

Revolution: Senate Seeks Analysis from Scholars in Recent Hearings

How can Congress be educated to an understanding of complex issues? One answer is offered by Chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) who has recently used the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a university-style seminar in an effort to educate himself, the Senate, and the American public. By running this seminar, the committee has helped give a heightened public prominence to scholars, especially in foreign affairs studies. The latest committee seminar topic was "The Nature of Revolution."*

In asking for advice from members of the academic profession, Fulbright is continuing in his former role of professional educator. (He taught law and was president of the University of Arkansas before entering politics.) Moreover, he is aided by one of the best-educated committee staff organizations on Capitol Hill. Staff Director Carl Marcy holds a Ph.D. in political science and an LL.B. from Columbia University and has taught at Columbia and CCNY. Another staff member, Seth P. Tillman, who is credited with helping give an elegant phrasing to Fulbright's speeches, has a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and formerly taught political science at MIT. Tillman did much of the work in organizing the recent hearings on revolution and, like some other staff members, serves as a channel of communication between the universities and the committee.

In its hearings on revolution, the committee held four morning-long meetings in March and February and heard opinions from five professors. Three were from Harvard—Crane Brinton, author of *The Anatomy of Revolution*, Louis Hartz, who wrote *The Liberal Tradition in America*, and James C. Thomson, Jr., specialist on China and East Asia. The others were Richard Solomon of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan and John T. McAlister of the Center of

International Studies at Princeton University.

Three of those who testified—Solomon, McAlister and Thomson—were well under 40 years of age. In inviting these youthful witnesses, Fulbright and committee members once again demonstrated their unusual willingness to listen to political advice from men younger by several decades. The age difference between the junior professors and the silver-haired Senators was pointed up when Sen. Frank Lausche (D-Ohio) asked Thomson if he would have opposed the creation of NATO in the late 1940's. With a playful smile, Thomson replied, "I would not have opposed it. I did not oppose it—as a relatively small child."

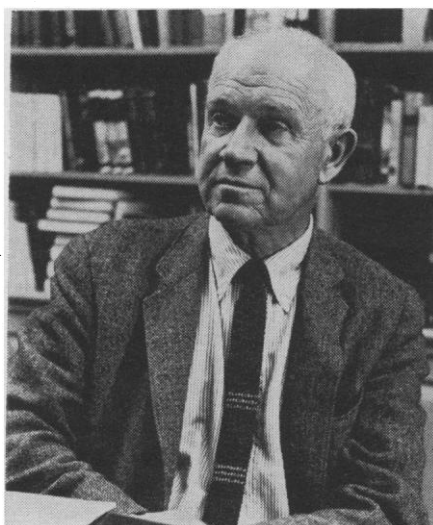
The first witness, Crane Brinton, was asked to put the question of revolutions in historical perspective. He related the central ideas from his study of revolutions in 17th century England, 18th century America and France, and 20th century Russia. He indicated that the three European revolutions were "socioeconomic and political revolutions," whereas the American one was "basically a nationalist revolution." Brinton said that Americans had be-

come more unsympathetic toward revolutions since World War II because of opposition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. He also noted a general tendency for countries "to ennoble their own revolutionary past but to dislike current ones as not so noble."

Another senior Harvard professor, Louis Hartz, challenged the commonly held assumption that the United States had experienced a real revolution in the 18th century. The outstanding thing about America's 'social revolution,' he said, "instead of being its break with the past, is its continuity with the past."

American liberal culture, Hartz maintained, was established by the Puritan migration of the 17th century rather than by a social revolution, a fact which makes it difficult for Americans to understand social revolution abroad. Hartz said this had become a special problem in this century with America's emergence as a great power bringing us "face to face with an experience of revolution which on the domestic plane we have not had." This problem has been intensified, Hartz said, because 20th century revolutions have tended to be collectivist rather than liberal. But, Hartz noted, the American ambivalence to the revolutions of other nations preceded this century: "From the French revolution onward, the American response to revolution abroad is like a love affair which is constantly turning sour, like an infatuation which is forever ending in disenchantment."

After examining America's revolu-



Crane Brinton, noted historian, who told members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that "it is clear we are in an age of revolutions."



James C. Thomson, Jr., of Harvard, one of the scholars who testified on what he regards as the proper U.S. response to revolutions—"We should keep our cool."

* Copies of the transcript of the hearings on revolution can be obtained without charge from the Documents Room, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

tion, the committee turned its attention to Asia. Richard Solomon of Michigan told the committee that the situation in Vietnam had indicated "all too clearly our failure to have drawn the proper conclusions from our earlier unsuccessful effort to relate to China and her revolution." Solomon argued that, in effect, the United States had established "a revolutionary alliance" with Communist China: "Unwittingly, America's Asian presence has worked to give Mao a new image of imperialism which he has used as a foil to mobilize China's peasant millions for continuing domestic, political and social battles."

James C. Thomson, Jr., another China expert, agreed with Solomon that the United States had not responded intelligently to the Chinese Communist revolution. The shock of Communist victory in China in 1949, he argued, "has made us lose sight of big problems and long-term forces; it has forced us back on ill-considered, ad hoc responses to East Asia's instability, and has made us overly fearful of the revolutionary process in Asia."

Social Scientists' Responsibility

Thomson, who served in key positions in the Asia sections of the Department of State and the White House from 1961 to 1966, said that some social scientists shared responsibility with the military for developing the concept of counterinsurgency which the United States has tried to implement in Vietnam. Although he did not give the names of such social scientists, it is obvious that one leading exponent of the "messianic" doctrines he deplored is Walt W. Rostow, formerly of MIT, who is now the chief adviser on the White House foreign affairs staff. Thomson called the U.S. involvement in Vietnam "unwise" and added that "It is, moreover, a profoundly depressing case study of our mishandling of an Asian revolutionary problem."

The final witness, John T. McAlister of Princeton, was called to speak about Vietnam. In McAlister's opinion, the United States has incurred its present difficulties because "when we went in Vietnam, we did not realize that the country was in the midst of an unresolved political conflict . . . we have become engaged in a revolutionary war involving all of the Vietnamese people." McAlister, who served as a U.S. military officer in Vietnam for 2 years, said that in Vietnam "a disservice has been done to our military to ask them

A POINT OF VIEW

Excerpt from a book review by John K. Fairbank, director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard, in the 28 March issue of the New York Review of Books.

We saw in 1966 how crazy Mao was to close all Chinese schools for a year—how can a country possibly modernize without education? Now in 1968 we ourselves have abolished draft deferment for, among others, the few hundred talented and carefully selected American graduate students specializing in Chinese studies. Who's crazy now?

Department of Transportation Fills Research Post

The position of Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology in the Department of Transportation was vacant far longer than any other top administrative position in the Department of Transportation. Whether the job was unfilled because of a rigorous search for the most talented man or because of disinterest on the part of the Administration or of possible candidates is a matter of conjecture. Nonetheless, President Johnson waited more than 14 months after signing the legislation creating the Transportation Department to appoint Frank W. Lehan to the \$27,000-a-year Assistant Secretary post in late December.

The Assistant Secretary for Research and Technology is primarily an adviser to the Secretary of Transportation. Four offices are under Lehan's jurisdiction; two are new and two were transferred to Transportation from other federal agencies. The two new offices are the Office of Research and Development and the Office of Noise Abatement. The Research and Development office currently has a staff of four, but eventually will have a 15-member staff of scientists and engineers, Lehan said in an interview with *Science*. Offices that were transferred to Transportation from other agencies are the Office of Hazardous Materials, which reviews existing standards on the handling of dangerous materials, and the Office of Transportation Information Planning (TIP). The Hazardous Materials office was previously under the Inter-



Frank W. Lehan

state Commerce Commission while TIP was in the Department of Commerce. None of the offices under Lehan's jurisdiction have regulatory authority.

Lehan, who is 45, has a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering from the California Institute of Technology. From 1944 to 1954, he was employed by Caltech's Jet Propulsion Laboratory. In 1954, he joined the Space Technology Laboratory of the Ramo-Wooldridge Corporation as associate director of the electronics laboratory. Later, Lehan formed his own company, Space Electronics Corporation. The company was bought by Aerojet-General in 1961 and was named the Space General Corporation; Lehan served as president from 1962-66. Since 1966, he has been a consultant for several scientific and engineering projects. He has been a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee Panel on Naval Warfare since early in 1967.—K.S.

NEWS IN BRIEF

● **COHEN NAMED FOR HEW:** On 22 March, President Johnson nominated Wilbur J. Cohen, the Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) as the successor to Secretary John W. Gardner (*Science*, 2 February). The optimistic and energetic Cohen enjoyed wide support from inside HEW for appointment as Secretary and was reported to have also had the backing of Gardner and of influential private citizens, including philanthropist Mary Lasker. Cohen, who is regarded as a liberal in his politics, has played a major part in preparing much welfare, education, and health legislation, including Medicare. Now 54, Cohen has worked for the federal government since 1934, except for the period from 1956 to 1961 when he taught public welfare administration at the University of Michigan.

● **HEALTH ETHICS:** Scientists appearing before a Senate subcommittee considering SJR 145, a bill introduced by Senator Walter F. Mondale (D—Minn.) which calls for the creation of a Commission on the Ethical and Social Implications of Health Science Research and Development, expressed strong opposition to the bill. As proposed, the commission would study the ethical, social, and legal implications of federally supported biomedical research and technology programs. Christiaan Barnard, the South African surgeon who conducted the first heart transplant operation, was a leading critic. He stated that commissions hinder physicians. Other scientists who appeared before the subcommittee included Nobel laureates Arthur Kornberg and Joshua Lederberg. Both were cool toward the proposed bill. Lederberg opposed the commission being "charged with making substantive prescriptions, after one year's study, about the biological policy of the human species." Kornberg indicated he feared a regulatory role might grow out of the commission's deliberations.

● **YALE READMISSION POLICY:** The Yale Corporation has approved a policy statement on the readmission of Yale graduate and professional students whose academic careers are interrupted either by military service or criminal conviction for failure to comply with induction orders. According to

Yale president Kingman Brewster, Jr., students who withdraw from Yale for either reason will be considered for readmission on the same basis. Brewster stated, "We believe that a student who receives a criminal conviction for non-compliance with an induction order, if that non-compliance is demonstrably rooted in conscience, should be considered for readmission on the same basis as those who withdrew for service."

● **OECD SCIENCE MINISTERS:** At a meeting in Paris in early March the science ministers of the member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) carried on their discussion of ways to narrow the technological gap between the United States and European countries. The ministers agreed to appoint a panel of experts to advise on setting up a council to coordinate basic research in Europe. A study on ways to improve the exchange of scientific and technical information between member countries was also ordered. A proposal for creation of a European institute of technology remains in the talking stage. Studies made public at the meeting give the impression that OECD now has a much clearer working analysis of the causes and extent of the gap than a year ago, but with 22 member countries, including the United States, in OECD, it is likely to be difficult to fashion an agreed program of effective action.

● **URBAN AFFAIRS PROGRAM:** A program which will place M.I.T. faculty members on the staffs of urban officials throughout the United States for a year or more has been initiated by M.I.T. The Fellows in Urban Affairs Program is one of several urban affairs projects that is being developed by the university under a \$3-million Ford Foundation grant. Each faculty member selected for the program will be a specialist in some discipline related to urban problems. The salaries and expenses of urban fellows will be shared by M.I.T. and the employers. M.I.T. president Howard W. Johnson described the primary objective of the program as the "creation of effective new links between academic departments at M.I.T. and centers of urban activity and innovation." Carroll L. Wilson, professor of management, will direct the program.

to do a job which was beyond being done by military power alone." McAlister estimated that it would take 3 to 15 million soldiers in Vietnam to stabilize the situation and that, even then, U.S. military supremacy would not be assured.

Nothing that was said by any of the five scholars about Vietnam could have made Fulbright and the "dovish" majority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee angry. None of the five had a kind word to say about U.S. involvement in Vietnam or Administration policy there. In many of the committee members, including Fulbright, the scholars found a receptive ear for their belief that the United States should approach foreign revolutions with some equanimity. Fulbright said that even the Mexican Revolution might have been called Communistic today in the United States. "Anyone who seeks to upset the established order is generally referred to as a Communist or with Communist proclivities in this day and time," he lamented. At a later point in the hearing, the Chairman asked, "Stability in itself is not necessarily the highest good, is it? Many places need some change. We shouldn't become devoted solely to the status quo, should we?"

In general, the answer of the scholars was that the United States should tread very warily in dealing with foreign revolutionary situations. Hartz said that "it is extraordinarily difficult, if not impossible, through outside intervention to repress a revolutionary situation in any area." Brinton said, in this period, which he called "an age of revolutions," that "the nearest thing I can get to a formula is to assume that a revolutionary movement is basically the concern of the country itself, and unless there are very clear, evident signs of present danger to the peace of the world, we should be benevolently neutral." Thomson predicted that "instability will be endemic to much of East Asia for the remainder of this century" and urged U.S. leaders "to keep steady nerves in the face of such instability."

Fulbright is probably correct in his judgment that holding public hearings is the best way to educate Senators to academic thinking. In the past Fulbright has had scholars prepare papers on various topics, but it is difficult to induce most Senators to take time to read analytical documents. They learn more when they can listen and ask their own questions.

Four or five years ago, it would

have been unlikely that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would have held hearings as "intellectual" as those on revolution. But now, under the pressure of highly disturbing events, some Senators are trying to develop new responses to the crises which face the country. As long as Fulbright remains chairman, and as long as his fellow committee members are upset by the Administration's activities abroad, the Foreign Relations Committee is almost certain to continue running the nation's best-known university classroom.—BRYCE NELSON

APPOINTMENTS



C. A. Anderson



K. Folkers

Charles A. Anderson, president of J. I. Case Co., Racine, Wis., to president and chief executive officer, Stanford Research Institute. He succeeds **Karl Folkers**, who has become director of the newly established Institute for Biomedical Research, University of Texas. . . . **Scott C. Daubin**, head of the marine sciences section of General Motors Corporation, to senior scientist and chairman of the department of ocean engineering, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. . . . **John T. Ellis**, chairman of the department of pathology, Emory University School of Medicine, to chairman of the department of pathology at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. . . . **Alexander F. Roche**, department of anatomy, University of Melbourne, Australia, to chairman of the department of growth and genetics, Fels Research Institute, Antioch College. . . . **Raymond E. Parks**, chairman of the department of radiology, University of Miami School of Medicine, to visiting professor, University of Cape Town, South Africa. . . . **Robert M. Featherstone**, chairman of the department of pharmacology, School of Medicine, University of California, to consultant in pharmacology and toxicology, National Institute of General Medical

Sciences. . . . **Philip G. Stansly**, director, department of microbiology, Mason Research Institute, Worcester, Mass., to head, microbiology department, Applied Science Division, Litton Systems, Inc., Bethesda, Md. . . . **Lee Salk**, clinical assistant professor of psychology, Cornell University Medical College, and attending psychologist in the department of pediatrics, New York Hospital, to director of a newly established division of psychology in the department of pediatrics, New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. . . . **Frank Verbrugge**, acting dean of the Institute of Technology, University of Minnesota, to the newly established position of director of University Computer Services at the university. He is succeeded by **Warren B. Cheston**, director of the University Space Center. He will continue as acting director of the Space Center until a successor is found. . . . **Robert J. Harley**, senior staff member, Institute of Marine Sciences, University of Miami, to chairman of the division of graduate studies in marine sciences, at the university. . . . **George M. Austin**, professor of neurosurgery, University of Oregon Medical School, to chief of the section of neurosurgery, Loma Linda University School of Medicine. . . . **Arpad Pusztai**, principal scientific officer for the Rowett Research Institute, Scotland, to visiting associate professor of biological chemistry, College of Medicine, University of Illinois. . . . **Joshua A. Fishman**, university research professor of social sciences, Yeshiva University, to senior specialist at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, for the academic year beginning next fall. . . . **Daniel E. Rosner**, head of the interface Kinetics and Transport Group, AeroChem Research Laboratories, New Jersey, to visiting scholar, chemical engineering department, Stanford University, for spring 1968. . . . **Francis P. Bretherton**, university lecturer, department of applied mathematics and theoretical physics, King's College, Cambridge University, England, to visiting professor, Institute for Atmospheric Science and the Institute of Marine Sciences, University of Miami, for the next 6 months. . . . **Melvin Sabshin**, head of the department of psychiatry, University of Illinois College of Medicine, to fellow, Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, for the current academic year. . . . **John E. Clark**, former rear admiral, U.S.N., to deputy director, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology.

RECENT DEATHS

Bernard Aabel, 60; former chief of the Army Medical Service Corps, and director of the international health department of the American Medical Association; 23 February.

Hugo Benioff, 68; professor emeritus of seismology, California Institute of Technology; 29 February.

George Bernheim, 87; president emeritus of Mount Sinai Hospital; 3 March.

George Brewer, Jr., 68; trustee and one of the founders of the Conservation Foundation; 20 February.

Stanley Cobb, 80; Bullard professor of neuropathology emeritus, Harvard, and emeritus chief of the psychiatric service, Massachusetts General Hospital; 25 February.

Rudolph Dieffenbach, 83; retired conservationist, Fish and Wildlife Service; 2 March.

Howard W. Florey, 69; 1945 Nobel prize winner for his work on the discovery and development of penicillin, and provost of Queen's College, Oxford; 22 February.

Howard L. Gadboys, 44; associate professor of surgery, Mount Sinai School of Medicine; 28 February.

Herman D. Goldberg, 44; chairman of the psychology department, Hofstra University; 20 February.

Carl G. Hartman, 88; emeritus director of the Ortho Research Foundation, New Jersey; 1 March.

Arnold E. Hook, 54; laboratory director of biological development for Parke, Davis & Company; 16 February.

Jacob M. Lutz, 59; assistant chief, Horticultural Crops Research Branch, Department of Agriculture; 26 February.

Thomas Parran, 75; former surgeon-general and former dean of the Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh; 15 February.

Joel E. Pressman, 67; chief of the division of head and neck surgery, University of California at Los Angeles Medical School; 26 February.

Stanley P. Reinmann, 76; director emeritus and founder of the Institute for Cancer Research, Philadelphia; 22 February.

Wilson S. Stone, 60; director of the Genetics Foundation, University of Texas; 28 February.

Winston D. Walters, 53; professor of chemistry, University of Rochester; 3 March.