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Stronghold of the Intellectual Left



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



by W.S. MCBIRNIE

A CRITIQUE OF THE CENTER FOR
THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTIONS

Crater of Ideological Subversion?

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

THE SECOND CRATER OF IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION?
In San Francisco, a large white
mansion, the George Pomper
house, making the
Pacific Coast's most expensive house, sur-
rounded by forty acres of land, comprised an
estate established at the turn of the century by
manufacturer Frederick Forrest Peabody. After
the death of his widow in 1958, the property was
purchased by a foundation called The Fund for
the Republic as the location for its new project,
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institu-
tions. In these quarters, the Center began opera-
tions on September 15, 1959. There it remains,
"the infection spot for the intellectual Left on the
West Coast."

WILLIAM STEUART MCBIRNIE

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

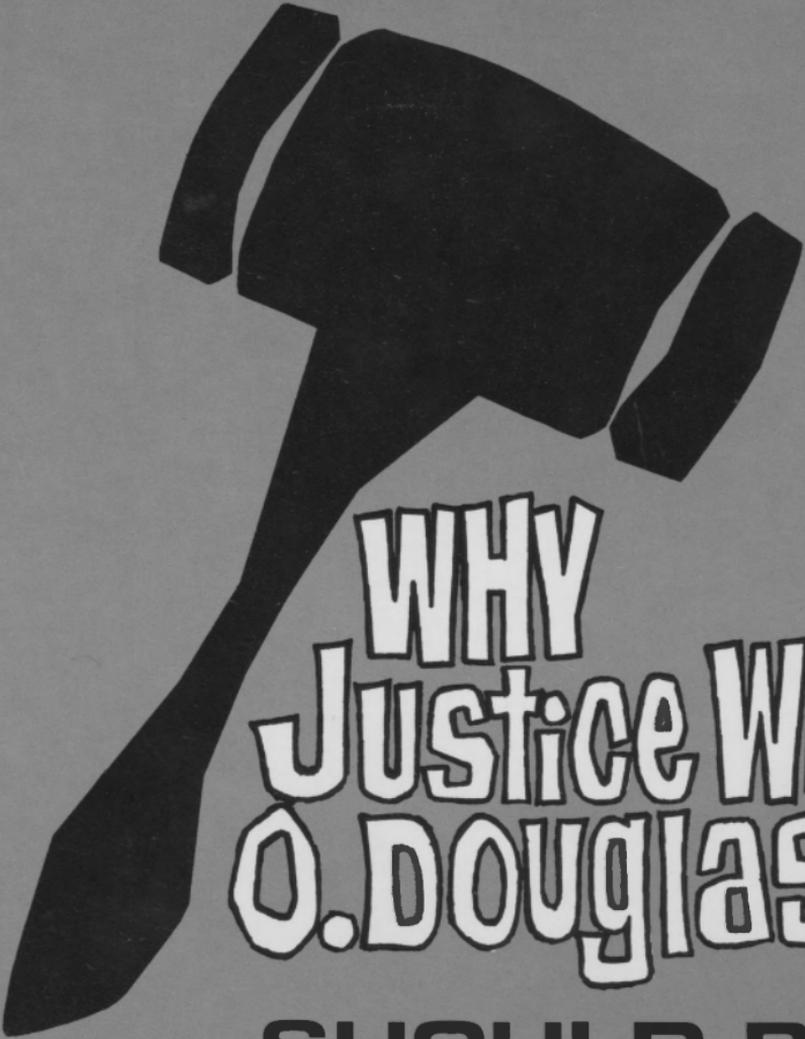
SENIOR MINISTER, UNITED COMMUNITY CHURCH

GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA

From
Gene Hoppers
255 Broadway
Costa Mesa, Calif

92627





**WHY
Justice Wm.
O. DOUGLAS**

**SHOULD BE
IMPEACHED!**

W. S. McBIRNIE

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

=====

May 22, 1970



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

Dear Mr. Barry:

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

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

Sincerely,

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

Frank K. Kelly
Vice President

Enclosures.

Please enter a membership in THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS for the following:

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Street
City State Zip

Name
Street
City State Zip

If the enclosed is a gift the Center will send an appropriate announcement

Print your name

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Category of Membership

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- Supporting 500 a year
- Sustaining 100 a year
- Contributing 50 a year
- Participating 25 a year
- Associate 15 a year

Check enclosed

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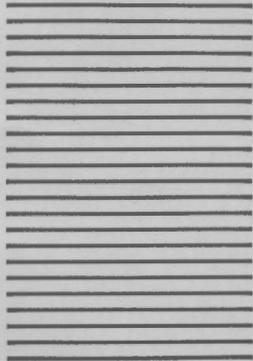


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The Center Newsletter



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



Vol. I, No. 5

March-April, 1970

Discussion Groups and the Cry for Action

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Frank K. Kelly

Topics and Participants in Meetings on the Center Calendar —

February and March, 1970

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

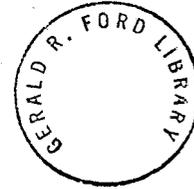
February 1 — *Pacem in Maribus* planning conference held in Rhode Island, concluded.

Tapes

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

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

1969



ADDENDUM

1969 TAPE CATALOGUE

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

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

- 453 ABM: YES OR NO? 56:43

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

- 454 FINAL WORDS OF THOMAS MERTON 42:22

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

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

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



456 SCIENTISTS: ON TOP OR ON TAP?

44:23

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

457 CREATIVE NON-VIOLENCE

19:47

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

458 PROPOSAL FOR A BLACK COLLEGE

27:38

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

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

27:18

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



460 THE ADVERSARY SYSTEM

58:16

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

461 IDEAS IN THE MARKETPLACE

26:05

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

462 YOU MUST GO HOME AGAIN

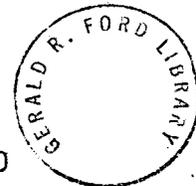
53:48

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

463 RURAL DEVELOPMENT: RICH LAND FOR POOR

47:45

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



464 THE ROLE OF THE JURY IN POLITICAL CRIMES

28:50

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

465 THE WILD GOOSE CHASE FOR REALITY

25:55

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

466 THE EARTH KILLERS

28:20

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

467 TO HELL WITH POSTERITY

29:13

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

468 THE STRUGGLE IS THE MESSAGE

27:15

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



469 THE YOUTH CLASS

42:1

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

470 WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE UNITED NATIONS?

29:45

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

471 THE CHOICE: SAVE OUR CONSTITUTION OR SAVE OUR ENVIRONMENT

28:30

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

472 A VISION OF ATHENS

52:45

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

473 SCOTT BUCHANAN, TEACHER

31:24

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



474 TRAGEDY AND POLITICS

27:32

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

475 THERE USED TO BE NEGROES

43:50

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

477 HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?

39:00

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

478 THE FAMILY IN CRISIS

38:24

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



ASIAN DILEMMA

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

479 CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

28:53

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

480 THE MYTH OF THE CHINA MENACE

44:37

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

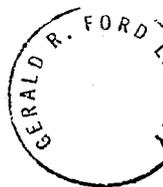


481 "A SIMPLE HUMAN PREFERENCE FOR LIFE":
AN ARGUMENT FOR THE RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA 41:49

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

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

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



483 A PRIVILEGED PLACE

21:20

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

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

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

485 WHERE HAVE ALL THE LIBERALS GONE?

28:56

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

486 THE PREGNANT GHETTO

40:43

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

487 THE CAPTIVE CHILD

40:55

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

488 A MATTER OF GENES

29:10

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

489 POPULATION CONTROL BEGINS AT HOME

29:07

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

