance the invading soldiers asked a five-year old boy for directions When the child refused to answer the soldiers, they immediately shot and killed him.

. . . young Czech boys and their girl friends were sitting on a park bench. Polish soldiers callously killed the boys, some of the girls, and wounded others. Girls caught out were in deadly danger—they were raped on the spot

Wounded Czechs had to lie in the streets unaided for the medics were not allowed to get near them. It was quick death on the spot or at least five years in prison in a Siberian prison camp—without trial—if one word was overheard spoken against a Russian soldier Sadism was manifested in many forms A priest died a ghastly death by being put into a sack and being beaten to death The high hopes of religious freedom have once again been dashed against the wall of Communism.

The left wing in the United States made no outcries of indignation against Russia's brutal treatment of the Czech people, who, while maintaining the allegiance to socialism and the Communist bloc nations, wanted a little more domestic freedom. It is of interest to note that Senator Eugene McCarthy, in commenting upon the Czech situation, had no criticism of the Russians. He asserted that the United States was in no moral position to protest Russia's action because the United States had intervened in Cuba, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. (Los Angeles Times, August 22, 1968) With typical moral myopia McCarthy equates the fight against Communism in each of the three circumstances he mentioned, with the unlawful invasion of a country whose people wanted only a minimum of freedom.

LEFT WING CLERGY

The left wing in other countries also leaped to the defense of Russia, perhaps none more vehemently than the Hungarian Catholic bishops who declared:

Our episcopate . . . has repeatedly taken a stand for socialism, detailing its social advantages. The events in Czechoslovakia threatened the existing system . . . and the mutual and common peace of the Socialist states. We are convinced that our Catholic brethren will assume a responsible share of the common efforts aimed at consolidation and social welfare and will thereby create an atmosphere of confidence between church and state. — *Christian News*, October 21, 1968.

Instead of being the moral and spiritual leaders of their people, a great number of church officials in Communist controlled countries are simply propagandists for the Communist governments. They have often been exposed for what they are by true Christian refugees who have fled from behind the Iron Curtain. In spite of hard evidence as to the apostate nature of many of these churchmen in Communist countries, the leftist National Council of Churches urges that "bridges of understanding" be built between the free and the Communist worlds. Such moral bankruptcy on the part of so-called religious leaders can only be explained by assuming that these men believe in the rightness of Communism as a way of life. That Communism violates every principle of historical Christianity seems not to bother them at all. One is forced to conclude that their

Christianity is only a sham and a deceit, assumed in order that they may safely penetrate into the very fabric of Christian churches. Safely sheltered, they are able to subvert thousands of well-meaning persons to their cause.

In the United States, the National Council of Churches has espoused left wing socialistic philosophy and has been teaching that anti-Communism is worse than Communism. Many of the left wing clergy assert that Communist attacks on capitalism are justified, and that the conflict between Christianity and capitalism is more fundamental and more justified than the conflict between Christianity and Communism.

The official position of the church organizations must be ascribed to the influence of Marxism in their controlling bureaucracies and in the seminaries Now the general board [of the N.C.C.] wants the United States [to] give up the idea of standing at the gate to protect the free world from communist aggression.

This betrayal of . . . Christianity is one reason for the moral decay and spiritual malaise with which this country is afflicted — *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1968.

Many Protestant ministers have lost the authentic fundamentals of their faith and have become totally occupied with “social concerns.” In conferences they eagerly pass radical resolutions that would do credit to the New Left groups. The left-liberal influence, which causes so-called Christian ministers to become advocates of socialism, is in itself an immoral thing. Ministers who succumb

to such an influence are themselves leading many laymen astray, and are often actively promoting godless socialism or Communism in the United States. They are advocating Christian-Marxist dialogue in the hope of bringing about an adjustment between the two.

PROTECTORS OF COMMUNISM AND ANARCHY

Under the banner of self-righteous liberalism, the Left has countenanced the growth of anarchy in the United States and the protection of Communism abroad. The evidences of anarchy in the United States are too well known to need repetition, and the protection of criminals is nowhere more evident than in the attitude of the Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Clark, a liberal, has upheld the Supreme Court in its recent decisions which make it impossible to use confessions to convict criminals. (The Court's *Miranda* decision is an example of this). He has refused to prosecute Stokely Charmichael for inciting Negroes to engage in revolution and anarchy. He has refused to prosecute black militant organizations engaging in violence and looting. (*Lynchburg Virginia News*, August 18, 1968)

Communism has been protected abroad by the left wing in the United States Government. The modern outstanding example of this is, of course, the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba, during President Kennedy's administration. The moral callousness

of the liberal administration and its advisers is clear. The President ordered cancellation of the air cover for invading Cuban freedom fighters, which resulted in the loss of many lives. In addition, it will be recalled, Mr. Kennedy made a deal with Khrushchev to withdraw Cuban based missiles, in return for which the President promised a policy of non-interference with Castro. Many responsible sources assert that Russian missiles are still in Cuba.

There are additional examples of the United States Government's immoral attitude toward Communism and socialism. One remembers with shame and sadness the Government's failure to give the slightest aid to the Hungarian patriots, and the indifferent attitude of our Government toward the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. The acceptance of Fabian socialism is widespread among United States Government officials. Socialism robs the individual of the moral fiber necessary to make stern decisions. Socialists do not make good opponents of Communism, for their long range aims are too much alike—suppression of individual freedom and the free enterprise economy. The New Left epitomizes the immorality of Communism, an immorality that is total and complete. No apologist for Communism can change the fact that it is the most terrible evil the world has ever known.

THE MORAL CONTRADICTIONS OF COMMUNISM

Communism is a purposeful way of life. Few Communists seem to doubt where they are going. There can be no doubt that they possess the strength which comes from single-mindedness. Yet, if the moral law is the true nature of reality, Communism is rebelling *against* reality rather than conforming *to* it. If it is antagonistic to reality, then it is filled with inner contradiction, and will ultimately fail. We owe it to ourselves to discover what these inner contradictions are, so as to correctly interpret Communism, to predict its future, to know how to combat it and to hasten its downfall.

The most damaging indictment history will make of the influence of Communism, in the middle decades of the twentieth century, will be that if it had not existed the world could have experienced real peace for the first time in six thousand years. What a ghastly accounting the Communists will be required to make before the bars of history and God, that they, and they alone, are responsible for all the real threats of global war in our time, just when an earthly paradise was within our reach, due to the discoveries of modern technology.

How galling it is that, meanwhile, they go about their program of plotting war and subversion, continually parroting the word "peace" at

every turn. It is incredible that some of them, maybe a great many, actually *believe* that they are truly "peace loving" and that all war threats really come from the non-Communist world.

What the *leaders* of the Communist world may privately believe is probably another matter. Surely they know that the West sincerely wants peace, and they are no doubt counting heavily on that fact in their own strategy. Communism makes much of what they call, "the historical inevitability of the triumph of Marxist-Leninism." Actually there is no such thing. This is merely an attempt to justify Soviet banditry. What history will inevitably do is to condemn, even more harshly than we, the moral depravity of Communism. The historical contradictions in the Communist record, that is, between what Communism *says* has happened, and what has *really* happened, is but one of the ways the future will judge it. The most serious verdict will be, that it disrupted the peace and progress of our times.

In a sense, future historical judgment is to us meaningless. We will not be here to enjoy it, especially if Communism wins! The point is that we should look at Marxism through the *probable* view of history, in order to see it in the best perspective. That view, if realistically taken, will confirm our convictions about the basically evil nature and self-contradictions inherent within Communism.

THE ECONOMIC CONTRADICTION

Our search is essentially to discover the real motivations of Communists. Since their philosophy interprets human existence in materialistic and economic terms, we cannot ignore their basic theme: *The Revolt of the Worker Against Exploitation*. This simply means that Communism feels it is unjust for capitalists to profit from the productivity of labor. This conviction leads them to declare war on capitalism.

Exploitation is a distasteful word only because the Communists have made it so. The word can actually mean good as easily as it may mean evil, since it essentially means "to make a profit." One can exploit a field or a forest as well as his own talent. Usually to "exploit" means to make a profit from the work of others. But this too is not necessarily evil, since the process may benefit both parties. Certainly no one likes to be "exploited" in the wrong sense. This type of exploitation damages human worth and dignity, and provides the Communists with a believable battle cry.

We cannot deny that the past is filled with examples of heartless exploitation of many groups and individuals, nor can we deny that this still occasionally goes on, even in America.

But turn the coin over. In the modern free enterprise society, which is far different from the European industrial society which Marx knew over a hundred years ago, we tend to practice a

mutual exploitation. And this is something far different than Marx envisioned. Today, the worker contributes time, skill, and labor. The capitalist, in turn, contributes time, money, machines, factories, initiative, direction, ideas and risk. Furthermore, the capitalist as an individual is getting to be a scarce person. Most big industries are owned by many small stockholders, who could be more nearly classified as workers, rather than real capitalists. It is their savings which make up the mass of capital funds.

It is no longer an accurate picture to pit the "big capitalist" as against "the little worker." In the majority of instances, the worker is a capitalist and the capitalist is a worker. They mutually exploit one another. Each provides many things which the other lacks, thus agreeing to make a profit from the other's contribution. It is one of Communism's inner contradictions that it refuses to see this, thus blinding itself to reality. But there is an even more serious blindness in Communism.

Experience has proven that human nature, being what it is, makes it impossible for any society to be organized without exploitation. People have different degrees of intelligence, skill and ability, which must be harnessed for their own good and the good of all. The most unproductive contemporary harnessing of human effort is that of Communism, wherein the state becomes the exploiter. The government, in a closed society as in

Communism, will exploit the workers, and earn a profit from their labors, to further its own political ends, not to benefit the workers as they claim. In the Communist society, the worker is exploited, without freedom, to keep a political conspiracy in power, to further ends which the worker may not want, and to wrap the chains of slavery even more firmly around the very workers who are being so exploited! Yet the Communists claim to be the enemy of exploitation. This is one of their great moral contradictions.

Mark it well! The choice facing the people of the world is not between exploitation or non-exploitation but, rather, "Whom will they choose to exploit them, the State or themselves?" The least painful choice is free enterprise. For in this system the worker is free to sell his services to whom he wishes. He can bargain for the location and conditions of his work. He can become, through stock holding, an owner of the business for which he works. Or, he is free to take his wages and leave the worries to others. In the Communist society the worker is exploited by the State, without freedom. In the American society the worker voluntarily agrees to a mutual exploitation for his own greater profit, and yet retains his freedom. It is that simple!

THE SPIRITUAL CONTRADICTION

One of the most puzzling aspects of Communism is the terrifying zeal which its adherents display in spreading it. Frankly, as much as we detest Communism, we probably would not get very upset about it if the Russians really wanted it, were free to vote *for* it, were free to vote it *out* whenever they got sick of it, and above all did not try to export it. Every man, according to the Bible, is free to choose even Hell for himself if he wishes, but he is never free to impose Hell on someone else.

Whence then this evangelistic fervor to spread Communism to the whole world? It cannot be humanitarianism, for Communism is based upon hate, deception, and slavery. Even if the Communists cannot agree to this analysis, and still insist Communism is good for the world, why should they *care* what happens to other people? They do not believe God will reward them. Since pure Communism has not been achieved, even in Russia, for at least fifty years, why should Communists care about working so that generations yet unborn can live in a Communist world? For that matter, why should they care about spreading Communism to other people today? Their motivations are supposedly materialistic, so what does it matter to them, as *individuals*, how a bushman in Australia, or a capitalist in Connecticut fares? They will never see, know, or care for either one. Even if Communism covers the

globe, how much good will it do the individual Communist? He will not even get much improvement in his living standards and he may actually give his life in a war to impose Communism on the world. Why should he do it? A man may understandably make sacrifices or even die to protect his country, his family or friends. He may even endure privation or face death for God, or a godly cause. But what motivates the Communist to suffer, work endlessly and die, if need be, that the slave society of Communism may expand? The answers are buried deep with the subconscious of the Communist mind.

First, the Communist society gives to a person a strong sense of social and personal identity. It bestows a feeling upon him of belonging to a far greater, and thus more important cause than merely himself, or his own interests. The official vocabulary of Communism is carefully chosen to impart the impression of unity, strength, purpose and solidarity of the cause. The Soviets lavishly hand out praise, honors, and medals to the workers so as to stir their pride in being a part of a "people's" struggle. The Party leads people to hate its enemies, to accept discipline, to engage in self criticism, to accept privation that all nations may become Communist. But all in the name of the "cause." This personal and social identity, this purpose and feeling of "belonging" is the emotion which substitutes for religion, and which moves individuals to make sacrifices they would never dream of making otherwise.

Secondly, the Communist are aggressive and imperialistic because they are pathologically afraid of the possibility of the failure of their "God." Any suggestion of the defeat of the Communist idea is maddening to them, for it threatens to leave them with evidence that all they have believed is false. It is the subconscious fear of the invalidating of their faith, which they have abandoned all other things to embrace, that drives them to confirm it by world conquest, thus reassuring themselves. Though they are atheists, they are as Toynbee says, the most "religious" of men, for Communism is a dreadful, godless, "perversion of the religious instinct."

When men or nations decide to become militant atheists they realize they will pay a fearful price if they are wrong. So they substitute faith *must* be made to work, or they are lost indeed. It is this twisted "religious" instinct which gives Communism its drive, and malignant fervor.

THE POLITICAL CONTRADICTION

All government is admittedly distasteful. Democratic governments however are the least distasteful because they govern least. More than that, they can be changed when their acts displease the electorate. When government becomes responsible for the regulation of more than external and internal security, and moves in the direction of the welfare state, it must assume more

power over the individual. Communism is simply this principle carried to the extreme. For this reason it dares not speak of real political freedom, for Communism by definition is the organization of government to limit freedom.

So Communism has countered with the idea that there is more than one *kind* of "freedom." There is, Communists say, political freedom, and there is also "freedom for economic insecurity." They deny that the masses can have both at the same time. They offer economic security which they see as the only freedom worth having.

The only trouble is that people will not normally choose to surrender their political freedoms. So Communism has become history's foremost subversive movement, seeking to come to power by intrigue, since it has never found a way to attain power by persuading people to willingly hand over their political rights. It is this denial of freedom that saddles Communism with one of its worst handicaps. Most people want freedom. But Communism is political slavery. Therefore people resist Communism. This is an inner contradiction which the Communists try to ignore, to cover up, to rationalize and for which they try to compensate. But it remains.

THE CONTRADICTION OF WORDS

Nowhere is the basic immorality of Communism more in evidence than its deliberate adulteration and perversion of the meaning of words. Knowing full well what most people mean by such terms as freedom, democracy, peace, Fascism, warlike, imperialism, republic, vote, aggression, etc., etc., the Communists have deliberately falsified the definition of these words, as they are using them. This is cold, cruel, deceptive dogmatism.

Words are supposed to accurately describe meanings, values, actions and truths. When a word is used dishonestly, the coinage of human communication is debased. Such dishonesty cannot go on without developing a cynicism that in the end will turn on the perpetrator of the fraud. Truth, a stranger to the Communist philosophy, will in the end win, for that is the nature of the real world. In the meantime we must endure the contradiction of words whenever a Communist speaks.

THE CONTRADICTION OF BEHAVIOR

It is natural for men to be kind, truthful, compassionate, and constructive. Not that we humans are incapable of almost any vile act or thought on occasion. But in general, men are naturally decent, well behaved and loving, But Communism seeks to change the world by

changing human nature for the worse. This change in men is the thing we have to fear. Someone has well said that, "*When the natural in man is not surrendered to the Supernatural, it can easily become the unnatural*"! The inner contradictions of Communism are there because it is producing *unnatural* men. There is no evil the unnatural man will not do and take delight in doing. There is good reason for believing that this policy of going against human nature will someday destroy Communism from within. But there is also good reason to believe that should Communism win temporarily, there would be a long Dark Age to endure, until the new Renaissance.

DOES OUR MATERIAL PROSPERITY GIVE US THE MORAL RIGHT TO WIN?

Many times we simply assume our national superiority because of our excellence in science, industry, production, housing, transportation, education, commerce and agriculture. But look again. Does any of this, assuming it to be true, give us the moral right to survive? Does the big, prosperous, efficient farmer have a moral right to survive over the smaller, poorer, less efficient farmer? If you say he does, then you are saying that if Russia should ever become superior to the United States in any of these fields, the moral right of survival automatically passes to her. If you say that it is inconceivable that this should ever happen, you have only to look at certain

recent accomplishments in space science which demonstrate what Russia can do when she really tries. But remember, superiority in riches or techniques does not give anyone the moral right of survival.

DOES OUR FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM ALONE GIVE US MORAL SUPERIORITY?

We are now in the grip of social forces which no individual is able to stop. The trend toward bureaucracy in America is insidious and alarming. Big government is the order of the day and the end is not in sight. Moreover, bureaucracy is not limited to the government. The trend toward bigness in anything is a trend toward the multiplication of bureaucracy.

WHERE DOES THE REAL MORAL SUPERIORITY LIE?

There are at least four great areas in which America, and to a degree all of the West, is morally superior when compared with Communist nations:

1. In America, we have government by law, based upon the rights of man. In Russia rights are unknown, only privileges exist, privileges granted according to the whims of the Communist Party. Appeals to law can be ignored by the Party, for the Party is self-governing, unhindered by the principle of checks and balances

so precious to Constitutional government. But in America we believe in "certain inalienable rights — life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," a clear moral difference!

2. In America, we believe in, and conduct, business by persuasion rather than coercion. In Russia the government produces, manufactures, distributes and sells. The government dictates the size, shape, color, and quantity of the items produced. There are no salesmen, as such, in Russia. In America the salesman, as a persuader of free men, is the very embodiment of this vital difference between ourselves and the Communists. In a true sense the salesman is a soldier in the struggle to preserve our moral right to victory, because he practices freedom where it counts, in everyday life.

3. In America, we believe in, and have, freedom of individual choice and expression.

In Russia the captive press manipulates the minds of the people. The Russian working man cannot easily move his residence, choose or change his occupation, or be heard in public assembly. In America, these freedoms make for the ennobling and the dignifying of personality. Responsible freedom is morally superior to totalitarian slavery.

4. In America, we believe that the individual and the nation alike are accountable to Almighty God.

WHAT THEN CAN I DO?

It therefore remains for each citizen to give himself with utter devotion in a crusade to strengthen these vital differences and see that they do not weaken or perish. These ideals belong to individual behavior as well as to national policy. If we are not careful, in losing sight of them in our daily lives, we may pay with the loss of all that we cherish.

As Winston Churchill wrote about the Battle of Gettysburg, "The next morning Lee was safe on the other side of the river. He carried with him his wounded and his prisoners. He had lost only two guns, *and the war.*" Beware, lest in small compromises with our magnificent differences, we congratulate ourselves that we have "lost only two guns," when history is silently writing that we have unwittingly "lost the war."

In Russia, atheism is the official position of the government; not because their science makes God unbelievable, but because their political morals make God unbearable. If we believe in God we must believe also that we are accountable to Him. In Russia, God is denied so that, instead, the Communist Party may be the ultimate power. Our government rules under God, which is to say, in accountability to the higher moral law against which no man nor government may go. We believe that when governments or men ignore or despise this higher moral law it automatically brings them under the shadow of the judgment of God. Communists dare not officially believe in this. Frequent unconscious allusions to "God" by Communist leaders reveal how shallow their personal atheism actually is. Nevertheless they must persist in it, or cease to be Communists. Our national recognition of the existence and sovereignty of God provides us with indisputable moral superiority.

Thus, all of these vital differences assure us that we have a moral right to survive the struggle of our times. But should these be lost, we would sink into similarity with the Communists, until there would be no differences worthy of distinction. Then the struggle would be between two materialistic nations, neither of whom morally deserved to survive. The battle then would go to the stronger, or cleverer, or perhaps the luckier.



DR. WILLIAM STEUART McBIRNIE

Was born in Toronto, Canada, his father was a minister and his mother a concert cellist.

ATTENDED: Hampden Du Bose Academy, St. Paul Bible Institute (Diploma, 1939), Drake University, Kletzing College (B.A., 1943) Bethel Theological Seminary (B.D., 1945), Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (M.R.E., 1947; D.R.E., 1952); Honorary Degree Trinity College (D.D., 1958), Elected (F.R.G.S., 1960). Knighted, Order of St. John, Hospitallers, Knights of Malta (O.S.J., 1964).

HONORS: Texas Junior Chamber of Commerce Award "One of the Five Outstanding Young Texans" — 1955. Listed, "Who's Who in the South and Southwest. Listed, "Who's Who in Protestant Clergy."

ACTIVITIES: Dr. McBirnie is a radio news analyst, author, archeologist, world traveler, and is the Senior Minister of the United Community Church (233 S. Kenwood, Glendale, California).

The author of more than 125 books, he is known for his responsible, defense of Americanism, and his unrelenting war on socialism, appeasement, accommodation, and coexistence with communism. He is the speaker on a daily news radio broadcast.

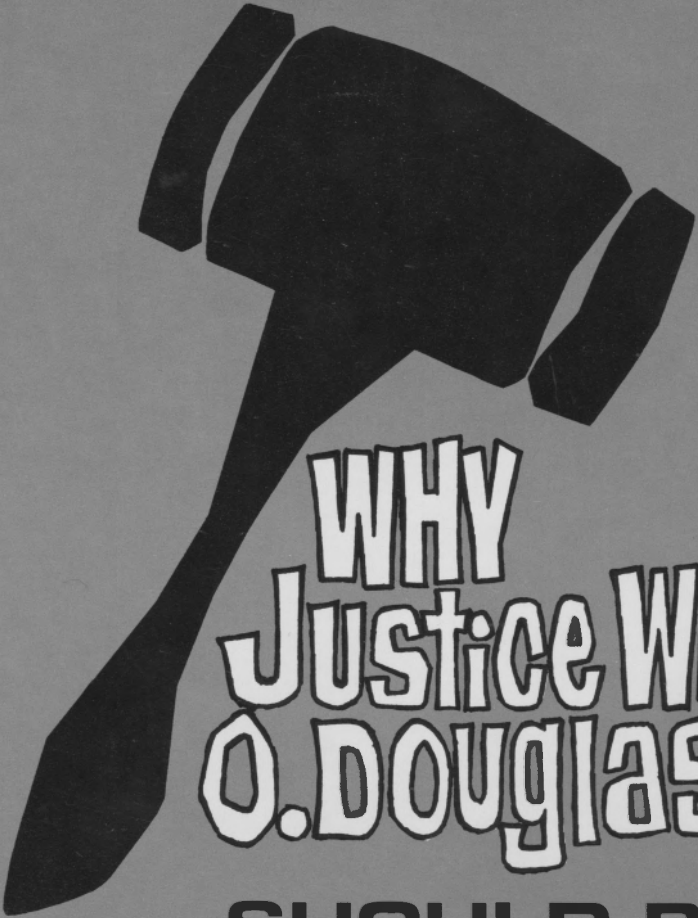
Dr. McBirnie, described by various state and national leaders as one of the most interesting and dynamic speakers in America, is a frequent speaker before civic clubs, business groups, universities, and international groups.

In the past few years, Dr. McBirnie has made three news journeys around the entire globe, visiting Europe, the Far East, Africa, and Latin America.

From
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255 Broadway
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92627





**WHY
Justice Wm.
O. DOUGLAS**

**SHOULD BE
IMPEACHED!**

W. S. McBIRNIE

**WHY
Justice Wm.
O. Douglas**

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IMPEACHED!**

THE REVEREND W. S. McBIRNIE

B.A., B.D., M.R.E., D.D., D.R.E., F.R.G.S., O.S.J.

**SENIOR MINISTER UNITED COMMUNITY CHURCH
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A VOICE OF AMERICANISM PUBLICATION

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Books are dynamic and powerful instruments, tools, or weapons. — Robert B. Downs, Books that Changed America.

Two men have recently written books about *Revolution*, which have caused considerable comment. They are authors who seemingly could not be more divergent in their backgrounds, their careers, their associates. Both of these men, however, have authored these books as “instruments, tools, or weapons.”

The reason we have brought them to your attention is their apparent unanimity of theses. The choice of words could not be more dissimilar, but their conclusions are strangely and significantly alike — *There is so much wrong with the United States that violence is the only effective remedy; revolution is inevitable.*

Biographical differences between these two writers are vast. One is young; one is old. One holds a most exalted office in the government of the United States; the other has, by his own admission, “dropped out of the White Race and the Amerikan nation.” We ask you to give serious thought to what they have to say, not only be-

cause they hold so many common views on current issues but because of their common qualification for immediate attention — **THEY ARE MEN OF GREAT POWER OVER OTHERS IN THIS NATION.**

We will compare *Points of Rebellion*, by Associate Justice of the Supreme Court William O. Douglas; and *Do It!*, by Yippie leader Jerry Rubin. But first, what do we know of these men?

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS — Born in October, 1898, he was the youngest appointee to the Supreme Court in 125 years. He was appointed Associate Justice by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939.

Justice Douglas is an alumnus of Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington. We read that during his summer vacations he had worked in the wheat fields which gave him an "opportunity to debate with other laborers the revolutionary doctrines of the Industrial Workers of the World" [Countrymen, Vern, Douglas of the Supreme Court, p. 10]

Douglas served a two-year apprenticeship in a law firm, teaching at Columbia University on the side at first and then full time. He resigned when the president appointed a new dean of the law school without consulting the faculty. At this time he met Robert Hutchins, Dean of Yale Law School, at a party, "had a brief discussion with him... and ended up the following day with an appointment to the Yale faculty." (Ibid.)

From 1934 until 1939 Douglas worked for the U.S. Department of Commerce on a committee study of the Securities and Exchange Commission. He wrote a "monumental report of how equity receiverships were operated for the profit of the bankers at the expense of investors." He then became a member of SEC and later its chairman.

In 1939, without any experience whatever in a judiciary capacity, he was appointed Associate Justice of the highest Court in the nation.

The Justice has been married four times. The last time, in 1966, to Cathleen Curran Hefferman, who was forty-five years younger than Douglas. In 1969, Justice Douglas came under fire when his job for the Albert Parvin Foundation (which held 2 million dollars' worth of stock in three Las Vegas gambling casinos) was exposed. The Associate Justice was guaranteed \$12,000 a year by the Foundation from 1962 to 1966, when the payment was to increase to \$12,765. (U.S. News & World Report June 2, 1969) Justice Douglas resigned from the foundation.

When it was revealed that his old friend Justice Abe Fortas was receiving \$20,000 a year from the scandalous Wolfson Family Foundation, however, he advised Fortas to "sit fast." (Newsweek May 16, 1969)

Robert S. Allen and John Goldsmith, syndicated columnists (Inside Washington) write, "Justice William O. Douglas is continuing to moonlight for additional income despite the fact that he is getting \$60,000 a year as a member of the U.S. Supreme Court. The jurist has received \$6,800 for various non-judicial services from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California." (April 7, 1970) Representative Louis Wyman inquired from the Center about the Douglas activities and learned that in 1968 the Center paid him \$1,100 and in 1969, \$2,000. "There was no explanation what these payments were for, and why they increased from \$1,100 in 1968 to \$2,000 last year — when Douglas was repeatedly absent from the Supreme Court because of a cardiac condition." (Ibid.)

It is not surprising that Douglas has been a Consultant to the Center and served as chairman of its Board, one of its fund raisers, speakers and writers, for his political views are in accord with the Center's position on many of the following: Douglas desires recognition of Red China, disarmament of Nationalist China, admission of Red China to the U.N. He has espoused world law, disarmament; denounced "the radical right," loyalty oaths, investigating committees, technology, the Vietnam War, the FBI and the CIA. Of the military he complains, "we had generals strut the stage." (Center Bulletin, Oct. 1961) Many other gov-

ernment agencies have become the object of his peevishness.

Under the proddings of Douglas and other liberal judges, the Supreme Court began to usurp the law-making duties of the legislative branch, inaugurating social legislation, finding the Constitution "less restrictive" than previous Courts did. The Court, with a majority appointed by President Roosevelt, became the "Warren Court" and it contended that the Bill of Rights should occupy a "preferred position" in our system, with the result that often criminals rather than victims began to receive the benefit of this "preferred position" also.

Now, Justice Douglas has written a book about revolution, and Allen and Goldsmith, in the column above referred to write, "Last week a Washington department store published a large ad announcing that Douglas would be on hand... to autograph copies of... the opus, in which Douglas justifies revolution as a means of expressing dissent, which has been widely criticized. In Congress, it has been hotly assailed by both Democrats and Republicans."

JERRY RUBIN, thirty year old leader of (according to Rubin) "850 million Yippies," is presently best known as one of those indicted on criminal charges in Chicago for "conspiracy to incite a riot and with crossing State lines with the intent to foment riots," in regard to his activities at the time of the Democratic National Convention.

At one time, however, Jerry was a sports reporter in Cincinnati, where he attended high school. He was a sociology student at Berkeley when he made an illegal trip to Cuba, in 1964, in defiance of State Department regulations. The California Senate Fact-finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities 13th Report, 1965, p. 79, stated that the Berkeley chaos was "hatched" by those who had visited Cuba, in admiration of Castro, and returned to this country to conduct terrorist Communist movements here.

The first page of Rubin's book *Do It!* boasts that Rubin "became known as the P. T. Barnum of the revolution, organizing spectacular events such as Viet-

nam Day marches," that he "lived near the University of California for three years working as an Outside Agitator to destroy the university."

He organized the March on the Pentagon, in 1967, which drew an estimated 55,000 Vietnam protestors, mostly Rubin's hippie followers who saw to it that window panes were broken in government buildings, sixteen tons of litter was left to grace the nation's capital, and that graffiti, including obscenities, were painted on federal structures.

Many sympathizers for the cause were lost because their idealism was sullied by their extreme and foul-mouthed colleagues. But organizer Jerry Rubin claimed, "This was the turning point. It was the end of mere picketing and the beginning of disruption." Predicted Rubin, "There will be no more mass national actions for a long time. The next phase will be mainly local things." (*Newsweek*, Nov. 6, 1967)

"Local things" became apparent across the nation. (Oberlin College, 100 students trapped a Navy recruiter in his car for 4 hours... Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois demonstrators kept Dow Chemical Co. representatives from conducting job interviews... at Harvard they imprisoned a Dow man in a conference room all day long... San Fernando Valley State College (Calif.) knife-carrying students seized the administration building and held 34 members of the college staff hostage for several hours... New York City College police arrested 100 students who were shielding an AWOL soldier with their bodies... San Francisco State College virtually shut down after fights and fires broke out... University of California at Santa Barbara, demonstrators burned the Bank of America.) Nation-wide campus chaos proceeded.

Rubin makes one astonishing revelation in his book. He relates that when he heard the news of Robert Kennedy's assassination he, "took one look at the killer's face on the screen. Shock of recognition swept my body. Remember that quiet little guy who sat in the corner at the first yippie meeting to plan the Czechago festival? The guy who didn't say a word the entire meeting. Who disappeared? Who was never seen again?

Sirhan, man, what the... have you done? Sirhan Sirhan is a yippie." (Pg. 167)

What "instruments, tools, weapons" had these insensate young revolutionaries turned upon the immature, the disturbed, the unstable of the populace?

Rubin was busy with plans for disrupting the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. "Can't you see it," Rubin asked, "100,000 hippies all around the hall smoking pot, faking delegates' cards, tossing smoke bombs?" SDS called on the high school and college students to "destroy this society, to smash it." Rubin describes Chicago, "Police cars caught alone were wiped out with rocks. The streets provided the weapons. A tree's branch became a club. The network executives agreed their reporters would be physically beaten by Czechago cops in order to personalize the media's involvement with the story. And there was Ho, who conspired with Dave Dellinger via International Telephone and Telegraph (every inch tapped and re-tapped by the FBI), to arrange the Viet Kong seizure of the Amerikan Embassy in Saigon to inspire our Czechago recruits with a will-to-win."

When Jerry Rubin and his co-worker Abbie Hoffman received subpoenas from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Rubin arrived wearing Viet Cong pajama pants, no tops, a Black Panther beret, a Mexican bandolier with live 303 British Enfield bullets and carrying an M-16 custom-made rifle. The next time he appeared he wore the Viet Cong flag as a cape, and screamed at the police to arrest him for treason.

Rubin records his conversation with his Aunt Sadie, a New York Communist of the old school who had once visited Stalin. He told her, "Aunt Sadie, long hair is a commie plot! ... We long hairs recognize each other as brothers in the street. Young kids identify short hair with authority, discipline... and long hair with letting go.... Our strategy is to steal the children of the bourgeoisie right away from the parents." (pg. 93,94, Rubin, DO IT!)

Subjects Dealt With in the Books "Points of Rebellion," by Douglas; and "Do It!" by Rubin

ON UNIVERSITIES

DOUGLAS

"The university—symbol of the Establishment—is used to having its way in a community. ... Our private universities are narrow spectrum of social and political opinion'...[tending] to make them insensitive to issues of the real world." (Pg. 14)

"Faculties and students should have the basic controls so that the university will be a revolutionary force that helps shape the restructuring of society." (Pg. 94)

"But the case against the university is that it is chiefly a handmaiden of the state or of industry or, worse yet, of the military-industrial complex." (Pg. 15)

RUBIN

"Universities are feudal autocracies." (Pg. 215)

"We got to destroy the universities, tear down the building...." (Pg. 103)

"Students became the biggest political force in the state [at Berkeley] with the university as our guerilla stronghold. ... The Regents and deans had no power. Students could do anything we wanted." (Pg. 23)

"We're using the campus as a launching pad to foment revolution everywhere." (Pg. 215)



"For the police are an arm of the Establishment and view protesters with suspicion. Yet American protesters need not be submissive. A speaker who resists arrest is acting as a free man." (Pg. 5,6)

"Undercover cops flood the place, making it unsafe to buy or sell dope on the street." (Pg. 233) [The results of taking such advice as that of Justice Douglas to resist arrest is chronicled by Eldridge Cleaver in his introduction to the Rubin book]

"...October 27, 1967, in the heart of Black Oakland, a pig white lay dead, deep fried in the fat of his own And another pig white lay there, similar to the dead one in every respect except that he did not die. This was a rare moment of death for the oppressor and triumph for the oppressed." (Pg. 10)

ON ARRESTS

"While an arrest seems definite enough, it is often an oppressive act aimed at a minority. Arrests for 'breach of the peace' are often cloaks for the arrest of people promoting unpopular ideas. Those arrests are therefore unconstitutional..." (Pg. 23)

"A young person without an arrest record has been living his life in a closet." (Pg. 242) "Walk on red lights. Don't walk on green lights. ...The goal is each-man-his-own-revolution." (Pg. 126)

10

ON THE PENTAGON

"If the budget of the Pentagon were reduced from 80 billion dollars to 20 billion it would still be over twice as large as that of any other agency of government. Starting with vast reductions in its budget, we must make the Pentagon totally subordinate in our lives." (Pg. 93)

"Two hundred of the bravest young men and women in the land, using their North Vietnamese flagpoles as clubs, broke through one line of soldiers and forced their way inside the building, *inside the Pentagon*. ...The Pentagon was not invincible. Flags of the Viet Kong, that beautiful yellow star on red and blue field, waved high in front of the Pentagon!" (Pg. 76,77)

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT

"The two parties have become almost indistinguishable; and each is controlled by the Establishment." (Pg. 57)

"The deceptive practices of the Establishment have multiplied." (Pg. 53) "When the university does not sit apart, critical of industry, the Pentagon, and government, there is no fermentative force at work in our society...Then all voices become a chorus supporting the status quo." (Pg. 16)

"All we want...are demands that the Establishment can never satisfy. ...We always put our demands forward in such an obnoxious manner that the power structure can never satisfy us and remain the power structure." (Pg. 125)

"The capitalist — money — bureaucratic — imperialist — middle-class — boring — exploitative — military — world structure is crumbling. ...If there was one lesson learned at the Pentagon and at Czechago it is that the young people didn't give a ... about political theories, ideologies, plans, organizations..." (pg. 246)

11

ON OLDER PEOPLE

DOUGLAS

"Older people are not receptive to these protests... The older generation might well have resisted all change in any case, but they are doomed to resist because of the conditioning they have experienced over the last few decades." (Pg. 10)

RUBIN

"The thousands of young people in Amerika beginning to ask 'why' and finding out that their elders have no answers; they have only power, and age." (pg. 247)

ON LANDLORDS

"The landlord's motion for eviction might be defeated, if the tenant had a lawyer who could prove that the real basis of eviction was the tenant's activities on civil rights. ...The voices and pressures of the military-industrial complex seem always to suffocate the pleas of the poor..." (Pg. 62,65)

"Can a society which makes distinctions between rich and poor, white and black, employers and employees, landlords and tenants, teachers and students reform itself? (Pg. 248)

12

ON MONEY MAKING

"...if one tells them [young people] that the important thing is making money and increasing the Gross National Product they turn away in disgust." (Pg. 51) "...we must cease...filling people with goodies merely to make money." (Pg. 96) [One might ask why a \$66,000 a year Justice wants to "moonlight" to earn even more from gambling interests?]

"Money causes the separation between work and life. ...Money corrupts every human relationship it touches." (Pg. 121) "Kids should steal money from their parents, because that is true liberation from the money ethic: true family." (Pg. 123)

"The money-economy is immoral. ...Capitalism is stealing. Shoplifting gets you high. Don't buy. Steal..." (Pg. 122)

ON BLACK EQUALITY

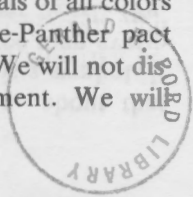
"The constitutional battle of the Blacks has been won, but equality of opportunity has, in practice, not yet been achieved." (Pg. 94)

"The problem of hunger—like the ghetto problem and the racial problem—has festered for years... (Pg. 77) "The use of violence as an instrument of persuasion is therefore inviting and seems to the discontented to be the only effective protest." (Pg. 78)

"When a policeman shoots a nigger, that's 'law and order.' But when a black man defends himself against a pig, that's 'violence'." (Pg. 142)

"Eldridge [Cleaver] wanted an alliance between bad blacks and bad whites. Criminals of all colors unite. ...The symbol of the Yippie-Panther pact is a hash pipe crossed by a gun. ...We will not dissent from the Amerikan government. We will overthrow it." (Pg. 196,198,199)

13



"Moreover, the lack of any apparent threat to American interests—whether Vietnam was fascist, communist, or governed in the ancient Chinese mandarin tradition (as it was for years) — compounded the American doubts concerning our Vietnam venture. (Pg. 39)

"The United States doesn't give a...about that little piece of real estate. Vietnam is a symbol. If the Viet Kong win, it will inspire free men everywhere: The United States is a paper tiger!" (Pg. 128)

"If there had been no Vietnam war, we would have invented one. If the Vietnam war ends, we'll find another war." (Pg. 105)

ON COMMUNISM

"At the international level we have become virtually paranoid. The world is filled with dangerous people. Every troublemaker across the globe is a communist." (Pg. 6)

"A person may not be punished for believing a so-called noxious or communist doctrine; but he may be punished for being an 'active' advocate of that ideology." (Pg. 11) [It is hard to believe that this statement was published by the Justice in 1969]

"My own HUAC testimony was all prepared. ...I planned to conclude: 'There is an international commie conspiracy and it's four-fifths of the world and it's all against you, you dumb....You *should* be paranoid.' ...Just as I was getting ready to testify, Ichord canceled the hearings for two months." (Pg. 207)

"We become an island in a capitalist sea attacked and infiltrated from inside and outside. ...The revolution declares all land titles null and void.

"Membership in the Communist Party was of course fatal [in the McCarthy era] even though those memberships, at least in the early years, were often not 'knowing' associations with the aim of overthrowing the government." (Pg. 18)

"But the fact that communists may have provoked some of the present dissent in the United States is not, as some would have it, the end of the matter. The voices are not communist..." (Pg. 9)

We are urban and rural liberators, seizing land for the people..." (Pg. 234)

"The yippies are Marxists. ...Karl wrote and sang his own rock album called "The Communist Manifesto." "The Communist Manifesto" is a song that has overthrown governments." (Pg. 116)

"Fidel Castro says: 'We've done away with a lot of privileges and inequalities and we want all of them to disappear, but the real problem isn't to redistribute income or equalize wages. We must break from the mastery of money, get rid of money altogether. We're not out to manage the old system more efficiently.'" (Pg. 122)

"The world will become one big commune with free food and housing, everything shared." (Pg. 256)

"The modern day dissenters and protesters are functioning as the loyal opposition functions in England. They are the mounting voice of political opposition to the status quo, calling for revolutionary changes in our institutions." (Pg. 57,58)

"We must realize that today's Establishment is the new George III. Whether it will continue to adhere to his tactics, we do not know. If it does, the redress, honored in tradition, is also revolution." (Pg. 95)

"The youngsters who rise up in protest have not formulated a program for action." (Pg. 96)

"Millions of young people will surge into the streets of every city, dancing, singing, smoking pot, ...in the streets, tripping, burning draft cards, stopping traffic.

High school students will seize radio, TV and newspaper offices across the land.

Police stations will blow up.

Revolutionaries will break into jails and free all the prisoners.

Kids will lock their parents out of their suburban homes and turn them into guerrilla bases, storing arms.

We'll break into banks and join the bank tellers in taking all the money and burning it in gigantic bonfires in the middle of the city.

The Youth International Revolution will begin with mass breakdown of authority, mass rebellion, total anarchy in every institution in the Western world." (Pg. 253, 256)

ON THEIR GOAL

"The younger generation sees more clearly than their parents do. Few want to destroy the system. [Such naivete, ignorance, or perfidy from a Supreme Court Justice] The aim of most of them is to regain the freedom of choice that their ancestors lost, to be free, to be masters of their destiny. ...That is the revolution that is coming." (Pg. 96)

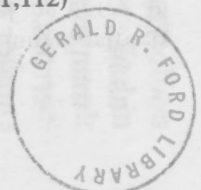
"The real crime of the dissenters was that they were out of favor with the Establishment..." (Pg. 4)

"We will do whatever is forbidden. We will outrage Amerika until the bourgeoisie dies of apoplexy.

The revolution declares war on Original Sin, the dictatorship of parents over their kids, Christian morality, capitalism and supermasculinity trips.

Our tactic is to send niggers and longhair scum invading white middle-class homes..., breaking the furniture and smashing Sunday school napalm blood Amerika forever.

The revolution is *now*." (Pg. 111,112)



The Douglas book, in its scant 100 pages, is, as has been observed, more than a petulant old man's carping about government agencies and errors. Actually such complaints took over a major portion of the book. His charges against government management of national forests and national parks could easily be refuted by any officer of these agencies. They are irrational, as are his charges against the "industrial-military complex," corporate interests, the Bureau of Public Roads, which he declares is almost "king." His scorn against "faceless bureaucrats," the CIA, the FBI, and the "Establishment" in general appears in print more as the rantings of an SDS member than the opinions of a seasoned judicial authority. These agencies do, of course, err on occasion. But as Justice Douglas must very well know, the popular pastime today is to consider all government agencies the "enemy."

The most serious aspect of this book, however, is that in it illegality is advocated by one who has taken an oath to uphold the laws of the nation! Equally as serious is the ammunition he has given to the forces of destruction allied against our country's survival.


Jerry Rubin's book can be tossed off as a great "put on" by those who wish to hide their heads in the sand. Admittedly his language, his spelling, his photographs would justify any book reviewer to dismiss *Do It!* as pure smut. Comparing the two books, we realize how little

Justice Douglas understands about the rebellion he so glibly commends; how candidly Jerry Rubin lays before us not only the meaning of the revolt that has been taking place but the future victories that can be attained. He frankly admits that the "right wing is usually right too. They use the right words: war, riots, revolution," and complains that "fools like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Max Lerner" "don't know what the...is happening." It is obvious that neither does Justice William O. Douglas.

There are many organizations today with a common cause — the spread of overt hatred, which will inevitably result in violent revolution. But the members of the most august Court in the land should have no part of their philosophy.

Should Justice Douglas be impeached? He has done more things foolishly than Justice Fortas who resigned before he could be impeached. The highest court has hurt this nation and Justice Douglas has actively helped in this dismal task. Our courts should be reformed and again tied down firmly to the Constitution. Justice William O. Douglas should be impeached as a first step in this long overdue reform!

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



William Steuart McBirnie was born in Canada and is a citizen of the USA by choice. He has written more than 150 books and booklets on many subjects, chiefly on religion, sociology, subversive activity, and world affairs. More than 3,000,000 of his publications have been distributed.

Dr. McBirnie holds six degrees from accredited institutions of higher learning. He has received many honors from patriotic societies, and even foreign governments, for his work against Communism. He has been knighted twice.

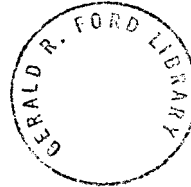
He has traveled the world many times to validate his radio news program and his books. His main calling is as the Senior Minister of the large United Community Church of Glendale, California. Though he is a graduate of four theological seminaries, he does not accept income from either his church or radio program, preferring to donate his time to these causes.

Dr. McBirnie is known for his factual and responsible presentation of conservatism and is one of America's foremost platform speakers.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions / The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

=====

May 22, 1970



Mr. R. S. Barry
131 1/4 North Catalina Street
Los Angeles, California 90004

Dear Mr. Barry:

Dean Kenneth Tollett called my attention to your letter. I enclose a copy of the March-April issue of the Center Newsletter, which explains why we sponsored a meeting on "Steps to Survival" in Los Angeles.

I also enclose a copy of the most recent report of Dr. Robert Hutchins, describing the Center and its program. And I enclose a membership form, with the hope that you'll want to become a member.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Frank K. Kelly".

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

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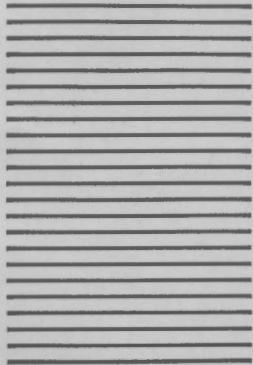


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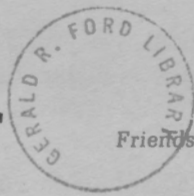
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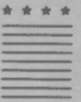


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The Center Newsletter



A Bulletin for Members and
Friends of the Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions



Vol. I, No. 5

March-April, 1970

Discussion Groups and the Cry for Action

As increasing numbers of Center members form or participate in discussion groups, questions about the relationships of these groups to various types of action are raised in letters and inquiries by telephone to the Center staff.

Center members, like all other responsible citizens, are concerned about the signs of chaos in our society. Many members belong to civic organizations engaged in a variety of projects. Some of them ask whether the Center endorses or advocates ideas offered through *The Center Magazine* or in such books as *Man v. The State*, *Embers of the World*, and *Asian Dilemma*.

Actually the Center endorses and advocates only the ideal of dialogue. Dialogue is difficult to maintain in an age when the clashes of groups and "crash programs" become strident. But the Fellows and staff members believe that this concept must be steadily maintained and advanced for the future of mankind.

We believe that thinking and discussing fundamental questions may enable people to find their way through the roaring currents of change. There are thousands of "action groups" today. Some of them serve constructive purposes. Others add to the anxiety and confusion that afflicts so many people.

The Center is not an "action group" in the usual sense of that term. But there is much action at the Center — action of the mind and spirit, stimulating thought and forward steps. That is the kind of action we want to see in discussion groups developed by our members, who have wide varieties of experience and are doing much thinking themselves.

In a Center pamphlet entitled *The Civilization of the Dialogue*, Senior Fellow John Wilkinson pointed out: "Machines already converse with one another more than men do with machines or with their fellows . . . If human values are to be conserved, it will be necessary to reintroduce into life what has nearly disappeared from it—the Civilization of the Dialogue." Stringfellow Barr said: "The collapse of good discussion has isolated the members of this generation one from another . . . Out of all mankind, only some two hundred millions of us are Americans, but we enjoy one advantage that no other nation enjoys to a like extent: we, or our ancestors have gathered here from every continent on earth. If we

engaged the rest of mankind as well as each other in a genuine dialogue we would still be speaking within the family, the Family of Man. Ours could be the most exciting conversation mankind has known . . . History suggests that good dialogue is infectious, if only because human beings have minds; they can therefore learn; when they learn, they come alive . . ."

Striving to carry on "a genuine dialogue" is hard but exhilarating work. It takes tremendous patience. It requires a willingness to read widely and deeply. It takes the courage to admit that there may be no apparent answers to very complicated problems. It requires faith in the intellect, and finding joy in the exercise of the mind — and in the flashes of insight that illuminate the world.

John W. Gardner, head of the Urban Coalition, declared in a Godkin Lecture at Harvard: "My day-to-day activities center around down-to-earth questions: how to get adequate housing for the poor, jobs for the hardcore unemployed, food for hungry children, early schooling for the disadvantaged, equal opportunity for blacks. It is not easy to turn from such preoccupations to the broad canvas of social philosophy. But it is necessary. The problems I work on every day are made more difficult of solution because we lack any adequate perspective on social action and social change."

People at the Center are deeply aroused about housing for the poor, jobs for the unemployed, food for the hungry, schooling for the disadvantaged, equal opportunity for blacks and all minorities, and the conflicts that threaten to tear the world apart. But Center people believe that their principal task is to strive for an "adequate perspective on social action and social change."

We think that the way to a better future is the way of understanding what is really going on — and what the possibilities for constructive change really are. We believe that participants in Center discussion groups can help to develop these possibilities into realities.

Frank K. Kelly

Topics and Participants in Meetings on the Center Calendar —

February and March, 1970

The Calendar of events in February at the Center included the following:

February 1 — *Pacem in Maribus* planning conference held in Rhode Island, concluded.

February 6 — "The Multinational Corporation," a continuation of discussions led by Neil Jacoby, Center Associate and chairman of President Nixon's Task Force on U. S. Economic Growth.

February 9 — "The Myth of Middle America," A Paper by Richard Parker, Center Junior Fellow, was discussed.

February 10 — Dr. Georges R. Tamarin, Tel-Aviv University, held discussions with Senior Fellows and staff, on "Patterns of Prejudice in Israel."

February 12, 13, 14, 15 — Conference with some United Nations Ambassadors and Center staff members on "The United Nations and the Third World."

February 19, 20 — Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General of the United States, led discussions on "Civil Rights and Criminal Justice."

February 20 — Max Kaplan, Director, Institute for Studies of Leisure, University of South Florida, held discussions with Center staff on "Leisure and the Elderly."

February 25, 26, 27, 28 — *Pacem in Maribus* Planning and Development Conference, held jointly with the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. (Described elsewhere in this *Newsletter*).

The Calendar of events in March at the Center included the following:

March 3 — "Notes on the Uprising of the Industrial Proletariat — USA" a paper by Carl Oglesby, was discussed with Center staff.

March 5 — A paper entitled "Military-Industrial Complexities," by Charles Wolf, Jr., of the Rand Corporation, was discussed.

March 6 — Professor J. H. Plumb, Cambridge University, held discussions with Center staff on the changing role of history in the educational process.

March 11, 12 — Ralph G. H. Siu, author, discussed Chinese and American philosophy as applied to science, economics, and power with Center staff members.

March 13 — A paper entitled "The Divine Persuasion (Theology and Revolution, Part I)" by John Wilkinson, was discussed.

March 16, 17 — J. W. Gofman and Arthur Tamplin, of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, led discussions of "Radioactive Pollution," with Center Fellows.

March 18, 19 — Dr. Charles Hardin, director, the International Agricultural Institute, University of California at Davis, discussed papers he had prepared on Franklin D. Roosevelt, and "Some Observations on the Bearing of Recent Research in Political Science on the Viability of Party Government," with Center Fellows.

March 20 — Steven Rose, professor of biology at the Open University, Bletchley, Buckinghamshire, dis-

cussed "On the Frontiers of the Mind," with Center staff members.

March 23 — Rexford G. Tugwell, Senior Fellow, and Center staff members discussed Mr. Tugwell's paper "Doctrine of Necessity and the 'Wars' in Asia."

March 27 — Robert Shapiro, founder of *Oasis*, a human development center, and Chicago businessman; Alan Watts, author and interpreter of Zen Buddhism; and Gary Snyder, poet, held discussions with Center staff.

March 30, 31 — John Wilkinson, Senior Fellow, was the conference director of meetings on "Civilization of the Dialogue, Legal Argumentation and Rhetoric."

Members Admire and Challenge The Ideas of Buchanan

Responses varying from highly enthusiastic to sharply critical comments have been arriving since the publication of *Embers of the World*, a Center book containing the provocative ideas of the late Scott Buchanan, a Center founder.

A Methodist bishop, James Armstrong, wrote from Aberdeen, S. Dakota: "I have just completed reading the conversations with Scott Buchanan . . . I have devoured each of the *Center Magazines* as they have come. Although my desk is deluged with an assortment of materials, nothing is meaning more to me these days than the stimulus and clarity of thought emanating from the Center . . ."

Francis Wormuth, a professor of political science, said in a letter to Harvey Wheeler: "It seems to me that Buchanan's position in *Embers of the World* is entirely indefensible. His thesis is that the cosmos is structured by mathematics, and that one exposes its structure by Socratic dialogue. This is the Pythagorean perversion: Everyone knows that the University was really created by Marduk out of the carcass of Tiamat."

A flood of delight came from Mrs. Ernestine Brehmer of Cleveland, Wisconsin: "What a find! This man is ME, he is we, he is all of us, in himself . . ."

In his column in the *Los Angeles Times* on March 10, Richard Buffum wrote: "Buchanan knew an overview of an ordered structure, though important, was not enough. His wisdom said there must be a set of priorities of moral order. Otherwise man, given free will, would dissipate himself chasing expedience or ultimately destroy himself in anarchy . . ."

"You have to start with the big questions before you can integrate the small ones. There's not much fundamentally awry with our corporate institutions — churches, universities, businesses and industries, representative government — that a reevaluation of ethos cannot right. Beginning with yours and mine. That's where we begin."

Comments on Other Topics by Center Members

J. D. Barkley, of Pittsburgh, sent in these comments with a check for renewal of his membership: "I think it might be well not only to continue bringing people in so they can share their ideas, but to take Center staff people out occasionally, to live in and sense the style and stance of differing groups, institutions, parties, and persons. You might try to sense the Agnew phenomenon — see where he's going (if anywhere!) and what it is that strikes responses among many Americans.

"People like myself need all the clear-headed help we can get to work with America the Fearful, and try to channel the massive emotional energies of such persons into an open exchange of ideas and attitudes with the groups they suspect and despise. You are one of our resources, one of our trainers — or you are when you are not fattening your own egos!

"How about developing a course in philosophy for the elementary schools — a course that, with a change in titles, could be offered to the community! That may sound facetious, but have you any awareness of how poorly trained most Americans are, to think?"

Norman Miller, secretary of the Rotary Club of Monterey Park, California, said in a letter: "We would like to request of the Center that it consider the role of the service club in effecting greater results toward promoting, in particular, world peace and understanding. Our club is interested in sponsoring a project or program that would be feasible for Rotary International . . . With more than 650,000 members and over 14,000 clubs throughout the free world, we feel that our organization — possibly too, a combination of service clubs — could make a real contribution in this area . . ."

William N. Ellis, of the Science Policy Division of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), wrote from Paris: "I believe *The Center Newsletter* could be most useful in stimulating much needed new ideas and thought about and within UNESCO . . . I shall see that it gets circulated, and, hopefully, discussed."

Discussing "Priorities in an Affluent Society," a *Center Magazine* article analyzed in the February issue of the *Newsletter*, Mary Ann Romano wrote from Massapequa Park, New York:

"Whether or not I would be willing to relinquish my 'consumer sovereignty' to preserve a 'livable environment' poses a difficult situation. In order to answer this question we must first determine the meaning of the phrase, 'livable environment'. In my opinion, it has a different connotation to all people. What you might consider to be a 'livable environment', I might regard as a step above a 'slum' or vice-versa. I feel it depends entirely on the individual and his background. If one is accustomed to a 'Rolls-Royce life', anything less than this, even a Cadillac, would hardly satisfy his extravagant nature . . .

"I intend to reap all of the benefits and pleasures that our affluent, progressive society has to offer. If President Nixon ever declared a state of national emergency because we were involved in a war, I would not hesitate to deprive myself of the 'good life'. 'Political sovereignty' and self-determination are very important to me. When my 'livable environment' is threatened or destroyed by war, then, and only then, would I be willing to make a supreme sacrifice."

In another letter Mrs. Val Neeley of Boulder City, Nevada, expressed agreement with John K. Galbraith's statements about "the system's horrifying reliance on military production." She said: "Today's world situation calls for more aware decisions, solutions aimed at a 'feeling' level of where our prob-

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Attach separate list of additional names.

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lems hit and hurt us at the human level . . .

"My experience, both in myself and as I know and have seen others change, is that change seldom occurs without a crisis of some sort. A concentrated, all-out, national presentation via television, with cooperative backing of government, business, medical and scientific forces might be a helpful approach. I think that with new attitudes we can recover ourselves and survive . . ."

Mrs. Wendy Losch, of San Diego, California, showed her understanding of the Center in a letter: "The goal of the Center, as I see it, is to preserve its autonomy precisely by avoiding all formal organizational structure and its attendant pressures, thus freeing its members to pursue individual and autonomous goals. The function of the discussion groups essentially is that of transmitter. The Center's role is not that of surrogate parent; rather, each group ideally should consider itself as a small autonomous unit, acting within its own unstructured situation."

Jogging the Mind: Questions for Consideration

"The Jury As a Political Institution"

In the March issue of the *Center Magazine*, Professor Jon Van Dyke contends that juries should feel free to temper the law with mercy, particularly in cases of political dissent and "crimes of conscience."

By limiting their verdicts to questions of fact, American jurors have become a "docile, regimented group" and a "rubber stamp" for the government, Van Dyke said in his article on "The Jury as a Political Institution."

Most jurors are not aware of their inherent power to nullify judges' instructions to interpret only facts and not law, Van Dyke asserted. A professor of law, he is now a Visiting Fellow at the Center.

Van Dyke said: "Although jurors always have the power to reject a judge's instructions, at least in the sense that they will not be punished if they fail to follow the instructions, they almost never do."

The argument against such jury nullification, he said, is that if judges informed juries they actually are permitted to pass upon the appropriateness of a law, the jurors would be more likely to follow their prejudices than their consciences and the rule of law would be replaced by the rule of lawlessness.

"Whatever the merits of this argument, it is clear that American jurors have become a docile, regimented group," Van Dyke said. ". . . Justice would be better served if jurors were told they have the power to act mercifully toward the defendant should they decide that applying the law to his act would lead to an unjust result."

Proponents of jury nullification, including many of the Founding Fathers, were not asking that

juries be given free rein to create new laws, Van Dyke said.

"The argument today is only that the jury has the right to mitigate existing laws and that this right is a basic safeguard against an oppressive or even a merely overly aggressive government," he said.

By limiting a jury's function to finding facts, Van Dyke contended, the jury is limited to the one function it is most poorly qualified to perform in the judicial process.

"It has not been shown that jurors are better fact-finders than judges," he said. "Quite probably they are worse.

"Why then do we impanel a million jurors in 80,000 criminal trials and an untold additional number of civil trials each year? Are we throwing away our money because of some unfounded illusion? Or do we preserve the jury because, though we will not admit it, we really want the jury to do more than find facts?"

Van Dyke condemned the procedure in most jurisdictions of a judge telling jurors it is their duty to follow the law only as he states it to them.

"Jurors should be told instead," Van Dyke concluded, "that although they are a public body bound to give respectful attention to the laws, they have the final authority to decide whether or not to apply a given law to the acts of the defendant on trial before them. More explicitly, jurors should be told that they represent their communities and that it is appropriate to bring into their deliberations the feelings of the community and their own feelings based on conscience. Finally, they should be told that, despite their respect for the law, nothing would bar them from acquitting the defendant if they feel that the law as applied to the factual situation before them would produce an inequitable or unjust result."

In view of the uproar over the verdict given by the jury in the trial of the "Chicago Seven" — as well as the conduct of the defendants, their lawyers, and the judge — do you think social issues can be fairly handled in the present system of criminal justice?

Do you share the views of Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, who said in a Center meeting: "The system is certainly inefficient and wasteful"? Judge Burger added: "It is the most elaborate system ever devised by a society. It is so elaborate that in many places it is breaking down. It is not working."

Judge Burger questioned the value of the jury. He noted that use of the jury is rapidly disappearing in England, and it generally does not exist in European countries.

Do you believe Professor Van Dyke has made a good case for the assertion of more power by juries — or do you think that such assertion would lead to a more rapid breakdown of the legal system? What reforms do you have to suggest?

Your comments will be welcomed.

Center Fellows Participate In Meeting on Ocean Resources at UN Headquarters

The UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and the Center jointly sponsored a two-day meeting, February 25 to 27, at UN headquarters in New York on "Planning and Development in Relation to Ocean Resources."

Participants sought to clarify concepts and initiate new ideas for the planned, efficient, and equitable development of ocean resources. They were particularly concerned about the impact that the increased use and exploitation of the sea and its bed will have on the developing nations and on the marine ecology. In addition, they discussed the requirements and overall objectives and criteria of planning for the development of ocean resources.

Oscar Schachter, deputy executive director of UNITAR, presided at the sessions. Center participants included Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Senior Fellow; Silviu Brucan and William Ewald, visiting Fellows; and Wolfgang Vitzthum, research assistant to Mrs. Borgese.

The meeting was one of a series of conferences in preparation for the Center's *Pacem in Maribus* Convocation, to be held on Malta June 28-July 3.

Conference on "Steps to Survival" To be Held by Center in Los Angeles on April 25 1970

Everybody talks about ecology now — the threats to life caused by the bad side-effects of runaway technology. From its beginning in 1959, the Center has been warning the people of the world that an environmental crisis endangered the earth.

In a Center paper entitled "The Politics of Ecology: The Question of Survival," Aldous Huxley called in 1963 for a deep examination of the basic biological aspects of the human situation on a planet with limited resources. A stream of Center pamphlets and audiotapes in the 1960's — *Technology and Human Values*, *Tragedy and the New Politics*, *Technology, History and the Future*, *Technology and the Unions*, *Technology: Toxic or Tonic?* and many others brought the rising perils to the attention of many leaders.

Now the cries of alarm fill the air and confusion grows daily. Since the Center's mission is clarification as well as the issuance of early warnings, a Center meeting on the whole environmental situation seemed desirable.

On April 25, at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, Center members will gather to consider "Steps to Survival." All Center members in Southern California are invited to attend. Readers of this *Newsletter* are asked to notify Mrs. Inez Asher, (The Center office, 205 S. Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills,

California, 90212) if they plan to be present. Early registration is urged, because the capacity of the hotel conference room is limited.

The meeting will run from 9:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Major questions to be considered at the conference include:

Are we seeing the problems we really face?

Are the media of communication informing us, arousing us, or confusing us — or doing all these things at once?

Are new ideas of what human beings can become now available and usable?

Speakers will examine the impact of the U. S. economy on the quality of life; perspectives for glimpsing the future; the possibilities of computers in overcoming the crisis; the connections between bad environment and the youth revolt; the racial crisis and the decay of our cities; the perils and promises of atomic power; the good and bad aspects of science and planning — and what individual persons can do in the critical time ahead.

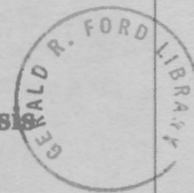
At each session of the all-day meeting, there will be discussions sparked by questions from Center members. At the end of the conference, the most promising ideas will be summarized.

Speakers will include Robert M. Hutchins, Harry S. Ashmore, Harvey Wheeler, John Cogley, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Neil Jacoby, Richard Bellman, Kenneth Watt, Arthur R. Tamplin, Robert Jungk, Kenneth Tollett, William Ewald, and Eddie Albert.

Efforts to Ease Middle East Crisis Described in New Book

A new book — *Between the Rock and the Hard Place* by Paul Jacobs, just published by Random House — contains a vivid picture of the pains and perplexities suffered by Mr. Jacobs, then a Center consultant, in attempting to arrange a private meeting under Center auspices in Europe between prominent Israelis, Americans, and Palestinian Arabs to find ways of easing tensions in the Middle East.

Publishers' Weekly, in a review on February 9, 1970, declared: ". . . Jacobs found himself in the end exhausted and bitterly frustrated — a man who had shuttled from Israel to Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt, and back to the U. S. more than once, speaking privately to influential Israelis and Palestinian Arabs but finding himself at last ground 'between the rock and the hard place,' the distorted views of reality held by both sides. Jacobs' honest reportage of his experience is heartbreaking and withering. Rarely has anyone got between covers so vividly the essence of the Mid-East tragedy in its most human terms. His chronicle of failure adds up to one of the most revealing documents on the subject thus far published."





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Prospects for Democracy in a Revolutionary Age Examined by Wheeler

The Center has sent to members a book by Harvey Wheeler, Senior Fellow, entitled *Democracy in a Revolutionary Era*.

"The scientific revolution may institutionalize revolution, for one of its results will be to focus attention on the systemic, or larger ecological, implications of every major social issue," Wheeler asserts.

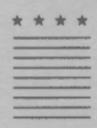
"Human society has come to the political point of no return. In unconsciously creating a unitary industrial society throughout the world, man has made his survival depend upon his ability to follow it with a consciously created world order."

This has been a recurring theme in Wheeler's writing since he joined the Center a decade ago. He earned his doctorate in political science at Harvard, and has served on the faculties of Johns Hopkins and Washington and Lee Universities. He is also the author of *The Conservative Crisis* and co-author of the novel *Fail-Safe*.

His book on democracy in a revolutionary age contains many provocative statements which could make excellent topics for discussion groups.

Hutchins on Educational Television Program

A discussion of the work of the Center by Robert M. Hutchins in a conversation with Keith Berwick was broadcast by KCET, Channel 28 in Los Angeles, on Tuesday, April 7 at 10 p.m. and on Sunday, April 12 at 6 p.m. Comments by Center members will be appreciated.



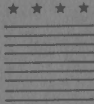
The *Center Newsletter* is published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a non-profit educational foundation devoted to the study of basic issues confronting humanity. Address correspondence concerning Center programs to Frank K. Kelly, vice president for continuing education, and inquiries on the operation of discussion groups to Peter Tagger, director of membership services, at P. O. Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103.

Tapes

242 tapes for broadcast and discussion,
offered to radio stations, discussion groups,
classrooms, etc., produced by the Center
for the Study of Democratic Institutions

- On the Racial Issue* 5
- On Peace and War* 11
- On Technology and Men* 18
- On the Supreme Court and the Constitution* 26
- On the World Around Us* 29
- On the Ins and Outs of Modern Government* 33
- On Capitalism, Socialism, Communism* 37
- On Education, Students, and the Generation Gap* 40
- On America and Americans* 47
- A Special Series: Slightly Autobiographical* 53

1969



The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

was established by the Fund for the Republic to study whether and how a free and just society may be maintained under the strikingly new political, social, economic, and technological conditions of the twentieth century. The Center is currently examining such areas as the economic order, the political process, science and technology, communication, race, urbanism, law, labor, education, war and peace. Paul G. Hoffman and Elmo Roper are honorary chairmen and William O. Douglas is chairman of the Board of Directors; Robert M. Hutchins is president.

The method of study is through dialogue and discussion. The Fellows of the Center meet almost daily to talk among themselves and with a variety of visitors, many of them specialists in one or another of the areas under examination by the Center. Most of the programs offered in the following pages result from these meetings around the conference table of the Center. They were not recorded under standard broadcast conditions and therefore contain occasional extraneous noises. Each includes an opening and closing, but any purchaser using the material is authorized to substitute his own introduction and ending provided



that the Center continues to be indicated clearly as the source of the program. Outside sponsorship for broadcast is authorized provided that the Center remains identified as the original source.

The programs are recorded on half-track at $3\frac{3}{4}$ speed. They are for sale at \$7.50 per program, with a 10 per cent discount for a bulk order of 13 or more (any selection). See Order Forms on last pages.

Some radio stations have requested full-track recordings at $7\frac{1}{2}$ speed. Any of these programs can be obtained in this form if requested, but because of the greatly increased amount of tape required the purchase price is at the rate of \$15 per hour, with 10 per cent discount for a bulk order of 13 or more. Please be sure to specify in your order if you wish tapes at this speed.

Tapes may not be copied for resale.

Discussion groups may wish to obtain similar versions of some of the tapes in printed form. A list of such publications appears on page 56.

Further information about the work of the Center will be provided on request.

If the lost word is lost, if the spent
word is spent
If the unheard, unspoken
Word is unspoken, unheard
. . . . Oh my people, what have I done
unto thee

T. S. ELIOT IN "WASTELAND"

The Racial Issue

The thorniest topic Americans have to face in America — race relations — is the subject of this provocative series.

The 33 programs are based on widely ranging, often clashing views of Fellows of the Center and others engaged in dialogues on race, ghetto education and separatism versus integration.

NUMBER 435

14:34 **NEW**

"I Shall Die But That Is All I Shall Do For Death" The late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., James Farmer of CORE and Bishop C. Edward Crowther join in a stirring call for an end to genocide at home and abroad. These speeches, each five minutes long, were delivered at *Pacem in Terris II* in Geneva, Switzerland, and are singularly fitting as a tribute to the work of Dr. King.

NUMBER 288

27:35 **NEW**

A Second Look at the American Dilemma Twenty-five years ago, Gunnar Myrdal's great study, *An American Dilemma*, foretold developments in race which recent events have confirmed. During Dr. Myrdal's recent visit to the Center, he takes a second look at the American dilemma.

NUMBER 285

49:00 **NEW**

Farewell to Integration W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Center, bids a melancholy farewell to integration and urges whites to help blacks make their segregated communities and institutions self-governing and in accord with black aspirations. His colleagues disagree: "You can't say farewell to something you haven't yet tried."

NUMBER 433

29:45 **NEW**

Farewell, Hell! In this moving, deeply personal account by a white Southerner, Center Secretary and Treasurer John L. Perry argues that white Americans have only just begun to accept desegregation and have not yet even begun to experience integration. This talk is a rebuttal to W. H. Ferry's views expressed in his "Farewell to Integration."

NUMBER 200

53:01 **NEW**

Black Power and White Inertia Continuing a dispute at the Center on the subject of racial integration, Center Executive Vice President Harry S. Ashmore replies to W. H. Ferry's "Farewell to Integration." The demand for segregation and separate communities, says Ashmore, even when put forward by blacks, is racist. Followed by discussion.

NEW NUMBER 292 57:18
Street Scene: Detroit With what happened in Detroit in the summer of 1967 holding great implications for other big cities, two Black Power advocates, Frank Joyce and the Rev. Albert Cleage of Detroit, offer a sober explanation of the meaning of Black Power and an incisive description of the breakdown of the traditional political functions of a city.

NEW NUMBER 298 51:10
Organizing the Poor: Somebody Down Here Likes Me Jack T. Conway, executive director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, gives a stirring account of how old-time trade union techniques provide a new development in organizing the poor in ghetto communities. Paul Schrade of the UAW joins Fellows of the Center in discussion.

NEW NUMBER 430 40:52
Return to the Neighborhood "I would like to make a public decision just once before I die." With these words, Milton Kotler, resident fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, explains to the Center the drive which has led him to invent the Community Corporation. Designed to return a sense of identity and political participation to neighborhoods otherwise lost in the political vacuum of the city, he contends the Community Corporation may be a model which will return to the people those matters which they can best handle themselves. William Gorman and Harvey Wheeler of the Center see in Kotler's plan a return to creative federalism.

NEW NUMBER 434 39:52
Reading, Writing . . . and Race How do we make the public schools function for our children? Integration or compensation? Money or commitment? Or more of each? These large questions are weighed against current educational theories and practices in this varied and vocal panel brought together in New York City by the Center. Participants include the president of the Center Robert M. Hutchins; Harry S. Ashmore, executive vice-president of the Center; Neil Sullivan, superintendent of schools at Berkeley; the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy; Oscar Lewis, anthropologist of poverty cultures; and sociologist Kenneth Clark, whose book, *Effect of Prejudice and Discrimination on Personality Development*, was cited by the Supreme Court in its 1954 desegregation decision.

NEW NUMBER 429 26:18
The Bishop Is Expelled A visiting Fellow of the Center, the Right Rev. C. Edward Crowther, testifies before the United Nations in a moving, highly personal account of what it is like for a white man today to live and work in South Africa and the day-to-day events

which led to his expulsion as Episcopal Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman.

NUMBER 281 29:28 **NEW**
Apartheid: The Coming of World War III The Right Rev. C. Edward Crowther, Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman who was expelled by the Republic of South Africa for his outspoken opposition to the apartheid policy, tells his fellow Episcopal Bishop, James A. Pike, how capital investments in South Africa may be preparing the way for the next world war. Both bishops are Fellows of the Center.

NUMBER 448 29:13 **NEW**
Sweet and Sour Guaranteed Incomes Four years after he helped to launch the demand for a Guaranteed Annual Income, W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Center, invites a reappraisal: Will the GAI stifle the strivings of minority groups for identity, self-help and self-determination? The man who raises these questions is Don Devereux, who was instrumental in setting up a self-help migrant workers program in New Mexico.

NUMBER 255 49:00
The Mexican-Americans I: "La mula no nació arisca. . ." "The mule wasn't born stubborn; his life made him that way." In these excerpts from an all-day conference at the Center it becomes clear that the deprivation and exploitation suffered by the Mexican-American community are far more serious than for most other minority groups. Participants include Steve Allen, who chaired the conference, and a number of experts in the field: Y. Arturo Cabrera, Bert Corona, Paul O'Rourke, Seniel Ostrow, Ralph Guzman, Daniel Luevano, and Ernesto Galarza.

NUMBER 256 39:47
The Mexican-Americans II: "Who is the Enemy?" These excerpts from the Center conference focus on identifying the "enemy" of the Mexican-American community. Participants include Steve Allen, Grace Olivarez, Dionicio Morales, Armando Rodriguez, Bert Acosta, Arturo Cabrera, Daniel Luevano, and Bert Corona.

NUMBER 257 44:45
The Mexican-Americans III: The Cactus Curtain During the Center conference on the Mexican-Americans, Ernesto Galarza, author, labor organizer, teacher, and government official, outlined a program to correct the deep inequities in the U.S. culture. A moving, often highly personal, account from one of the most respected of Mexican-American spokesmen.

NUMBER 262

41:15

Operation Bootstrap I: Experiment in Self-Help Uninhibited by bureaucratic controls, and therefore with almost no funds, Operation Bootstrap, a volunteer self-help movement in the black area of Los Angeles, has already enjoyed a stunning success in training Negroes for skilled and semi-skilled professions. Robert Bailey and Lou Smith, who organized it, describe to Hallock Hoffman the social and emotional problems they met with both teachers and students before they could start training, and how their work as a consequence has expanded so greatly. Following this initial conversation at the Center, Center Fellows and Operation Bootstrap volunteers began an exchange of visits in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara.

NUMBER 263

29:36

Operation Bootstrap II: Self-Concepts—Myth and Mirror A fifty-man delegation from Operation Bootstrap continues a discussion with Fellows of the Center of the perceptions, true and false, that blacks and whites have about Negroes.

NUMBER 264

57:25

Operation Bootstrap III: The U.S. Constitution or Self-Determination for Negroes? Does the Constitution need revising to protect minority groups, or must Negroes choose to fight for independent nationhood? Excerpts from a discussion with delegates from Operation Bootstrap and Fellows of the Center.

NUMBER 309

56:15

The Fire This Time What happened in Watts? A penetrating and powerful montage of conflicting feelings and attitudes from reporters, civil rights leaders, and residents of Watts, recorded on the scene during the five-day uprising in the Los Angeles Negro ghetto in August, 1965. Produced by Trevor Thomas in cooperation with Pacifica radio station KPFFK, Los Angeles.

NUMBER 133

50:15

Have Slums, Will Travel Louis Lomax, author and social critic, proposes a radical education program that would remove children from the home after the manner of Israeli kibbutzim. Such a program, says Mr. Lomax, would relieve the scarring effects of slum environment upon children, provide the integrated experience necessary for rooting out prejudice, and halt our accelerating march toward a class society. Fellows of the Center join in the discussion.

NUMBER 188

28:42

"You've Got To Be Taught To Hate" Racial prejudice will be unlearned, says Dr. Judd Marmor, only when the perceptions people have hitherto held of one another are changed through their experiences. These experiences will have to be imposed upon people by

law, as in the Civil Rights Act. Excerpts from a staff meeting and a library conversation also include expressions from Center Fellows W. H. Ferry and Paul Jacobs, and Roderic Gorney, M.D.

NUMBER 241

26:23

The Enduring Exception In this highly personal and candid look at the race issue, Harry S. Ashmore, executive vice president of the Center suggests that the intellectual's normal tendency to complicate fundamental and simple propositions is nowhere more sharply demonstrated than in the race issue.

NUMBER 66

57:05

Who Will Blow the Trumpet? Grace Lee, leader in the Negro movement in Detroit, tells the Center Fellows "Negroes don't want your whiteness," nor the support of whites who feed emotionally on the Negro struggle. On the other hand, the movement, she says, does offer whites the opportunity to create a spiritual movement of their own. But — who will blow the trumpet? Spirited discussion follows.

NUMBER 67

37:36

Black and White in America Philip Rieff, author of Freud: *The Mind of a Moralist*, and sociologist who has been in residence at the Center, says that almost all sociological analysis of the Negro in America is a liberal white man's sociology that fails to take into account that political changes are dependent upon cultural changes. He takes as his text de Tocqueville's statement: "If ever America undergoes great revolutions, they will be brought about by the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States . . ." — not by the equality but by the inequality of the conditions.

NUMBER 279

52:35

A Strategy of Disruption Accepting our social system more or less as it is, and accepting also the present racist character of the United States, Richard Cloward of the school of Social Work of Columbia University looks for ways in which the poor, and especially the minority, ghettoized poor, might find a degree of political and economic power that they now lack. Paul Jacobs and other Center Fellows join in the discussion.

NUMBER 68

35:00

The Negro As an American "I happen to have been born a Negro . . . I am also a government administrator . . . my greatest difficulty in public life is combating the idea, held by both Negroes and whites, that somehow my responsibilities as a Negro conflict with my responsibilities as a government administrator. . . ." Robert C. Weaver, now head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, talks movingly on America's No. 1 problem.

NUMBER 69

40:05

A Walk on the West Side "The Negro inhabits a world of subsistence living, enforced idleness—either partial or total—acute physical discomforts, and an abundance of disillusionment," shared in good part with his Puerto Rican neighbors and a substantial minority of whites. A stimulating, documented report on the Negro, as seen by Joseph P. Lyford of the Center from the vantage point of New York City's West Side—housing, education (including the controversial "open enrollment" program), the weakness of organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League, and CORE.

NUMBER 77

60:16

A Negro Looks at the Fourteenth Amendment Do the claims that the Negro is making for special consideration, in order to compensate for discrimination in the past, violate the demand for equality in the Fourteenth Amendment? Loren Miller, NAACP attorney in Los Angeles, answers questions by Fellows of the Center about Supreme Court cases involving reapportionment, school segregation, and sit-in demonstrations.

NUMBER 129

50:07

The Ethics of Compensatory Justice Richard Lichtman, philosopher, ex-Center staff member, argues for a policy of reverse discrimination in the form of benign quotas favoring Negroes in employment, residence, and education.

NUMBER 104

27:17

Is There a New South? Five native Southerners, who know their subject—and each other—intimately, talk together out of a common experience and a basically common point of view with élan and wisdom. The participants are Claude Sitton, Southeastern correspondent of *The New York Times*; Harold Fleming, vice-president of the Potomac Institute, Washington, D.C.; John Popham, executive managing editor of *The Chattanooga Times*; Ralph McGill, publisher of *The Atlanta Constitution*; and Harry S. Ashmore, Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and executive vice president of the Center. Produced by Florida State University.

NUMBER 128

56:45

The Negro Revolution Bayard Rustin, executive secretary of the War Resisters League and organizer and leader of the Negro March on Washington, in an informal talk at the Center, discusses what the Negro protest movement hopes to achieve currently. "The key word," says Mr. Rustin, "is dignity. The key tactic is demonstration, the 'package deal' is jobs, schools, and housing." The participants include Center Fellows.

NUMBER 307

45:00

Winds of Change Obscured by the headline violence, there are some signs that the people of Mississippi may yet avoid the wreck and ruin of resistance to the inevitable changes in the South. A program based on observations and interviews by Trevor Thomas with residents of the Magnolia State.

NUMBER 96

28:40

Racial Equality, Criminal Proceedings, and the Courts Thurgood Marshall, counsel in the historic school segregation cases of 1952-54 and now solicitor-general of the United States, discusses the role of the federal courts in helping to realize democracy's twin goals of liberty under law and equality before it.

On Peace and War

The first six tapes (Nos. 400-405), exploring the routes, and obstacles, to peace, come from the Center-sponsored Pacem in Terris II convocation held in Geneva, Switzerland.

Also included is a charge by two Center officials, who journeyed to North Vietnam on private peace missions, that President Johnson sabotaged a conciliatory peace overture to Hanoi drafted by his own State Department.

At the May, 1967, opening of the second Center convocation, based on the late Pope John XXIII's "Peace on Earth" encyclical, the Middle East crisis was breaking into a shooting war and the bombing of North Vietnam was being escalated. Normal channels of diplomacy were frozen and the United Nations was left impotent.

In such an atmosphere, the only dialogue for peace was taking place at this unique, privately conducted gathering, attended by nearly 400 private and public leaders from some 70 nations. With distance, the proceedings now have greater force than most could appreciate during the crisis.

NUMBER 400

55:26

NEW

Prerequisites to Peace This program is a synthesis of the entire Convocation, concentrating on those areas in which there was general consensus about necessary conditions for world peace. Among the participants are U Thant, Senators J. William Fulbright and Edward Brooke, Pastor Martin Niemöller of West Ger-

many, Paul G. Hoffman, James Farmer, Linus Pauling, Martin Luther King and Center President Robert M. Hutchins. Center Executive Vice-President Harry S. Ashmore, who was deputy chairman of the Convocation, narrates.

NEW NUMBER 401

56:52

A World View of Vietnam Overriding all discussions during the Convocation was the issue of Vietnam. No one spoke of the war without regret, but there were wide differences among the international group of scholars, statesmen and journalists about how it had begun, about its effect on the rest of the world and how best to bring it to an end. Especially telling is the warning by Europeans and Asians that Americans do not understand the peoples of Asia and that this ignorance is leading to tragic decisions. Participants include Masamichi Inoki of Japan, J. L. Hromadka of Czechoslovakia, J. Kenneth Galbraith, Sir Thaddeus McCarthy of New Zealand, M. J. Desai of India, Jean Chauvel of France, U. S. Senators J. William Fulbright and Claiborne Pell, Martin Luther King, Jr., Linus Pauling, Marian Dobrosielski of Poland, André Philip of France, Ambassador Sonn Voeunsaï of Cambodia, Roger Garaudy of France, Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman of Thailand, Ambassador Nugroho of Indonesia and Princess Moune Souvanna Phouma of Laos.

NEW NUMBER 402

56:30

Confrontation: East-West Germany Participating in the first public confrontation since World War II between representatives of East and West Germany about the disputes on borders and on unification which keep them alienated are Wilhelm Schütz of West Germany, member of the Presidium, Unteilbares Deutschland, and Gerald Götting of East Germany, vice president of the State Council, president of the Christian Democratic Union. They are joined in the discussion by Hubert Beuve-Méry of France, editor of *Le Monde*; Geoffrey de Freitas of Great Britain, M.P. and president of the Assembly of the Council of Europe, and Karol Malcuzyński of Poland, foreign editor, *Trybuna Ludu*. Sven Olof Palme of Sweden, minister of Communications and Transport, moderates.

NEW NUMBER 403

54:15

Development Is the Name for Peace A dominant theme of the Convocation is that enlightened self-interest, if nothing else, demands that the "have" nations should begin to close the steadily-widening gap which separates them from the "have-not" countries. Participants insist more economic aid must be offered for the right reasons, in the right places and at the right time, that development no longer is an act of charity or a utopian vision but a precondition of peace—perhaps the synonym for peace. Included are Prince Jean de Broglie of France, Doudou Thiam of Senegal,

Ronald Barnes of Liberia, Archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil, Sushila Nayar, M.P., of India, E. F. Schumacher of Great Britain, Senator J. William Fulbright, André Philip of France, Arsène Usher Assouan of the Ivory Coast, Chief S. O. Adebayo of Nigeria, Paul G. Hoffman, Ambassador E. R. Richardson of Jamaica and Martin Niemöller of the Federal Republic of Germany.

NUMBER 404

29:42 NEW

On China Although the People's Republic of China refused to send a representative to the *Pacem in Terris II* Convocation held in Geneva, Switzerland, its view is forcefully expressed by Paul T. K. Lin, associate professor of history at McGill University in Canada. Depending on the listener's own point of view, this was the most applauded or most detested speech of the Convocation.

NUMBER 405

52:54 NEW

Beyond Coexistence "Coexistence is a necessary but insufficient condition of human life. Survival is not perhaps an ignoble aim but it is not a noble one either." With these words, Center President Robert M. Hutchins closes the *Pacem in Terris II* Convocation in Geneva, Switzerland. This program examines the requirements of peace which must go beyond a cold war existence. Participants include Galo Plaza Lasso of Ecuador, Roger Garaudy of France, Marian Dobrosielski of Poland, Romesh Thapar of India, Norman St. John-Stevas, M.P., of Great Britain, Mrs. Pumla E. Kisosonkole of Uganda, Ahmed Houman of Iran, Sven Olof Palme of Sweden, Prince Jean de Broglie of France, Senator J. William Fulbright, Vladimir Bakaric of Yugoslavia, Ambassador Luis Quintanilla of Mexico and Hudson Hoagland.

NUMBER 406

49:14 NEW

Pacem Postscripts Elisabeth Mann Borgese, author and Center Fellow, gives a succinct analysis of the Convocation proceedings and their implications for future developments.

NUMBER 286

56:36 NEW

How the U.S. Can Get Out of Vietnam Rising dissent at home and abroad over U.S. policy has reached such a pitch that the time for debate about Vietnam is over and people now want concrete proposals on how the U.S. can get out of Vietnam. So says David Schoenbrun, former CBS correspondent, after an eleven-weeks study of the Pacific and Asian nations for the Center. Schoenbrun subjects his own proposals for disengagement to the questions of the Fellows of the Center.

Double Dealing in Peace In a modern "J'accuse," Center Executive Vice-President Harry S. Ashmore and William C. Baggs, editor of *The Miami News* and a Center director, charge that President Johnson "brutally cancelled" a conciliatory State Department peace feeler to Hanoi at a critical moment. John L. Perry, Center secretary and treasurer, asks the questions. Included are excerpts from published editorial responses and a rejoinder from Ashmore.

* * *

The next seven tapes (Nos. 150-156) are a synthesis of the proceedings of the Center's International Convocation on the Requirements of Peace, "Pacem in Terris I." The tapes trace certain themes that ran through the three days of meetings, such as coexistence, world law, the developed and developing nations, etc. Although recorded in 1965, the questions raised, the proposals made, the needs to be met—all remain topical and relevant.

NUMBER 150

52:16

An Anatomy of Peace Peace is necessary for survival in the nuclear age. But is it possible? Excerpts from speeches by Robert M. Hutchins, Hubert H. Humphrey, Paul Tillich, Abba Eban of Israel, Adlai E. Stevenson, Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India, Linus Pauling, U Thant, Kenzo Takayanagi of Japan, and Robert Buron of France.

NUMBER 151

58:40

The Semantics of Coexistence The terms "peace," "neutrality," and "intervention" have different meanings for different societies. The basic philosophic differences between the East and the West are dramatized in a blunt discussion revolving around the unification of Germany. Panel is chaired by Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium. Participants include George F. Kennan, Adam Schaff of Poland, N. N. Inozemtsev of the U.S.S.R., Carlo Schmid of Germany, and Robert Buron of France.

NUMBER 152

58:38

Ideology and Intervention The old criteria about ideological conflicts are no longer useful. Technological advances are already blurring ideological differences; the nuclear reality must force an even more rapid accommodation between different systems. The panel discussion includes Senator J. William Fulbright, Arnold Toynbee of Great Britain, Yevgenyi Zhukov of the U.S.S.R., and Abba Eban of Israel. Participants in the round-table appraisal that follows include Senators George McGovern, Claiborne Pell, and Eugene J. McCarthy; George N. Shuster, Fred Warner Neal, Jerome Frank, Steve Allen, and Carl F. Stover.

NUMBER 153

58:43

Peace-Keeping Under the Rule of Law The basis for an orderly world community rests upon the rule of law. The hard questions revolve around the issue of national sovereignty, long jealously guarded and now an especially sensitive issue for the new nations. The panel discussion includes Earl Warren, Philip C. Jessup and Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of the International Court of Justice, Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, Lord Caradon of Great Britain, Kenzo Takayanagi of Japan, and Senator J. William Fulbright.

NUMBER 154

57:41

The Rich and the Poor The new nations need economic aid. They would prefer it without condescension and without political strings. Candid views from Chief S. O. Adebayo of Nigeria, Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia, Abdul Monem Rifa'i of Jordan, Mrs. Vida Tomsic of Yugoslavia, Robert Buron of France, and M. D. Millionshchikov of the U.S.S.R. The panel is chaired by Barbara Ward of Great Britain. Introductory remarks by Linus Pauling.

NUMBER 155

54:28

A World Community—and U.S. Foreign Policy Excerpts relevant to the topic of a world community are drawn from three round-table discussions in which groups of U.S. citizens discuss the Convocation proceedings. Participants include: Hans J. Morgenthau, R. Paul Ramsey, Hudson Hoagland, Stanley K. Sheinbaum, Herman Kahn, H. Stuart Hughes, Walter Millis, James G. Patton, Abram J. Chayes, Bayard Rustin, Norman Cousins, John Cogley, Marya Mannes, Harold E. Stassen, and Grenville Clark.

NUMBER 156

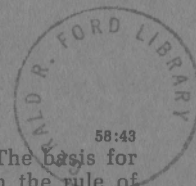
42:15

The "Haves" and the "Have-Nots" The new communities entering the world of nations may well determine how and if the world community survives. Excerpts from round-table discussions on the responsibilities of the nations that give aid and of those that are aided. Participants include: Steve Allen, Eugene Burdick, Grenville Clark, James Farmer, Jerome Frank, H. Stuart Hughes, Henry R. Luce, Senators Eugene J. McCarthy and Claiborne Pell, James G. Patton, Gerard Piel, Elmo Roper, Stanley K. Sheinbaum, George N. Shuster, Carl F. Stover, and Paul Tillich.

NUMBER 194

55:26

After "Pacem in Terris" . . . : I On the days following the dismal celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, leading representatives of the UN, most of whom had also participated in the Center's Convocation, reconvened at the Center in Santa Barbara. The Convocation had raised the questions that had to be asked to initiate a dialogue. This conference sought a practical program toward meeting



those questions. Each of the participants spoke candidly in his private, not official, capacity. They included: Chief S. O. Adebo of Nigeria, Luis Quintanilla of Mexico, Patrick Armstrong of the United Kingdom, Michael Comay of Israel, Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, E. R. Richardson of Jamaica, and Ralph Bunche and C. V. Narasimhan of the United Nations. On this tape the speakers say that practical steps toward peace must include, among other things, the participation of Red China in talks and the formation of world-wide Watch Committees of citizens to press their governments to abolish war.

NUMBER 195 29:22
After "Pacem in Terris" . . . : II Further excerpts from the Center's meeting with UN representatives. On this tape there is sharp conflict over the question of "wars of revolution." "To outlaw wars of national liberation," says Ambassador Quintanilla, for example, "is tantamount to issuing an insurance policy to unpopular governments."

NUMBER 35 55:00
"Pacem in Terris": The Pope's Encyclical John Cogley leads a 1963 Center discussion of Pope John XXIII's encyclical. He explains what an encyclical is and is not and what he thinks may be the impact on the world of "Pacem in Terris."

NUMBER 276 34:05
A Buddhist Monk's View of Vietnam Excerpts from a meeting at the Center in which Thich Nhat Hanh, Buddhist monk and poet, pleads for an end to the war. The Fellows join in the discussion. Marsha Hunt reads from the poetry of Nhat Hanh.

NUMBER 277 42:22
A Soldier's View of Vietnam A mid-1966 report from a young U.S. Marine lieutenant after ten months' service in Vietnam. Lieut. Charles Preuss offers insights into the mood, views, and commitment of our men fighting in Vietnam and answers some questions by the Center Fellows.

NUMBER 278 33:53
A Talk With Ho Chi Minh Although Harry S. Ashmore's conversation in Hanoi with Ho Chi Minh was off the record, his impressions of the president of North Vietnam and of the country, its people, and the war are not. Mr. Ashmore went to North Vietnam to invite President Ho to attend the second Center conference on "Pacem in Terris," scheduled for May, 1967. This is the intimate, detailed report he made at a dinner for the founding members of the Center.

NUMBER 308 28:45
A Harvest of Thorns "An army's harvest is a waste of thorns."—Lao-tzu. A moving program of readings with music about the many faces of war in the words of Euripides, Horace, Genghis Khan, Wilfred Owen, Shakespeare, Richard Lovelace, Stephen Crane, Lao-tzu, e. e. cummings, Thomas Merton, Yorifumi Yaguchi, and Mark Twain.

NUMBER 134 44:23
A General Looks at War and Peace Brig. Gen. Henry C. Huglin, USAF (ret.), in a view, not frequently heard at the Center, of the role of the United States in Europe and Asia. Gen. Huglin makes a cogent case that U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons has saved the world from atomic holocaust. Dissenting in the discussion that follows are Fellows of the Center.

NUMBER 196 29:32
A Fish Story for Peace Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest has yielded to newer theories, among them that survival may depend upon the ability of a species to live in cooperation. Elisabeth Mann Borgese of the Center is heard in a delightful discussion of the superiority of animal technology and animal rituals.

NUMBER 226 55:23
War and Revolution Today Walter Millis, noted war historian (now deceased), refutes two long-held tenets: first, that revolution is a popular uprising against unbearable tyranny; and second, that war is a conflict of organized armies in which victory is resolved through conquest of one by the other. He asks for new definitions of both to fit the contemporary facts. Lively discussion with Millis' fellow staff members at the Center.

NUMBER 10 28:30
The Warless World Walter Millis is interviewed by John Cogley on the implications of a warless world for a society that has never lived without the institution of war. Mr. Millis contends that the balance of terror of nuclear weapons is forcing us toward a world without war.

NUMBER 253 44:57
Is History Out of Control? Historically, more people have died during wars from famine and disease than from weapons. Now for the first time the process is reversed. Yet man, the most adaptable of all the animal species, appears unable to change swiftly enough to adapt to this new phase in our culture, which requires a world without war. A talk by Dr. Jerome Frank, professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, followed by a lively exchange with Robert M. Hutchins.

NUMBER 20

58:52

Psychological Aspects of Nuclear War Judd Marmor, M.D., clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of California, Los Angeles, talks on the Center publication *Community of Fear*. In the face of the account of nuclear warfare presented in the pamphlet, what explains the failure of Americans to react with alarm to the continued arms race?

NUMBER 259

89:34

Consulting the Romans Stringfellow Barr, author, former president of St. John's College, and now a Center Fellow, draws a parallel between America today and the ancient Roman Empire, which relied upon force and money to achieve its ends. A synthesis of four lively staff meetings at the Center. Those taking part include Mr. Barr, Scott Buchanan, W. H. Ferry, John Wilkinson, Irving F. Laucks, Richard Lichtman, Frank K. Kelly, Raghavan N. Iyer, William Gorman, Gerald H. Gottlieb, Harrop A. Freeman, Harvey Wheeler, and Brig. Gen. Henry Huglin (USAF Ret.).

NUMBER 29

46:05

The Politics of Ecology Aldous Huxley (now deceased) says the most pressing problems facing democracy in the next ten years are the population explosion, the arms race, and rising nationalism. He suggests that a shift in our attention from bad politics to enlightened ecological understanding may help prevent war. This opening meeting of a symposium held at the Center on "Prospects for Democracy" is introduced by Robert M. Hutchins and includes some discussion from the floor.

On Technology and Man

The inhuman demands of technology are outracing the imagination of man as the pressure toward conformity and standardization steadily increases. This is the warning of Jacques Ellul's book, The Technological Society, which was a point of departure for a five-day Center symposium on the Technological Society. The first eleven tapes (Nos. 415-422, 254, 317, 318) are from that symposium.

Participants, in addition to the staff, included Pierre Auger, Joint European Space Research; Yehoshua Bar-Hillel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Myron T. Bloy, Jr. Massachusetts Institute of Technology; J. Bronowski, Salk Institute; Stuart

Chase, economist; C. West Churchman, University of California, Berkeley; J. P. Corbett, University of Sussex, England; Louis E. Davis, University of California, Berkeley; C. A. Doxiadis, city planner, Athens, Greece; René J. Dubos, Rockefeller University; Dennis Gabor, Imperial College, London; Martin Grotjahn, psychiatrist, Los Angeles; Juergen Habermas, University of Frankfurt; Robert Jungk, Mankind 2000 International, Vienna; H. Klages, Technical University of Berlin; Herbert Marcuse, University of California, San Diego; Marshall McLuhan, University of Toronto; E. G. Mesthene, Harvard University; Hasan Ozbekhan, Systems Development Corp.; Chaim Perelman, University of Brussels; F. L. Polak, member of the Senate, The Netherlands; J. H. Randall, Jr., Columbia University; Philip Rieff, University of Pennsylvania; Lord Ritchie-Calder, University of Edinburgh; Theodore Roszak, California State College, Hayward; Nathan Rotenstreich, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; S. Sagoroff, University of Vienna; Henryk Skolimowski, University of Southern California; Gerald Sykes, Columbia University.

NUMBER 415

56:39 **NEW**

Technology and Politics The workaday idea of politics and statehood as techniques was first given stature by Machiavelli and Hobbes. This discussion is particularly pertinent as it examines the modern proposition that a "technical imperative" is now operative in politics, i.e., technology is now the "engine" of society, thereby emptying politics of rational purpose and practical significance.

NUMBER 416

50:41 **NEW**

Technology: The Empty Cornucopia "Not a single optimistic utopia has been written about by anyone of importance for the last 35 years." That the wonderful technological cornucopia has dulled utopian thinking about the good society is incontestable, but what will be the "new vision"? Can a society without vision beyond technique truly prosper?

NUMBER 417

48:37 **NEW**

Technology, History and The Future "The half-million Parisians on ski slopes are a more lasting testament to technology than the H-bomb." "Happiness is for

pigs." "Technology makes happiness for the common man, misery for the intellectual." "Disney is the modern Mozart." "We approach the post-Calvin age of mass love." A speculative and often playful session.

NEW NUMBER 418 51:11

Technology and the Ethics of Glut The discussants here clarify the real complexities behind the glib assertion that man can and should control his population and products, but they find little agreement beyond clarification: "...there is no such thing as uncontrolled technology." "...poor dark people see contraceptives as a weapon against them."

NEW NUMBER 419 57:45

Technology—Limits and Horizons "Technology is not autonomous—but it might as well be," Robert M. Hutchins observes. He goes on to outline "six necessary revolutions" that he believes could put man in control.

NEW NUMBER 420 55:30

Technology and Value Technology supplies our needs and wants and "creates" new ones our parents never thought about. At the same time it rapidly alters personal and cultural values, makes "generation gaps" every few years, and shakes eternal verities. Such conflicts and confusions, common to us all, are discussed from several vantage points.

NEW NUMBER 421 58:56

Technology and Philosophy Aristotelian logic, which assumes a rational connection between means and ends, may be outmoded by the pace and proliferation of the modern technological order. A description of the rupture of this classic concept is the point of departure for this discussion.

NEW NUMBER 422 29:25

Technology Round-Up At the conclusion of the week-long conference on technology, five participants informally wind up the week's talk. What starts out as an amiable, rambling conversation threatens to become testy. Harvey Wheeler of the Center, Herbert Marcuse of the University of California at San Diego, J. P. Corbett of the University of Sussex, England, Gerald Sykes of Columbia University, and Nathan Rotenstreich of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

NUMBER 254 27:38

Technology and the Ageless Unconscious Man's salvation in our technological age lies in learning to use the machine as an extension of himself instead of as a symbol of repressed narcissism. This was the thesis of a paper by Martin Grotjahn, Los Angeles psychiatrist, before a Center symposium on the Technological

Society. In an informal meeting J. Bronowski, associate director of the Salk Institute, psychiatrist Roderic Gorney, and Trevor Thomas discuss the question with Dr. Grotjahn.

NUMBER 317 41:45

Models for the Future Robert Jungk has high hopes for harmonious environments that will be good to live in because the technological apparatus will be fitted to man and nature, and not the other way around as is now the case. Dr. Jungk recently established Mankind 2000 International in Vienna, an institute for research into problems of the future. Produced by Trevor Thomas during a Center symposium on the Technological Society.

NUMBER 318 43:29

The Hidden Remnant In every civilization there has existed a "remnant," a group of individuals who have refused to be discouraged or defeated by the overwhelming problems of their time. Gerald Sykes, professor in the School of General Studies of Columbia University, critic and novelist, speculates that this remnant may be able to rescue the most technically advanced society in the world from dehumanization. Produced by Trevor Thomas during a Center symposium on the Technological Society.

NUMBER 317 43:32

The Crisis of Identity in a Workless World. Judd Marmor, M.D., of the U.C.L.A. School of Medicine, suggests that in its studies of the technological order the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has given too little attention to the psychological dislocations that will occur in a workless world. Also participating: Linus Pauling, W. H. Ferry, Paul Jacobs, and Hallock Hoffman of the Center staff, and Roderic Gorney, M.D., Los Angeles psychiatrist.

NUMBER 199 43:58

After Automation—What? Amos de Shalit, professor of theoretical physics at the Weismann Institute in Israel, insists that technology is so rapidly outpacing man that the most to be hoped for—if we hurry—is coexistence with the computer. Lively and occasionally outraged dissent from Fellows of the Center.

NUMBER 239 28:04

Technology and the Unions No group will be more affected by the consequences of unemployment because of automation than trade unions, yet no group has shown less imagination in coping with the problem. Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, discusses the dilemma.

Cities for Warm Bodies Urbane, witty Victor Gruen, noted city planner, challenges the Fellows of the Center to do some fresh thinking about The City. His own views tend to fall midway between the nostalgic effort to tie planning to the past and the futuristic projections of planners bemused by technology.

The White-Collar City A distinguished authority on urban problems, Jean Gottmann, offers some "second thoughts" on his book, *Megalopolis*. With production centers being dispersed to all parts of the country, Mr. Gottmann asks whether cities should prepare themselves to become just white-collar cities. Center Fellows join in the discussion.

The Surplus Man? "Surplussed" is the jargon for men caught by cut-backs and shifts in the aerospace industry, the largest employer in U.S. manufacturing, exceeding both autos and steel. On this program, unemployed engineers, a psychologist-counselor, educators, and executives—the "middle management" whose problems are little known—discuss the impact of defense spending and galloping technology. Interviews by Trevor Thomas with residents in "the valley that aerospace built," Santa Clara County, California.

Systems Science & Social Innovation Economist Robert Arnold of Stanford Research Institute talks about new uses for the immense systems that produce military hardware, the technological revolution, and consumer demands. Trevor Thomas interviews the author of *The California Economy, 1947-1980*, who argues that the main problem in technology is man's inertia in coping with change plus what he calls "regional isolationism."

The Technological Order Excerpts from a Center conference, including statements by Carl F. Stover, who directed the conference, Vu Van Thai and Arthur Goldschmidt of the United Nations, Lord Ritchie-Calder of the University of Edinburgh, and Robert Theobald, author of *The Challenge of Abundance*. The discussion deals primarily with the problems of the emerging nations as they are affected by the promises implicit in technological advances.

Tangents of Technology Aldous Huxley (now deceased) leads a discussion of the ecological effects of technology, a witty, urbane lament that the loss of the

birds and the bees may be the tragic price we are paying for our conquest of nature. Lord Ritchie-Calder, Walter J. Ong, S.J., and Robert M. Hutchins are among those in the conversation.

The Sources of Labor Power Paul P. Harbrecht, S.J., examines the five conditions necessary for labor to exercise power. Tracing the rise of labor union power from the time of the Wagner Act, through the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws, Father Harbrecht concludes that the power of labor will continue to decline and that the union can survive as a power only by radically changing its character.

Labor Looks at Itself Is the decline of the labor movement due to the spread of affluence and to union success with social legislation? Did the political vitality of unionism disappear with the expulsion of the Communists from leadership? Will automation make unions an anachronism? These are a few of the questions that a large group of delegates from the United Auto Workers discuss during this remarkably self-critical examination of labor's role in American society, past, present, and future.

The Economic Paradox A talk in which W. H. Ferry of the Center analyzes the contradictions in American society in relation to its economic life.

Technology: Toxic or Tonic? Mallory wanted to conquer Everest simply "because it is there." Technology may well dehumanize mankind simply because it can. Raising a slogan, "Men first, machines second," W. H. Ferry pleads that, while time still remains, technology be controlled, to produce tonic rather than toxic results.

The Bleak Outlook: Jobs and Machines Gerard Piel, Robert Theobald, and Ralph Helstein take as their theme H. G. Wells' statement: "The inertia of dead ideas and old institutions carries us on towards the rapids." An incisive, revealing conversation.

And What About Noodle? Staff discussion of a Center publication by John Wilkinson, philosopher and mathematician, who takes his title from Dickens. In a society where quantity matters more than quality, automation is rapidly reducing man to the position of baby-sitter to a computer. Mr. Wilkinson suggests that we may soon need to establish sanctuaries for

humans as we now have refuges for whooping cranes. An animated discussion, described less politely by one staff member as a "brawl."

NUMBER 116

53:22

Anyone for 1984? The inhuman demands of technology are outracing the imagination of man as the pressure toward conformity and standardization steadily increases. This is the message of Jacques Ellul's book, *The Technological Society*. Tempers flare between those who agree and disagree with the thesis as John Wilkinson, who translated the book, leads the excited discussion.

NEW NUMBER 443

27:57

Lessons Not Yet Learned A ringing plea to understand the earth's skin, that thin biosphere on which our very lives depend. Barry Commoner, professor of botany at Washington University, contends that "the faults of technology are targeted on life." The remedy, he suggests, will come through a revision of the basic attitudes of Western science and applied technology. Mr. Commoner is a frequent contributor to the periodical *Science and Citizen*.

Privacy — A New Constitutional Right

Two tapes on the intrusion of electronic devices which threaten to order our lives.

NUMBER 426

28:51

I Wonder Who's Bugging You Now With new electronics, old physical barriers to privacy are gone, mental barriers are now under assault, and computer banks will soon supply instant data on every citizen. Alan Westin reports on these and more hopeful developments which he believes can force recognition of privacy as a constitutional right. Mr. Westin is author of the book *Science, Privacy and Freedom*, and director of research for a study on privacy by the New York City Bar Association. Introduction by Robert M. Hutchins.

NUMBER 427

29:10

Surveillance and The Future of Privacy A man's home was his castle, but the private place—even the private person—now requires new shields against electronic intrusion. Alan F. Westin, author of the book *Science, Privacy and Freedom*, describes the counter-techniques and updating of law which he hopes will insure a future for privacy in the United States. Staff discussion.

The Machine Image

An unusual series of six half-hour programs about man, work, and machines, making highly effective use of music, dramatized historical incidents, and sound effects. Produced by Trevor Thomas for the Center's Forces of Change discussion program (as were the others in the 300 series of tapes).

NUMBER 310

26:30

The Inanimate Slaves Aristotle praised machines; the Luddites wrecked them; Samuel Butler lampooned them. With the wedding of automatic machine and computer, the debates multiply.

NUMBER 311

29:00

The Machine Universe Descartes, Hobbes, T. H. Huxley, and the "machine man"... Enlightenment, Progress, and Reality... the Industrial Leviathan gone wrong... poets, reformers, and utopians of the early 1900's... cybernation and the Triple Revolution.

NUMBER 312

28:00

Working Man John Henry, folk hero... Whitman, Melville, Lawrence, Heine, Dos Passos, C. P. Snow, Ellul... "the myth of the happy worker"... the other two-thirds... technology and culture.

NUMBER 313

29:00

The New Breed The "new technology" debate... technology and jobs... the search for security... who's in the saddle?... what next, and to what end?

NUMBER 314

27:45

The War Machine The heroic image... miraculous swords and diabolical engines... war and industry... democratization of war... many Great Warnings... search for the absolute... death of the hero.

NUMBER 315

29:00

City of the Sun Leisure threat and leisure promise... Athens to Walden Pond... the clock tempo... work, a hard habit... Puritans and consumers... extending the dialogue.

On the Supreme Court and the Constitution

On Capital Punishment

Nearly two centuries ago, Thomas Paine wrote the following words about the custom of beheading:

"It may perhaps be said that it signifies nothing to a man what is done to him after he is dead; but it signifies much to the living; it either tortures their feelings, or hardens their hearts; and in either case, it instructs them how to punish when power falls into their hands."

Despite a recent sharp decline in executions in America, the subject of capital punishment continues to trouble the hearts and minds of most Americans.

Recognizing this, the Center sought fresh insights into the problem, which are reflected in the following four tapes.

For the two-day conference at its headquarters in Santa Barbara, chaired by Center Fellow Gerald Gottlieb, the following participants joined the staff: Fred Dickson, former San Quentin warden; William Graves, former San Quentin physician; Joseph Lohman, former sheriff of Cook County, Illinois; Isadore Ziferstein, psychiatrist; Dr. L. J. West and Harry Elmer Barnes, of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences; James Avery Joyce, author; Donald Cressy, professor of penology, University of California at Santa Barbara; Steve Allen, author and television commentator; and E. V. Walter, professor of social relations, University of Massachusetts.

The proceedings of this conference were later presented by Mr. Gottlieb as evidence in a preliminary test of his thesis, proposed in 1960, that capital punishment, placed on trial, would be held in violation of the Eighth Amendment and abolished by judicial determination federally and in all the states.

NUMBER 411

57:45 **NEW**

The Psychopathology of Murder Some kill because they seek death by the state executioners; some who abhor killing are among the staunchest advocates of the death penalty; culture, not law, determines a society's homicide rate. Those are some of the propositions discussed in this Center conference.

NUMBER 412

50:57 **NEW**

Behind the Walls: Ritual and Death Unnoticed during the public sensationalism surrounding an execution are the men who prepare the ritual and administer the condemned. What they feel and see dramatizes the price the death penalty exacts from the living. These personal accounts are from penologists and psychiatrists who have participated in executions and who attended the Center conference.

NUMBER 413

47:34 **NEW**

Is It Torture? The United States Constitution prohibits cruel and unusual punishment. If the death penalty is in fact torture, is it unconstitutional? What is torture? Excerpts from the Center conference offer insights into the dimensions of drawn-out physical pain and mental anguish.

NUMBER 414

55:01 **NEW**

Who Pays for the Death Penalty? While prison death rows are full, executions have in recent years dropped to near-zero. Still, society is ambivalent about outlawing capital punishment. Participants in the Center conference ask if society is brutalized by the existence of the death penalty.

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NUMBER 8

59:10

Religion in the Schools John Cogley leads a staff discussion of the Supreme Court decision on prayers in public schools. Although Mr. Cogley agrees with the narrow findings of the majority decision, he feels the Court might have been wiser not to accept the case because it may provoke more problems than the decision solves.

NUMBER 90

54:00

An "Establishment" of Religion Few rulings handed down by the Court have stirred so much controversy as the decisions banning religious exercises in public schools. Robert M. Hutchins leads a staff discussion of the decision. By resting its case on the "establishment" clause instead of the "free exercise" clause, says Mr. Hutchins, the Court made a good decision for a bad reason.

NUMBER 123

56:30

Freedom of the Press: I A Center staff discussion, led by Robert M. Hutchins, of the decision in *Sullivan vs. The New York Times* which now gives the citizen-critic immunity to criticize public officials unless malice can be proven. Although the decision met with approval in general from those discussing it, there were misgivings about its usefulness in future cases.

NUMBER 124

53:25

Freedom of the Press: II In contrast to the discussion above, Harry Kalven, Jr. ebulliently hails the decision in *Sullivan vs. The New York Times* as the greatest First Amendment decision in the history of the Court. Mr. Kalven suggests that we are indebted to the Negro protest movement for forcing the Court to reach such high ground in defense of First Amendment rights.

NUMBER 125

53:00

Reapportioning the States Not since the historic integration decision of 1954 has a Supreme Court decision stirred so much controversy or faced the nation with such vast political changes to come as that in *Gray vs. Sanders*. Robert M. Hutchins prefaces a brilliant analysis of the decision with an account of earlier Court history, when similar cases had been rejected for consideration because they were believed to be "political." Followed by discussion.

NUMBER 126

27:30

The Supreme Court As History "If we could understand our Constitution, if we could comprehend the views of human nature and of human society which find expression in it, if we could follow with clearness of vision the lines of interpretation by which its meaning has grown and has been adjusted to a changing situation, if we could trace the forces within our society by which those lines of interpretation have been influenced and determined, we should see, as in no other way it can be seen, the American mind at work." Pioneer educator Alexander Meiklejohn (now deceased) describes an experiment in adult education based upon readings of Supreme Court decisions.

NUMBER 127

38:55

Has the Court Usurped the Powers of Congress? Judicial review, by which the Court decides upon the constitutionality of acts of the legislative and executive branches of government, is a comparatively recent development. Robert M. Hutchins discusses the controversial question of judicial review against the background of recent decisions, particularly as they affect the issue of states' rights. Harvey Wheeler interviews.

NUMBER 122

49:40

The Public Thing Scott Buchanan (now deceased) suggests that Americans read the First Amendment only as proscribing the areas in which government may not infringe upon the right of the citizen. We should read it, he says, as prescribing what the government must do to encourage citizens to exercise intelligently and politically the freedoms guaranteed under the Amendment. Our failure to give the First Amendment this affirmative reading may explain why Americans are not yet fulfilling the role of "public citizens" that the Constitution envisioned for them.

NUMBER 61

43:50

The Bill of Rights: Guarantor of Dissent Harry S. Ashmore of the Center says that the real genius of the American system lies in the first ten Amendments to the Constitution—articles of faith that affirm the dignity of man, require the toleration of dissent, and protect our right to seek justice.

On the World Around Us

The Republic of the Seas

If the governments of the world are to avoid the fratricidal wars of colonial expansion, the grab for the riches of the seas must be prevented before technological advances make new territorial claims possible and profitable. Three tapes in an appeal for a Republic of the Seas.

NUMBER 445

44:06 NEW

The Ocean as Common Heritage How to get from a system of competing nations—in this case, scrambling for wealth on the deep ocean floor—to some institutionalization of their common good? In these excerpts, the principle of "common heritage" is readily accepted, but technology, politics and self-interest quickly intrude and sharp exchanges reveal the differing first-premises. Participating are Center Fellows and Francis T. Christy, Jr., of Resources for the Future; Isaac Kaplan, department of geology, University of California at Los Angeles; Senjin Tsuruoka, Japanese ambassador to the United Nations; José Maria Ruda, Argentinian ambassador to the UN; Glen Schweitzer of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; Endalkachew Makonnen, Ethiopian ambassador to the UN; Lord Ritchie-Calder of the University of Edinburgh and

member of the British Committee on Sea Bed Resources; Bohdan Tomorowicz, Polish ambassador to the UN; and Max Jakobson, Finnish ambassador to the UN.

NEW NUMBER 446

40:44

... of Missiles and Molluscs Along with submarines and sonar, bottom missile-silos may be the next outpost on our wet frontier—a condition every nation says it wishes to avoid. The complexities of assuring “peaceful use” of ocean-floor and seabed are ably aired, if not resolved, at this session. Participating are Center Fellows and Juray Andrassy, University of Zagreb Law School, Yugoslavia; Lord Ritchie-Calder of Edinburgh University; Isaac Kaplan, professor of geophysics, U.C.L.A., Ambassador Endalkachew Makonnen, Ethiopian Mission to the United Nations; Fred Warner Neal, professor of international relations, Claremont Graduate School; Raymond Nelson, administrative assistant to U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell; José Maria Ruda, Argentinian Mission to the United Nations; Glenn Schweitzer, National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; and Bohdan Tomorowicz, Polish ambassador to the UN.

NEW NUMBER 447

39:45

The Coming Struggle for Deep Sea Territory Quietly, as though muffled by the very environment, national economic and military claims are being staked in the last and greatest earth frontier, the land beneath the sea. But there remains still an outside chance that men may here devise new forms and methods of international cooperation. Wolfgang Friedmann, professor of international law at Columbia University, leads this discussion with Center Fellows.

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NUMBER 272

47:27

Today's Crisis in Religion Religions, dogma, and doctrine must accommodate to the new scientific data now available, says Bishop James A. Pike in an address entitled “The Search for a New Theology.” This does not mean abandoning religion but rather using the new insights to make it more relevant to man's struggle to open himself up to love. Harry S. Ashmore introduces.

NEW NUMBER 287

44:45

Toward a World Civilization We stand on the threshold of a genuine world civilization, says Huston Smith, professor of philosophy at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. What can the three enduring cultures teach us about coping with the three basic conflicts of

man: natural, social and psychological? A conversation with Center Fellows Robert M. Hutchins, Raghavan Iyer and John R. Seeley.

NUMBER 431

58:04 NEW

The Landing Party Joseph P. Lyford, Center consultant and author of *The Talk in Vandalia* and *The Airtight Cage*, has the reporter's gift for capturing the pulse and mood and quality of life wherever he goes. Here he reads his revealing account published in *The Center Magazine* of a Volga River trip in the Soviet Union, during which groups of Americans and Russians met regularly to talk together.

NUMBER 293

25:12 NEW

Report on the State of Mankind In October of 1967, Frank Kelly, vice president of the Center, made a proposal that the Secretary General of the United Nations annually make a report to the world on the State of Mankind. Since then, it has been endorsed by a dozen U.S. Senators, former President Eisenhower, and leaders in India, France, England and other countries. John Cogley, editor of *The Center Magazine*, here explores with Mr. Kelly the practical possibilities of his proposal and the possible dangers.

NUMBER 189

28:14

Toward a Neuter Gender In her book, *Ascent of Woman*, Elisabeth Mann Borgese suggests that historically women have fared better in a collective society than in individualistic societies. In this talk she projects a science-fiction world in which once women are past child-bearing age, they become men and play a creative role in the society. Ralph Greenson, M.D., training analyst and psychiatrist, is appalled by the implications at first, but not after they talk.

NUMBER 237

54:57

Civilization, Industrial Society, and Love The creation of “civilization” in the mid-eighteenth century grew out of the early industrial revolution. Our need today, says John Nef, formerly of the University of Chicago, is to create a better “civilization” based on faith, wisdom, and love.

NUMBER 121

27:00

Africa Soviet Style The leaders of the new African nations are, in the main, a Western-educated élite oriented to democratic, parliamentary institutions. How explain, then, their one-party systems and their suppression of civil liberties? Yaw Turkson, first counsellor of the Embassy of Ghana in Washington, explains to the Center Fellows that the Soviet model is better adapted to African nations for bridging the gap between their political ideals and the social and economic realities.

NUMBER 270

28:56

The Politics of Race Lord Caradon, British minister of state for foreign affairs and U.K. representative to the United Nations, talks informally and informatively with Center Fellows about the dangers of a world conflagration that could be ignited by the politics of race in Africa.

NUMBER 230

52:24

China Policy The mirror images held by China and the United States about each other are being increasingly aggravated, with perilous consequences for the world. Franz Schurmann of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California explores some of the myths and misconceptions on which the official policies of the United States and China continue to rest.

NUMBER 1

59:04

Democracy and the Emerging Nations A synthesis of a three-week conference held by the Center on this subject. The program includes opening remarks by Zelman Cowen, now vice-chancellor of the University of New England, Australia; a summary by Center Fellow Stanley K. Sheinbaum of the papers and points of view advanced during the three weeks of meetings; and excerpts from the final meeting in which the findings of the conference are evaluated. Among the questions raised: Is the present trend away from democracy in the emerging nations irreversible? Is the emphasis on industrial and technological development the cause of the breakdown in democratic institutions?

NUMBER 11

62:15

The Will of Zeus Stringfellow Barr, former president of St. John's College, discusses his book, *The Will of Zeus*, and relates the problems Greece faced at the height of her power and in her decline to those we face today in relation to the emerging nations. Witty and erudite. Followed by discussion.

NUMBER 319

27:30

The Broken Image I: The Great Machine First of three discussions on the origins and history of modern ideas about the nature of man and the universe. Trevor Thomas talks with Floyd Matson, author of *The Broken Image*, who argues that the mechanistic view of the world once held by the physical sciences is still applied—wrongly—by the majority of social scientists.

NUMBER 320

27:37

The Broken Image II: Humanization, From Physics to Politics Floyd Matson and Trevor Thomas discuss some of the contemporary concepts built on the base of Newtonian physics, the gradual shift away from the

mechanical universe concept, and how behaviorists (e.g., Skinner in psychology, Laswell in politics) deal with the problem of values.

NUMBER 321

28:05

The Broken Image III: Making It Whole The concluding discussion between Matson and Thomas about the images of man. Matson argues the case for "soft" existentialism as against the behaviorist mainstream of the social sciences and concludes, with some convincing arguments, that "the jig is not up" for man in society.

NUMBER 16

57:25

The Political Animal Robert M. Hutchins, interviewed by Joseph P. Lyford of the Center, defines the democratic community as one learning together to govern itself and discusses the possibilities of its life and growth under the massive complexities of twentieth century institutions.

NUMBER 17

57:54

On Revolution Scott Buchanan is interviewed by Joseph P. Lyford on questions of civil disobedience and revolution. The late Mr. Buchanan, onetime dean of St. John's College, feels that we may well be at a period in our history when jailgoing as practiced in India and South American countries becomes a necessary way of affirming our faith in our democratic institutions.

On the Ins and Outs of Modern Government

NUMBER 269

54:04

Ombudsman The inevitable and exponential growth of bureaucracies has made it necessary for the people to be protected against their abuses. A discussion with Robert M. Hutchins, Scott Buchanan, and Hallock Hoffman of the Center and Stanley V. Anderson, political scientist at the University of California at Santa Barbara, on the Ombudsman, the office invented by the Scandinavians to investigate citizen grievances and now much in the news as an office needed in the U.S.

NUMBER 240

26:09

The Public Happiness Harry S. Ashmore of the Center argues that we have reached the end of a revolutionary epoch, for the great middle mass in America now lives in the center of a narrow horizon bounded almost exclusively by concerns for its own well-being. So, too, Lyndon B. Johnson is probably the last President we will know who has been wholly conditioned by the values of a vanishing America. Limiting himself

to Johnson's domestic policy, Mr. Ashmore gives a penetrating picture of the President's performance, and explains why this most sentimental of Presidents is so little loved.

NUMBER 15

61:06

Memoirs of the New Deal Center Fellow Rexford Tugwell, early New Deal "Brain-Truster," ex-Governor of Puerto Rico, and former professor at the University of Chicago, reminisces with Zelman Cowen, now vice-chancellor, University of New England, Australia, in an informal talk most likely, in Mr. Tugwell's words, "to be of interest to those who are over 40." Toward the end of the discussion of New Deal days Mr. Tugwell comments on the changes that need to be made to meet the new complexities of the Presidency.

NUMBER 118

30:00

Beyond the Smoke-Filled Rooms Rexford Tugwell analyzes the political judgment that decided President Johnson in 1964 and President Roosevelt in 1932 against seizing the opportunity to educate the people about the issues, even though both men seemed to face an assured victory. Mr. Tugwell also recalls some of his own political struggles in Puerto Rico to achieve social improvements. Frank K. Kelly of the Center asks the questions.

NUMBER 316

59:30

"Participatory Democracy": A Young Man's Politics Harvey Wheeler of the Center and Paul Potter, former president of Students for a Democratic Society, compare from the vantage points of two different generations the politics of the '30's with today's student aspirations for a more humane society. Produced by Trevor Thomas.

NUMBER 91

29:50

States' Abilities, Not States' Rights One popular view is that local and state governments are being crushed by the growing encroachment of the federal government. Another view argues that state governments are an anachronism. Speaking from twenty-five years of experience as a state legislator and governor, LeRoy Collins disagrees with both extremes and suggests ways in which the powers of both national and local government can be preserved to their mutual benefit.

NUMBER 93

57:54

The Legislator's Eighteen-Hour Day Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, speaking as a U.S. senator, gives a highly spirited account of the difficulties and frustrations facing the overburdened legislator and makes several specific proposals to improve the operations of the U.S. Congress.

NUMBER 271

56:05

An Alternative to the Draft: Universal National Service John F. Kennedy's ringing injunction, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country," expresses the spirit underlying proposals for universal national service. But to many opponents it smacks of fascism. The lively argument here splits along philosophic views about the responsibilities of citizenship. Participants include Center Fellows and Harris Wofford, until recently associate director of the Peace Corps and now president of State University of New York at Nassau, and Frances McAllister of the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

NUMBER 449

29:09 NEW

Wall to Wall Turnips: The Village Revitalized Can community collectives create a new man? A recent phenomenon in America is the proliferation of self-help cooperative and collective movements through which the poor and disfranchised are given decision over their own affairs. Don Devereux of Santa Fe, New Mexico, who helped create the New Mexico migrant program to alleviate poverty in an age of affluence, compares experiences with Dallas Smythe, who organized similar cooperatives in Canada during the Depression.

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The Challenges to Democracy in the Next Decade

What are the challenges which must be met in the next decade if democracy is to survive? An important series of talks (and comments) given originally at the Tenth Anniversary Convocation of the Fund for the Republic.

NUMBER 44

54:20

Authoritarian and Democratic Technics Lewis Mumford, noted author, critic, and president of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, followed by the extended comments of Vice-Admiral H. G. Rickover, USN, of the Atomic Energy Commission.

NUMBER 45

30:35

Technology and Democracy Gerard Piel, publisher of *Scientific American*.

NUMBER 46

30:15

Education: For What and for Whom? Robert M. Hutchins, Vice-Admiral Rickover and Rosemary Park, then president of Barnard College, in a sprightly, searching analysis of current educational problems.

NUMBER 47 52:00
The Elite and the Electorate Sen. J. William Fulbright discusses whether democracy by the people is possible in a searching analysis of the functions of the Executive and the Legislature, particularly in the area of foreign policy (side 1). John Courtney Murray, S.J., and Charles Frankel, professor of philosophy, Columbia University, comment (side 2).

NUMBER 49 27:15
Concentrations of Private Power Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, speaks on the growth of "private governments" as both industry and labor have increased in size, strength, and scope.

NUMBER 50 28:25
The Bill of Rights and the Economic Republic Adolf Berle, Jr., noted attorney, economic philosopher, and former Assistant Secretary of State, discusses corporate power and the American economy.

NUMBER 51 28:26
The Responsibilities of Television Newton N. Minow, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, suggests ways of improving the quality, variety, and coverage of television.

NUMBER 52 30:13
The Responsibilities of the Press Lord Francis-Williams, British journalist and critic, calls for greater self-examination, responsibility, and responsiveness on the part of the press.

NUMBER 53 29:15
The Role of Government in the Economy Gunnar Myrdal, economist of the University of Stockholm and author of the famous study of race relations, *An American Dilemma*, foresees increasing participation of the government in the economy.

NUMBER 54 26:20
Government and Politics: Strengths and Weaknesses Sen. Joseph S. Clark makes a forecast similar to that of Gunnar Myrdal, and goes on to a discussion of the Executive's role and of possible reforms of the Legislature.

NUMBER 55 31:45
The Society of the Qualified Man William O. Douglas, associate justice of the Supreme Court, introduces Viscount Hailsham (Quintin Hogg), former leader of the Conservative party and Britain's representative in the test-ban treaty negotiations, who speaks eloquently and with wit on politics and people, political parties, and democracy.

NUMBER 56 28:45
The Prospects for Democracy Around the World Adlai E. Stevenson talks on the prospects and the challenges of democracy in the years to come. This was the final speech at the banquet closing the Tenth Anniversary Convocation.

On Capitalism, Socialism, Communism

NUMBER 284 44:50 **NEW**
A View from Inside Cuba In the face of United States embargo and intervention in Cuban affairs, and despite great privation, Cubans are making impressive strides in advancing their revolution, says Saul Landau, writer, editor and co-author of *The New Radicals*, in a report to the Center on his impressions after a four-weeks' visit in Cuba.

NUMBER 289 43:50 **NEW**
A Look at the Israeli Economy The more democratic a modern, industrialized government, the more it tends to intervene in the private lives of people in order to maintain some measure of social equity, and this is even more true when the economy is planned, says Yitzhak Ben Aron, Israeli economic planner. He tells the Fellows of the Center how Israel is trying to reconcile economic planning with democracy.

NUMBER 197 59:10
Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism These words have served political ends for so long that the theories on which the systems are based have been taken as descriptions of the facts. Michael Harrington attempts a redefinition of the terms and gives a historic account of the origin of some of the distortions. Participants in the Center staff discussion include Robert M. Hutchins, Lord Ritchie-Calder, Richard Lichtman, Harry S. Ashmore, and Rexford Tugwell.

NUMBER 261 46:16
Buddhism and Communism Underlying the political conflicts within Asia today is a tremendous intellectual ferment, which is partly articulated in the tension between Buddhism and communism. Raghavan N. Iyer, Center consultant, gives an absorbing analysis of what the two systems enjoy in harmony, what differences can be resolved or accommodated, and where the two can never meet. Staff discussion follows.

NUMBER 233 28:39
The Green Revolutions The nature of peasant revolutions must be understood if United States policy on foreign aid is to succeed. In a talk with Harvey Wheeler of the Center, Pavel Eisler, Czechoslovakian

economist (now deceased), discusses the differences between Soviet and Chinese economic development and explains why the developing nations prefer the Chinese model.

NUMBER 234

53:32

A Socialist Looks at Affluence It has become a commonplace that the differences separating capitalism and socialism are becoming increasingly blurred. Pavel Eisler argues that, on the contrary, the differences in property relationships will in the end force the two systems farther apart. Center Fellow Harvey Wheeler pushes Mr. Eisler on this point.

NUMBER 235

51:40

Liberianism and Socialism Pavel Eisler in an informative account of recent developments in the system of planning and management in his country of Czechoslovakia specifically, and in socialist countries generally. Mr. Eisler corrects some misconceptions held by some United States observers about the meaning of recent changes in production planning in socialist countries, as recently seen in Liberianism. Discussion with Center Fellows.

NUMBER 236

51:26

A Look at the Czech Economy Discussing the experience of the Czechoslovakian economy, especially over the last two years, Pavel Eisler says that in spite of the rigidity of central planning his country has achieved a high rate of economic growth, rising living standards, and a great reduction of regional inequalities. An unusually objective critic of his own camp, he also describes the major shortcomings that still remain to be corrected in the economic planning of Czechoslovakia. Includes staff discussion.

NUMBER 268

52:42

A Look at the Chinese Economy Events in China today must be understood in the context of the incredible chaos and poverty that existed when the Communists came to power. Harvey Wheeler of the Center interviews Franz Schurmann of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of California about the political innovations of the Mao government, especially with regard to economic development. They are joined in the conversation by James O'Connor, professor of economics at San Jose State College.

NUMBER 41

63:45

Alienation and Freedom Richard Lichtman, philosopher, presents an interpretation of Marx different from that usually held both in the Soviet Union and in the United States. Using quotations from the early writings, he explains Marx's theory of man as a productive social being who loses himself through the

corruption of social, class, and individual competition. Marx's view of man and society as Mr. Lichtman describes it places him in the tradition of rationalistic humanism and with the moral indignation of the Old Testament prophets.

NUMBER 110

43:45

A View of the Economy I: From a Free-Marketer Armen Alchian, author of *University Economics* and professor of economics at the University of California, Los Angeles, talks with Harvey Wheeler.

NUMBER 111

44:50

A View of the Economy II: From a Democratic Socialist Anthony Crosland, British minister of education and author of *The Conservative Enemy*, talks with Harvey Wheeler.

NUMBER 112

49:40

A View of the Economy III: From a Marxist Paul M. Sweezy, editor and publisher of *Monthly Review* and author of *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, talks with Harvey Wheeler.

NUMBER 6

60:23

Capitalism and Democracy Stanley K. Sheinbaum argues that capitalism is not inherently democratic because economic decisions are not made democratically, and conversely that democracy does not improve the functioning of capitalism. Among those participating in the ensuing discussion are Reinhold Niebuhr, George N. Shuster, Paul P. Harbrecht, S.J., John Courtney Murray, S.J., Harry S. Ashmore, I. I. Rabi, and Walter Millis and Eugena Burdick (both now deceased). Although this meeting took place in 1961, it remains topical.

NUMBER 99

40:20

The Culture Gap in Capitalism Robert Heilbroner, noted economist and author, suggests in lively journalistic style that capitalism has produced a class society in America and weakened our moral drive for an examination of the consequences of privilege in such a society.

* * *

On Education, Students, and The Generation Gap

The Students Speak

The first four tapes (Nos. 407-410) are from a three-day conference on *Students and Society* attended by twenty-two students from eighteen schools and colleges. Press reaction following the conference was sensational, hostile, and, in many cases, inaccurate. But only ten months afterward, Vermont Royster, editor of *The Wall Street Journal*, had this to say about the conference: "Few were the prophets who foresaw the spring tumult at Columbia University. And yet the events at Morningside Heights were foreshadowed at least a year ago if only those in a position to see . . . had had the wit to know what we were looking at. [It shows] that the gap is not just generational, though it often wears that guise. Rather, it reveals a deep philosophic cleavage about society and what it ought to be, in which the rebel young are not so much striking out on their own as reflecting another set of old ideas taught by a different set of elders."

Participants include Jeffrey Alexander, Harvard University; Anthony Andalman, University High School, Los Angeles; Frank Bardacke, University of California at Berkeley; John Blood, Indiana University; Ewart F. Brown, Howard University; Kristin G. Cleage, Wayne State University; Jeffrey Elman, Harvard University; Michael Goldfield, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Michael Higgins, Claremont College; Devereaux Kennedy, Washington University; Sheila Langdon, Marlboro College; Michael Lerner, University of California at Berkeley; Bruce Levine, Valley Stream High School, New York; Peter Lyman, Stanford University; Ray Mungo, Boston University; Robert Pardun, University of Chicago; Mary Quinn, Mount Mercy College; Frederick Richman, New York University; Stephen Saltonstall, Yale University; David Seeley, Uni-

versity of California at Santa Barbara; Daniel Sisson, Claremont College; and Stanley Wise, S.N.C.C., Atlanta, Georgia.

NUMBER 407

51:15 NEW

The Minor Majority By the end of this decade, the majority of Americans will be under twenty-five. Students demand political power commensurate with their numbers, but in this heated discussion there is no unanimity about how, or for what, to use it if they should get it. Here, as in all the tapes in this series, the voices of the students communicate more than the words they speak.

NUMBER 408

44:25 NEW

Campus Unrest—What Is It About? "Everywhere in the world the university is regarded by students as the instrument of the ruling classes, used by them to train the ablest young people to carry on the system which the young people regard as immoral and destructive of human dignity." Is reform of the university any longer possible? Can the university be changed without first destroying the institutions? There is no consensus among the students.

NUMBER 409

52:45 NEW

Cop Out, Opt Out, or Knock Out? Some students advocate crippling the society by massive campaigns of non-cooperation or outright disruption. But one question raised is not answered: Even supposing success, what is their vision of a more just and humane society?

NUMBER 410

55:02 NEW

Escalation in Alienation After three days of listening to the students, Fellows of the Center join the conference and show themselves as divided as the students with comments ranging from disappointment and dismay to sympathy and support. Says Rexford Tugwell: "I have news for you. There isn't going to be a revolution." Retorts one student: "This is a lot like going to my grandfather's house." The heated exchanges did not bridge the gap.

* * *

The next seven tapes reflect a diversity of views about the young, from Fellows of the Center:

NUMBER 450

Ca. 30:00 NEW

Limits of Dissent A frequent question discussed at the Center is: if sit-ins and demonstrations are the poor man's printing press and therefore subject to all the protections of the First Amendment—then what

are the limits of dissent? Five statements from Robert M. Hutchins, Harry S. Ashmore, Harrop Freeman, James A. Pike and Rexford G. Tugwell.

NEW NUMBER 423

25:01

The View from Squaresville Conceding in advance that to young ears he may not be "telling it like it is," Harry S. Ashmore, executive vice president of the Center, argues that—except for Vietnam, which presents a new moral issue—the new generation does not seem much different to him from his own rebellious generation of the thirties.

NEW NUMBER 424

25:51

The Gulf in 1980 All the revolutions today—race, technological, psychological—are in their opening phase, says John Cogley, editor of *The Center Magazine*. "We have seen the revolutionary youth but we have yet to see the youth of the revolution." How well will they bridge the gap between themselves and the next generation before the dread deadline of 1984?

NEW NUMBER 425

13:30

Side 1: The Youth Revolt A thoughtful yet passionate analysis by John R. Seeley, noted sociologist, now dean of Fellows at the Center. The "revolt" of the young is, rather, a "claim" they make for what has long been repressed: the good, and the right, and the brotherhood of man. "I do not hear the young calling for much more, or willing to settle for much less."

13:09

Side 2: Alienation and the University Excerpts from two talks delivered at university campuses in which John R. Seeley stresses the irony of an alienated society which regards as alienated only those who are not: the dissenter, the radical, the hippie.

A Special

NEW

NUMBER 428

43:44

Arnold Toynbee, History, and the Hippies The noted historian, Arnold Toynbee, in an animated conversation with Raghavan Iyer, John Seeley, and the late Scott Buchanan of the Center staff about the unlearned lessons of history, the futility of patriotism, and his admiration for the hippies: "St. Francis was the hippie of his day."

NEW NUMBER 294

28:12

Time Out of Joint "It's not all Whitey's fault," Joseph P. Lyford, author of *The Airtight Cage*, tells John Cogley, editor of *The Center Magazine*. "The system is out of control." A self-searching appraisal by a

courageous liberal who acknowledges the failures of liberalism but can't go the route of the radicals.

NUMBER 283

58:44 NEW

The Hippies: Forecast or Fad? Sharp disagreement is contained in these excerpts from Center staff discussions on youth, followed by a conversation with William F. Kiely, M.D., associate professor of psychiatry and medicine, University of Southern California School of Medicine, and Fellows Harry S. Ashmore, John R. Seeley and Hallock Hoffman.

* * *

NUMBER 451

28:50 NEW

Reading and Writing Blocks: A Symptom of Alienation Joost Meerloo, New York psychoanalyst, has long studied the process of brainwashing and persuasion. His interest began when the Dutchman who started the Reichstag Fire became his patient; it grew when he himself became a prisoner of the Nazis. From his interest in studying the techniques used to induce communication, Dr. Meerloo went on to investigate what inhibits it. He talks here about some causes of reading and writing blocks.

* * *

Education and Communication in a Dynamic Society

Tapes from a colloquium whose outspoken participants discussed the need for better public understanding of American education's role in an age of rapid change. The meeting, sponsored by Project Public Information in cooperation with the Center, brought together leading educators and communication specialists for five days of stimulating dialogue.

NUMBER 436

28:57 NEW

Ready For Anything Robert Hutchins, president of the Center, attacks the entrenched vocational bias of American education and seriously questions its ability to deal with the rapid changes of today's technological society. His solution: a liberal education for all children. A lively discussion explores possible definitions of this solution in our present racist, compartmentalized society.

NUMBER 437

58:34 NEW

"Ignorance Is Not, Not Knowing, But Knowing What Isn't So." Mark Twain's admonition could well be the text for Professor Walter Adams' critical survey of economics before and after the "Keynesian revolution." Yale economist Henry Wallich formulates what he

thinks is, and is not, teachable about economics. Sharp but amusing exchanges follow in the roundtable discussion.

NEW NUMBER 438 20:44

Public Education as a Business Enterprise The proposition that private corporations replace, or at least supplement, public schools is examined, denounced, and conditionally supported in this highly charged discussion.

NEW NUMBER 439 50:13

Religion and the Humanities "Religion and the humanities live today in the house built by science and industry, and the conditions of life within it keep both of them off balance," according to Catholic scholar and educator Thomas F. O'Dea. O'Dea makes an historical diagnosis of the conditions familiar to Everyman: partialness, foreshortening, and truncation. Comments follow by Harvey Cox, Baptist minister, author, and Harvard professor, and David A. Hubbard, president of Fuller Theological Seminary.

NEW NUMBER 440 41:09

Art, Adrenalin, and the Enjoyment of Living Norman Cousins, editor of *The Saturday Review*, sees man, unaccustomed to his new leisure, being bored to death—literally. Education, he suggests, can help each man exercise creative options; for some through art, for all through a keener enjoyment of art and life. Unconvinced by the argument, poet and critic Stephen Spender questions therapy qua art, and wonders whether there is any connection at all between art and education.

A Special

NEW NUMBER 299 42:09

"Yesterday I Could Not Sleep Because Yesterday I Wrote My Name. . ." The three great religious systems in Latin America today, says Monsignor Ivan Illich, director of the Centro Intercultural de Documentacion in Cuernavaca, Mexico, are the church, the military and the school. Of the three, only the school successfully masquerades as a progressive force. Far from liberating the people, the school reenforces and widens the gap between the rich and the poor. Monsignor Illich calls for revolutionary reforms in the school. "In the name of education," he tells John Cogley, editor of *The Center Magazine*, "we must get rid of the school." A stirring account of how illiteracy can be wiped out through politics.

NUMBER 441

Beyond the Murk of Masskultur Sociologist Bernard Rosenberg makes a contentious, compassionate, sometimes humorous plea to sustain art and learning. He argues that "the aesthetic experience does indeed provide catharsis to make life tolerable, while TV distracts us from confronting our human condition." Norman Cousins of *The Saturday Review* provides a brief rejoinder.

NUMBER 442

Education and the Politics of Democracy "Politics is the effort to secure and exercise power," says political scientist David Fellman, who argues that the very survival of U.S. democracy depends upon a consensus as to constitutional ways to power. The American consensus, he says, is now in danger of collapse. In the discussion that follows, some participants question the Wisconsin professor's "liberal" analysis, while others contend that the consensus never really existed.

* * *

The next nine tapes (Nos. 243-251) are edited from the Center's Convocation on "The University in America." The Convocation, which took place before the current ferment on campuses, clearly analyzes the conditions in the university which are at the root of today's disruptions. Tapes 243 and 244 are hour-long documentaries based on the full proceedings.

NUMBER 243

58:01

What's Wrong with the University? Sixteen scholars, administrators, specialists, and students address themselves with unusual clarity and force to the three main questions: What's wrong with the university? What should it ideally be? How can the ideal be achieved?

NUMBER 244

55:02

The Students and the University The role, the demands, and the needs of students today, examined by four students and I. I. Rabi, Linus Pauling, Rosemary Park, Clark Kerr, Stringfellow Barr, and others.

NUMBER 245

28:18

The Issues "In no country in the world is the university the cannibal it is in the United States." Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Center, opens the Convocation with an indictment. Introduction by Justice William O. Douglas.

NUMBER 246

28:54

The University and the Human Condition Walter Lippmann, dean of columnists and commentators, speaks

about "the spiritual and intellectual vacuum which must be filled by the universal company of scholars." Introduction by Robert M. Hutchins, afterword by J. Douglas Brown, dean of the faculty of Princeton University.

NUMBER 247

42:36

Toward a More Perfect University An address by Clark Kerr, then president of the University of California, in which he sees the crisis to be mostly in the humanities and social sciences, and at the undergraduate level. Comments by Dean Brown, Rosemary Park, and others.

NUMBER 248

43:12

The Idea of Community in the University Rosemary Park, president of Barnard College, says that universities today over-teach, over-work, and over-examine their students, but the resulting chaos could prove to be a creative instability if the administrators of the universities would become modern Socrates. Comments by J. Bronowski, Scott Buchanan, and W. H. Ferry.

NUMBER 249

26:15

The Future of the University Ideal "Being modern is not necessarily a virtue; indeed, it is one sign of a small mind to want to be contemporary in one's generation." An urbane account of the university's purpose by Sir Eric Ashby, master of Clare College, Cambridge University, England. Comment by Robert M. Hutchins.

NUMBER 250

39:59

The University and the Requirements of Democracy "In lending themselves too much to the purposes of government, the universities are failing their higher purposes. They are not . . . trying to produce 'an idea that mankind can hold to.'" A talk by Senator J. William Fulbright. Introduction by Harry S. Ashmore.

NUMBER 251

27:42

The University as the Beloved Republic "We keep speaking of a company of scholars, but what we have in our new Babylons of learning is a scrimmage of self-seeking individuals and teams, the rugged age of gilded research." The well-known wit of Jacques Barzun, provost and dean of faculties of Columbia University, scores the university system.

* * *

NUMBER 183

43:30

Education for Freedom Before he died, Alexander Meiklejohn was writing a book on how to educate for a free society. Searching for a model, he had asked himself what kind of education a John F. Kennedy

needed to fit himself for the Presidency. The book was never finished but Mr. Meiklejohn recorded the first two chapters on this stirring tape. Commentary by Scott Buchanan of the Center, former dean of St. John's College, and lifelong friend and colleague of Dr. Meiklejohn, also now deceased.

NUMBER 191

56:20

Schooling vs. Education: Rx for Junior Colleges: "The task of twentieth century education is to bring social and political imagination into workable parity with scientific and technological imagination," says W. H. Ferry of the Center. In other words, education must prepare students for both a warless and a relatively workless world. But schools are continuing "business as usual." Using the California schools as his model, Mr. Ferry offers a prescription for junior colleges to correct the gap between schooling and education. James D. Finn of the School of Education, University of Southern California, follows with a dissent.

NUMBER 25

39:17

On Education Beginning with an excerpt from Robert M. Hutchins' farewell address to the students of the University of Chicago in 1951, this program consists largely of answers to questions from the floor during a Modern Forum meeting in Los Angeles, in which Mr. Hutchins presents his strong views on American education and educational institutions.

On America and Americans

NUMBER 444

27:59 **NEW**

A Conversation with Herbert Marcuse Center Fellow Harvey Wheeler explores with Herbert Marcuse varieties of humanism: Christian, Renaissance, Existential, and Marxist. Not unexpectedly, Professor Marcuse, who is one of the most influential thinkers in the relatively recent Marxist Humanist movement, remarks with sly humor: "I am not happy about the term 'Marxist Humanism'. To me it is somehow redundant."

NUMBER 297

27:00 **NEW**

Too Much and Too Little: An Indictment of The Press If the claim is true that Americans are incredibly misinformed or uninformed about the crucial issues facing them, a large share of the responsibility rests on the press, which is failing its responsibilities to report public affairs adequately. Donald McDonald of the Center analyzes the reasons for this failure and the consequences.

A Moral Equivalent for Riots Americans cherish an amiable vision of themselves as peace-loving and rational. History, however, shows that violence is deeply rooted in the American culture. Harvey Wheeler of the Center reports on a study he completed for the Ford Foundation which indicates that minority groups have traditionally entered the mainstream of American society through violence. Paraphrasing William James, he calls for "a moral equivalent for riots."

A Look at the U.S. Press from Abroad Fifteen foreign journalists, who have spent a year in the United States traveling and working on American newspapers, appraise the U.S. press during a visit to the Center. In the main, they agree that American newspapers are more honest but more ignorant than those abroad, and unconsciously more corrupt because they tell Americans what they want to hear rather than what they ought to know.

Masscomm as Guru W. H. Ferry maintains that crimes against intelligence and good-will are being committed by the media of mass communication. A chief function of "masscomm," as the speaker calls all forms of mass media, ought to be to educate. Masscomm is guilty of trivialization, of failure to take itself seriously, and of cherishing profit above public duty. With discussion.

The Evil of Banality The early Nazi years were marked by banality in their culture. W. H. Ferry of the Center suggests that the low level of our own cultural tastes as reflected in our mass communications should be taken as a storm-warning. Studs Terkel of WFMT-FM, Chicago, interviews Mr. Ferry about masscomm as guru.

Communication in a Democracy "Democracy," says Frank McCulloch, ex-managing editor of *The Los Angeles Times*, "rests upon the free citizens having full access to information and communication." But our national and international problems, not to mention those in our own back yard, are so complex and of such magnitude, Mr. McCulloch says, that the task of communication on the part of the professional journalist and of absorption and understanding on the part of the citizen may well be insurmountable.

Blacklist: A Failure in Political Imagination Although blacklisting is no longer practiced as it was in the

1950's, an insidious and subtle form, far more dangerous, remains today. So say two once-blacklisted artists—Millard Lampell, film writer, and entertainer-commentator John Henry Faulk. Dale Minor, program director of WBAI-FM, asks the questions.

The Arts in a Democratic Society: I The recent law establishing government support of the arts—for the first time in American history—raises questions of policy, purpose, selectivity, etc., as well as the basic question of how freedom of expression is going to be protected under bureaucratic procedures. Excerpts from a two-day preliminary conference, in which the participants, besides the Center Fellows, include Kirk Douglas, actor; Thomas W. Leavitt and Walter Hopps, museum directors; John Houseman, theatre and film producer-director; Abbott Kaplan, then director of extension, U.C.L.A.; Ernest Kreiling, TV critic; Lawrence Lipton, writer and critic; Jan Stussy, artist; and Henri Temianka, musician. The discussion is led by Gifford Phillips, museum trustee and art collector.

The Arts in a Democratic Society: II A continuation of the above (though edited as a unit in itself). The discussion on this tape is led by Roger L. Stevens, head of the National Foundation on the Arts, and is concerned in good part with the recommendations of Mr. Stevens and his advisers.

The Arts in a Democratic Society: III Has the cultural explosion any relation to culture? What is the effect of the affluent society upon the quality of art? Sound track of a lively discussion filmed at the Center by the Canadian Broadcasting Co. Participants include Gifford Phillips, art collector and trustee of several museums, and Center Fellows Scott Buchanan, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, W. H. Ferry, Richard Lichtman, Edward Reed, and Harvey Wheeler.

The Anti-Poverty War "The distinguishing feature of poverty is its interrelatedness to other social problems, all of which reinforce each other. The poor person suffers three or four social ills simultaneously," says Michael Harrington, advisor to the government's anti-poverty program. Mr. Harrington discusses his opinions of the program with his colleagues at the Center.

"Don't Make Waves": I This is the injunction of the new consensus, say three social critics who have

never themselves hesitated to rock the boat. Jules Feiffer, Edward P. Morgan, and Paul Jacobs are heard in excerpts from a two-day conference at the Center.

NUMBER 193A 59:11
"Don't Make Waves": II Center Fellows and guests good-naturedly but sharply challenge the critics above.

NUMBER 100 59:14
New Utopias: Looking Backward or Brave New World? Is there no group in the United States sufficiently moved by the conditions of its existence to dream? Michael Harrington, W. H. Ferry, and Frank Keegan, then associate dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University in an intelligent and novel hour of talk about utopias and cacotopias.

NUMBER 258 43:41
The Lucid Interval A conversation in which four disciples of nonviolence talk freely and informally about how Gandhi transformed their lives. Participating are folk-singer Joan Baez, Ira Sandperl, Hallock Hoffman, and Raghavan N. Iyer. John R. Seeley asks the questions. (The song, "What Have They Done to the Rain?", used by permission of Miss Baez.)

NUMBER 192 29:41
The Perils of Loving Ralph Greenson, M.D., training analyst and associate professor of psychiatry at the U.C.L.A. School of Medicine, in a talk with Richard Lichtman, suggests that the rarity of intense friendships in our time may be rooted in our fears of homosexuality, in our mobility, and in "the perils of loving." "To love is to risk loss . . . it has become more important to belong to the group than to love."

NUMBER 252 28:34
Commitment and the Human Condition The pathology of an alienated society was brutally demonstrated when thirty Americans witnessed a murder and did not intervene. Subsequently, laws had to be enacted to reward citizens for intervening. A discussion on man's commitment to man, with philosopher Richard Lichtman, psychoanalyst Ralph Greenson, historian Richard Dallek, and psychologist Fred Goldstein. Produced by Elaine Attius.

NUMBER 70 40:34
The Jury: Safeguard or Anachronism? The jury is one of the remaining survivals of the Jacksonian idea that nothing is over the head of the average man. In an informal report to members of the Center on the results of a study of the jury system, Harry Kalven, Jr. of the

University of Chicago Law School discusses whether this faith in the native intelligence of the layman is valid.

NUMBER 57 60:00
What Can the Individual American Do About Democracy? Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst and a member of the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic, calls for hard-headed planning of our public and private resources, including family planning, and for an intellectual renaissance in which the achievements of the mind will acquire a folk status equal to baseball's.

Zuckerkan dl

NUMBER 18 54:50
Zuckerkan dl Robert M. Hutchins is interviewed by Joseph P. Lyford on the life and philosophy of Dr. Alexander Zuckerkan dl, who believed that the goal of life is to get through it without feeling and that true happiness can be achieved by becoming unconscious of our conscious. This dead-pan satire has been broadcast many times in response to public demand.

NUMBER 242 58:40
Living Without Guilt Newly discovered tape of Robert M. Hutchins' original talk in 1959 on the odd life and odder work of Dr. Zuckerkan dl of Adl, as presented before the students and faculty of Brandeis University. A lusty, zestful spoof, as evidenced by the audience response.

Zuckerkan dl!, a fifteen-minute animated color film by John and Faith Hubley. Sound track is edited from Tape #242 above. Write for information.

NUMBER 60 56:35
America: Liberal or Conservative? "The American people, in not being able to decide whether they are liberal or conservative, are being true to the best traditions of the nation," says Center Fellow John Cogley. Unwillingness to make the choice in any final way is the basis of our strength and stability and the reason why we have always been non-ideological, inconsistent, paradoxical, ambiguous.

NUMBER 275

57:17

Sense and Sensibilities We are using our rational minds in unimaginative ways to ward off feelings: LSD, wife-swapping, and playing it cool, instead of involvement, engagement, and idealistic ventures. A talk by Howard Radest, executive director of the American Ethical Union, followed by discussion.

NUMBER 190

29:29

The Third Generation John Cogley, Editor of *The Center Magazine*, and Michael Harrington reflect upon the pervasive changes that have occurred in all areas of life since Marx, Freud, and the technological revolution. We have the ideas and the philosophic understanding to accommodate to these changes, but not the agencies or the imagination to implement that understanding. An exchange in deeply personal terms between two close colleagues.

A Special Series

Slightly Autobiographical: By Request

In response to queries from listeners to its tapes, the Center has initiated a series of personal interviews with consultants and Center Fellows. Frank K. Kelly, vice-president of the Center, conducts most of the interviews.

NUMBER 120

46:30

Linus and Ava Helen Pauling Linus Pauling met his wife when she was a student in his chemistry class. In this informal talk Dr. and Mrs. Pauling recall their courtship, and the work they have done together that led to Dr. Pauling's Nobel Peace Prize.

NUMBER 135

47:05

Harry S. Ashmore The chairman of the executive committee of the Center's Board of Directors, both of whose grandfathers fought for the Confederacy, tells how it was to grow up on "the edge of violence" in the South, and what led to his winning the Pulitzer Prize when he was editor of *The Arkansas Gazette*. Particularly useful for classes in social studies for its loving but objective picture of the Southerner.

NUMBER 136

35:05

John Cogley The editor of *The Center Magazine* grew up in Chicago during gangland days. Early aficionado of popular songs and the movies, worker in Dorothy Day's settlement house, magazine editor, politician, John Cogley has drawn warmth, wit, and wisdom from it all.

NUMBER 137

47:41

W. H. Ferry Bird-watcher, pianist, polemicist, and art collector, the vice-president of the Center has been a "rebel with a cause" almost all of his life, a man in whom, to quote George Sand, "all humanity is outraged."

NUMBER 138

30:02

Hallock Hoffman Ex-president of Pacifica Radio, broadcasting commentator, and an effective force in the peace movement, Hallock Hoffman still finds time to enjoy a family of seven children.

NUMBER 139

53:19

Robert M. Hutchins The head of the Center became president of the University of Chicago at the age of 29 and has been kicking up a storm ever since. He has been outspoken about all the issues facing Americans, but has managed to evade successfully any attempts to probe his personal life.



NUMBER 140

34:16

Frank K. Kelly Presidential speech writer, war correspondent, former professor at Boston University, a vice-president of the Center, Frank Kelly has the tables turned when his colleague, John Cogley, interviews the interviewer.

NUMBER 141

59:39

Paul Jacobs The provocative staff director of the Center's Study of the Trade Union recently published his autobiography, *Is Curly Jewish?* Success has not dimmed the rebellion against middle-class society that has characterized him since his teen-age years in New York.

NUMBER 142

55:15

Scott Buchanan The Center Fellow (now deceased), whose genius and imagination were largely responsible for the program of St. John's College, reminisces about the thunder-and-lightning battles of ideas over the liberal arts as they were waged during the tumultuous period of the Thirties, and as they are reflected today in the philosophy of the Peace Corps.

NUMBER 143

41:16

Elisabeth Mann Borgese Author and playwright, youngest daughter of Thomas Mann, Mrs. Borgese came late for this interview because she had to wait for her dog to finish typing a poem. (This has been authenticated!) Delightful early reminiscences of her famous father, and reflections on her present experiments testing the intelligence and learning capacity of animals.

NUMBER 145

42:35

Michael Harrington Child of *The Accidental Century*, which is the title of his latest book, and author also of *The Other America*, Michael Harrington began his association with the Fund for the Republic in 1954 during its study of blacklisting in the entertainment industry. John Cogley, who directed that study, asks about the early influences that led to Mr. Harrington's lively contributions to revolutionary thought in America.

NUMBER 146

59:02

William Gorman Son of an Irish immigrant family, whose father was the band-leader in a small New England town, William Gorman is a gifted musician, critic, raconteur, and teacher. His early love affair with learning continues with gusty and unabated pleasure.

NUMBER 147

64:49

Raghavan N. Iyer Rhodes scholar, Oxford don, student and disciple of Gandhi, Raghavan Iyer movingly relates the influences on a young Indian boy that led to the philosophy he holds today.

What Kind of World?

The weekly newspaper columns of Robert M. Hutchins are now available on tape, spoken by the author, with the permission of the Los Angeles Times Syndicate. These editorial comments make a stimulating point of departure for discussions in classrooms, community groups, etc. They are also especially suitable, as individual spot programs, for broadcast by AM or FM stations.

Number 200

This introductory tape includes seven Hutchins editorials, as follows:

- Band 1—Introduction: What Kind of World? (4:05 min.)
- Band 2—The Bankruptcy of American Foreign Policy (3:27 min.)
- Band 3—The Great Society—Great for What? (2:44 min.)
- Band 4—Should the Government Finance Election Campaigns? (3:29 min.)
- Band 5—A New Look at the First Amendment (3:32 min.)
- Band 6—The Ombudsman and the Bureaucracy (4:28 min.)
- Band 7—The Art of the Possible (3:06 min.)

Additional tapes are available, consisting of four editorials per reel, and more are being recorded. Inquire for future editorials.

Number 201

- Band 1—Free Press (3:05 min.)
- Band 2—Education for Self-Preservation (3:15)
- Band 3—Microminiaturization (2:54)
- Band 4—After Watts, What? (2:33)

Number 202

- Band 1—The City (3:41)
- Band 2—Instantaneous Communications (3:13)
- Band 3—Conscription (2:58)
- Band 4—The Status Quo Syndrome (2:47)

Number 203

- Band 1—Why a Constitutional Convention? (3:23)
- Band 2—How I Became a Con Man (3:12)
- Band 3—The Submarine Syndrome (3:24)
- Band 4—Education Is Not a Children's Disease (3:19)

This series, "What Kind of World?" is for sale at a special rate of \$5 per reel at 3³/₄ ips on half track (except for the longer tape No. 200, which is \$7.50).

Printed Versions Also Available

Similar versions of some of the tapes are available in printed form from the Center. If desired, radio stations may offer one free copy of the appropriate publication (by telling listeners to write to Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103). A full list of current Center publications is available on request. Tapes and their comparable printed versions are as follows:

Tape No.	Publication No.
16	702
17	703
18	Diary: 18
29	125
68, 69	128
78	706
91, 93, 96	130
139	Magazine: November 1968
150	804*
151-156	136-138*
226	141
227, 232	144
228, 229	142
243	Diary: 14
244, 245, 247-249, 251	149
250	Diary: 12
256	Diary: 18
257	Diary: 14
258	Diary: 15
259	150
262	Diary: 16
267	Diary: 14
269	Diary: 14
271	Diary: 15
273	Diary: 14
274	Diary: 15

275	Diary: 16
279	Diary: 16
280	Diary: 12
281	Magazine: January 1968
282	Magazine: Oct.-Nov. 1967
283	Magazine: January 1968
285	Magazine: March 1968
287	Diary: 17
288	Magazine: Oct.-Nov. 1967
290	Magazine: January 1968
292	Magazine: March 1968
294	Magazine: September 1968
298	Diary: 18
308	Diary: 13
318	Diary: 16
400-406	†
407-410	152
428	Magazine: Oct.-Nov. 1967
430	Magazine: May 1968
431	Magazine: January 1968
433	Magazine: March 1968
434	Magazine: November 1968
444	Magazine: July 1968
450	Magazine: November 1968

*The talks and discussions from the Center's first Convocation on the Requirements of Peace are available in full in a paper-back book, *Pacem in Terris/Peace on Earth* (95 cents from the Center or from bookstores).

†The talks from the Center's second Convocation are available in full in a book, *Beyond Coexistence: The Requirements of Peace* (Grossman Publishers, New York: cloth, \$7.50; paper, \$2.95). Excerpts are also published in *The Center Magazine*, Oct.-Nov. 1967.

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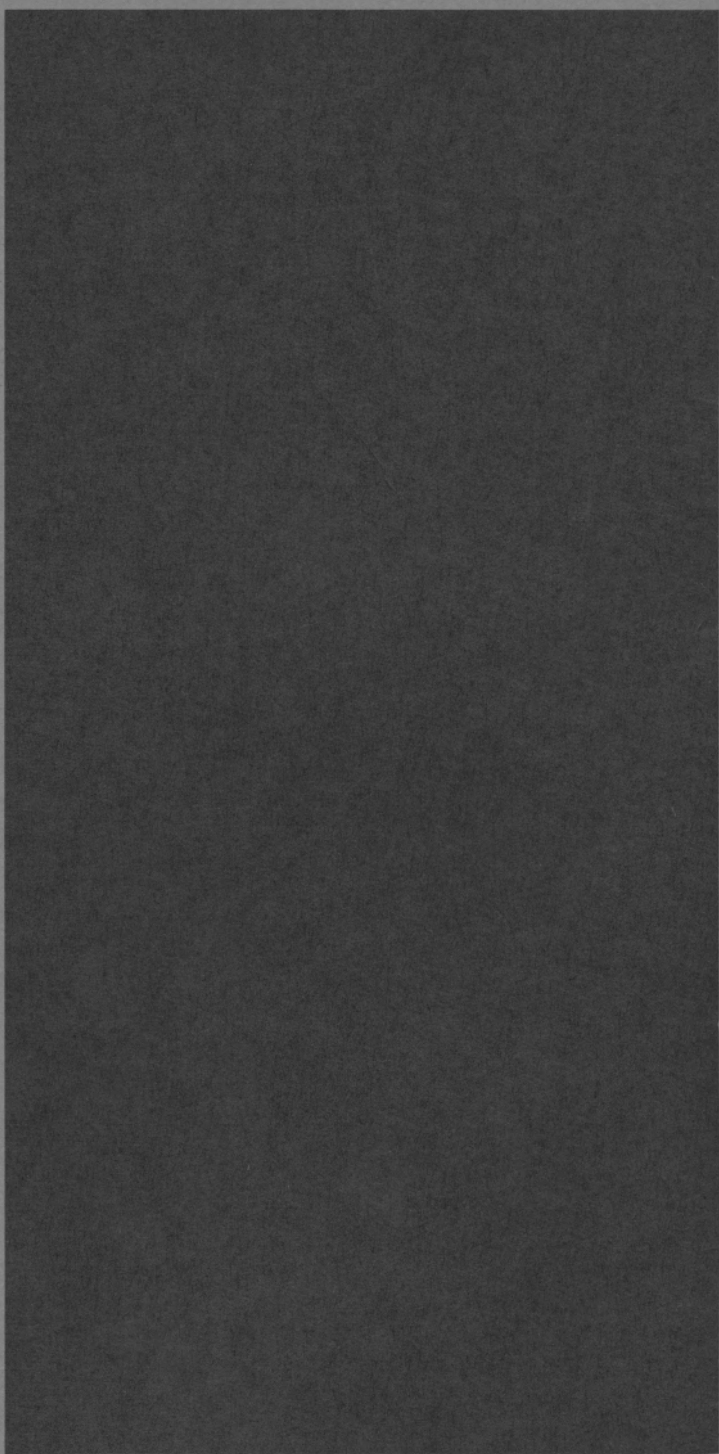
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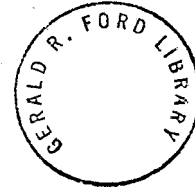
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ADDENDUM

1969 TAPE CATALOGUE

- 452 "SOLITARY, SINGING IN THE WEST..." 55:12

Although this program was prepared especially to celebrate the birthday of the noted educator, Robert M. Hutchins, it is an excellent sound portrait of the man, his views and his achievements. Mr. Hutchins, formerly President of the University of Chicago, is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Center.

- 453 ABM: YES OR NO? 56:43

Excerpts from a two-day symposium on what may be the most crucial decision for the survival of mankind. When all the technical data is in, the debate revolves on what kind of world shall we choose to live in. Participants include Jerome B. Wiesner, former science adviser to President Kennedy, now provost of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Donald Brennan of the Hudson Institute; General Leon Johnson, who was Director of the Net Evaluation Subcommittee of the National Security Council from 1961 to 1965; U.S. Senator George S. McGovern; A. A. Berle, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Brazil; I. I. Rabi, Nobel Laureate, now Higgins Professor of Physics, Columbia University; and Harry S. Ashmore and Harvey Wheeler of the staff of the Center, which sponsored this conference.

- 454 FINAL WORDS OF THOMAS MERTON 42:22

In the fall of 1967, for the first time in 25 years, Father Thomas Merton, a Trappist monk at the Abbey of Gethsemani in Kentucky, was given leave from the monastery to attend a meeting of Asian Catholic abbots in Bangkok and to study oriental monasticism at close range. Before leaving the country, he visited the Center in Santa Barbara where he talked about many things. A few weeks later, Father Merton died by accidental electrocution in Bangkok. He was 53 years old. As far as we know, this was the last recorded conversation with Father Merton.

- 455 CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE ART OF THE IMPOSSIBLE 51:32

Milton Mayer, writer-teacher, who has visited Czechoslovakia extensively and who was a member of the Comenius University faculty in Prague, explains the Good Soldier Schweik technique used by the Czechs to resist and demoralize the Russians in the invasion of August, 1968. Non-violent only in its lack of the use of arms, it aimed to bedevil rather than redeem the aggressor. Center Fellows join in the discussion.



456 SCIENTISTS: ON TOP OR ON TAP?

44:23

Ninety per cent of all the scientists who have ever lived are still alive. The impact of their intense activity on society and the rapidity with which industrial and military interests seize upon their discoveries is cause for alarm. To help quell the tempest in the bombshell, Center Fellow Harvey Wheeler suggests the "constitutionalization of science," which would put science under democratic control and rule of law geared toward the help and enlightenment of man rather than toward his extinction. Neil Jacoby, Visiting Center Fellow, moderates a panel discussion which includes Mr. Wheeler, a political scientist; Lord Ritchie-Calder, science historian; Norman Peterson, Director of Systems Development at Victor Gruen Associates; and Helmut Krauch, who recently worked on developing a science program for Germany.

457 CREATIVE NON-VIOLENCE

19:47

Grapes represent the fifth largest crop in California, but though grape workers have contracts with the wine makers, table grape growers have refused union recognition. Cesar Chavez, charismatic non-violent leader of the farm workers, talks informally with Fellows at the Center about the major labor conflict that may be developing if the dispute between growers and workers is not soon settled.

458 PROPOSAL FOR A BLACK COLLEGE

27:38

Current black studies curricula are insufficient for black students' needs today, says W. H. Ferry, who proposes a two-year black college. His colleagues at the Center suggest the proposal is about politics, not education.

459 "THE RICH PAY A FINE, THE POOR GO TO JAIL":
A SOCIOLOGY OF THE LAW

27:18

Studies show that our legal system deals primarily with the poor, who fail at crime and cannot obtain the legal services available to more affluent lawbreakers. A program of "preventive law," such as domestic counselling clinics and classes in consumer buying, could prevent ghetto legal problems from falling under police jurisdiction. Participating in the discussion are Brownlee Hayden of RAND Corporation; Justice Warren E. Burger, then of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court; Judge Walter Schaefer of the Illinois Superior Court; Sam Dash of the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure in Washington, D.C.; Gresham Sykes, sociologist at the University of Denver Law Center; and Hallock Hoffman of the Center.



460 THE ADVERSARY SYSTEM

58:16

In contrast to European criminal procedure, Anglo Saxon law uses an adversary court system. After a survey of courts abroad, Judge Warren E. Burger, now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, suggests that both the alternate European system and the more highly professionalized British adversary system function better than the adversary system in American courts. Participating in the discussion with Judge Burger are Sam Dash, director of the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure; Gresham M. Sykes, sociologist and director of the administration of justice program at the University of Denver Law Center; Robert M. Hutchins, Chairman of the Center; and Center Fellows Harry S. Ashmore, Rexford Tugwell, Gerald Gottlieb, William Gorman, C. Edward Crowther and Hallock Hoffman.

461 IDEAS IN THE MARKETPLACE

26:05

"The truth will win out in a debate in the marketplace," says Morris Ernst, internationally famous lawyer and civil liberties defender. In a conversation with Hallock Hoffman at the Center, Mr. Ernst talks about censorship and the need to enlarge the channels for truthful dissemination of news and ideas.

462 YOU MUST GO HOME AGAIN

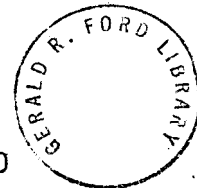
53:48

A highly personal and deeply moving story of one young black teacher who decided to return to his Southern rural home to initiate a program to change the life experiences of his people. Norris Hart talks with John Cogley at the Center.

463 RURAL DEVELOPMENT: RICH LAND FOR POOR

47:45

Slater King, Southern real estate and rural development expert, at a meeting at the Center, presents his land trust idea as a means of encouraging poor blacks and whites to come back to the farm from congested urban areas and to even the odds of those who are struggling to hold onto their land. The land trust would be privately organized as a non-profit corporation and would be adaptable to community needs. Participating in the discussion are Robert Choate, Fellow of the National Institute of Public Affairs; Eleanor Eaton, Coordinator of the AFSC Rural Programs; Gar Alperovitz of the Institute for Policy Studies; Don Devereux, Consultant for HELP in Santa Fe; Robert Swann of the International Independence Institute; and Center Fellows.



464 THE ROLE OF THE JURY IN POLITICAL CRIMES

28:50

Harrop A. Freeman, Professor of Law at Cornell University, argues that in certain kinds of criminal trials in the federal courts, the jury need not be bound by the judge's instructions as to the law. The argument is particularly relevant to trials of war resisters. Center Fellows join in the discussion.

465 THE WILD GOOSE CHASE FOR REALITY

25:55

"The basic quality necessary to genuine art is coming to grips with the world of chaotic events and finding an order in it," says painter Howard Warshaw. In an informal interview, Mr. Warshaw expounds on this "wild-goose chase for reality." A knowledgeable commentary on the roles of art and the artist in a democratic society. John Cogley, Editor of The Center Magazine, poses the questions.

466 THE EARTH KILLERS

28:20

Physicists can blow up the world; bacteriologists can destroy it by disease; pollution can suffocate it; and a population explosion can starve it to death. Lord Ritchie-Calder, noted science historian, tells John Cogley in a conversation at the Center, that the world will continue "mucking things up" beyond repair unless science comes under public control while time still remains.

467 TO HELL WITH POSTERITY

29:13

"Hell is a city much like London, a populous and smoky city," Shelley wrote years ago. Today, science and technology seem Hell-bent on creating bigger and smokier cities; on defiling the waters with waste product; on indulging in atom-foolery until we all become victims of slow but insidious smothering and radiation. Lord Ritchie-Calder, Consultant to the Center and noted science historian, makes a case for the need to apply social responsibility to scientific discovery instead of racing pell-mell to a finish line that may spell the end of civilization as we know it.

468 THE STRUGGLE IS THE MESSAGE

27:15

"Violence is an equation. A certain amount of authority, a certain amount of weapons, a certain amount of hardware can prevent the free exercise of violence." The delicate balance lies in the degree that one wants to curb violence. Irving Louis Horowitz, sociologist, analyzes the use of violence by anti-war demonstrators, blacks, students and police, and points out that where there is organization there is usually no violence. Center Fellows participate in the discussion.



469 THE YOUTH CLASS

42:1

Youth is no longer a marginal factor in American life. By the end of the 20th Century, going to college may be as routine as going to high school. Irving Louis Horowitz, sociologist, entertains the notion that the young in the university-knowledge-factory environment may well constitute a new social class. Center Fellows join in the discussion.

470 WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE UNITED NATIONS?

29:45

The United Nations is ailing as an effective instrument of peace but it is alive and functioning and holding its own in international social and economic spheres. It has, in fact, the strength to evolve into a world government. An examination of the health of the U.N. is conducted at the Center by Donald McDonald, Stringfellow Barr, Elisabeth Borgese and Hallock Hoffman.

471 THE CHOICE: SAVE OUR CONSTITUTION OR SAVE OUR ENVIRONMENT

28:30

A desperate plea to put a halt to the destruction of the ecological balance before we reach the imminent point of no return. W. H. Ferry reads the text of his remarks before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Affairs.

472 A VISION OF ATHENS

52:45

Can education revitalize society? Robert Hutchins, Chairman of the Center, thinks that society must first revitalize itself. Taking into account the enormous and recent changes in an education-seeking constituency, the urban, communications and technological revolutions, and the degeneration of the university into a training-school-conglomerate, Mr. Hutchins nonetheless holds forth hope that we may yet become a learning society. A provocative question and answer period follows this talk to the Westside Community Center in Los Angeles.

473 SCOTT BUCHANAN, TEACHER

31:24

Through reminiscences of his life's work as a Socratic teacher, Scott Buchanan explains his view of teaching and the teacher's role in the learning process. He discusses the New Program he created at St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. This all-required program of study was conceived as a step in the restoration of the American Liberal Arts College after its virtual destruction by the elective system. Talking with Mr. Buchanan are his friends Stringfellow Barr, co-founder of the St. John's Program, and Harris Wofford, now President of Old Westbury College in New York.



474 TRAGEDY AND POLITICS

27:32

Scott Buchanan spent his life as a Socratic teacher. His attempt to discard the illusory in pursuit of the truth freed him to study the developing world without being blinded by the explosive events that comprise it. This conversation opens with recourse to the Greeks: to the interrelatedness of tragic and comic outlooks. Mr. Buchanan discusses the tension between education and political action; and Socratic dialectic itself, its essentially democratic and liberating nature, and its use in the ongoing creation of world society. Talking with Mr. Buchanan is his friend Harris Wofford, now President of Old Westbury College in New York.

475 THERE USED TO BE NEGROES

43:50

Talking to the students at the University of California at Santa Barbara, Milton Mayer, writer, lecturer and teacher, evaluates the long overdue revolution now in the hands of young America. He suggests that only intelligence can make the revolution "stick"; that the guide lines of education for human freedom and acceptance of all cultures, whether black, white or mongrel, be used to dignify their cause.

477 HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?

39:00

"We can kill each other nationally at least once now, so why bother arming enough to do it two or three times?" At a Center staff meeting, Charles Bolte of the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace poses this and other questions concerning the control of strategic weapons.

478 THE FAMILY IN CRISIS

38:24

Like every other institution, the family is today in a state of crisis. Discussion of the history, literature and quality of family life leads to speculation about whether the family is disintegrating or only in transition and what its future form and strengths may be. Stewart Sutton, Canadian social worker, joins Center Fellows for this discussion.



ASIAN DILEMMA

At the instigation of prominent members of the Japanese Diet who belong to a special study group of the majority Liberal Democratic Party, the Center arranged a three-day conference to consider a New Policy for China. The following four tapes are excerpted from those proceedings. The participants include: Muenori Akagi, former Japanese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry; John Sherman Cooper, U.S. Senator from Kentucky; Alan Cranston, U.S. Senator from California; William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; Don Edwards, Congressman from California; Masumi Ezaki, former Japanese Minister of Defense; Aiichiro Fujiyama, former Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Executive Council of the Liberal Democratic Party; J. W. Fulbright, U.S. Senator from Arkansas; Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and former Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; Mark O. Hatfield, U.S. Senator from Washington; Edwin O. Reischauer, former Ambassador to Japan and now Professor of Far Eastern History at Harvard University; Chester Ronning, formerly Canadian Ambassador and High Commissioner to India and Director for Eastern Affairs; Tokuma Utsunomiya, Vice President of the Association for the Promotion of World Trade; and Center members Harry S. Ashmore, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, Robert M. Hutchins, Fred Warner Neal, and Stanley K. Sheinbaum.

479 CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

28:53

If we cannot break free from the 19th Century myths underlying our foreign policy, we may not survive the 20th Century to enter the 21st. Nowhere is the danger more serious than in the foreign policies of the United States and Japan toward China. Pulitzer Prize-winner Harry S. Ashmore is in good form as he summarizes the three-day conference in which Japanese leaders and United States legislators considered the steps necessary for a rapprochement with China. Masumi Ezaki, former Japanese Minister of Defense, adds a charming footnote.

480 THE MYTH OF THE CHINA MENACE

44:37

Edwin O. Reischauer, former Ambassador to Japan and now Professor of Far Eastern History at Harvard University, reviews the troublesome questions that will need attention with regard to China and some that might require less attention later if we attend well to them now. Although all participants agreed in general that Asian policy must be reappraised, there were sharp clashes with Reischauer on detail.



481 "A SIMPLE HUMAN PREFERENCE FOR LIFE":
AN ARGUMENT FOR THE RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA 41:49

Conference participants struggle with questions which must first be raised before solutions can come: How to educate a public raised in fear of China to trust her? Can the China question be resolved before the issue of Taiwan is settled? Would Japan and other nations feel secure if the U.S. removed naval bases from the Pacific?

482 "SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR AND NO ONE CAME?" 29:46

Japan, which has a constitutional prohibition against war, stands in a unique position to usher in the warless world. William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, interrupted the conference with an impatient plea that we break with our bankrupt political policies and seek innovative paths to peace under law. He is joined by Senators Fulbright and Hatfield and their Japanese opposite numbers in a moving montage that demands respect for all living things -- including man.



483 A PRIVILEGED PLACE

21:20

"I see an increasing demand put on any Christian to be, during his whole life, a politically significant person. This does not mean the Church itself becomes politically significant," says Ivan Illich, an ordained priest who has chosen to work outside the Church as Director of the Centro Intercultural de Documentacion in Cuernavaca, Mexico. A segment from a long conversation recorded at the Center where Dr. Illich talked with Donald McDonald and Denis Goulet about the role of the Church in Latin America, how it functions and how it should function.

484 ELECTORAL REFORM: WHAT HAPPENS WHEN EVERYONE LOSES? 53:42

Although the 1968 election aroused fears that a President might be chosen by the archaic Electoral College, once the crisis passed, so did public anxiety. Not so for Harry S. Ashmore, President of the Center, who explores some reforms for national elections. The pros who argue his proposals include Joe Napolitan, Herbert Kaplow, Steve Mitchell, Frank Mankiewicz, Charles Guggenheim, Arthur Schlesinger, Blair Clark, Walter De Vrie, Ann Wexler and Eli Siegel.

485 WHERE HAVE ALL THE LIBERALS GONE?

28:56

A search for the liberals in the current scene of political action leads Harry S. Ashmore, President of the Center, to find that liberals have been in the rearguard of politics indulging in reason rather than confrontation; functioning as critics; maintaining a code of conduct and a balance between individual liberty and social justice. Center Fellows join in the discussion.

486 THE PREGNANT GHETTO

40:43

Ghetto action is the motive behind the newly formed Economic Resources Corporation, and Richard Allen is the man behind the corporation. His plan is to put life into depressed urban areas by bringing in industry, jobs and low-cost housing. Mr. Allen's ghetto origin allows him to view the problems with both passion and practicality. At a meeting at the Center, he discusses these views with Leon Sager, businessman, Jay Jackson, executive director of the Economic Resources Corporation, and Center Fellows.

487 THE CAPTIVE CHILD

40:55

"We must rethink our ideas of childhood and schooling," says Peter Marin. His experience as Director of the experimental Pacific High School in Palo Alto has exposed him to the depth of adolescent problems. He does some of his "rethinking" at the Center and pleads the cause of the adolescent who must be released from the bonds of childhood, must be accepted in and by an adult community where he can learn according to his needs.

488 A MATTER OF GENES

29:10

Arthur Jensen, educational psychologist, stirs up more controversy than genes when he suggests that "genetic factors are strongly implicated in the average Negro-white intelligence difference." Donald McDonald of the Center interviews Mr. Jensen, who elaborates on his hypothesis and presents some ideas on methods of education.

489 POPULATION CONTROL BEGINS AT HOME

29:07

Every year, 70 million people are added to the population of the world. There are now more undernourished people than there were people in 1875. The story of the rising population combined with the avaricious consumption of non-renewable resources gives cause for alarm, and Paul Ehrlich, biologist at Stanford University and Center Associate, suggests a plan which, despite utopian overtones, is in fact a realistic solution to this progressive destruction of life on earth.

