# Center report

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Center report

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## Return of the OP

Single-subject pamphlets treating with a variety of issues deemed to be worthy of the attention of a general audience were among the earliest publications of the Center. These "Occasional Papers" were issued intermittently, and typically contained more wordage than the usual magazine article, but somewhat less than is considered minimum for book format. Thus the OPs fell outside the system normally used to disseminate printed matter; as non-periodicals they were unsuitable for newsstand sale or mail subscription, and their bulk did not support the pricing pattern required by book publishing.

The early OPs were distributed to the mass media, and generated enough public discussion to attract attention to the then standing offer to provide single copies free upon request. This built up a considerable and dedicated following, but success was tantamount to bankruptcy, for as the OPs gained in reputation and circulation so did the publishing deficit.

When we launched THE CENTER MAGAZINE and its supporting membership campaign in 1967 the OPs were priced at one dollar and incorporated into the regular mailing to members, alternating monthly with the MAGAZINE. In 1970, the single-subject format gave way to the new CENTER REPORT. Beginning with the last issue the old designation, obviously no longer applicable, finally disappeared in the course of a change in cover design.

This does not mean that the Occasional Paper is dead, but rather that we are trying to find a means of reviving it in its original form. And this brings us back to the problem of providing subsidy for material that deserves circulation but can't be packaged to pay its own way.

A new/old Occasional Paper is just off the press. MEDICAL MALPRACTICE, a discussion of alternative compensation and quality control systems, is a thirty-page magazine-size report edited by Donald McDonald from the papers and transcripts generated at a recent Center conference. The discussion included Dr. Roger Egeberg, special assistant to President Nixon for medical affairs, along with medical experts, law school professors, trial lawyers, and hospital administrators, and provided a new and alarming focus on mounting deficiencies in the nation's medical care delivery system. (For a brief account see "Anatomy of an Issue," THE CENTER MAGAZINE, November/December.) An advance purchase at bulk rates of thirty thousand copies for distribution by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare underwrote production costs, and we are able to offer single copies to Center members at a list price of $1.00.

One way or another, there will be more Occasional Papers. Under discussion is a special Center Communications Fund to provide continuing support for our efforts to widen the circles of discussion beyond the economic break-even point — including a major entry into the so far inaccessible realm of television.

HARRY S. ASHMORE, *President*

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*A Center Conference:*

# Social and Philosophical Implications of Behavior Modification

(ED. NOTE: *As this issue went to press, the Center was in the midst of a dialogue on the themes and issues raised by the noted behavioral scientist, B. F. Skinner, author of the controversial book* Beyond Freedom and Dignity, *and presently at the Center. Twenty-five eminent scholars contributed papers on Skinner's theses. Broad-ranging in scope, they revealed a lively concern with the social, political and philosophical implications of the new techniques of behavior modification. Senior Fellow Harvey Wheeler, conference organizer, will serve as editor-in-chief of a Center book to be produced at the conclusion of the conference. Herewith are excerpts from the background paper by Prof. Wheeler which was circulated to Fellows and participants prior to the conference.*)

One of the functions of politics has always been to modify behavior. Plato stated this as his leading goal in writing *The Republic*. Our educational practices are devoted to behavior modification. Each time we draft a new law we have in mind the modification of behavior to conform with the provisions of the law. The aim of modifying behavior is not new, but recently the techniques for achieving it have developed a high degree of sophistication. The most familiar example comes from the behavioral drugs, tranquilizers, energizers and so on. Moreover, we are told that the world's leading nations are engaging in large, highly classified research projects in behavioral drugs: drugs that can be sprayed over population centers to render the residents docile or disoriented and easy for an invading army to manipulate.

Such drugs may be used for other purposes: to quell a riot or to calm angry commuters caught in traffic jams and subway failures. Many fear that if they can be used for this, they can also be used for more general, repressive purposes. A modern Hitler, for example, might use behavioral drugs.

Electronics combined with brain research presents another technique of behavior control. Electrodes implanted in the brain can stimulate pleasure centers so effectively that the subjects come to abandon all their needs and normal functions to press the pleasure button over and over again. Already these stimuli can be activated by remote, wireless control. Perhaps some day it will no longer be necessary to actually implant electrodes in the brain in order to achieve similar results.

Molecular biologists seem to be on the verge of understanding the way in which the DNA-RNA replication process works. When they do, the prospect of genetic engineering will become a reality. Many good things can be done: genetic surgery can correct congenital defects in the foetus or the newly born. But beyond this, it may be possible to alter man's instinctual equipment. Suppose we think that the human being as we know him is too war-like. Perhaps we can adjust him genetically so as to produce a more pacific creature. Should we do so? If we do, what might be the unintended consequences? What kinds of controls should be adopted to regulate this new technology?

This brings us to a fourth type of behavior modification, one somewhat more traditional in technique, but one, so we are told, that is already available to us. This is the technique of "operant conditioning" developed by B. F. Skinner of Harvard. Skinner claims that this new psychological approach is not only effective but that it renders all our traditional ideas of political theory, jurisprudence and ethics, obsolete. Here he joins with certain philosophers who claim the old mind-body dualism lacks foundation: there is not a "ghost in the machine" (to use Gilbert Ryle's formula); there is not an inner psyche or an autonomous, decision-making mind. Hence, Skinner argues, free will, dignity, and many other noble or god-like attributes, are not inherent in man. Moreover, Skinner contends, once we abandon such notions we will be able to apply operant conditioning to structure a new kind of social and political environment that will regulate human behavior more effectively and more rationally than anything previously possible. The technique is available, claims Skinner; it should be used to improve the human condition. But what is this so-called improvement? How do we know we would be better off?

Operant conditioning differs from traditional behavioralism in two ways. First, it does not regard both pleasure and pain stimuli as being equally effective, nor does it regard them as representing linear variables along a single scale reaching from pleasure on one end to pain on the other. On the contrary, it makes a qualitative distinction between the two, calling pleasures positive reinforcements and pains negative reinforcements. Moreover, it claims that it is not feelings we respond to but reinforcements themselves, directly. Positive reinforcements (rewards for doing something) are said to be more effective behavior modifiers than are negative reinforcements (punishments for doing something other than what is desired). It is easy to see how this would be the case. A reward may be direct, as in paying a worker to produce; a punishment may be indirect, as in arresting a drunken driver. In the latter case one may learn only what is to be avoided, getting arrested, not what is to be performed. Of course, when the lesson to be taught is avoidance (aversion, rather than performance), it would appear that the tables are turned. If we wish to teach someone not to touch a hot stove, to reward him each time he does something else is not likely to be as directly effective as a controlled aversive demonstration that hot stoves

may burn. This raises questions about the efficacy of operant conditioning in therapeutic situations wherein the problem is often to teach some variant of the lesson that hot stoves burn.

A second distinguishing feature of operant conditioning is that the conditioner does not impose his own notion of positive and negative reinforcement on the subject. His idea of a reward may not be accurate. Accordingly, he must discover what rewards are from the subject. The way he does this is to observe what stimuli best reinforce desired behavioral patterns. These stimuli are, by definition, positive reinforcers: meat is not a positive reinforcer for a cow but it is for a dog, and so on. Carried to extremes this might seem to involve operant conditioning in circularity, the familiar sadist-masochist (or each to his own pleasure) trap. There is a way out of this but it raises a new problem.

The way out is to say that, in general, we can observe what is a healthy positive reinforcer (one that does not bring deferred aversive results) by observing its long term effects on the subject. If these effects are good (simply in terms of survival) the reinforcer that produces it is a proper positive reinforcer; if bad, it is an improper positive reinforcer. Hence, for those who respond positively to improper positive reinforcers, as in the case of drug addicts, the task of therapy, or of operant conditioning, in

B. F. SKINNER

general, is to rearrange the subject's response pattern to conform with more generally observed norms. The case may seem clear with regard to drug addicts (even here there is a serious argument) but in other cases, such as whether "work" is better for people than "play," the situation is not so clear. It is in these latter areas that professor Skinner has met his most vigorous opposition.

He answers this by resorting to a proposition about cultural evolution: cultures that reinforce behavior properly will survive, those that do not will die. This is not satisfactory either for it might lead to the conclusion that our contemporary primitives, such as the Australian bushmen, have a good reinforcement system for they have survived as a culture longer than most other cultures. It might even lead to the conclusion that a spectacular culture such as that of Athens, was inferior to the culture of less glorious but victorious Spartans. Skinner's Darwinian retreat into cultural survival does not seem to help unless one is able to make qualitative distinctions between different cultures. But this involves making value judgments. However, values have doubtful status in the lexicon of operant conditioning: values are forms of verbal behavior and not qualitatively different from other forms of behavior whose adoption has been produced by environmental reinforcement. Hence we reach another level of circularity.

It is hard to see how this impasse can be resolved within the assumptions of operant conditioning. Professor Skinner seems at times to want to resolve it by referring to something like a traditional conventional wisdom, arguing in effect that people in general would be better off if certain behavioral patterns were adopted by all. And yet, in order to demonstrate the validity of the particular patterns he espouses he seems to be forced to fall back on some version of natural law; the implicit natural law of the social Darwinists. However, natural law is anathema to him on other grounds. Not only is it merely verbal behavior, what is worse, it is aversive. The ap-

## Conference Participants and Contributors

**B. F. SKINNER,** author of *Beyond Freedom and Dignity,* is regarded by many as the most influential and controversial living behavioral psychologist. Harvard professor Skinner is the author of *The Behavior of Organisms, Walden Two* (a novel), *Science and Human Behavior, Verbal Behavior, Cumulative Record, The Technology of Teaching* and *Contingencies of Reinforcement.*

**MAX BLACK,** Senior member, Program on Science, Technology and Society, Cornell University.

***RICHARD BELLMAN,** professor of mathematics, engineering and medicine, University of Southern California; pioneer systems analyst.

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**ARTHUR R. JENSEN,** professor of educational psychology, University of California, Berkeley.

****GEORGES CASALIS,** professor of theology, University of Paris, vice-chairman, Christian Peace Conference; leading Protestant theologian.

***ALEXANDER COMFORT,** professor of zoology, University College, London; leading world authority on control of aging.

****NURI EREN,** Turkish Ambassador to the United Nations; Economic Counselor to NATO; founder and president of the Economic Research Foundation.

**HALLOCK HOFFMAN,** dean of Critical Studies, California Institute of the Arts, Valencia.

***FRED WARNER NEAL,** professor, international relations, Claremont Graduate School and University Center, Claremont, California; specialist on Soviet-American relations.

parent result is that his fundamental position turns out to be rootless.

On the other hand, if it is not rootless then we have a right to ask him to explain exactly what his fundamental position is and whence comes its validity. If he does not satisfy us on this score we are justified in citing his own doctrine back at him. Why, we may ask, should anyone accept the Skinner behavioral goals over those of anyone else? Operant conditioning teaches us that we are all creatures of environmental forces. This applies to our goals (our verbal behavior) as well as our actions. Hence, professor Skinner and the system of verbal behavior we know as operant conditioning is also a product of the particular schedule of reinforcements he himself experienced. As such, the goals associated with Skinner's operant conditioning have no greater validity than do the different goals of those who have experienced a quite different schedule of reinforcements. The behavioralism that produces a Skinner is no better than that which produces an anti-Skinner. There is no way to resolve this argument within the terms of behavioralism.

Finally, we may raise a somewhat more subtle question. Even assuming the above difficulties can be resolved, what about the positive role that notions such as freedom and dignity may have played? Professor Skinner argues they are bad because they stand in the

HARVEY WHEELER

way of full-fledged adoption of operant conditioning principles in human affairs. He argues further that they are wrong because a behavioralist point of view reveals them to be myths. Suppose we agree that such concepts, formerly deemed ennobling, are in fact myths. May it not be the case, even from a behavioralist point of view, that such ennobling myths are necessary positive reinforcers for a humane and decent society? If this is the case, the role of behavioralism would be to induce a firm belief in the intrinsic validity of verbal behavior it claims is no more valid than an archaic code of chivalry. This, in fact, is very close to the conclusion of an earlier behavior modifier.

Plato concluded that people in general could not be induced to engage in the normative behavior they ought to observe unless they could be made to believe in certain myths capable of inducing such behavior. This led Plato to his theory of the noble lie: a rule of behavior which is just, but whose justice is not susceptible to being perceived by the average person. Similar speculations have led many of professor Skinner's critics to suggest that he is, in effect, a negative Plato and what he has presented us with is an ignoble lie.

My own conclusion is that this is a quite erroneous interpretation. I have many doubts about the political and social conclusions he draws from his work. However, the fact remains that professor Skinner's work has resulted in the creation of a rapidly maturing technology of behavior modification. It is effective, and because it is effective it will be used. The political problem facing us is the same one that faces us when any powerful technology is developed: how to control it so that we can enjoy its benefits rather than suffer from its abuses. After the debate over the merits of the arguments in *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* has subsided this problem will remain; a problem that would be posed to us by professor Skinner's scientific contributions even if he had never written *Walden II* or *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. ■

*Robert L. Simmons*

# AN ANSWER TO TRIAL DELAY

The absymal logjam in the twenty thousand trial courts in the United States poses a critical problem to the American judicial process. The problem is most acute in metropolitan courts where delays of two years are not uncommon in trials of serious criminal cases and where the life of civil jury cases usually spans three years or more from filing to trial. But the problem is not confined to big cities. Suburban courts in every State are similarly glutted by volume, hampered by archaic facilities and procedures, and incapable of fulfilling the "speedy trial" promise of the Sixth Amendment.

Trial delay has the harshest impact on defendants unable to make bail who, in consequence, remain in jail until their cases are tried. Mainly indigent young men, they form the bulk of jail populations in every State.

Because of inadequate facilities in local holding jails and the economic deprivation of idleness (especially if there are family support responsibilities) there is intense pressure to plead "guilty" to some crime in order to bring their cases to final disposition. Another effect of delay is the hindrance to defense trial success. As months pass, witnesses often disappear and memories of other witnesses fade; further factors inducing guilty pleas despite possible innocence.

The exaction of delay is heaviest upon physically and economically injured plaintiffs, many of whom must wait years for compensation. The man whom auto injury has rendered unfit for employment, confronting the pressure of medical and other creditors, often finds settlement at any price irresistible. The small company with large contract damages usually finds justice approaching too slowly to wait for it. Defendants also suffer. Fear of a calamitous judgment, bred of typically exaggerated suit claims, gathers over the months like a storm. Credit reputations — of individuals and companies alike — are impaired and remain so while cases pend, without regard to their merits. All are factors dictating settlement from necessity rather than in accord with equity. As in criminal cases, both sides are penalized by the effect of delay on witness availability and memories.

The aggregate of individual injuries already described represents a staggering wound to both the reality and concept of civil justice in America. Anyone doubting the lack of confidence most people display toward their courts has only to discuss the subject with a fair number of them. It stems from the deserved reputation that courts are expensive, time-consuming and inefficient places to which resort should be made only on occasions of direct necessity — like public toilets.

The relationship of judges to courtrooms, and both to a trial, has not changed in four hundred years. It takes one of each to produce the last. Has this county fewer judges than courtrooms? Or vice versa? Then the number of trials conducted there is limited to the lesser number of either. Is this judge ill, on vacation, turned off by trial work, or just lazy? Is that courtroom closed for alterations or unsuitable for summer operation? For any of these reasons, under present procedures, trial work ceases because no phase of a trial is held outside of a courtroom and a judge's presence. Ways must be found to make the conduct of trials less dependent upon a perfect union between judge and courtroom and to utilize judicial manpower more efficiently.

The bulk of trial work in America — especially in metropolitan areas and in criminal and negligence cases — is performed by a small minority of lawyers, the trial specialists. They are courted by clients, envied by colleagues and cursed by judges intent on reducing their dockets. Ways must be found to boost trial production without infringing upon a client's rights to hire whichever lawyer he pleases.

The necessity of making a verbatim record of every trial in general jurisdiction courts has written another limiting factor into the production equation: courtroom + judge + lawyers + court reporter = a trial. Whatever the medium, shorthand or stenotype, reporters are in short supply. Even though their skill is purely mechanical, requiring no legal training whatever, their presence in the courtroom is as vital as that of judges for trials to proceed. Ways must be found to free courts of the paralyzing power of mere stenographers.

The consequence of these various limitations is to make it *impossible* for any American trial court anywhere to function efficiently. Added is yet another factor that restricts the number of trials and prolongs case dispositions: the custom of scheduling all trial activity between the hours of 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with an hour and a half for lunch, and never on Saturday. The custom derives from days of yore when litigation was an infrequent phenomenon, like Halley's Comet, and a local judgeship was a place to retire to for contemplation. Ways must be found to utilize court facilities and manpower to their maximum without at the same time so antagonizing judges that the ways are never implemented.

Except for the few "sensational" or "political" trials in the country, most of the causes of excessively long trials are the same as the causes of too few trials: each and every phase of trial must take place in a courtroom, in the presence of jury, judge, court reporter and two or more lawyers, between nine to four o'clock, and never on Saturday. Forcing a trial into such a restrictive mold is like forcing a bar of steel into a tubular press; it is stretched out to an astonishing length.

Another set of causes, inherent in present trial procedures, works to prolong nearly all trials. It consists of repeated interruption in the presentation of evidence. Each lawyer's argument to the court delays the progress of evidence, sometimes for hours, for the jury must wait until the judge rules. If a witness does not come to court on time, action ceases until he appears. Frequently, one side rests its case earlier than the other side expected and the latter is unprepared

with witnesses to proceed. So the jury is recessed until the next day, even though it is only two o'clock. Ways must be found to reduce the duration of both normal and abnormal trials without infringing constitutional guarantees or impairing trial quality.

Electronic equipment is presently used to a limited extent in police procedures, e.g., to record confessions and statements of suspects. But their most dramatic recent appearance and use has been in police courts, in connection with drunk driving prosecutions. Camera and tape recording equipment in police stations is used to record the speech and appearance of arrested drivers. At the subsequent trial the tape is run through the court's own equipment and viewed by the jury within the courtroom. The percentage of convictions attests the procedure's effectiveness. The time has come to test the potential of this equipment for a greatly expanded use. I propose the use of tape to take testimony from *all* witnesses in *every* civil and criminal (except capital) jury case. I propose that this testimony be taken separate and apart from the jury and judge and that only the opening and closing statements of counsel and the judge's instructions on law be conducted "live" in the courtroom.

The procedure for testimony would be similar to that presently followed throughout the country for depositions, merely substituting video camera and operator for the court reporter and a "video" room in the courthouse for a lawyer's office. Witnesses would be sworn and examined by counsel in their clients' presence. Objections to questions or answers would be marked on the tape and preserved.

After all testimony in the case is concluded, the objections would be referred to whichever judge was free. He would, at his convenience, rule on the objections and the tape edited to conform, with all removed segments preserved in case of appeal. In its edited form the testimony tape would be filed until trial.

When the trial commences in the courtroom, the jury would be selected in the usual way and opening statements delivered live by counsel. Since they would already know the evidence, counsel could be more accurate and helpful in preluding the case than at present. After opening statements, the jury would retire to the video room and view and hear the testimony without interruption, escaping the delays so prevalent in this phase of trial. After the jury has viewed the tape it would return to the courtroom for closing arguments and instructions on law, then retire to the jury room for deliberations and choice of verdict. It would have access to the tape on request during deliberations for the purpose of replaying segments to resolve disputes.

Because the evidentiary phase of trials would be separated from courtrooms and judges, testimony sessions could and should be scheduled during evenings and Saturdays as well as on weekdays. No longer would witnesses be forced to lose a day's wages while cooling their heels in a court hall awaiting their turn to testify. No longer would witnesses have to testify in a certain sequence, nor even in a continuous order. All of plaintiff's witnesses could be heard one week, according to convenience rather than trial sequence; all of defendant's witnesses could be heard the next week or even the week after. There would have to be outside time limits, to be sure, but those limits could be as flexible as present trial limits are rigid.

As a judge, how often I longed to leave the courtroom during a particularly boring jury trial and return to an opinion that needed writing. But I was rooted to my bench by rules that required that I be on the scene in case an objection was made. Freeing witnesses of the courtroom frees the judge as well. Days formerly spent auditing evidence in each case would now be available for more important duties, more thorough research, more careful opinions and launching more trials. As soon as one jury retired to the video room, another panel could take its place in the courtroom and a second trial commence.

**"Trials can be shortened by 50% or more."**

It is reasonable to believe that by using video tape as proposed, trials of average length will be shortened fifty per cent or more, and trials of abnormal length shortened by a significantly larger percentage. It is further reasonable to predict that many cases now requiring partial trials and jury time could be disposed of without either, by a defense request that the judge view the testimony tape before a jury is sworn. A fair percentage of all cases filed in court are legally worthless, because prosecution or plaintiff's evidence is inadequate at law. Under present procedures such cases can be ruled upon only after all plaintiff's evidence has been presented to the jury . . . following selection and opening statements. At this point, more than half the trial is over.

By scheduling testimonial taping sessions between cases and during off-court hours, law suits now seriously delayed while lawyers work in other courtrooms can be made ready for trial quickly. Then, as soon as the lawyers become available during court hours, trials can commence at a moment's notice. No longer will trial lawyers be heard pleading, "I need at least a week before the trial starts to line up my witnesses." Witnesses will be . . . quite literally . . . always lined up at the courtroom door, as quick to testify as the time it takes to thread video tape onto a playback reel.

Materially shortening the length of trials will materially reduce the cost of them to jurors, witnesses and clients. On the appellate level such procedures would also be advantageous. By committing trial testimony to video tape appellate courts will see and hear whatever juries do. And more. They will see and hear testimony the trial judge excluded from the jury before trial, upon lawyer objection. They can not only test the correctness of the judge's rulings, but also measure more effectively than now the probable effect upon the trial result of excluded testimony. ■

*Robert L. Simmons, professor of Law at Cleveland University College of Law, served six years on the bench in Ohio prior to teaching. He recently presented the above proposal at a Center symposium.*

# Earth Resource Satellite

(ED. NOTE: *Richard O. Mason, acting associate professor of Information Systems at the University of California (L.A.), thinks the interface between technology and social systems needs intensive study and is doing some of it. In a paper recently presented at the Center, excerpts of which appear below, he predicted that the Earth Resource Technological Satellite could, in time, change values and social patterns to the same extent the automobile did. He is presently co-directing the social science side of a NASA-sponsored integrated study of earth resources in California using remote sensing techniques, as a member of a University of California multi-disciplinary team.*)

Sometime this year NASA will launch its first Earth Resource Technological Satellite — ERTS. This will be the christening event in a total program including aircraft, ground stations, computational centers and additional satellites. The long range purpose of this program is to help solve mankind's food, water and mineral resource problems by providing more precise and comprehensive information.

This capability has the potential for creating profound societal changes. Once a new technology (or any program, or decision) is set into effect the forces which influence human values also change. The very act of commencing to secure benefits may change the nature of the benefits themselves. In Buddenbrooks fashion, the values and beliefs that motivate and guide a people in one era are remolded and reshaped by the events and circumstances that follow. Some are triggered by changes in the environment. Some flow as a by-product of the values pursued themselves and the extent to which they were achieved. A new era with a new and different ethic begins. Now, in an age of rapid communication, transportation and large organizations, what once took generations to change can potentially take place in just a few years, including, of course, values. We propose that the ERTS program will have this kind of value-changing impact.

The entire ERTS program will involve many people and require much in the way of capital as well as human investment. Beyond the ERTS A and B and Skylab projects there will be additional satellites and a large supporting aircraft program. But this direct investment in technology and people is not the most critical element. A new information utility will be born. It will provide more accurate and synoptic information about earth resources. As a consequence we can assume that *different* earth resource decisions will be made. Earth resource managers whether they be in federal, state or local government, in industry, in agriculture, or in conservation will come to rely on the new data for making decisions. They will begin to suggest new uses for the data and new technologies will be developed and implemented to obtain it. Previously infeasible technologies will be pressed into use. This growing commitment and dependence on the ERTS program will change the outlook and values of the people involved.

In this sense ERTS is really a social experiment, not simply a technological one. It will change personalities, social relations and institutions, and create new values and outlooks on life. Thus, the "benefits" and "costs" assigned within the value scheme of the 1971 world-view to, say, projected 1980 outcomes, will be qualitatively (as well as quantitively) different from those assigned to the same outcome within the 1980 *Weltanschauung*. Not only does this qualitative shift in values bring into question the notions of measuring, for there is no stable measure space from which to work, but, it also poses a more fundamental query "What is the relevant value system to use?" This question translates into "How should one view the whole system of which ERTS is a part?"

From the standpoint of social-cultural change NASA's ERTS program is a profound one. In our opinion it will move beyond the quantitative and qualitative stages of technological evolution. It will usher us into a new age of earth resource management and utilization. Man's outlook on life and his values have always been deeply intertwined with his relationship to the earth. New relationships beget new values and vice versa. Thus, when the people who make decisions about earth resources begin to employ ERTS information they will be reforming man's relationship with the earth and stressing the societal structures which are linked to it. Value questions will be raised and will have to be resolved. In so doing our view-of-the-world will be changed.

What will the central issues in forming a new *Weltanschauung* be? It is too early to answer this question fully. However, we can develop some clues by reviewing some of the proposed uses to which ERTS-A data might be put. In December, 1970, a conference on "remote sensing" brought together potential users of ERTS data and members of our U.C. project who understood the capabilities of ERTS-A. Together they specified some of the useful data that was potentially available. For each item of information some systemic questions were posed.* The questions suggest some of the areas where ERTS-initiated social change may take place.

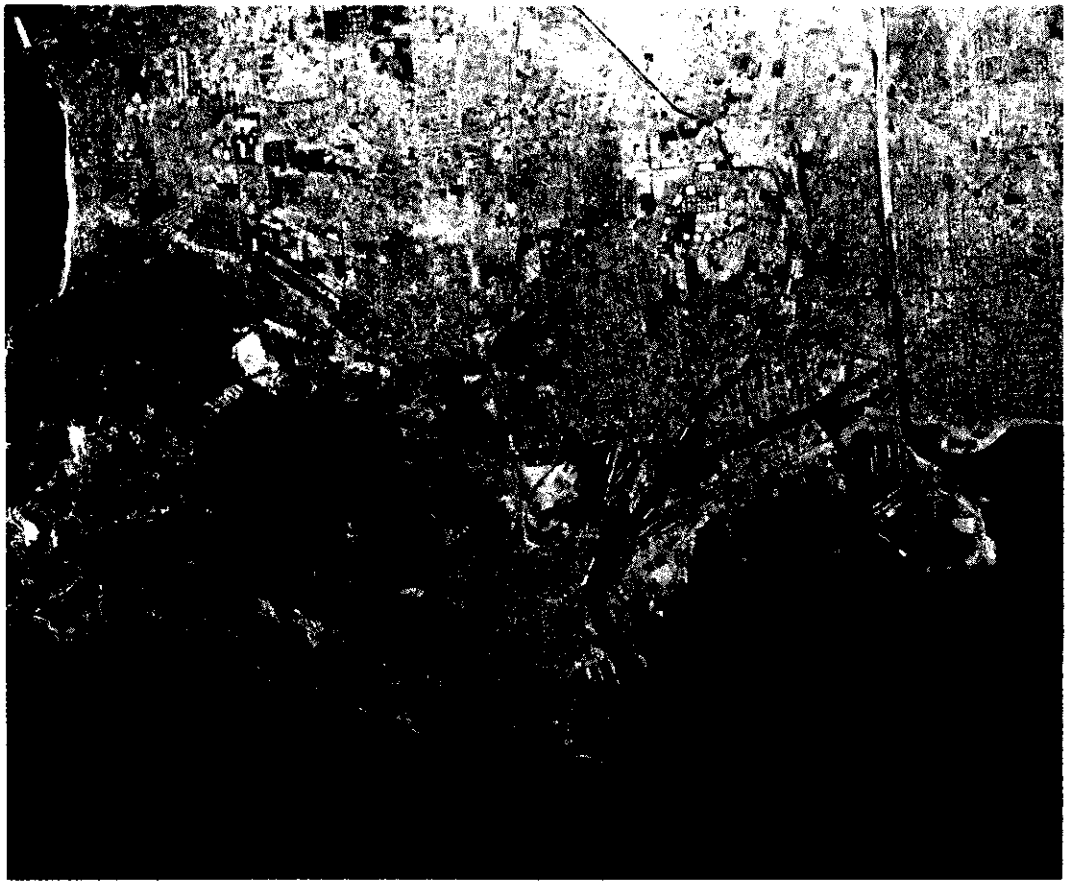
These systemic questions and others like them must be dealt with in some manner when the ERTS project gets underway and as the data is received and used. Their resolution may emerge through a process of "natural selection" or by power or decree. Following these pathways we may inadvertently become a kind of society which we do not want to become. If this

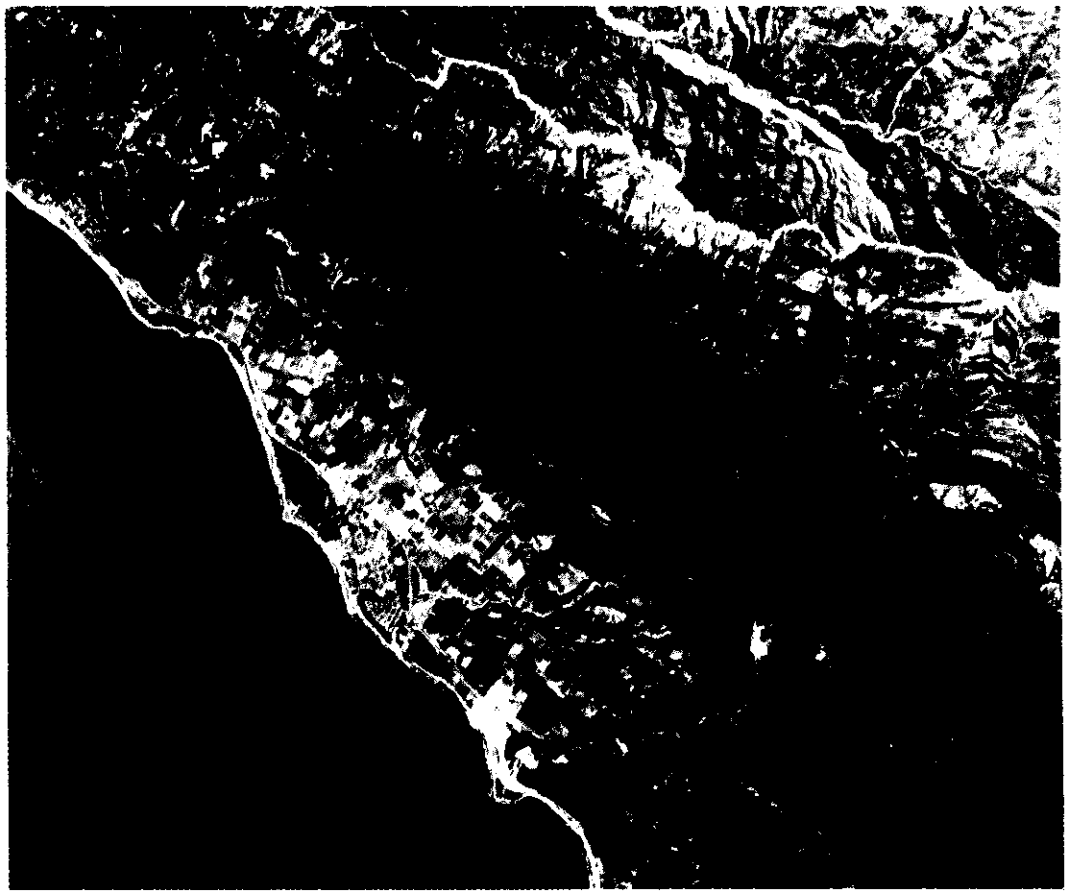
*Example: *ERTS Information:* Major land use classifications; Identification and measurement of forests, grasslands, marshlands, cultivated and urbanized areas. Detection of land use changes. *Systemic questions posed:* Are judgments made as to the appropriateness of land use? Who makes them? What do they *do* about it? By authority, sanction or legitimation? What concepts are used to classify values such as economic, historic, scenic, recreational, residential, forest, wildlife, transportation, and institutional use. Who tends to benefit or lose from each classification?

disaster is to be avoided we must begin now to look ahead and to forecast the systemic dimensions of ERTS. We must develop an understanding of the world-view options that are available for our judgment. Benefit-Cost analysis will be of little help in this important task. A new approach is required.

Recently social science researchers on the U.C./NASA project have been experimenting with designs for developing "whole systems" debates based on the dialectic of Hegel. In the Hegelian approach thesis and antithesis positions are formed to argue systemic issues from a given bank of factual data. It is proposed that the recipients or observers of the debate will discover underlying assumptions, form new systemic appreciations and generally improve their understanding of the systemic issues involved. Hopefully they will arrive at a "synthesis." Preliminary experimental evidence suggests that under certain limited conditions this indeed occurs.

Several ERTS-related systemic debates are in the process of being developed. The purpose of these debates is to uncover some of the systemic assumptions which underly the ERTS technology and its use in our society. We hope that this will aid policy makers to examine these assumptions and will encourage them to consider alternative world-views. (It seems to be our history that the use of technology so often outdistances our understanding of it and its impact on our physical and social environment.) A systemic phase is created while we think in terms of quantitative and qualitative concerns. With ERTS we have an opportunity to explore its systemic implications *before* the technology reaches self-perpetuating proportions. Enlightened ERTS-based earth resource policy is still within our grasp. Our whole systems debates are but meager attempts toward achieving this end. They only represent the current "state of the art" for exploring these systemic issues. But they are a beginning. ■





*Photographs taken by the RB 57 aircraft at 60,000 feet show Los Angeles harbor (above) and Santa Barbara, California (below). ERTS is expected to photograph from 1½ million feet altitude.*

# ANNUAL REPORT OF THE FELLOWS TO THE BOARD AND THE MEMBERS

*(In November the Board of Directors of the Center, assembled in Santa Barbara for their Annual Meeting, heard the Senior Fellows and Officers briefly outline the nature and progress of their ongoing projects.)*

**HARRY S. ASHMORE:** We are now considering the establishment of four special funds, all reflecting ongoing projects at the Center. While these special funds and their exact titles are not yet final, we presently lean toward the following:

- A Fund for the Continuing Investigation of Education, identified particularly with Mr. Hutchins, and designed to underwrite his work in this area;
- An Early Warning Fund, supporting the conferences and daily activities of the Fellows and focusing on basic issues and problems of the future;
- A Communications Fund, providing resources to expand our publishing and audio tape programs, and to enable us to initiate video programs;
- A Fund supporting our work in international relations, an area in which the Center can point to considerable activity.

We are hopeful that the creation of these Funds, and the definition of their purposes, will stimulate support from members and non-members.

**ELISABETH MANN BORGESE:** Work on a world constitution continues. Some of us now have the distinct feeling that the world constitution will be born in the oceans; hence I am still dedicating a major portion of my time to perfecting a constitution for the oceans, hammering it out after extensive consultations with individuals and representatives of many governments and non-governmental institutions. As a result of our preliminary work, an independent institute is now being established in Malta, which I facetiously call The Center for the Study of Democratic Oceans. This Center will be supported as part of the United Nations Second Development Decade programme, and will remain in operation as long as is necessary.

A series of study projects and meetings around the world are being organized as preparation for the third Pacem in Maribus Convocation to be held in Malta, June 27 — July 3, 1972. The Chinese, previously unrepresented, have agreed to participate. Their participation will have a pronounced and hopefully salutatory effect.

Concurrently with plans for Pacem in Maribus III we are planning several meetings in 1972 and 1973 on how the ideas and contexts developed for the ocean regime can be applied to other areas of functional coöperation on a world scale. Hopefully, a new formulation for a world constitution will emerge from this.

**JOHN COGLEY:** Under the aegis of his ongoing Culture project, plans for two colloquia on the Jewish tradition are being considered. Center Associate Nathan Rotenstreich of the Hebrew University will serve as co-chairman. Leading philosophers, social scientists, theologians and historians of different persuasions would be invited to participate in the colloquia, one to be held at the Center, the other in Jerusalem.

The Culture program will be enriched during 1972 by the presentation

*Board of Directors at Santa Barbara meeting: Left to right: Bernard Rapoport, Ramsey Clark, Edward Lamb, Eulah Laucks, Patrick F. Crowley, Fagan Dickson, Robert M. Hutchins, Harry S. Ashmore, J. R. Parten, Morris L. Levinson, Frances McAllister, Arnold M. Grant, Vesta Hutchins, Bernard Weissbourd.*

of papers by leading critics, composers, performers and artists. A conference on the cultural crises in the Orient and the Occident is in early planning stages.

**REXFORD G. TUGWELL:** Since publication of the model constitution* (December 1970) we have taken further steps. I would think that model #38 should be ready after a few additional Center discussions. As an important corollary study we have held conferences and commissioned a series of papers on Presidential Powers. These will comprise a symposium volume which the Center will be ready to offer within a short time — ideally during the Presidential year.

A third project which has engaged our attention has to do with the problems of world food supply and food needs. Following an extended Center conference on the problem and prospects (CENTER REPORT, Vol. IV, No. 4) we have supplemented the conference papers with others, and plan to gather the findings into book form. Professor Laurence I. Hewes, Jr., vice president, Planning and Development Collaborative International, Washington, D.C., and senior consultant, United Nations Development Program and the World Bank, will serve as editor-in-chief.

*See page 20 for report on *Time* Education Program study guide on the Center draft model for a U. S. Constitution.

**HARVEY WHEELER:** We are continuing in the general area of science policy and particularly in organization theory. Within a year or slightly more we expect that a number of these studies will be available in an organized volume with the tentative title, *The Politics of Logic.* (Ed. Note: At the Directors meeting Prof. Wheeler also announced plans for a symposium on the thesis propounded by Prof. B. F. Skinner in his new book *Beyond Freedom and Dignity.* See elsewhere for a fuller report.)

**JOHN WILKINSON:** The Center has long been interested in technology and recently in its latest manifestation — the digital computer and digital computer graphic display. This is, in my opinion, a tool such as has not been seen since the invention of calculus. I would like to see it used to analyze the nature of large systems — particularly the city — and I am not talking about inventory control or population statistics. Such an analysis would be encyclopedic in nature, new in approach; it is difficult to say whether it will be at all successful.

The on-going "Civilization of the Dialogue" program brings together some of the best scholars from many fields and countries. In April, 1972 we are meeting in Vienna (our 1971 meeting was in Cuernavaca) to talk about Technology and Revolution, or Technology and Emancipation. The conference will build on all the things we have done thus far independently at the Center and together with the International Dialogue Committee. It's a kind of Santa Barbara-Vienna axis.

I am also putting together a book on Structuralism. We have done most of the work here, individually, or in conferences. A few gaps remain to be filled. In my view Structuralism is the Liberal Arts in modern form. The book will be written from this point of view. I am also preparing a *Festschrift* on Jacques Ellul which has already been contracted for. The Center has done so much to make popular Ellul's analysis of the technological society and some of the valuational motifs that go into it that now, as a vast number of Ph.D. students have begun to study Ellul, such a work seems indicated. ■

## What the Center Is/Is Not

*(At the recent annual Directors meeting, the Center's new Dean, Norton Ginsburg, took a look at the Center with the eyes of an outsider about to become an insider. Here are some of the things he said:)*

A little over two years ago a number of Consultants to and Associates of the Center met in a planning conference to assess the Center, its work, and assert its role in a changing world. Neil Jacoby, who has recently been called to the service of his country,* prepared a summary of what transpired. Let me share a few paragraphs with you:

"All agreed that there is a unique and valuable role for an intellectual institution like the Center. They were clear about what it should *not* be. It should be free of the departmental specialization, teaching, and public service burdens of the American university. It should avoid highly-structured problem-solving activities of think tanks like Rand or Arthur D. Little. On the other hand, it should be more than a collection of eminent individuals, like the Institute for Advanced Study. It should *not* attempt to deal with a large number of immediate or burning issues of public policy, as does the Brookings Institution. Nor should it engage in basic data-gathering and processing studies, such as those carried on by the National Bureau of Economic Research."

Dr. Alexander King offered positive formulation of the Center's mission that commanded wide support: "The Center should engage in integrative problem-oriented studies in a multidisciplinary context, with a sense of urgency and a purpose of influencing public policies within the next five to fifteen years. It should play the role of 'middleman' between the vast body of specialized research studies of universities and research institutes, on the one hand, and the broad multi-disciplinary guides to public policy needed by decision-makers in society, on the other. It should function as an architect of policy, and a designer of background investigative work."

Others pointed out that it should be a synthesizer and a catalyzer, should design the strategy for developing new types of society, and that because the greatest problems of our times arise from the fact that we don't know what to do, the Center should be concerned with ends (values) as well as with means (policies). It should carry on

*Prof. Jacoby now serves as a public member of the Wage Control Board.

reflective studies and conduct dialogue intended to unify the approaches of many disciplines to important problems of public policy. It should assemble knowledge into *new* patterns, and make connections between men, organizations and ideas. It should be a reflective and a critical rather than a research institution, in the conventional sense of research as data collection.

It was generally agreed that integrative team efforts among scholars to deal with basic social issues have become incredibly difficult at American universities. The distractions of the "multiversity" are too insistent. The Center could be an intellectual "bank," to which experts bring their ideas and problem formulations and solutions for "deposit," which are then sifted and combined by the Center and "loaned" out to decision-makers for action. The Center would not itself be a problem-solver, but it would clarify issues, define alternatives, and give coherence and direction to public thought about them.

There is so much wisdom in these comments, which are synthesized from the views of the various distinguished men and women present at that conference, that it is difficult to find a point of entry into a discussion of them. However, as a comparative newcomer to the Center, although one long familiar with its activities, let me try.

Coming from a major and distinguished American university, the University of Chicago, I feel I can say with sadness and even dismay, that the American university, despite many virtues, is not an institution to carry on the forward thinking to which Jacoby and the others referred. Nor is it a place where a distinction can be made any more between "basic" and "burning" issues. There is too much "static" in the system of communication. For example, some of you may have seen reports on the blacklisting of scholars who have worked with government agencies, have had government grants, or have worked for research and development organizations like the Rand Corporation. The man referred to as the principal example in that report, Gerald Hickey, is a former student of mine at the University of Chicago. Hickey had the bad judgment, in the opinion of his peers, to work for several years in Vietnam for the Rand Corporation. As a result it has become extremely difficult for him to obtain a job in an American university, even though most of his work was strictly anthropological and constructive, both in terms of its contributions to knowledge and its effect on human affairs. Clearly, there is a confusion between ends and means here. Clearly, also, academicians in their own way are confused between what is "basic" and what is "burning." Clearly, there is need for guidance, or, if you like, guidelines, generated outside of the formal academic system within which most scholars in the social sciences at least operate. Is this something that the Center can turn its attention to? I think so. Will any other institution do it? I doubt it.

I've also recently returned from Paris where I was a member of the American delegation to the First International Consultative Council of the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere Program." Representatives of more than twenty-five countries serve on the Council. The potential value of the program is enormous. It is designed to generate, coördinate, and monitor a series of fundamental research and educational enterprises around the world, which deal with the basic relations with man and nature, now and in the future. The conference was, however, primarily political. Each delegation spoke on behalf of his country. Egypt stood for this, the U.S. for that, the U.S.S.R. for something else. The failure to communicate on basic levels was only tempered by the fact that a number of the delegates — but usually not the *chief* delegate — were scholars and scientists who knew each other well and were accustomed to bypass the political apparatus of most international organizations. I tell you, I *longed* for the Center, and looked with yearning at the examples we have of international coöperation that the Center has given the world, whether it be *Pacem in Terris* or *Pacem in Maribus*. If I had any doubts before, as a result of this experience I became convinced that if there were not a Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, someone would have to go out and create it.

As an aside, I should note that the credit of the Center abroad is astonishingly high. In Europe, a mention of the Center receives an enthusiastic and knowledgeable response. It is clear that abroad the Center is known as THE PLACE where the new, the fresh, and the significant are discussed, examined, reflected upon, formulated into comprehensible language — at least most of the time — and to which leaders and public alike can look for new ideas that bear upon the essential nature of man in society and the problems that confront him.

It is in this context that I would affirm a special confidence in the future of this Center. I think it has been ahead of the times from its very inception. I think it has demonstrated a capability of influencing, albeit indirectly in most cases, the course of many events in this country and in other countries. I don't think it needs "turning around," as one dissident observer put it recently. I think it needs to do more of the same things it has been doing, although perhaps in greater volume and at an accelerating rate.

I am reminded of an excerpt (freely translated) from the Lun-yu, the Analects of Confucius, in which at one point Tzu-lu, a disciple of Confucius, asks Tzu-kung, another disciple:

How is it that the Master becomes so readily informed about new places and problems? Does he circulate questionnaire schedules or engage in other kinds of specific activities related to them? Or what?

Tzu-kung replied:

The Master acquires knowledge by being observant, temperate, courteous, and above all reflective. That is the way he becomes informed. A far cry indeed from the way most enquiries are made today!

Perhaps the Center resembles as much the ever-changing group of enquirers that was Confucius and his disciples, as it does the Platonic Academy. But, no matter — it also has a universal value that they had and which I'm sure is evident to us all. ■

*Frank K. Kelly*

# EDUCATION IN 1996

In the nineteen-nineties, there were no big wars. The three hundred billion dollars which had been spent annually on arms became available for the recycling of waste, the production of food for all, the reduction of pollution, the clearing of the air. With plenty for everybody, the absurdity of wars became apparent. Conflicts and confrontations continued, but the people of the world refused to participate in mass slaughters.

Lifelong learning was recognized as a fundamental human right. Each child at birth was issued a Certificate of Opportunity, an educational credit card renewed at three-year intervals with wider opportunities at each renewal. Grades were abolished, but each child was tested in a broad range of categories to obtain Profiles of Possibilities.

Beginning at age two, each child had access to teaching machines geared to enable a child to learn at his own speed. Each child also had access to a cluster of counselors — persons with experience in a variety of activities. The principal qualifications of these counselors were attitudes of acceptance for people of all kinds — and a sense of warmth without a desire for dominion. At the age of three, each child spent several hours a day at a learning center — formerly called a school. The buildings were used all year-round for classes, dances and art exhibitions, for gatherings of young and old, for celebrations and elections, for the training of peace patrol officers (formerly called policemen). The emphasis in every activity was upon the importance of participation by every person, and respect for the dignity of each person.

After the age of twelve, no one was required to attend any sessions at a learning center — but the excitement there was so high that few dropped out. Each person was encouraged to go through the stages of mental growth described by the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead — the stage of romance, uncovering the wonder and beauty of fresh life; the stage of precision, seeing the structures of language and the arts and sciences, and the stage of generalization, when participation in university courses became available to all.

When discoveries in nutrition and the development of technics for removing genetic defects made it evident that the normal lifespan would range from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty years, the pressures for immediate achievement fell off. The pace of technological change slowed, giving people more time to absorb the changes that did occur. There was an abundance of time for wandering in many avenues, for recognizing limitations without being crippled by frustrations or anxieties.

In 1996, an astonishing array of alternatives could be faced without fear. The ogre of efficiency for human beings had been banished. Efficiency was for machines, and machines took care of basic material needs. Human beings were expected to spend their lives as explorers, traveling through inner and outer space, swinging along the mysteries of time. Everywhere, emphasis was placed upon an awareness of life as a flowing process — a stream of energy, taking many forms, then being transformed into streams flowing through many dimensions.

Precognition, extrasensory perception, and glimpses of other beings in other worlds coexisting on several planes were reported fully by especially gifted persons. Studies carried on in many countries showed that man was far more than a collection of atoms and molecules: man was shaped by energy fields within himself and outside himself.

**"...life as a flowing process, a stream of energy..."**

Construction of permanent buildings had halted in the nineteen-nineties. Temporary structures — light in weight, easy to move, plastic as soft clay — were shifted from place to place to meet particular demands. Many courses of instruction were transmitted by picturephones and cable television. The number of channels for communications became almost limitless.

With the establishment of the guaranteed annual income and the increasing automation of production in all fields, the number of ordinary "jobs" shrank rapidly. Education was no longer linked to vocational training. Since most of the technical decisions in factories and on mechanized farms were made by sophisticated computers, the role of the human workers became more and more a matter of attendance at classes in the arts and crafts carried on for their own sake, and participation in encounter groups with other persons to overcome the frictions between the old and the young, to understand the impact of incessant changes on the "family" and the ideas of "masculine" and "feminine" functions in a society where many distinctions were disappearing.

The revival of faith in the immense potentialities of the human mind, combined with a resurgence of religion on a universal scale, relieved the spiritual depression which had plagued mankind in the era of wars. Men who could not compete effectively in the hard-driving culture of the old era could find satisfaction in the age of acceptance. Women who had believed themselves to be inferior in many ways were free to release a dazzling display of talents.

Those who had talents as administrators had to accept short terms in power and restrictions on authority. Everyone in learning centers and colleges participated in the decisions that were made. Continuing dialogues went on between students and teachers, administrators and students, teachers and administrators. No one could lay down a set of rules without being challenged.

Since credentials and special certifi-

cates — except for doctors of medicine and others in certain technical fields — were no longer regarded as necessary for teachers of administrators, the tests of practical experience were applied. Those who demonstrated wisdom in dialogue were elected by consensus to the posts of deans and presidents. Guarantees of tenure and formal contracts did not exist. Students, teachers and administrators moved freely from college to college — seeking models best suited to their needs at different cycles of learning and different stages of life.

The whole range of talents available from women as well as men, kept up-to-date in computer banks, made it possible for administrators in industry, agriculture, government and the professions to find the skills needed at particular times to keep the flow of products and services running smoothly. In emergencies, people with certain knowledge and experience could be required to serve in particular places. Generally, however, a call for volunteers produced more people than were actually necessary for these crucial positions.

"Thought helmets" were being tested in 1996. Specially trained persons, wearing these helmets, were able to travel backward and forward through time and multidimensional space, visiting other galaxies and communicating with minds far more intelligent than those of human beings as well as with minds of creatures on lower levels of evolution.

Awareness of millions of possible realities staggered students. Worlds within worlds, worlds beyond the imagined worlds of science fiction, were opened with brilliance that blinded the inner eyes of many. The Bible's statement that man was made in the image of God was revealed as a scientific truth.

Man began to decipher more and more messages from the distant stars, the songs that whales could sing, the voices of the dolphins, the cries of creatures on ten thousand planets. And yet man still did not know fully what he was or what he should become. The bright roses of wisdom bloomed in garden upon garden, but the thorns grew huge and threatening, too.

In the thorns man found a question: Where may you go when you can go anywhere? With the opening of endless journeys through many worlds, the minds of many begin to spin. The necessity of living with the unforeseen on many planes, in many dimensions, brought back unmanageable eruptions of anxiety.

There were sudden, senseless attacks on computer headquarters, on the colleges and the learning centers. Among the very young and the very old — especially among those who approached the end of the one hundred and fifty year lifespans — there were aberrations, hallucinations, spasms of fury.

Philosophers tore the "thought helmets" from their heads, shouting: "Let us alone!" The presence of a cloud of witnesses, made overwhelmingly evident, was too much for them. They preferred to speculate about the unknowable, rather than to plunge through the experience of world after world.

The arrival of "the learning society" was greeted with joy by many persons, but a sense of foreboding pervaded others. Some people turned to silly hobbies or frivolous pursuits and forthrightly refused to participate in the democratic dialogues through which decisions were determined.

Rejecting the synthetic food and synthetic garments which were produced in limitless quantities by machines, people returned to the land and began to use ploughs and gather wool from sheep. Tables and chairs made by human hands were regarded as far more precious than the glowing, changing, softly molded furniture shaped by molecular beams.

The more men soared through spaces and times, the more some people sank into apathy and perplexity. Their genetic defects were removed, their minds were flooded with encouraging thoughts, but they turned toward the depths of darkness, seeking escape and oblivion there.

Many people could not bear the knowledge that there was not a single reality, one universe to which they belonged, but many universes existing simultaneously, spiraling up and spiraling down. The spells of sorcerers, the charms of medicine men, the warped ways of witches, the levitations of yogis, were revealed as aspects of many-sided universes, principalities and powers.

There were too many fountains playing, too many geysers spouting from holes in space, too many streams running under too many cascades of music. In the midst of a thousand orchestras playing at once, in the thunder and blaze of continuing fireworks, some fell apart — some people begged to be taken to quiet hospital rooms, under restraints.

But the enormous journey of mankind went on — because the being called man could not exhaust the mystery of his own nature. Mankind could never stop, because there were worlds beyond worlds, horizons beyond horizons — and glimpses of God, calling from the future.

Even those who traveled back and forth through time, who claimed to have been on the other side of the mountain ahead and to have descended the slope behind, could do no more than give hints and intimations. The risks of life, the compulsion of choice, the need for courage, could never be removed.

So the great issues of education in 1996 could be summed up in the great issues that troubled people in the year 96 and would confront people in 2096 and all the centuries to come:

*"What should a man or a woman know to be wise?*

*"What kind of wisdom could bring happiness — or keep open the pursuit of happiness?*

*"What kind of faith could bring courage to step into the unknown — to keep men and women leaping, generation after generation, into the swirling darkness of uncertainty, into the clouds of change?"*

Not to move was to make a choice. To move was to change the future. In 1996, man was moving faster and faster. He had chosen to be aware of heights and depths — and he was becoming aware of more and more. ■

*Frank K. Kelly is vice-president of the Center and director of its Continuing Education Program.*

*Adlai E. Stevenson, III*

# Toward a Warm Peace

(ED. NOTE: *The first of the Center's series of convocations on* United States Foreign Policy: Alternatives to Isolationism, *was held recently in San Francisco. (The second is scheduled in Los Angeles this month.) Participants included Senior Fellows Harry Ashmore, Harvey Wheeler, Elisabeth Borgese, Visiting Fellows Silviu Brucan, former Romanian Ambassador to the U.S. and the U.N., Arvid Pardo, former Maltese Ambassador to the U.S., the U.N. and the U.S.S.R., and Center Associate Fred Warner Neal. Herewith highlights from remarks prepared for the Convocation by Senator Adlai E. Stevenson, III (D. Ill.)*):

We are living in a time of almost total confusion about American foreign policy, a confusion which unfortunately affects not only the great mass of our people, but the leaders in Washington.

Containment can no longer serve us. Yet, it has been replaced by no broad, overarching strategy for American foreign policy. We react spasmodically to the stimuli of world events and domestic politics. The foreign aid bill is defeated one day, passions subside, and it's passed the next. What passes for policy, handed down by those who should bring us direction and leadership, is little more than a set of slogans and catchwords: "negotiation rather than confrontation"; "a generation of peace"; the "Nixon Doctrine" — which is only vaguely understood because it is in fact vague in concept and exposition. The famous 1968 "plan" to end the war — if it ever existed — has been revealed by the President not candidly and forthrightly, but in a series of puzzling and inconsistent television spectulars: announcements of troop withdrawals undercut by the invasions of Laos and Cambodia; essays at freeing our prisoners of war — including the spectacular, and futile, prison-camp raids — whose purpose seems to be publicity rather than success. Vietnamization, it turns out, means Americanization — except this time we intend to prop up Indochinese regimes with American dollars and air support and cut down the loss of American lives.

I suspect that even after Vietnam has disappeared from the front pages, public alienation will persist until we settle upon some decent principles, and at last exalt ourselves by some high, common endeavor. It is not a

happy task to report my judgment that our foreign policy is largely bankrupt. If there is any reason for optimism it is that bankruptcy in politics, like bankruptcy in finance, makes it mandatory that we launch a period of reorganization and reform. We have reached the end of the containment era, and we may be approaching the end of the Vietnam War. It is time, then, to look ahead.

We might, it seems to me, proclaim, on behalf of the first anti-colonialist nation in history, by deed, instead of word, that we really do not wish to compete on the terms of intervention, mass destruction and great power pretensions of the past. I believe that in the world of open communication, rising equality, passionate anti-colonialism, and the longing for national dignity, there is no way in which Russia, China *or* the United States can establish imperial control in the name of communism, capitalism or anything else. Those days have gone. The lesson of Vietnam is that the great powers are too large, too unwieldy, too unintentionally violent to conduct successful local interventions for whatever purpose — and that lesson holds for all great powers. Let us demonstrate that we were the first to learn it.

If police work is needed, then let it be the work of the United Nations, operating through forces and guidelines subject to international agreement. There is, of course, no guarantee that the process will work on all occasions. But neither did the alternative work in Vietnam. The difference is that the international solution — say those of the Congo or Cyprus — is alone compatible with the realities of the post-colonial world.

There are those who now proclaim the folly of great power pretensions and prepare to abandon the world, but we cannot withdraw from the planet. We consume too much of the world's income and trade, and invest in every continent. When I look at the world's vital statistics for the next twenty years — two billion more people, the incidence of protein deficiency, thirty million new homes needed by 1975, the rising figures for illiteracy, the lemming-like surges of despairing people to the great cities where a quarter of them will be without work — when I see all this, I am convinced that what the planet needs is not American napalm or Russian navies, but bread and capital, schools and health, work and hope, and the international assistance indispensable to securing these.

We could make our interventions those of peace and justice, our purposes once more in line with the hopes of our children and the vision of our founders. I cannot believe that such a policy is not more fruitful for mankind's future than the blind alley of war — a more ultimate challenge to our Russian and Chinese competitors, if you will, than the endless repetition of the games of power. The risks of the old ways have become so destructive and horrendous, that maybe our chief need is to begin to look at new risks.

The American people, if only given the chance, would support a new America, the wealthiest, most powerful, most open society in human history, taking up once more the role of pioneer, breaking out into new paths more promising for the future of their species. ■

# John Cogley and the Solitary Life

(ED. NOTE: *Senior Fellow John Cogley, created* THE CENTER MAGAZINE *in 1967 and has served as its editor ever since. He first joined the Center when it was headquartered in New York and was one of the staff directors who opened the Santa Barbara headquarters in 1959. Earlier Cogley had served as executive editor of the Catholic weekly,* COMMONWEAL, *and later as religious news editor of* THE NEW YORK TIMES. *During President Kennedy's campaign, Cogley served as an advisor on matters relating to the religious communities. At the Center he is in charge of its on-going culture program. The following interview with Cogley was taped after his return from a recent European visit.*)

*Q: Early in your life you were fascinated by the movies. Indeed, you might have been a prototype for Walker Percy's "The Movie-goer." Was movie-going a way of escapism from your life in Chicago, or were you seeking to experience life vicariously?*

COGLEY: I think it would require psychoanalysis to get the answers to those questions. I suppose it was some kind of escapism, or at least a way to enjoy a life of the imagination. It was also a way of learning about people and places I didn't know at firsthand. But I must add that I always felt guilty as a child because I didn't know enough about sports but did know a great deal about movies. My friends knew everything that was to be known about sports, but none of them cared as much as I did about movies. And then, too, we used to distinguish between cowboy pictures and "love stuff." I preferred the love stuff. That made me uneasy, too.

*Q: Your answer tells a lot about you. You weren't interested in the violence.*

COGLEY: I don't want to suggest that I was on some kind of juvenile crusade against violence. Rootin', tootin' thrillers just didn't interest me as much as what we used to also call society pictures, that's all. Society pictures meant that people wore tuxedos and long dresses and sparkled with jewels; and I didn't live in a world where people went around looking like that or talking like that. Of course my people didn't drawl or wear boots and spurs, either — but I found the society folk more exotic than the cowboys.

*Q: Would you say it was a real learning experience or did you get your head full of all sorts of fables which you had to unlearn?*

COGLEY: On the whole I think it was a learning experience, though not a very precise one. I once said that long years of movie-going prepare you for everything. For instance, if you put me alone on a desert island I think I'd know how to act because I've seen it done in the movies. If you threw me back in time to the fifteenth century and put me in a royal palace I think I'd know how to behave. One time I met the King of Iraq in Baghdad and it all seemed familiar. I knew all about how to stand around mixing a martini in a Park Avenue penthouse long before I was ever in a Park Avenue penthouse. Cary Grant taught me. There is almost no experience we old moviegoers haven't had vicariously.

*Q: When you began to write, did your involvement with the visual medium have any influence that you can recall?*

COGLEY: I don't know. When I used to write a column for *Commonweal,* people sometimes told me that they could *see* what I was trying to say. I suppose I do think in cinematic terms, or at least I used to. Still I am mostly interested in philosophy and theology and abstract matters. I can't put it together.

*Q: Because of your movie-going did your first European trip have an effect on you different from that on most Americans?*

COGLEY: I was certainly prepared for Europe. Setting foot on European soil was a real thrill. I had a feeling that for the first time in my life I was really home. . . .

*Q: In what places?*

COGLEY: Most of all Italy, but other places too. Which country didn't seem to make much difference. In the meantime I have lived in Europe for long periods, and it's still that way.

*Q: When you were in your teens you went to a school run by the Servite Fathers, most of whom were educated in Europe. They taught you Latin and Greek and talked familiarly about Rome and Athens, and the cultures and politics of ancient times. Did you long to have lived in another place at another time?*

COGLEY: No, no, I didn't have that feeling at all. I've always been a now person. Antiquarians *and* futurologists bore me. I notice, incidentally, that the same people are frequently both.

*Q: What kind of extracurricular reading did you do in your youth?*

COGLEY: I read all kinds of things, just about everything available. I got into the habit of reading encyclopedias in a very haphazard way. I'd look up something and then run across something I didn't know about and read that. It would lead to something else. I got to be a kind of encyclopedic reader then — but not in the sense that I was educating myself systematically; there was no plan, no pattern in it, it was just curiosity.

*Q: Did you ever do that with the dictionary?*

COGLEY: Yes, that was a youthful thing, too. I was fascinated by etymology and got in the habit of looking up words to find out where they came from. It was fun and fairly instructive.

*Q: At age twenty you became involved with* The Catholic Worker. *The paper and the movement that grew out of it were, and still are, a voice for radical social change. The Catholic Worker movement was founded by Dorothy Day, a woman still in her late thirties when you met her. You obviously were not a male chauvinist. . . .*

COGLEY: I don't think I was ever hung up on the woman thing. All of us in the movement took Dorothy Day's leadership for granted. So did she.

*Q: Was the Catholic Worker movement when you became affiliated with it pretty much what it is today?*

COGLEY: Very much so. In fact it is surprising to me how Dorothy Day's basic themes are now quite popular. Pacifism, for one thing. She was consistently pacifist. I must acknowledge though that I disagreed with her on that.

*Q: Had it not been for Hitler would you have found yourself agreeing with the pacifists?*

COGLEY: I don't know. Hitlerism was the problem that had to be faced at the time. Nevertheless pacifism remained an important pillar of the Catholic Worker movement. Accepting voluntary poverty was another; a basic distrust of politics and of political liberalism (which I also came to disagree with later) was a third. The whole Catholic Worker mindset didn't seem terribly different from what many of the young are living out now. That may be one reason why Miss Day and the movement have the respect of today's young people. She was ahead of her time. In the Thirties, particularly, young people were attracted to ideological movements and had great faith in finding political solutions to social problems. But Dorothy Day's indifference to politics and ideology was communicated to a few others, including me. Later I changed my attitude about politics, but ideology still turns me off.

*Q: The pacifism of Dorothy Day and of the young people in the movement didn't take with you?*

COGLEY: Oh, it took with me all right; at least it gave me great pause before I decided to support the war. I was made terribly aware of the futility of war, the stupidity of war, the inhumanity of war and all the rest of it. Many of my friends at the time were conscientious objectors. If anything, then, I really had to be a conscientious objector against conscientious objection. I had to think it through very carefully, because, under the circumstances, the natural thing was to go along and be a C.O.

*Q: That was probably one of the toughest decisions of your life.*

COGLEY: It was. Then, after making it, I went into the Army and had a very inglorious, unadventurous, and perfectly safe four years. It was downright embarrassing.

*Q: Today do you feel comfortable with those who insist that wars can no longer be tolerated as a means of settling disputes?*

COGLEY: The way you phrase it, "settling disputes," stops me. If the Hitler threat had been only a matter of settling a dispute, then of course I would have been in agreement with my pacifist friends. But it seemed to me there was more at stake than a "dispute." As far as settling political disputes goes, I certainly agree with the antiwar position, and I hope we are not going to have any more Hitlers. Still, I want to leave my options open, though at the same time I tend to be more pacifist than non-pacifist. I'm talking on the level of theory now because there are no wars around that I would want to be involved in — and I'm too old anyway. But if I were an Israeli or an Arab, a Pakistani or an Indian, I might have some second thoughts. If you don't feel threatened, and I don't, it is hard to answer the question — or maybe I should say it is too easy to answer it. If I really felt civilization was threatened again, as we felt it was in the nineteen-forties, I don't know what position I'd take.

*Q: What are the differences between the Worker movement of your youth and today's youth movement, if any?*

COGLEY: I'm not in touch with the Catholic Worker movement today. I have the feeling though that when I was in it we did not have the radical conception of *personal* freedom now predominant among youth. But we were encouraged to exercise a greater sense of responsibility than one gen-

erally finds among young people today. Taking responsibility for others was the keynote of the C.W. You can have all the theories in the world, we were taught, but at the same time you ought to make yourself responsible for others. Indignation over the injustices in the world was not enough; it was purchased too cheaply. The Catholic Worker, in my time at least, had two sides, as it were. It was a radical social movement which involved picketing, demonstrating, supporting strikes and boycotts, that sort of thing. It also meant the Houses of Hospitality which the movement conducted across the United States. In the houses we were brought into immediate contact with the poor every hour of the day, every day of the week. I worked first at the house on the lower East Side of New York, then in the black ghetto of Chicago. When I was twenty-two years old I was in charge of another house in Chicago. We had about fifty people living there who came to us for hospitality, and a breadline. There were a thousand in the line outside our door twice every day.

*Q: Did you have to go out and find the food and the rent?*

COGLEY: We did, but people were generous — that wasn't our greatest problem. For me, the greatest difficulty — and this is why I admire Dorothy Day and the people who have stayed with it all these years — was feeling overburdened and overwhelmed by the knowledge that there was nothing I could do that would really make any fundamental difference in the lives of those who came to us. I was really too ignorant and inexperienced for so much responsibility. There was a constant, frustrating sense of, oh, if I could only solve one basic problem, just one. It wasn't just poverty. Among the people who found their way to us, there were some who were also having serious emotional problems and people who were really sick; there were the alcoholics, the junkies, the near-psychotics. And everybody was older than I was. This day-by-day living with the very poor, at least in my case, had one lasting effect. It made me permanently skeptical about romantic proletarianism, facile talk about loving your neighbor, merely verbal radicalism. Dorothy Day used to quote Dostoevski to us: "Love in reality is a harsh and dreadful thing compared to love in dreams." We learned how true that was.

*Q: You were going to college at the same time, carrying a full load there, too.*

COGLEY: That didn't seem so difficult at the time. Every now and then I'd quit for a semester, the way students do nowadays. Even in those days young people were questioning the value of formal education — the I-can-learn-more-outside-a-classroom-than-in-one syndrome. I certainly was learning about life at first hand. But the general idea of skipping the classroom, I realized later, is nonsense. I learned that I needed a great deal more formal education to make sense out of the experience I was having.

*Q: After your stint in the Army during World War II you returned to Chicago and started a youth publication. . . .*

COGLEY: James O'Gara, who had been a co-worker at the C.W. house (he is now the editor of *Commonweal*), and I got the idea of putting out a publication for students which would purvey some of the ideas we got from our Catholic Worker experience, but we thought it should be considerably more political. We called it *Today*. At first our readers were students in the Chicago area but the magazine soon spread throughout the country. It went out of existence just about a year ago, after almost twenty-five years, though it underwent many changes and never gained a large circulation.

*Q: Did you take strong editorial positions on certain issues?*

COGLEY: Yes. We shocked some of our middleclass young readers by taking a radical position on the race issue and on housing. And we gave full support to the United Nations — there was still a lot of vestigial isolationism around. We took a strong stand against cultural "schlock" and particularly against sentimentality and pietism in religion, using broad satirical techniques. I stayed with the magazine for only two years. After thirty, I thought it was time to get out. I had seen too many forty-five year old youth leaders.

*Q: Did you go directly to Europe after you left the magazine?*

COGLEY: Yes. I resumed the study of philosophy in Switzerland.

*Q: I suspect you did a lot more than go to school. Did you file any articles?*

COGLEY: I wrote for *Commonweal* and for a number of other magazines.

*Q: What kind of pieces did you write?*

COGLEY: Reportage, mostly — first-person stuff. I remember one article that was read into the *Congressional Record* by Eugene McCarthy, who was then a freshman congressman. It was called "A Walk in Naples." I had gone to Naples for a weekend and then set down what it was like just walking around the city. Italy was very poor at that time. And then I wrote a piece called "l'Americano," which was about a shoeshine kid in Rome who had moved on to the black market. It later appeared in some anthologies. I did other stuff like that, writing from various countries.

*Q: When you returned from Europe and joined the* Commonweal *staff were you given any special bailiwick?*

COGLEY: *Commonweal* had a very small editorial staff, three or four people. We wrote editorials, edited, and did everything that had to be done. I also wrote a weekly column.

*Q: I assume you had a voice in the editorial policy. Did you find yourself in disagreement with your colleagues from time to time?*

COGLEY: We all had a say about editorial policy. Every editor had veto power over every editorial. But during the five years I was with *Commonweal,* I can't remember the veto's ever being exercised. We were a congenial group.

*Q: When you were at* Commonweal *you became interested in the problem of blacklisting, didn't you?*

COGLEY: I didn't know much about blacklisting until I became involved with the Fund for the Republic.

*Q: When did Mr. Hutchins [then president of the Fund for the Republic] ask you to study blacklisting in the entertainment field?*

COGLEY: In late 1954. I had no idea our association would last as long as it has, and I'm sure he didn't, either. I was running for Congress at the time. I told Hutchins that if I lost the election I would accept the assignment. He was sure I would.

*Q: Why did you decide to go into politics; were there some vital issues involved?*

COGLEY: The leaders of the Democratic Party on Long Island came to me and asked me to run. The district was solid Republican territory. I didn't have any illusions about what they were offering. I'd have had to be pretty naïve to think I was going to get elected. I accepted the nomination mainly because I saw an opportunity to carry on the anti-McCarthyism cause to which I was then devoted.

*Q: Were you put off by certain aspects of campaigning?*

COGLEY: I really enjoyed it, and I think I did it rather well. There was a kind of excitement about the candidacy because I was new and different and really didn't have any political background to account for. I was politically unassailable because I was a political virgin. They couldn't charge me with anything more damning than innocence. People liked that. I was reasonably young, had an attractive family, was able to write my own speeches, and had no past favors to repay. All these things worked in my favor. But I lost, of course. Two years later the party leaders came back and asked me to run again in order to build on what had already been accomplished. This time I said no. By then I was on the staff of the Fund.

*Q: Did you refuse because of the rigor of campaigning?*

COGLEY: My only memory of that rigor is getting lost in Levittown. I was forever trying to find my way around there. I'd be on Dahlia Lane and I'd say "Well, I'm in the flowers; Buttercup Lane can't be far." But I always had a helluva time finding it, and there would be forty or fifty people waiting in a living room for me while I drove up and down the streets of Levittown growing more frantic every minute. When I finally did find the right street I'd have to face some disgruntled people wearing name tags saying "Louise" and "Bud" who had been sitting for an hour drinking coffee and wondering what in the world to say to each other. I think I had to apologize more often to more people than I ever have before or since.

*Q: What kind of support did you have?*

COGLEY: The big support was from *Newsday*. My friend Alicia Patterson, who didn't like my opponent, was publisher. *Newsday* went all out for me. I also knew a number of people in the magazine business who lived on Long Island and they were very helpful.

*Q: Any trouble with finances?*

COGLEY: None. I still can't get over that. I started off without any money. But after the candidacy was announced in *Newsday*, I got about a thousand dollars in the mail, without asking for any. From then on, the money kept coming in. I had so much of it that I was able to turn some back after the election. One supporter was so surprised by that, he framed the check.

*Q: I suppose you crossed paths with Adlai Stevenson and some other prominent Democrats along the line.*

COGLEY: Stevenson introduced me once at a big meeting on the Island. I ran into him on several other occasions, too. Governor [Averell] Harriman was running that year. When our paths crossed, I was introduced to him about every twenty minutes. Each time he would acknowledge the introduction gracefully but act as if he had never seen me before. This was not exactly flattering. It showed I lacked charisma.

*Q: Harriman had a hearing problem, didn't he?*

COGLEY: His sight seemed to be the big problem. No, he just couldn't remember faces, that was the difficulty. It didn't seem to hurt him, though; he got elected, I didn't.

*Q: You didn't come out of the campaign bitter in any way. . . .*

COGLEY: Quite the opposite. I gained a great respect for the people who do menial party work, which I didn't have before. Here I was, a candidate in a minority party in a district which until then had never elected a Democrat. There was practically no chance that I would be elected; I had nothing to give, absolutely no patronage, nothing. Yet, people worked their heads off, staying up late cranking mimeograph machines, making telephone calls, going door-to-door to support me. They expected nothing in return. I was very, very impressed with them. Ever since, I have had tremendous admiration for the kind of people who don't just talk but do the day-by-day drudgery that keeps political life going. I also became impressed by the politicians

*continued on page 26*

# TIME's Education Program Takes Up Center's Model Constitution

As a part of a continuing series for five thousand social studies teachers around the country, TIME's Education Program has published and distributed an eleven-page study guide, "Rewriting the Constitution," based on the Center's draft model (THE CENTER MAGAZINE, Vol. III, Number 5). For comparison and analysis TIME has inserted in the teaching kit key provisions of the present Constitution alongside key provisions of the Center's proposed model reprinted on spirit master for duplication and distribution in classroom quantity.

In his preface to "Rewriting the Constitution" Brian J. Brown, editor, TIME's Education Program, wrote: "Traditionally Americans have regarded the Constitution of the United States as sacred and infallible as the Ten Commandments, and indeed a document that the historians Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steel Commager call 'the greatest original contribution of the United States to the art and science of government' does deserve our reverence.

"At the same time, however, it should be remembered that the Articles were not handed down from on high but represented the collective efforts of fifty-five very human beings who had to contend with their own egos and their states' interests in hammering out a compromise settlement through the sweltering hot summer of 1787.

"As Pennsylvania's representative Benjamin Franklin pointed out, 'When you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests and their selfish views.'

"Yet the delegates from thirteen sovereign states were able to rise above themselves and accomplish what they set out to do: remedy the defects experienced under the Articles of Confederation and in the process forge a monumental declaration of the rights of man and the rights of government.

"While acknowledging a debt of gratitude to the Founding Fathers, it is the contention of historian Rexford G. Tugwell, a former member of President Roosevelt's 'Brains Trust,' that the Constitution as it was conceived is now obsolete, and as such it 'has ceased to be an instrument and has become an impediment.' To remedy the problem, Tugwell and twenty-three other intellectual fellows at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif., have been engaged for the better part of a decade in what traditionalists might consider heresy. They are rewriting the Constitution of the United States of America. Now in its thirty-seventh draft, the Center's version of the document would, in Tugwell's words, 'let law catch up with life.'

"As the Fellows see it, the Constitution was designed for an agrarian society with an elite electorate and disenfranchised majority. Now the United States is a highly industrial, urbanized and interdependent nation in which the electorate, though fully enfranchised, is paradoxically less able to influence government bureaucracies.

"Their constitution is designed 'to plug people back into democracy.' Thus Article 2 requires delegates to political conventions to be elected, not appointed, as they are today. Voters are also to be educated on all campaign issues through regular party conventions. Back-room political favors and private contributions to politicians are specifically abolished. The whole apparatus of elections is regulated by a nonpartisan 'overseer of politics,' who also finances all campaigns with public money.

"The 'Reforming Fathers,' as the Fellows cheerfully call themselves, have no illusions about their draft's being adopted, but they do hope that its ideas will be considered. At a time when such fundamental concepts as trial by jury and freedom of the press are being challenged, and issues involving the separation of cities from states are being raised, the Constitution seems like a particularly appropriate subject for study. Coupled with that, a presidential election is only a year away and the two hundredth anniversary of the Constitutional Convention is only sixteen years hence.

"Teachers of English as well as social studies will be interested in a document that is considered a 'masterpiece in draftsmanship,' or what Gladstone called 'a miracle of sagacity.' History is made by men and recorded by writers. Behind laws are human beings whose feelings often determine political behavior. Such men were the original framers, and for that matter so are their twentieth century counterparts — the Center Fellows. Any analysis of the Constitution past or present must take the human element into account.

"It is not the purpose of the TEP to endorse the proposed constitution but to present it in the spirit the Center offers it — as a pedagogical tool — to stimulate thought and discussion about a document that shaped our past and must now forge our future." ■

## "FEDERALIST" PAPERS TO BE PUBLISHED

*The Founding Fathers, in the course of framing their various drafts for a Constitution for the United States, analyzed the records of ancient Greece and Rome, the administration of the Carthaginian Republic, the systems used by city-states such as Venice and Florence, and tiny federal alliances like those of Switzerland and the Netherlands. The resulting "Federalist" papers provided a model for the working papers prepared prior to final formulation of the Center's Draft Constitution. Written by Senior Fellow Rexford G. Tugwell, these modern-day "Federalist" papers will be published by Harper's Magazine Press (a division of Harper & Row).*

*Alexander Comfort*

# THE COMPUTER AND THE DOCTOR
## Part 1: The Intolerance of Death

(ED. NOTE: *This is the first section of a two-part paper by Center Associate Alexander Comfort, physician and biologist who presently heads the Aging Research Program at University College, London. The second section will appear in* CENTER REPORT'S *next issue.*)

A physician is one who makes it his profession to take responsible charge of the treatment of the sick with a view, if possible, to cure or palliation. It is interesting to ask what exactly a doctor is; it becomes necessary, not only as the starting point of a Socratic dialogue, but, today, for the practical reason that some of his activities are about to be computerized.

For this limited and auxiliary activity, which initially is all that is in hand, we need to analyze the task which is to be given to the machine. Clearly, if our appreciation of the nature of the task is incomplete, so will the machine's performance be. The majority both of doctors and of non-doctors would traditionally agree that medicine is a unique activity; in important respects it differs from other professional projects.

One of these differences lies in the large component of unspoken, or transference-based, interaction which takes place between doctor and patient. It might well be that on consideration the unspoken and the unconscious component in other mysteries, such as "pure" science, is equally important. But in medicine it is traditionally recognized, both from the history of the profession, which has its anthropological roots in shamanism, the expertise which deals with the interface between self and not-self (nature, sickness, guilt and expiation, the supernatural) and from the intuitive awareness among good doctors of the complexity of their own role and the profundity of the demands made on them by the patient.

This is traditionally expressed in Europe in the formula that medicine is an art as well as a science. That it is now (for the first time, in the last two centuries) fully a science is clear from the unwillingness most of us would feel at having our pneumonia treated by a charismatic physician with the knowledge of the year 1700. Patients today react with anger, spoken or unspoken, if they are told that the cause of their sickness is unknown and there is no specific science-based therapy for it, reflecting by that attitude an historically new expectation. That it is an art is equally clear from the striking limitation in the effectiveness of scientifically hardnosed but emotionally insensitive practitioners when dealing with common disorders.

The need to write out this structure "in plain" comes at a seasonable moment, when psychiatry is badly split between reductionist approaches ("this man is sick, whereas I, and we, are well, and we must cure him") and existential or Laingian approaches, exemplified by such writers as Szasz ("we are all of us sick, and I and society are equally involved in the failure of communication which makes us call this man mad.") It takes little philosophy to see that this bifurcation can be extended from the treatment of "insanity" to the treatment of broken legs. What is convulsing psychiatry (largely through the personality problems of its practitioners, unable for that reason to accept a both/and approach) will eventually hit medicine generally; it would have hit it already if its practitioners were not too busy with office practice and what Bacon calls the "sordidness of cures" to get around to social metaphysics.

Medicine is observably split today between those doctors who see what the "existential" school is driving at — if only in terms of social medicine — and those who consider that the *only* treatment of a broken leg is to set it completely, as a leg, not as a part of someone's body image and life style, an approach which is less hazardous to life, and therefore more tolerable socially, than its converse (to hold a dialogue with the patient and mismanage the orthopedic treatment).

One unique component of medicine is the experience involved in becoming a doctor. This is something which one important medical group, the lay psychoanalysts, do not share. It imposes both gains and deficits.

In the process of becoming a doctor, one begins, at the unripe age, with basic sciences, and is introduced to death by way of the preserved cadaver — a process of gradual habituation. Blunted by the anatomy school, the awareness of death becomes most intense in the post-mortem room, where the demonstration that people sicken and die becomes emotionally ineluctable.

Few medical schools provide active support to the student in turning these sharp but educative experiences to account. The support traditionally afforded is very like that available to the soldier or the rookie cop — a professionalized facade of toughness, maintained by shame and *esprit de corps*. For the doctor, however, there is also the real resource that he soon finds that though this man is incurably sick or dead, sickness and death can in many cases be dealt with, and it is his privilege to deal with them. The dragon is real enough, but the doctor is St. George, and he can really help — at least sometimes.

I do not want to go into the psychology of medical activism. As an armor against the intolerable it is needed by most doctors, and at its best it becomes tempered down to a vigorous humaneness which they could probably get in no other way, and without which medicine would not be the same. Less desirable offshoots are the doctor's unease in the face of the uncurable, the leaving of the deathbed to the nursing staff, and overt hostility to the chronic sick and the old. The point is that as a result of this experience the profession is moulded in a unique way, and if it includes scientists, those scientists differ experientially from their non-medical colleagues (many of whom are refu-

gees into "hard fact" and the mensurables from the disturbing and the anomie in human life, of which death is the prime instance).

If I had one comment to make to psychiatrists who are not also physicians, it would be that they should not underrate this "existential" experience of being a medical student. *They* have a different experience — possibly equally stressful — at a different age. There isn't enough space here to discuss the part which the awareness of death has played in human behavior. Enough to say that death has replaced sexuality as the unmentionable thing in our culture. The Victorians, who were afraid of sexuality, had a large and overt experience of death. Loss of a parent was common, loss of a sib or a child universal. My generation did not have that experience. This may explain why it is prone to agree, if unconsciously, with Unamuno's idea of the tragic sense of life.

The experience of death in war, which is possibly our only experience of death, seems somehow effectively different in its consequences on us from death within domesticity. Our generation has an acute intolerance of death, random and natural. Our children may well be, as Alan Harrington calls them, "immortalists" — Anglo-American culture is as intolerant towards acceptance of the present lifespan as Victorian culture became towards the acceptance of infectious diseases. When Prince Albert died of typhoid, the press described medicine as the withered arm of science. Within twenty years we had Lister, Pasteur, Ehrlich and Koch.

Our attitude towards, and intolerance of, death are possibly more significant factors than ever before in shaping the experience we impose on medical students and nurses, and we ought to have enough insight into the social anthropology of our times to provide appropriate support — particularly if we wish to avoid the type of reaction-formation I've mentioned. We may need something to put in its place. The Shaman, who is phytogenetically the oldest physician, has as his chief exploit that he can harrow hell — that he can himself visit the dead, return unscathed, and sometimes, like Hercules, bring them back with him to life. This fantasy-exploit lies very deep in us, both as doctors and as patients. We need to come to terms with it.

One way of doing so, which has been tried in Britain by Michael Balint and others, is to initiate in-service training in psychotherapy — in other words, letting the students treat patients by *psychotherapy* under supervision from an early stage of their medical experience. The patients in general did very well, the students learned a number of skills, including that of handling transference and counter-transference without becoming armored or breezy, and an opportunity was provided for their own experience of mortality and of suffering to be verbalized, seen and dealt with in discussion with the instructor. Significantly, when Balint's group tried to repeat this kind of insight-giving course with mature office physicians, there was a seventy-five per cent drop-out rate.

The physician in our culture, then, is often a man with a carapace. The carapace serves most of them well, unless they are disturbed or very thin-skinned, and it has served medicine for many years. Its inadequacy appears today only because the need to acquire the psychiatrist's different orientation puts a low valuation on paternalism and omnipotence as attitudes. It's chiefly the psychiatrist who hammers into students the idea that their self estimate must include awareness that there are patients who cannot be made magically happy, problem-free and euphoric, either by drugs or interviews.

A physician's patients give him every temptation to behave as a god or parent, or a wizard practising black magic: it is only in the psychiatry courses that students are explicitly taught how to handle these demands without harm to the patients or to themselves and handle them insightfully. The modern student who finds this hard may escape into plasma electrolytes. I sometimes wonder if the failure of medical education to cope with this change in our tolerance of death and disease may not account for the unwillingness of the last medical generation in America to be general practitioners, and the lack of joy they seem to have had in any but the financial rewards of medicine.

To recapitulate, a doctor is the product of a unique and stressful experience — one particularly unique and stressful in a culture where disease and death are concealed by denials of Egyptian proportions. If we are going to comprehend or *simulate* what a doctor is, we need to allow for this, even if our comprehension or simulation involves leaving out rather than putting in medical reaction-formations. If, moreover, we leave them out, we need to ensure that we haven't pulled an essential prop out from under some other part of the structure.

Another face of the physician, which we will have to include or exclude in writing our program, is that of the wizard or witch. The physician is not a wholly benign figure, any more than a parent or the goddess Kali is a wholly benign figure. He has his punitive and rejecting aspect, as the giver of prohibitions as well as boons, like God in the Hebrew Eden; and before we abandon *that* part of the unconcious machinery of transference, we need to make sure that we can function without it. Adoption of this role is historically the second commonest form of medical acting-out — the creation of moralistic anxieties.

The shaman nearly always reinforces his magic with a prohibition. It is part of the natural history of medicine to do so. For nearly two hundred years technicians of public health have felt it their duty to make people anxious about themselves and their children. The reasons for this were and are morally unexceptionable. When one knows better than one's fellow-men, there is both satisfaction and obligation in warning them, and these are redoubled when the physicians' fellow-men actually employ them for that purpose.

The public duty of medicine in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was fairly clear. It knew extremely little, but it was learning more. Its best practitioners, men like Fothergill and John Hunter, although they lacked discursive Freudian knowledge of the very subtle dialogue which takes place, unspoken, between the physician and the patient, had a very clear empirical awareness of it. They

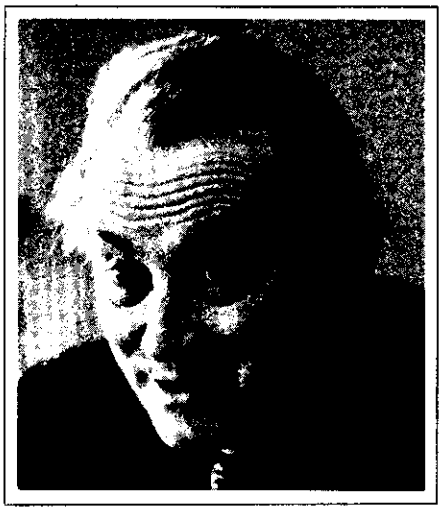
knew that patients seek not only reassurance but also things for which they do not explicitly ask — parental rebuke or permission, magical transformation, punishment and even death. They also realized that doctors, being human, have exactly the same needs, and were aware that doctors, no less than others, can be extreme, disturbed, fanatic, and indeed mad. And they knew that doctors are a part of the society they live in, and share both its achievements and its quirks.

The use of anxiety which these great forbears made was overwhelmingly a sane use. Today we may properly wish that our fellow citizens were more rationally anxious about the results of dumping radioactive matter in the sea, and the like, although in some cases our counsel may be wrong.

The danger of anxiety-making is the danger of all counselling. For the medical profession it has been particularly acute for a number of reasons. In some matters and at some times physicians really have known better. Patients singly and collectively have had a better insight into the nature of transference than have the medical adherents of scientism. They have expected doctors to be directive, to discharge the functions of our ancestors to shaman, to order unpleasant abstinences and observances, to cut them open and remove not only their appendices but their sins, and today, literally, to put a new heart in them.

Doctors have been obliged to play a double game. They do in fact and for sound scientific reasons remove a man's organs and replace them, drill holes in his skull, inject crystals into his tissues, permit him to see his skeleton, make him regress to infancy, or cut off his foreskin. All these procedures are archetypal functions of the aboriginal wizard, who enacts in fantasy those of them which his surgical technique does not permit him to enact in fact, and inside every doctor and patient is an aboriginal trying to get out.

Lest we find this worrying, let me remind you that pure science and applied engineering have the same duplicity of viewpoint. The Eskimo wizard receives a call, puts on a suit and mask fit for an other-worldly undertaking, makes a trial flight around



the globe, and finally flies to the moon on a ladder of arrows (a lovely name for a multi-stage launch vehicle) in order to bring back medicine from his spirit bride. If he could make a phallic rocket the size of Nelson's Column, or mate with a mother-vehicle in space, he would no doubt do so. As things are, he does things more economically than we, but with as great satisfaction, in fantasy.

It is commonly said that "anxiety" as a clinical condition is an important public health problem at the present time — meaning by anxiety a performance-impairing state of physical and mental alarm, which is easier to recognize than to define, which is particularly intense in cultures with a high rate of social and customary change, and which, in its digestive, sexual and other manifestations, as well as in its free-floating form, accounts for some ninety per cent of the work of the urban general practitioner. People have always been anxious. The predisposition is built into man. Primitives have a subtle and sophisticated technology of ceremony and observance to allay this tendency, whether it expresses anxieties common to all — death, Oedipal fears, insecurity — or those special to a culture, such as famine. The wars of the Aztecs were directed to obtain prisoners without whose hearts for food the gods would die and the seasons stop. The Aztecs are an object lesson on the gross transformation of primitive magic by civilized societies. There are comparable examples in our own time.

A large part of clinical medicine, though it is directive, and almost the whole of the new and growing field of non-directive counselling, is concerned to remove anxieties, anxieties generated by the patient's past experience, by society, by events, by other physicians. This is an educative function. The psychotherapeutic ritual adapted to our society itself depends largely on explanation, because in a discursive culture we need explanation to permit ourselves to feel. Partly also it depends on the attempt to achieve self-acceptance. Awareness of the risks of acting out in this context is the difference between real counselling, real education, and anxiety-making, which is an exploitation by the doctor of the counselling situation to enable him to experience power or achieve satisfactions.

It is not difficult to draw the line. That ability depends on judgment. The danger of bad judgment is perpetual. It can afflict the militant liberal as well as the militant moralist. It is no better for the doctor's judgment to be obsessed for personal reasons with the desirability of permissiveness than to be obsessed with the moral ills of self-abuse. Both departures from judgment are unconscious anxiety in the doctor himself.

The reason that the Pill inspires our professional caution is not only that it involves the manipulation of little-known endocrines, though this is true. Were reproduction not involved, we would swallow it, and urge others to do so. The real Klansman concealed in this woodpile is our professional awareness that freedom of choice may be being increased. Floodgates are being opened by the thin ends of wedges. This makes us anxious. If we are anxious doctors we are confronted by the temptation to frighten others in sympathy. In such a context the only people more unscrupulous than the devout are the frightened, and often they are the same people. Making anxiety is the province of witches. The witch differs from the shaman in being exploitive, not adventurous, death-centered rather than death-defying. If our culture's anxieties over death tempt doctors to want to be shamans who can harrow hell, that at least is a humane wish. The witch deals with death by becoming its ally. ■

# THE NEW DIALOGUE

Those who sit at reason's table want a leadership of the mind, but they do not realize that the mind is debased when it is cut off from care. Without care, attention is drawn in a fundamentally gratuitous way to just any problem — that is, to mere problems. It is only through a process of self-discovery, that is, through the release of these modes of care that one can be freed to those problems in which one is existentially involved, that is, those problems to which one is in some way already addressed. In new people terms such problems are called "relevant." And the attention which is freed to such problems is "engaged." Such problems and orientation are those given in one's real — that is, authentic situation.

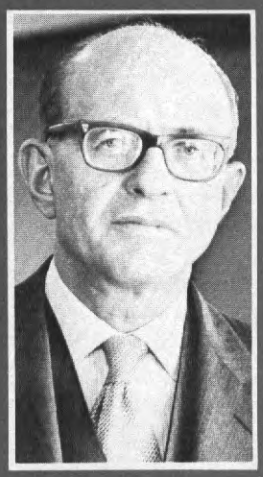
Care is the difference between warm and cold logics. Warm logics are those whose structure is based in care — not mere, initial concern, but care as the adhering function of every logical moment, every movement in the reasoning process. Cold logics are logics without the mediation of care. Only where cold logics prevail can there be such a thing as "value-free inquiry," but the value-free is the value-less, and there is no way to "add" value as one more factor among others.

The repression of the modes of care is the abstraction of logical endeavor from their field of pervasive influence, the adoption of a rigid posture which stands nominally for service but is in fact a debased form of intellectual gerrymandering.

The most appalling of all is what happens to the child of *logos* — language. Where care is not free, the *logos* itself is degraded. *Logos* withholds its boons: its yield is sterile in substance. Language becomes pompous in order to hide its substantial

## NEW FACES

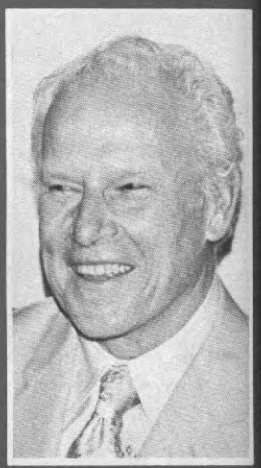
ROBERT G. NEUMANN, U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, on his second visit to the Center in mid-November, 1971, outlined the events, attitudes and other factors which he predicted could lead to war on the Indian subcontinent. Vienna-born, Ambassador Neumann came to this country shortly before the outbreak of World War II to begin studies at Amherst College and has since become one of the country's leading foreign affairs specialists.



GEORGE McT. KAHIN, resident Visiting Fellow, came directly to the Center after completing over a year of field studies in North Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Indonesia. Kahin is one of the country's leading authorities on Southeast Asia. He has directed the Southeast Asian program at Cornell University since 1961, its Modern Indonesia Project, and been a professor of government since 1959. Kahin was chairman of the Indonesia Council of the Asia Society and a consultant to the Rockefeller Foundation. He is a member of the East Asia Advisory Council of the Department of State and author or co-author of five books on Asian affairs.

AMITAI ETZIONI, is professor of Sociology at Columbia University, Director of the Center for Policy Research, and currently in residence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. He led a lively Center discussion following presentation of his paper, "Continuity and Discontinuity in the Contemporary Crisis of Meanings."

ROBERT ROSEN, resident Visiting Fellow, is one of the few bio-mathematicians in the world. After completing his doctorate at the University of Chicago, Rosen served on its faculty until 1966 when he became professor of mathematics and biophysical sciences at the State University of New York at Buffalo. There he concurrently serves as assistant director of the University's Center for Theoretical Biology. Rosen is the author of over fifty papers on modeling problems and two books, *Optimality Principles in Biology* and *Dynamical Systems Theory in Biology*. He is editor of a multi-volume textbook on biomathematics, currently on press; serves as an editor of the *International Journal of Systems Science* and the *Journal of Theoretical Biology*. He has lectured widely in Europe and the Soviet Union.



ALBERT GORE, former U.S. Senator from Tennessee (1952-1970) is presently Washington chairman of The Council for a Livable World. At the Center he spoke of its work to elect senatorial candidates "who will provide leadership in crucial areas concerning survival, the control of nuclear weapons and the establishment of international peacekeeping mechanisms."

sterility, and the articulable is debased into senseless twaddle. The dialogue becomes a frenetic exchange of jargon whose conventions are dictated not by the nature of language, much less by the *logos,* but at best, the formal pretentions of mere *politesse.*

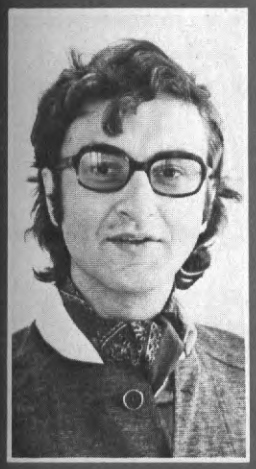
What is repressed in our culture is not sex, but care. We think we're a nation of puritans, but in fact we're a nation of spiritual prudes. What passes for rational discourse is an artifice of true propositions, a construct built up out of some incipient contrivance the essence of which is the following: do not dare to say what you really feel; much less what you really think.

What is endangered here is so-called "reason." Youth, it is said, is irrational, but youth is the future. The established are threatened because they feel that the logics upon which they stand are not just called into question (that has been done by thinkers for a century), but challenged on a pragmatic level. What we are witnessing however is a shift — from one existential structure in which care is suppressed to another in which it is free. It is not the end of logics, but the beginnings of a new, albeit archaic structure, in which we adhere to logics whose context of care is freed to be mediated by the *logos.* Through a more authentic mediation we are liberated to a "reason" which is far richer because it is close to its source. The force of history will at best dismantle the artifice of reason and come to rest upon its substance. It is only where reason has its place in the total existential field that it is freely rational — that it *is* reason.

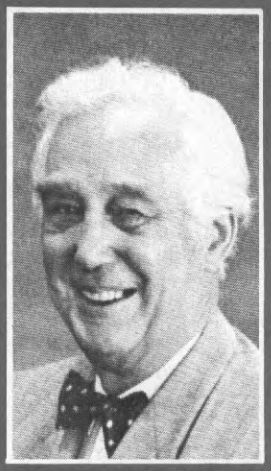
The essence of communion — indeed, the essence of the dialogue itself — is sharing; the sharing of each other's being with care. There is a hope for dialogue: it is crude, but it is close to the earth; it is full of wonder, and it cares. The new people do it: they call it "a heavy rap."

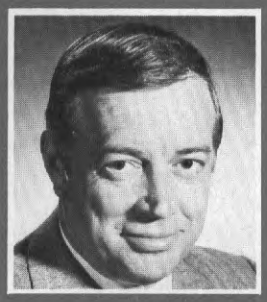
— WILLIAM PENNELL ROCK, JR.,
*at a recent Center dialogue*

LEO M. GABRIEL, resident Visiting Fellow, was born in Austria during World War II. He holds a doctorate in law (University of Vienna) and received diplomas in political science and French literature in France prior to joining the Faculté des Sciences of the University of Paris where he taught German Civilization. Later he became assistant professor at the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce et d'Administration des Entreprises in Dijon. In 1970 he gave a series of guest lectures in Mexico on French structuralism, political ideology in Latin America, the ideology of planification, and related topics. He is presently at work on a book analyzing contemporary society and a film on justice in both revolutionary and stable societies.

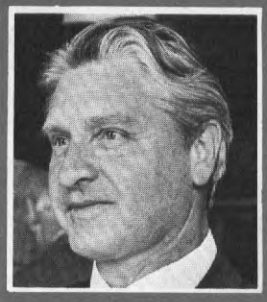


GEORGE LAMB, professor of chemical engineering, Technological Institute, Northwestern University, came to the Center to present a proposal for an "open adaptive evolutionary learning innovative systems approach" for the analysis of system education. Professor Lamb is a leader in the application of engineering science to the problems of societal change.

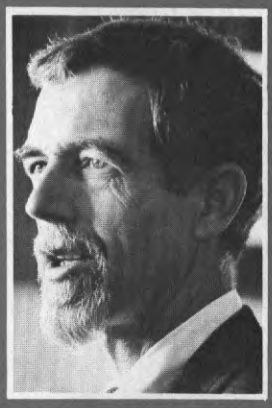




HUGH DOWNS, moderator of the TODAY show on NBC-TV from 1962 until the fall of 1971, will spend this month as a Center Visiting Fellow. Long interested in international affairs, Downs has served as special consultant on Refugee Problems in the Middle East since 1961.

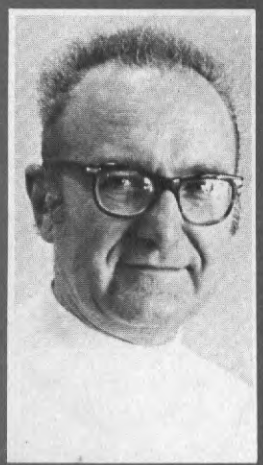


V. M. BEREZHKOV came to the Center as part of a cross-country fact-finding tour. He is chief editor of the journal of the Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Prior to undertaking editorial duties, Berezhkov was attached to the Soviet Peoples Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.



BARNARD NORRIS is the Center's new director of its book and audiotape program. Norris served for fourteen years with the University of California Press where he was manager of the periodicals department. This department published several scholarly quarterlies, among them *Pacific Historical Review, Nineteenth Century Fiction, Eighteenth Century Studies, Agricultural History, Film Quarterly, Romance Philology,* and *Western Folklore,* with a combined circulation of twenty-five thousand. Prior to joining the U.C. Press Norris held editorial positions on newspapers in San Francisco, Santa Barbara and Monterey.

ROGER GARAUDY, a frequent discussant at the Center, is a French educator, philosopher and author of a number of books with Marxist-socialist themes. Garaudy has served as a member of the Senate and, until recently, as a leading Communist Party theoretician. On his recent visit to the Center he presented three major papers, "Bureaucracy, Technology and Democracy in Eastern and Western Europe," "The Position of Crisis and Revolution in Eastern and Western Europe," and "Can Certain Types of Christianity and Marxism Constitute a New Life?"



COGLEY/*continued from page 19*

themselves. I grew up in an atmosphere where people were utterly cynical about politics, and of course in Chicago there may have been good reason to be. But I was impressed by the fact that most of the politicians I met were much more dedicated and intelligent than I ever expected them to be.

*Q: A book, just out, called* Thirty Years of Treason *carries extensive excerpts from hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-1968. It highlights the period when many leading figures in the entertainment industry were blacklisted for alleged pro-communism. This, I take it, was the period Mr. Hutchins asked you to report on for the Fund for the Republic.*

COGLEY: Mr. Hutchins asked me if I would like to find out all about it. I asked him what he wanted me to do. He said get yourself a staff of investigators or reporters; the money would be made available. I could approach the assignment any way I saw fit. I hired people of different political viewpoints and backgrounds. Michael Harrington, who later wrote *The Other America,* was the first one I signed up. I knew one man in Hollywood and him only casually. He had telephoned me once about something that appeared in *Commonweal.* I didn't know anyone else in the industry. When Mike and I got to Los Angeles, I phoned this man and he invited us to lunch at one of the studios. When we told him what we were there for, he put us in touch with other people. In time we got around to everybody. It was a hush-hush subject. Everybody seemed afraid to talk about it. They were all saying, we'll tell you about it but please don't use our names. Only a few, like that great lady Marsha Hunt, found the courage to let their names be used.

*Q: We all know about how Dalton Trumbo [the writer] survived, but I wonder how many writers and actors didn't. Can you give some examples?*

COGLEY: I don't want to name any names. I made that promise years ago. But the people who suffered most, I think, were actors who were in their prime when they were blacklisted. By the time they were able to get back in, many of them were past their prime. And there were writers who simply gave up writing. There were many careers destroyed. More important than the careers, perhaps, were the lives which were ruined and the families broken up by it. When you came into the movie colony at that particular time, you got the feeling the "industry," as they call it, was undergoing a nervous breakdown; everybody seemed to be suspecting everybody else. People who used to be close friends were no longer on speaking terms. It was a dreadful situation. Fear was everywhere. Silone, I think it was, once said that we all have our fascist moments. That was Hollywood's fascist moment.

*Q: What did one have to do to make the blacklist?*

COGLEY: There were lists of people in the public domain, people who had either signed a petition favoring, let's say, Soviet relief during the war, or who had appeared at a U.S.-Soviet friendship meeting, let's say in 1945. I don't mean to deny that some of the blacklisted had actually belonged to the Communist Party. But there were people who had belonged to a front group and didn't know it was a front group; there were other people who did know it and didn't particularly care because of some immediate cause they wanted to support. There were many patterns. I took the position that the actual reasons were not important. In other words, we shouldn't go into deciding who was "guilty" and who was "innocent." The real shame was the blacklist itself, the whole notion of a political blacklist. I was not impressed, then, by those who argued against the blacklist by claiming that so and so shouldn't be on it. No one should have been on it. It's very true, though, that in some cases a man or woman got on the blacklist merely because of a confusion of names. It got that silly.

*Q: After your report came out in 1956, what reactions did you get? For example, was there any attempt to suppress it?*

COGLEY: No, but there were jitters about it on the part of a few people who were close to the Fund but lost their nerve, some of them noted as civil libertarians. The public reaction was generally good. The report, for instance, was noted on the front page of *The New York Times* and was widely publicized elsewhere. I had wondered whether the networks would cover it. They did, and very thoroughly and objectively. It was on all the TV news programs the night before it was officially released. The right-wing press tried to murder it and do me in at the same time. Most notably, of course, the House Un-American Activities Committee did all it could to discredit it.

*Q: Did they call you immediately to Washington to testify?*

COGLEY: Not right away but shortly after the report appeared. It was an ordeal. First of all, it soon became clear that none of the members of the committee, including the chairman, had actually read the report. But the counsel to the committee kept leading me in and out of the thing, jumbling contexts, haphazardly stringing quotes to mislead, suggesting chicanery and dishonesty on my part. It was the closest thing to an inquisition you can imagine. I couldn't believe it was really happening.

*Q: Did you avail yourself of legal counsel?*

COGLEY: I chose not to. The committee was eager for me to have a lawyer sitting beside me, but I took the position that I didn't know that I had even been accused of anything illegal and therefore didn't see why I had to have anybody on hand to protect my rights before a group of congressmen.

*Q: Did you take the Fifth at any point?*

COGLEY: I didn't take the Fifth, the First, the Second, or the Third. There was no reason to. I had nothing to hide in my personal life and had flatly stated beforehand that I wasn't going

to break any professional confidences. They, not I, would have to deal with that problem.

*Q: Did they ask you any intelligent questions at all?*

COGLEY: On the part of the interrogator it was pure harrassment, but a few congressmen seemed rather embarrassed by his shamelessness. The most intelligent question they asked came at the end of the hearing. One congressman asked me if *I* had any questions. And I said "Yes, I do: why am I here?" And the chairman, in a classic reply, answered: "You're here because we wanted to find out if you reached the conclusions we would have reached had we undertaken such a study." Which was the end of the ballgame for him and an easy victory for me. Actually, they were out for the Fund for the Republic more than me personally. After they finished with me they brought in the heads of the American Legion, and of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the *Red Channels* people — practically every blacklister in the business. All these people were given free rein to say whatever they wanted, without challenge or rebuttal. Then they brought in some actors who had already taken the Fifth Amendment and who were certain to do it again. This was part of the plan to discredit the report and suggest that all the blacklisted were hard-shelled communists.

*Q: Did they call in anyone else from the Fund?*

COGLEY: Just a girl who worked for the Fund at the time, to ask a question which had nothing to do with the blacklist report. They refused to hear members of the Board of the Fund.

*Q: After you finished the blacklisting study you played an important role in changing the Fund for the Republic — from an organization supporting research and making grants to civil liberties organizations to a center for studying democratic institutions. How did that change come about?*

COGLEY: Actually it may have had something to do with the blacklist report. I wrote a final chapter for *Report on Blacklisting* in which I tried to sort out the philosophical issues involved. But I had second thoughts about introducing personal judgments into the report and threw the last chapter away. Sometimes I think I would have done better had I kept it in, because after the report came out, I, in particular, but the other people in the Fund too, felt that the practice had raised certain moral-political questions which should at least be debated. But, for all the stir about the report itself, nobody seemed to be discussing the underlying issues. This strengthened a growing feeling among us that we had been working too exclusively on the level of fact. The American people needed to know the facts, that was true. But perhaps even more than the facts they needed to judge the facts; they had to make some sense out of the facts, once they had them. Well, Mr. Hutchins' old character as an educator came to the fore. He suggested, and there was general agreement, that maybe we had been working at too shallow a level, maybe we ought to dig deeper. We began to distinguish between burning issues, like blacklisting, and basic issues: what are the underlying philosophical problems facing modern society? Thus, the reaction to the blacklisting report was one seed, at least, of the present Center in Santa Barbara.

*Q: Which of the "basic issues" did you push for?*

COGLEY: The original program was designed so that all the members of the executive staff of the Fund were tied to a particular study. Mine was called something like Religious Institutions in a Democratic Society. Mr. Hutchins made the decision that because I was probably better acquainted with the world of organized religion than anybody else then on the staff, I should take it on. The Religion project was very ecumenical and pluralistic before those words became commonplace. It brought together Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and nonbelievers for what we jokingly called meetings of the Four Conspiracies to sort out the issues involved in Church-State controversies, by means of dialogue — also a word little heard in those days.

*Q: It probably helped prepare you for the work you did later as Religious News Editor of* The New York Times. *As a* Times *editor, you must have met many of the religious leaders of the world. Did you ever have a private audience with the Pope?*

COGLEY: Yes, when I was on the *Times*. I have met three Popes in my life — Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI, but as part of a group. The first private audience was with Paul. As you may recall, when Paul came to the United Nations in 1966, the *Times* put out a little book about the visit. It was a kind of a technological feat — the book came out a few days after the event. Punch Sulzberger [publisher of the *Times*] asked Robert Doty, then head of the *Times* bureau in Rome, and me to present it formally to the Pope. It was a paperback book selling, I think, for a quarter or so. We weren't quite sure how to handle it. You just don't hand the Pope a twenty-five cent book and say, here, big deal. We didn't have time to get it bound more appropriately because, as I said, the whole idea was to impress His Holiness with the speed with which the book was ready for distribution. We finally settled on a jewelry case which it could lie in. So at least we had a plushy box for our presentation. It was arranged that we

would present it right after the Pope finished one of those massive audiences he gives to pilgrimage groups. There were about four thousand people at St. Peter's for it. We were in one of the smaller rooms within the Vatican Palace and could hear the Pope's voice over the loudspeaker while we waited for him. There was a small throne in the room. I said to Bob Doty, "Once in my life I'm going to sit on a papal throne so I can tell my grandchildren about it." So I walked over and sat on the empty throne, just kidding around, giving mock blessings and pronouncing mock anathemas on all the things I don't like in the world. When the Pope stopped speaking, I hotfooted it back to my place to await his entrance with the dignity expected of a gentleman from the *Times*. While Doty gave our set presentation speech, I noticed the Pope was distracted when he accidentally glanced around the room. I had not cleaned off my shoes before I came into the room and there were my tell-tale dusty footprints going all the way up to the throne. It was sort of a Pope's "Who's been sitting in my chair. . . ." I'll never forget it, but His Holiness was such a diplomat he didn't comment on it. I have never felt so silly.

*Q: Turner Catledge [former Executive Editor of the* Times*] says in his book that you revolutionized religious reporting throughout the press.*

COGLEY: That may be so, but I could not have done any of it without the encouragement of the *Times*. Then too, I happened to be at the *Times* during a crucial period. Suddenly great theological issues were coming up, everything in the religious field was changing quickly. That is why I often found my stories on the front page. I was also asked to do news analyses on the developments in theology and wrote longer articles for the Sunday magazine. The most important assignment I had was to work with Doty on reporting the Vatican Council in Rome. When the Pope flew to New York I went back and forth with him on the same plane. I covered religious developments in the United States, England, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Turkey, and parts of Eastern Europe.

*Q: You've met many religious leaders. What do you look for in them?*

COGLEY: I suppose one looks above all for sanctity, combined with wisdom and commonsense. Sanctity isn't easy to define, but one recognizes it when one sees it. It is hard to deal with. It is such an affront to most of us, such an unspoken assault on our own shabby values, that we find every possible excuse to avoid facing up to the challenge it provides. We rather hope it's only hypocrisy or sneakingly wish that maybe it really isn't all it seems to be. But in some cases it's there all right. It came through in the case of Pope John and in the case of Martin Buber and Patriarch Athenagoras. You find it more often, of course, among simple, unknown people, some of whom have no affiliation with a church.

*Q: The mention of Pope John suggests his interest in peace. Shortly President Nixon will begin his journey to Peking in what he describes as a continuing effort to insure a generation of peace. In view of recent world developments do you think there is a very real chance for a generation of peace?*

COGLEY: If President Nixon is talking about the whole world, I'm rather dubious. But if, after the ordeal of Vietnam, the United States stays out of wars for one full generation, I won't be terribly surprised. And certainly if the United States and the other superpowers change their priorities, it will have a great effect on the world. I do think we are a lot closer to a generation of peace than we were even five years ago.

*Q: Two final questions: You left* The New York Times *in 1967 to return to the Center and take up your old love, magazine editing. In those few years* The Center Magazine *has risen to the top of the so-called "think" magazines. What has been your editorial credo, as it were, in creating the magazine?*

COGLEY: I have had the privilege of working on publications with quite sophisticated readerships — *Commonweal, The New York Times,* and now *The Center Magazine*. In the case of all three, there was no choice but to assume that the readers were mentally adult; they made that very clear in their letters-to-the-editor. You can't kid around with them. In the final analysis, I think I'd have to add, an editor should be dedicated in a special way to the truth. What is most difficult to judge though is not so much the truth itself as the mode by which the truth is conveyed. There are many different ways to undermine truth. It can be flatly denied of course. That presents no great difficulty. What is hard to detect are efforts to undermine it by sentimentalizing it, prettifying it, sectarianizing it, vulgarizing it, using it bellicosely in order to serve a private cause or undo a personal opponent. One can do violence to the truth in many other ways. The ideologue and propagandist, as we all know, think nothing of lying for the Truth. An editor certainly has to be aware of that. However, the technique of literally telling the truth, but at the same time putting the truth in the service of a lie is much more subtle. Spotting this in oneself and others is probably the greatest challenge.

*Q: Why does it seem necessary for an editor to maintain what has been described as "the solitary life?"*

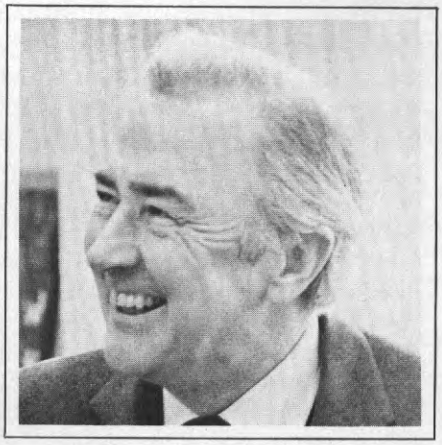
COGLEY: One reason perhaps is that an editor should not really give his unqualified support to any cause, however good it is. He always has to hold something back, allowing some margin for error, some claim on dissent. He always has to remain open to the possibility that a particular truth may reside in the camp of the "enemy." Almost by definition, then, he has to be an undependable ally. No person, movement, or political cause has a claim on his final loyalty, because at any given moment recognition of all the facts may require that he do them a painful disservice.

I think the same thing applies to the intellectual, as opposed to the propagandist. This means that both, editor and intellectual, have to be basically lonely people. The "traitorous trueness" which the poet Francis Thompson spoke of in another connection seems to be their lot in life. ■

# Lippmann, Eban, McCarthy, Zhukov, Toynbee, Pell (and others)

WALTER LIPPMANN

CLAIBORNE PELL



EUGENE McCARTHY

■ The old criteria about ideological conflicts are no longer useful, blurred as they are by technological advances. Can the nuclear reality force the necessary accommodation between different political systems in time to avert confrontation? Discussants on this audiotape include ARNOLD TOYNBEE of Great Britain, YURI ZHUKOV of the U.S.S.R. and ABBA EBAN of Israel. Participating in a roundtable that follows are Senators GEORGE McGOVERN (D. S.D.), CLAIBORNE PELL (D. R.I.), former Senator EUGENE McCARTHY, GEORGE N. SHUSTER. Title: *Ideology and Intervention.*

■ On two useful Center audiotapes WALTER LIPPMANN, dean of political commentators, discusses "the spiritual and intellectual vacuum which must be filled by the universal company of scholars." He is joined by several of these scholars, including Center chairman ROBERT HUTCHINS, Center consultant CLARK KERR, chairman and executive director of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education, and ROSEMARY PARK, vice-chancellor, University of California, Los Angeles. Titles: *What's Wrong with the University? The University and the Human Condition.*

■ Center Associate NEIL JACOBY, recently appointed public member of the Wage Control Board, and former economic adviser to Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon, is heard on this new Center audiotape. The recent economic crisis has raised some sharp questions for those who understand little about international monetary affairs or economic theory. Jacoby addresses himself to questions such as: Who is in charge of making economic decisions? When the economy sags who has the clout to bring about needed reform? Who makes what decisions about what problems? In this most timely discussion with Center Senior Fellows Jacoby talks about the constitutional provisions which ought to be made for economic stabilization. Title: *Who's Minding the Store?*

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*Collector's Item*

## Robert Kennedy on Race and Education

How do we make our schools function better? What about integration? Teacher compensation? Curriculum? Parent participation? Federal financing? These questions are weighed against current educational theories and practices on this Center audiotaped panel discussion. The late Senator Robert Kennedy is heard throughout the forty-minute reel. Title: *Reading, Writing . . . and Race.*

*Richard Bellman*

# MIND OVER COMPUTER

(ED. NOTE: *Center Associate Richard Bellman of the University of Southern California is professor of mathematics, of medicine and of engineering. His comments, below, were made at a recent Center symposium.*)

Systems to handle society's increasingly complex problems will have to be very carefully designed so that in certain parts of the system there will be machines, in certain other parts there will be men, and certain other parts a combination of men and machines. Essential to these "man-machine" systems will be the monitoring of the machines by the human mind. The situation will be the opposite of the Orwellian view in which man is monitored by machines.

What are the main differences between the computer and the human mind? For one thing, the computer needs everything spelled out precisely, numerically, logically. The human mind, on the other hand, for reasons we don't understand at all, can deal with vagueness and ambiguity and thus can cope with very complex systems. The mind looks at things in a rather fuzzy way. We don't see things (as a computer does) as a probability distribution or as a well-defined set in phase space. Instead we say, "this is the goal and I'll go in that direction, or toward what I think is in that direction until something else appears to happen, and then I'll modify my decisions, actions and possibly direction."

Secondly, the computer cannot deal with contradictions. The human mind can — with no difficulty whatsoever. We receive contradictory advice all the time and it doesn't particularly trouble us. We are ambivalent; indeed we accept the fact that we're ambivalent about most issues. It's quite amusing: if you're sane, you can afford to be irrational, but the individual who insists upon strict rationality ends up insane. Being sane means having the ability to be irrational at will, to cope with it, to rise above rationality.

It's like rising above your university training. Indeed, if you want to do anything meaningful you must rise above minor restrictions of logic. Example: when A implies B and B implies C appears to cause trouble there are two things we can do. We can go back and say, well, it wasn't really A, it wasn't really B, it wasn't really C, and it isn't true that A uniformly implies B — it's only in certain restricted cases. Or, even simpler — we can say "I don't care. That's the end of it." It's like what psychiatry does for some patients: it doesn't change the problem or improve the ability to cope; it makes them stop caring about it.

The human mind can say $2 \times 3 = 7$ and that it doesn't really care that it's equal to 6. In many cases, indeed, it really doesn't matter if $2 \times 3$ is 6 or 7. If it's somewhere between one and one hundred that's good enough for decision- making. The mind, not the computer, can tell when the situation calls for one to care that $2 \times 3$ actually equals 6. This is the use of the magical quality called "judgment."

We have two powerful tools for coping with modern society: the computer that can do arithmetic at amazing speeds and get numerical answers, and the human mind which can handle the fuzzy problems, ambiguity, vagueness, contradiction, and so on. The mind can look at patterns of behavior; the computer cannot. Thus, for example, we don't even know how to make the computer look at the number 2 and say it is a 2 and not a 3. It's amazing how primitive we still are scientifically, in some respects.

The eye, which is an extension of the brain, has the ability to look at a pattern and say "this is acceptable; that isn't." The computer can't. Since the modern approach to social systems is to ask what's acceptable and what's not, what's feasible and what's not, it is clear which tool is dominant.

We've been trained so badly that we think feasible and not feasible are fuzzy ways of looking at solutions. Actually the problem has always been to design feasible systems. If one tries to make the problem a precise, mathematical question seeking optimum behavior, which is much simpler mathematically, perhaps surprisingly so, one pays an enormous price.

I propose then that we disregard a great deal of the numerical capabilities of computers and instead take advantage of its symbol-manipulation properties. This allows us to look at patterns, to use the brain to evaluate the patterns and decide that, according to our objectives, our intuition, our instinct, our experience, this one procedure leads to a good pattern and another to a bad pattern.

I deliberately use terms that raise the hackles: instinct, intuition, experience, etc. But I feel strongly that we must be honest about certain matters. We have to accept the fact that the scientific method is only one part of the rational method. If we want to apply the rational method to the operation of the systems of society, sometimes we can use the scientific method, and sometimes as part of the scientific method we can even use the mathematical method. But most of the time we can't. We can, however, always use the rational method. Very often, this means depending strongly on human intuition and experience.

We are forced to accept these ideas if we look seriously into such significant problems as carrying out carefully chosen parts of medical diagnosis by computer. I constantly ask my medical friends, "when a patient comes into your office, what do you look at first?" They usually tell me, "I just see the whole pattern. I can say 'this is a healthy person, this is a sick person.' Then I begin to probe."

Problems often seem insuperable if one looks at them from the standpoint of classical mathematics alone. For example, if we take a classical mathematical approach to the description of the human endocrine system we are absolutely overwhelmed. We need an entirely new approach. Similarly, we have to look at our systems, ecological and societal, very carefully *decentralize* them, and then plan man-machine interactions. If we let the system get too large, neither the mind nor the computer can do anything. They both break down. ■

# First Class Mail

### Comfort and Chamberlain

"Alexander Comfort ('On Alarmist Drivel,' CENTER REPORT, Vol. IV, No. 4) reminds me of Neville Chamberlain, with his 'peace in our time' proclamation even as his world of 1939 was crumbling around him. I regard the warnings of Dr. Leon Kass ('Beware Brave New World,' CENTER REPORT, Vol. III, No. 5) to be timely and appropriate. It may well be the case that 'Brave New World' may be here before that ghoulish year 1984! Mr. Comfort asserts that there exist 'rational scientists' who assess the possible value to humanity of a scientific project before embarking on it, but he fails to substantiate his claim . . . One recalls the post-Hiroshima agonizing of Niels Bohr after the atom had been split and the bomb dropped. Penance may be good for the soul, but it is impossible to unknow what is known!"

— John T. Moore,
London, Canada

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### Miffed Ms.

"I am constantly and consistently appalled by the Center's publications, wherein issue after issue women contributors are conspicuous by their absence. In CENTER REPORT (Vol. IV, No. 4) out of sixty-four pictures, there is only one of a woman — on the last page — with a measly sixty word comment concerning an audiotape . . . and only one picture of a member of a minority group! . . . How can you call yourself a publication of the Center for the Study of *Democratic* Institutions? How can you ignore women contributors when you look at the mess this male-dominated world is in?"

— Mildred Rogers,
Los Angeles, Calif.

"I have just finished reading Vol. IV, No. 4. Again, you have used the brains of men. Your discussants on agriculture are sixteen men, your corporation conference members were twenty-three men, your Center Associates are sixteen men, your participants on education are six men, your 'New Faces' are ten men . . . You are discriminating against women. This discrimination is as important as any of your other conference areas."

— Freda Gould Rebelsky,
Boston, Mass.

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### Who Does What to Whom?

"I was most interested in your agriculture conference (CENTER REPORT, Vol. IV, No. 4). However, my enthusiasm quickly waned as I studied the sixteen discussants. These men have gained distinction as architects of the present system of agriculture which not only exploits the American farmers, senselessly and viciously, but does great harm to the ecosystem . . . How can you expect to learn something about agriculture as it is practiced here, as it might be practiced, when you haven't bothered to recruit even a single voice to speak for the other side of a very controversial subject?

"One concrete example: Not a single voice to speak against the separation of row crop from animal agriculture which has been taking place over the past decade or more. The far-reaching and alarming consequences of this separation were confirmed for me when I heard Purdue's Dean of Agriculture, Richard Kohls, state that the leading problem facing agriculture in the seventies will be how to get rid of the animal wastes of the large feed lots . . ."

— Ted Savich,
Rensselaer, Indiana

"Come now! A panel so weighted toward agricultural economics selected to discuss agriculture and the ecosystem? . . . The fact is that we have not yet assembled the data necessary to support conferee conclusions concerning the relative significance of agricultural and industrial wastes as sources of pollution . . . Our ability to measure progress in pollution abatement has improved only marginally since initiation of the national pollution control effort some twenty years ago. More attention needs to be given to our lack of reliable data on waste sources and pollution effects."

— David H. Howells,
Raleigh, North Carolina

**Harvey Wheeler**

*Fail-Safe, Democracy in a Revolutionary Era, The Conservative Crisis,* and now *The Politics of Revolution,* probably Harvey Wheeler's most provocative book.

*The Politics of Revolution* is about the new American Revolution. It begins where Jean François Revel in *Without Marx or Jesus* left off. Wheeler writes the scenario of how politics and revolution can be joined to gain control over the cybernating age. He argues that the revolutionary impulse will find a new direction and creativity in a coalition of radicals from science, technology and politics.

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