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REMARKS BY HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
OFFICIAL DEDICATION OF  
WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

FEBRUARY 18, 197L

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MR. PRESIDENT, SECRETARY RIPLEY, DEAN  
SAYRE AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WILSON FAMILY,  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN - MY COLLEAGUES ON  
THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND I AND THE CENTER  
STAFF AND SCHOLARS ARE HONORED BY YOUR  
PRESENCE AT THE OFFICIAL DEDICATION OF THE  
WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR  
SCHOLARS.

THE PRESIDENT AND I SHARE BONDS IN COMMON  
OTHER THAN THE ELECTION CONTEST IN WHICH WE  
WERE JOINED IN 1968 AND SERVICE IN THE SENATE  
AND IN THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

ONE SUCH BOND IS OUR LIFE-LONG ADMIRATION FOR WOODROW WILSON, WHOSE PRESIDENCY ENDED 50 YEARS AGO NEXT MONTH.

TO MY OWN FATHER, NO OTHER PUBLIC FIGURE APPROACHED WILSON IN STATURE. THE FIGHT FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NEW FREEDOM WERE AN INTIMATE PART OF MY EARLY HERITAGE.

MANY PERSONS HAVE HELPED MAKE THIS OCCASION POSSIBLE: - *first & our thanks to*

--DEAN SAYRE, CHAIRMAN OF THE WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION AND HIS COLLEAGUES, WHO RECOMMENDED THE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS AS THE NATION'S FIRST PRESIDENTIAL "LIVING MEMORIAL" INSTITUTION;

*and our thanks to* <sup>3</sup> -

--SECRETARY RIPLEY AND THE REGENTS OF  
THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION WHO HAVE PROVIDED  
THE CENTER WITH ITS SUPERB INTERIM QUARTERS  
ABOVE THIS GREAT HALL, WHICH WE HOPE YOU WILL  
VISIT DURING THE RECEPTION TO FOLLOW.

↳ TIME PREVENTS MENTIONING ALL THOSE --  
SOME PRESENT TODAY -- WHO HAD ESSENTIAL ROLES  
IN THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTER:

↳ CONGRESSWOMAN HANSEN AND CONGRESSMEN

FRELINGHUYSEN AND THOMPSON; SENATORS BIBLE,

*and to all members of the Congress*  
COOPER, PELL AND WILLIAMS; MR. PETER MC COLOUGH,

PRESIDENT OF THE XEROX CORPORATION AND CHAIRMAN

OF THE CENTER'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE;

MR. MC GEORGE BUNDY OF THE FORD FOUNDATION,  
AND MANY OTHERS. BUT TO EACH I WOULD LIKE  
TO EXPRESS THE BOARD'S APPRECIATION.

LET ME TURN NOW TO THE CENTER'S  
BEGINNINGS AND OBJECTIVES:

THE WISE AND GENEROUS CONGRESSIONAL  
CHARTER CONTAINED BUT TWO GENERAL GUIDELINES,  
DECLARING THAT THE CENTER SHOULD BE A "LIVING  
INSTITUTION: FIRST "EXPRESSING THE IDEALS  
AND CONCERNS OF WOODROW WILSON," AND, SECOND,  
"SYMBOLIZING AND STRENGTHENING THE FRUITFUL  
RELATION BETWEEN THE WORLD OF LEARNING AND THE  
WORLD OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS."

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↳ AFTER SEEKING ADVICE AND COUNSEL IN  
MANY QUARTERS IN THIS COUNTRY AND ELSEWHERE,  
WE PLANNED FELLOWSHIP AND GUEST SCHOLAR  
PROGRAMS FOR THE CENTER DESIGNED TO ACCENTUATE  
THOSE ASPECTS OF WILSON'S "IDEALS AND CONCERNS"  
FOR WHICH HE IS PERHAPS BEST KNOWN A HALF  
CENTURY AFTER HIS PRESIDENCY -- HIS SEARCH FOR  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND THE IMAGINATIVE, NEW  
GOVERNMENTAL APPROACHES HE USED TO MEET  
MAJOR CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS.

↳ THESE FUNDAMENTAL TENETS OF WOODROW  
WILSON'S BELIEFS ARE REFLECTED IN TWO BRIEF  
EXCERPTS FROM THE FEW RECORDINGS OF HIS VOICE  
WHICH EXIST TODAY.

LISTEN NOW TO HIS WORDS OF FAITH IN  
DEMOCRACY AND ITS ABILITY TO MEET WITH JUSTICE  
AND WISDOM THE NATION'S PROBLEMS, SPOKEN IN  
HIS ADDRESS ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENTIAL  
NOMINATION IN 1912:

(TAPE RECORDING:)

"NOR WAS THE COUNTRY EVER MORE SUSCEPTIBLE  
TO UNSELFISH APPEALS OR TO THE HIGH ARGUMENTS OF  
SINCERE JUSTICE. THESE ARE THE UNMISTAKABLE  
SYMPTOMS OF AN AWAKENING. THERE IS THE MORE NEED OF  
WISE COUNSEL BECAUSE THE PEOPLE ARE SO READY TO HEED  
COUNSEL IF IT BE GIVEN HONESTLY AND IN THEIR  
INTEREST. IT IS IN THE BROAD LIGHT OF THIS NEW DAY  
THAT WE STAND FACE TO FACE . . . WITH GREAT  
QUESTIONS OF RIGHT AND OF JUSTICE, QUESTIONS OF  
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER  
AND OF STANDARDS OF ACTION . . . PRACTICAL TO LIVE  
UNDER, TOLERABLE TO WORK UNDER . . . "

[ AND HEAR ALSO A SENTENCE FROM HIS FINAL PUBLIC UTTERANCE, A RADIO BROADCAST (IN WHICH AN ANNOUNCER'S VOICE ECHOES THE TEXT) GIVEN ON THE EVE OF ARMISTICE DAY IN 1923, WITHIN THREE MONTHS OF HIS DEATH. [ THE WORDS LAMENT UNITED STATES REFUSAL TO JOIN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BUT SHOW CLEARLY, DESPITE THE AUDIBLE INROADS OF AGE AND ILLNESS, WILSON'S INDOMITABLE TRUST IN AMERICA'S FUTURE FULFILLMENT OF ITS HIGHEST INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND IDEALS OF HONOR AND FREEDOM;

(TAPE RECORDING:)

"THIS MUST ALWAYS BE A SOURCE OF DEEP MORTIFICATION TO US AND WE SHALL INEVITABLY BE FORCED BY THE MORAL OBLIGATIONS OF FREEDOM AND HONOR TO RETRIEVE THAT FATAL ERROR AND ASSUME ONCE MORE THE ROLE OF COURAGE, SELF-RESPECT, AND HELPFULNESS WHICH EVERY TRUE AMERICAN MUST WISH TO REGARD AS OUR NATURAL PART IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE WORLD."

AND SO, UNDER THE CENTER'S GENERAL  
WILSONIAN THEME, A WIDE VARIETY OF STUDIES  
OF SIGNIFICANT, CONTEMPORARY AND EMERGING  
INTERNATIONAL, GOVERNMENTAL AND SOCIAL  
PROBLEMS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN. ( IN ADDITION,  
WE HAVE SELECTED TWO SUBJECTS ON WHICH WE  
ARE SPONSORING SUBSTANTIAL STUDIES DURING  
THE OPENING PERIOD --

(1) THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
UNDERSTANDING, LAW AND COOPERATION IN THE  
USES OF THE OCEANS AND THE PROTECTION OF THE  
MARINE ENVIRONMENT;

(2) MAN'S OVERALL RELATIONS WITH HIS  
DETERIORATING ENVIRONMENT WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION  
TO NEW FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION NEEDED  
TO OVERCOME ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS THAT TRANSCEND  
NATIONAL BOUNDARIES.

↳ WE ARE EXCEEDINGLY PROUD OF THE HIGH  
CALIBER OF THE THIRTY SCHOLARS CHOSEN IN  
THE CENTER'S PROGRAMS TO DATE. ↳ LET ME  
DESCRIBE BRIEFLY THEIR MAKEUP AND THE  
PHILOSOPHY THAT LED TO THEIR CHOICE:

--FIRST, THEY ARE STRONGLY INTERNATIONAL  
IN MAKEUP BECAUSE THE PERSPECTIVES WE WISH  
TO FOSTER HERE ARE WORLD PERSPECTIVES.

HALF OF THE FIRST WOODROW WILSON FELLOWS  
APPOINTED COME FROM THE U.S.; HALF FROM  
TEN OTHER COUNTRIES -- AUSTRALIA, FRANCE,  
INDIA, ISRAEL, JAPAN, SWITZERLAND, U.K.,  
USSR, AND YUGOSLAVIA.

-- SECOND, THEY ARE SELECTED FROM MANY  
NON-ACADEMIC PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS --  
GOVERNMENT, LAW, BUSINESS, JOURNALISM,  
DIPLOMACY -- AS WELL AS FROM A VARIETY OF THE  
TRADITIONAL ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES INCLUDING  
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, HUMANITIES AND NATURAL  
SCIENCES.

WE FELT STRONGLY THAT NO ONE DISCIPLINE OR FIELD HAS A MONOPOLY ON "THE WORLD OF LEARNING" AND THAT PERSONS OF INTELLIGENCE DRAWN FROM MANY OCCUPATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S COMPLEX AND INTERRELATED PROBLEMS.

--THIRD, THEY ARE GIVEN SHORT AS WELL AS LONG TERMS OF APPOINTMENT -- VARYING FROM 3 WEEKS TO 18 MONTHS IN THE FIRST GROUP -- TO FACILITATE PARTICIPATION BY BUSY PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE AS WELL AS TRADITIONAL SCHOLARS WITH WELL-DEVELOPED STUDY PROJECTS.

--FOURTH, THE SCHOLARS ARE CHOSEN WITHOUT CONSIDERATION OF ARBITRARY AGE LIMITS, THE FIRST FELLOWS RANGE IN AGE FROM 27 TO 62, BUT I AM GLAD TO REPORT THAT THE CENTER IS A COMMUNITY IN WHICH THE SPAN OF GENERATIONS HAS NOT GIVEN RISE TO A PROBLEM OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GENERATIONS.

--FIFTH, CENTER SCHOLARS WORK BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AS WELL AS IN GROUPS IN APPROACHING THEIR SUBJECTS.

--AND, FINALLY, THE SCHOLARS ARE APPOINTED TO THE CENTER PRIMARILY FOR WHAT THEY CAN CONTRIBUTE, TO BORROW FROM THE MEMORABLE PHRASE IN JAMES SMITHSON'S WILL,

"TO THE INCREASE AND DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE  
 AMONG MEN" -- SPECIFICALLY ~~IN THE CASE OF~~ *in case of the center*  
~~THE CENTER~~ TO THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND  
 SOLUTION OF SIGNIFICANT CONTEMPORARY,  
 INTERNATIONAL, GOVERNMENTAL AND SOCIAL  
 PROBLEMS.

*[Handwritten flourish]*

FROM MY OWN RECENT EXPERIENCE IN THE  
 ACADEMIC WORLD, AS WELL AS FROM PAST AND  
 PRESENT VANTAGE POINTS IN THE EXECUTIVE AND  
 LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES OF FEDERAL AND LOCAL  
 GOVERNMENT, I HAVE OBSERVED WITH INCREASING  
 CONCERN THE WIDENING GAP BETWEEN THE WORLD OF  
 LEARNING AND THE WORLD OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

ALL TOO FREQUENTLY PEOPLE IN PUBLIC LIFE ARE  
UNAWARE OF THE BEST PRODUCTS OF THE  
ACADEMIC WORLD OR BELIEVE THAT SUCH PRODUCTS  
HAVE LITTLE RELEVANCE TO THEIR PUBLIC  
RESPONSIBILITIES AND TO THE MAKING OF PUBLIC  
POLICY AND DECISIONS. **L** I NOW KNOW THE REVERSE  
TO BE TRUE, AND HAVE SEEN HOW FUTILE AND  
REMOVED GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO ALL TOO MANY  
PERSONS ~~AT THE~~ **industry university Community** ~~CAMPUSES.~~

THERE ARE MANY REASONS FOR THIS GAP,  
BUT ONE REASON HAS BEEN THE LACK OF  
INSTITUTIONAL MEETING GROUNDS ON WHICH  
~~GOVERNMENT PEOPLE~~ <sup>in Public affairs</sup> AND PEOPLE DRAWN FROM THE  
ACADEMIC WORLD AND FROM OTHER  
LEARNED PROFESSIONS CAN COME TOGETHER IN AN  
ATMOSPHERE OF COMPLETE FREEDOM OF INQUIRY  
AND EQUALITY TO WORK ON SIGNIFICANT  
PROBLEMS OF COMMON CONCERN.

↳ SO, MR. PRESIDENT, IN DEDICATING THE  
WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS,  
~~THIS~~, WE HAVE SET OUR SIGHTS HIGH INDEED.

WE ASK NO LESS TODAY OF THE SCHOLARS AND  
STAFF OF THE CENTER AND THOSE <sup>who</sup> ~~are~~ WILL FOLLOW  
THEM, ~~AND~~ THAT THEY DEDICATE THEIR EXPERIENCE,  
CREATIVITY AND INSIGHTS TO THE SOLUTIONS OF  
MAN'S PRIMARY PROBLEMS AND THE NEED FOR  
CHANGE TO MEET THOSE PROBLEMS. WE HOPE  
THAT THE SCHOLARS WHO LABOR HERE WILL ALWAYS  
BE WILLING TO BREAK NEW GROUND IN SEARCH  
OF ESSENTIAL TRUTHS; TO ATTEMPT REASONED  
ANSWERS TO VITAL QUESTIONS BASED ON KNOWN FACTS  
EVEN THOUGH PRECEDENTS MAY BE LACKING AND  
SOLUTIONS ONLY IMPERFECTLY SEEN.

WOODROW WILSON STATED WELL IN A SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ALMOST SIXTY YEARS AGO A THEME THAT COULD WELL STAND TODAY AS THE GOAL OF THE CENTER NAMED IN HIS HONOR:

" . . . THE MAN WHO HAS THE TIME, THE DISCRIMINATION, AND THE SAGACITY TO COLLECT AND COMPREHEND THE PRINCIPAL FACTS, AND THE MAN WHO MUST ACT UPON THEM, MUST DRAW NEAR TO ONE ANOTHER AND FEEL THAT THEY ARE ENGAGED IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE. THE SCHOLAR MUST LOOK UPON HIS STUDIES MORE LIKE A HUMAN BEING AND MAN OF ACTION, AND THE MAN OF ACTION MUST APPROACH HIS CONCLUSIONS MORE LIKE A SCHOLAR."

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THE WILSON CENTER HAS NO BETTER FRIEND  
THAN PRESIDENT WILSON'S CURRENT SUCCESSOR,  
WHO STATED A SIMILAR THEME IN A MESSAGE TO  
THE CONGRESS IN APRIL OF 1969 THAT "THE  
DISTRICT HAS LONG SOUGHT AND LONG NEEDED  
A CENTER FOR BOTH MEN OF LETTERS AND MEN OF  
AFFAIRS." IT IS MY GREAT PRIVILEGE AND HONOR  
TO INTRODUCE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED  
STATES.



# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 92<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

SPEECH  
OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 23, 1971

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, an important step in closing the gap between the world of learning and the world of public affairs was taken last week with the dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

As Chairman of the Center's Board of Trustees, I was proud to have been able to preside over those ceremonies, which were held at the Smithsonian Institution.

It also was my honor and privilege to have been able to introduce the President of the United States, who shares my high esteem for Woodrow Wilson.

Although this dedication marks the fruition of nearly a decade of work, it also signals the birth of a unique living memorial to a very unique human being, Woodrow Wilson.

In response to a joint resolution of the Congress, President John F. Kennedy appointed the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission in October 1961 to plan the national memorial to our 28th President. In its final report, the Commission recommended that the Wilson memorial include a center for scholars in downtown Washington.

Legislation to create the Center was introduced in the 90th Congress. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars was established by act of Congress approved October 24, 1968.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks and those of the President of the United States at the dedication ceremonies be printed in the

RECORD, along with other pertinent data on the Wilson Center.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, OFFICIAL DEDICATION OF WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, FEBRUARY 18, 1971

Mr. President, Secretary Ripley, Dean Sayre and other members of the Wilson family, ladies and gentlemen—my colleagues on the Board of Trustees and I and the Center staff and scholars are honored by your presence at the official dedication of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The President and I share bonds in common other than the election contest in which we were joined in 1968 and service in the Senate and in the Vice Presidency. One such bond is our life-long admiration for Woodrow Wilson, whose presidency ended fifty years ago next month.

To my own father, no other public figure approached Wilson in stature. The fight for the League of Nations and the achievements of the New Freedom were an intimate part of my early heritage.

Many persons have helped make this occasion possible:

Dean Sayre, Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and his colleagues, who recommended the creation of an international center for scholars as the nation's first presidential "living memorial" institution;

Secretary Ripley and the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution who have provided the Center with its superb interim quarters above this Great Hall, which we hope you will visit during the reception to follow.

Time prevents mentioning all those—some present today—who had essential roles in the planning and development of the Center: Congresswoman Hansen and Congressmen Brademas, Frelinghuysen and Thompson; Senators Bible, Cooper, Pell and Williams, and to all Members of Congress; Mr. Peter McCollough, President of the Xerox Corporation and Chairman of the Center's Advisory

Committee; Mr. McGeorge Bundy of the Ford Foundation, and many others. But to each I would like to express the Board's appreciation.

Let me turn now to the Center's beginnings and objectives:

The wise and generous Congressional charter contained but two general guidelines, declaring that the Center should be a living institution: first "expressing the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson", and, second, "symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs."

After seeking advice and counsel in many quarters in this country and elsewhere, we planned fellowship and guest scholar programs for the Center designed to accentuate those aspects of Wilson's "ideals and concerns" for which he is perhaps best known a half century after his presidency—his search for international peace and the imaginative, new governmental approaches he used to meet major contemporary problems.

These fundamental tenets of Woodrow Wilson's beliefs are reflected in two brief excerpts from the few recordings of his voice which exist today.

Listen now to his words of faith in democracy and its ability to meet with justice and wisdom the nation's problems, spoken in his address accepting the presidential nomination in 1912:

"Nor was the country ever more susceptible to unselfish appeals or to the high arguments of sincere justice. These are the unmistakable symptoms of an awakening. There is the more need of wise counsel because the people are ready to heed counsel if it be given honestly and in their interest. It is in the broad light of this new day that we stand face to face . . . with great questions of right and of justice, questions of national development, of the development of character and of standards of action . . . practical to live under, tolerable to work under . . ."

And hear also a sentence from his final public utterance, a radio broadcast (in which an announcer's voice echoes the text) given on the eve of Armistice Day in 1923, within three months of his death. The words lament

United States refusal to join the League of Nations but show clearly, despite the audible inroads of age and illness, Wilson's indomitable trust in America's future fulfillment of its highest international obligations and ideals of honor and freedom:

"This must always be a source of deep mortification to us and we shall inevitably be forced by the moral obligations of freedom and honor to retrieve that fatal error and assume once more the role of courage, self-respect, and helpfulness which every true American must wish to regard as our natural part in the affairs of the world."

And so, under the Center's general Wilsonian theme, a wide variety of studies of significant, contemporary and emerging international, governmental and social problems are being undertaken. In addition, we have selected two subjects on which we are sponsoring substantial studies during the opening period.

(1) the development of international understanding, law and cooperation in the uses of the oceans and the protection of the marine environment;

(2) man's overall relations with his deteriorating environment with special attention to new forms of international cooperation needed to overcome environmental problems that transcend national boundaries.

We are exceedingly proud of the high caliber of the thirty scholars chosen in the Center's programs to date. Let me describe briefly their makeup and the philosophy that led to their choice:

First, they are strongly international in makeup because the perspectives we wish to foster here are world perspectives. Half of the first Woodrow Wilson fellows appointed come from the U.S.; half from ten other countries—Australia, France, India, Israel, Japan, Switzerland, U.K., USSR and Yugoslavia.

Second, they are selected from many nonacademic professions and occupations—government, law, business, journalism, diplomacy—as well as from a variety of the traditional academic disciplines including the social sciences, humanities and natural sciences. We felt strongly that no one discipline or field has a monopoly on "the world of learning" and that persons of intelligence drawn from many occupations are essential to find solutions to today's complex and interrelated problems.

Third, they are given short as well as long terms of appointment—varying from 3 weeks to 18 months in the first group—to facilitate participation by busy professional people as well as traditional scholars with well developed study projects.

Fourth, the scholars are chosen without consideration of arbitrary age limits. The first fellows range in age from 27 to 62, but I am glad to report that the Center is a community in which the span of generations has not given rise to a problem of communication between generations.

Fifth, Center scholars work both individ-

ually as well as in groups in approaching their subjects.

And, finally, the scholars are appointed to the Center primarily for what they can contribute, to borrow from the memorable phrase in James Smithson's will, "to the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men"—specifically in the case of the Center to the better understanding and solution of significant contemporary, international, governmental and social problems.

From my own recent experience in the academic world, as well as from past and present vantage points in the Executive and Legislative Branches of federal and local government, I have observed with increasing concern the widening gap between the world of learning and the world of public affairs. All too frequently people in public life are unaware of the best products of the academic world or believe that such products have little relevance to their public responsibilities and to the making of public policy and decisions. I now know the reverse to be true, and have seen how futile and removed government seems to all too many persons in the university community.

There are many reasons for this gap, but one reason has been the lack of institutional meeting grounds on which people in public affairs and people drawn from the academic world and from other learned professions can come together in an atmosphere of complete freedom of inquiry and equality to work on significant problems of common concern.

So, Mr. President, in dedicating the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars today, we have set our sights high indeed. We ask no less today of the scholars and staff of the Center and those who will follow them than that they dedicate their experience, creativity and insights to the solutions of man's primary problems and the need for change to meet those problems. We hope that the scholars who labor here will always be willing to break new ground in search of essential truths; to attempt reasoned answers to vital questions based on known facts even though precedents may be lacking and solutions only imperfectly seen.

Woodrow Wilson stated well in a speech to the American Political Science Association almost sixty years ago a theme that could well stand today as the goal of the Center named in his honor:

"... the man who has the time, the discrimination, and the sagacity to collect and comprehend the principal facts and the man who must act upon them must draw near to one another and feel that they are engaged in a common enterprise. The scholar must look upon his studies more like a human being and man of action, and the man of action must approach his conclusions more like a scholar."

The Wilson Center has no better friend than President Wilson's current successor, who stated a similar theme in a Message to the Congress in April of 1969 that "The

District has long sought and long needed a center for both men of letters and men of affairs." It is my great privilege and honor to introduce the President of the United States.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

Senator Humphrey, Dean Sayre, Dr. Ripley, and all of the distinguished guests present here today:

I, first, express my deep appreciation to Senator Humphrey for his gracious introduction and also my commendation for his eloquent remarks.

And I would like to point out that in my opinion, had it not been for him, for his devotion, his dedication and his tenacity, we would not be meeting here today with this project now reaching its culmination. And to him and all the others who worked with him, certainly the thanks of the nation and the thanks of the people around the world go for seeing to it that the living memorial to one of America's greatest men is now coming into being.

And it, of course, is an historic occasion for all of us. For me, too, it is the first time that I have heard the voice of Woodrow Wilson, although I have read, as most of you have, most of what he has written.

And it brings a special meaning to this occasion that one of the distinguished religious leaders of this city and of this nation is here today, and that he is the grandson of Woodrow Wilson.

I am honored to celebrate this occasion and the dedication of this new international study to the memory of one of America's greatest Presidents.

Along with most Presidents of the past half century, I have long been a student of Woodrow Wilson. He was a man born ahead of his time. We have reason to hope that he was not born ahead of our time.

Ironically, this man, who used the English language to uplift and inspire, and who so enriched the lexicon of democracy is remembered most for one phrase he did not coin, a phrase that was twisted into a slogan of cynicism. He took that phrase from H. G. Wells' book, "The War That Will End War." Using that phrase as their center piece, there are some who class Woodrow Wilson as a colossal failure.

He won re-election in 1916 on the slogan. "He kept us out of war." But America went to war. That election, interestingly enough, was the background for my own interest in Woodrow Wilson and the inspiration he has provided for me, as he did for Senator Humphrey, the former Vice President of the United States.

My mother and father were both Republicans. California was the State, as you recall, that decided the election of 1916. The reason was that a number of Republicans voted for Wilson. My mother was one of them. She

was a devout Quaker, a deeply dedicated pacifist.

I was only three years old in 1916, but for years afterwards, in a friendly way, my mother and father sometimes spoke of that election of 1916 in which my father had voted for Hughes.

But my mother, despite the fact that America did get into war after 1916, always had her faith in Woodrow Wilson. She used to say to me, "He was a good man. He was a man who deeply believed in peace." And she believed that the United States made an error in not following his advice after World War I.

He inspired her with his idealism and she in turn passed on that inspiration to me.

We all recall how Woodrow Wilson rallied the hopes of mankind that World War I would be a war that could end wars. We all remember, too, that wars followed, tragically.

He tried to lead the United States in the community of nations, but he failed to stem the tide of post-war isolationism. He died a broken man.

But now, with a half century's perspective, we can see the success of Woodrow Wilson begin to emerge. He identified the United States of America with the principle of the self-determination of all nations, weak and strong.

He lit a spark that merged this nation with the cause of generosity and idealism.

Every war-time President since Woodrow Wilson has been tempted to describe the current war as the war to end wars. But they have not done so because of the derision that the phrase evoked, a reminder of lost dreams, of lights that failed, of hopes that were raised and dashed.

What I am striving for above all else, what this nation is striving for in all that we do is something that America has never experienced in this century, a full generation of peace.

I believe that right now is the time for us to learn to walk in peace. The first step, of course, is to still the sound of war around the world.

We are moving in that direction. We have taken the first steps toward walking in peace. But we must first break the terrible world habit of war and only then can we learn the wondrous habit of peace.

That is why today I do not speak of the war to end wars. Instead, I hope to focus on something that men alive today can achieve for themselves and their children, on a dream that we can realize here and now, a genuine beginning toward our ultimate goal.

That is why I have set our sights on a span of time that men in positions of power today can cope with, just one generation, but one long step on the path away from perennial war.

That, too, is why it is more important now than ever before to summon up the spirit of Woodrow Wilson. For we can only establish the habit of peace by answering the call for human brotherhood, his inspiration for an understanding between men and nations.

Some of Woodrow Wilson's most eloquent speeches were made on the trip that he took to Europe immediately after World War I. On that trip, crusading for a League of Nations, he made the point vividly in the Mansion House in London.

He told the story of a great Englishman of letters, Charles Lamb, who once casually said about another man, "I hate that fellow." And one of Lamb's friends replied, "I didn't know that you knew him." And Lamb said, "I don't. I can't hate a man I know."

And that is how Wilson made his point. He said, "When we know one another, we cannot hate one another."

Knowing one another in its deepest sense means far more than becoming acquainted or improving the atmosphere in relations between nations. It means that we must recognize our differences and come to grips with reality of conflicting national interests.

History has taught us that we do not know one another better by glossing over the substance of disagreements. We know one another better when we understand why nations disagree.

Then, and only then, can we act together to harmonize our differences. When we truly know one another we can have differences without hating one another.

I suggest that the greatest single achievement of Woodrow Wilson was in opening the heart of America for the world to see.

Since Wilson, the world better understands that America does stand for self-determination of all nations, that Americans fervently believe in a world living in freedom and peace.

Wilson died convinced he was a failure. He was wrong. The Wilsonian vision, the American passion for peace and freedom did not die. Through all the years of war, through all the setbacks of isolationism and weakness toward aggression, that vision has persevered—until now it is on the verge of triumph.

When we know one another, we cannot hate one another. In this still imperfect world, I am convinced that realistic understanding is on the rise and mindless hatred is on the decline.

The strong likelihood exists that there will be no need for a war to end wars, that instead by taking one careful step at a time, by making peace for one full generation, we will get this world into the habit of peace.

The time will come when Woodrow Wilson will be remembered not as a man who tried and failed, but as one of those Americans who saw the truth before his time and whose vision became the reality of the generation he inspired.

By his example, Woodrow Wilson helped make the world safe for idealism.

By following that example, by not fearing to be idealists ourselves, we shall make the world safe for free men to live in peace.

FACTS ABOUT THE WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

#### 1. What is the WWICS?

It is a new international center for ad-

vanced contemporary studies in Washington, D.C., created by Congress as the nation's "living memorial" institution in honor of Woodrow Wilson. The Center is a place where men of letters and men of affairs from many nations can work together for brief or sustained periods on some of the major issues confronting man in the last third of the century.

#### 2. Where is it located?

The Center is located in the newly-renovated, original Smithsonian Institution "castle" on the mall, where the Smithsonian has generously made more than forty rooms available for the Center's interim use in the central part of the building, including offices for scholars and staff, meeting rooms, library, commons rooms and a dining area.

Under the legislative history of the Act creating the Center, it will eventually have a building of its own, located, according to the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, in downtown Washington in the area north of the Avenue between the National Archives and the National Portrait Gallery—National Collection of Fine Arts Buildings.

#### 3. Who runs the Center?

Placed by Congress in the Smithsonian Institution for administrative purposes, the Center operates under the direction of its own fifteen-man Board of Trustees, appointed by President Johnson and President Nixon—eight from private life and seven from federal positions, including the Secretaries of State, HEW and the Smithsonian Institution (list attached). Former Vice President Humphrey is the designated Chairman of the Board. Ex-Presidents Truman and Johnson are honorary members.

The Center is also aided by a strong bipartisan national and international Advisory Committee, headed by Mr. C. Peter McCoolough, president of the Xerox Corporation. (List Attached). Its members include persons prominent in public life, the universities, industries and the professions. Serving on the Advisory Committee as honorary members are the chief of state, head of government and/or foreign minister of Canada, France, Germany, Iran, Japan, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

The Center staff is under the direction of Mr. Benjamin H. Read, an attorney from Pennsylvania who was the Executive Secretary of the State Department from 1963 to 1969. Mr. Albert Meisel, previously with the Office of Economic Opportunity, Peace Corps and Council on Leaders and Specialists serves as deputy director.

#### (a) Board of Trustees

The Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, Chairman.  
———, Vice Chairman.

Hon. William P. Rogers, Secretary of State.  
Hon. Elliott L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare.

Hon. Wallace B. Edgerton, Acting Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities.

Hon. S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Hon. L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress.

Hon. James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the U.S.

Hon. Daniel P. Moynihan, Counsellor to the President.

Mr. James MacGregor Burns, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

Mr. Ernest Cuneo, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Kevin Roche, New Haven, Connecticut.

Mr. Charles A. Horsky, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Harry C. McPherson, Jr., Washington, D.C.

Mr. John P. Roche, Waltham, Massachusetts.

#### Honorary Members

President Lyndon B. Johnson.

President Harry S. Truman.

#### (b) Advisory Committee

Eugenie Anderson, Dwayne Andreas, Robert C. Baker, William Benton, Ralph J. Bunche, Harry Byrd, Jr., William Cahill, Clifford Case, James E. Cheek.

Hedley Donovan, John Eisenhower, Edwin D. Etherington, Luther H. Foster, Peter Frelinghuysen, John Gardiner, R. K. A. Gardiner, Robert F. Goheen, W. Averell Harriman, Linwood Holton.

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David A. Morse, Lester B. Pearson, Claiborne Pell, Nelson, Poynter, Stuart T. Saunders; Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., Cyrus R. Smith.

William Spong, Frank Stanton, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Frank Thompson, Stewart L. Udall, Earl Warren, Walter Washington, Harrison Williams, Harold Wilson, Whitney M. Young, Jr.

#### Non-U.S. (Hon.)

H. R. H. The Prince of the Netherlands

Willy Brandt, Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany

Edward Heath, Prime Minister, United Kingdom

Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs, United Kingdom

H. I. M. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shah of Iran

Galo Plaza, Secretary-General, Organization of American States

Eisaku Sato, Prime Minister, Japan

Walter Scheel, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Germany

Maurice Schumann, Minister of Foreign Affairs, France

Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada

Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister, Canada

#### (c) Center Staff

Benjamin H. Read, Director.

Albert Meisel, Deputy Director.

William M. Dunn, Administrative Officer.

Mary Anglemeyer, Librarian.

417-976-24376

Michael J. Lacey, Information Center Officer.

5. *How does the Center's fellowship program differ from other advanced studies programs?*

Scholars in the fellowship program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center are:

Strongly international in makeup (half of the first WWICS fellows appointed come from the U.S.; half from ten other countries: Australia, France, India, Israel, Japan, Korea, Switzerland, U.K. and Yugoslavia);

Selected from many non-academic professions and occupations (government, law, business, journalism, diplomacy, etc.) as well as a variety of academic disciplines (social sciences, humanities and natural sciences);

Given short as well as long terms of appointment (3 weeks to 18 months in the first group) to facilitate participation by busy executives as well as traditional scholars with well developed study projects;

Chosen without consideration of arbitrary age limits (fellows in their twenties, thirties, forties, fifties and sixties constitute the first Center community);

Work individually as well as in groups in approaching their subjects of study;

Appointed primarily for what they can contribute to the increase and diffusion of knowledge about significant international, governmental and social policy problems and their solutions.

The Wilson Center is *not* an educational institution; it is *not* a cultural exchange program—although both educational and cultural exchange benefits will exist. It is primarily a center for the encouragement of scholarship on vital current problems by persons of outstanding intellectual qualifications, experience and dedication.

#### 6. *General and Specific themes of studies—Oceans and Environment*

(a) *General Theme*—The general theme of the Center's fellowship program is designed to accentuate those aspects of Wilson's ideals and concerns for which he is perhaps best known a half century after his presidency—his search for international peace and the imaginative new approaches he used to meet pressing current issues. Thus the statement of policy adopted by the Board states:

"Emphasis will be placed on studies designed to increase man's understanding of significant international, governmental and social problems, and to improve the organization of society at all levels to meet such problems. The focus will be on the public policy aspects of contemporary and emerging issues which confront many peoples and, where applicable, on comparative analyses of different cultural, regional and other approaches to such issues."

(b) *Specific Themes: Oceans and Environment Studies*—More than half of the charter members of the Center's scholarly community are working on two areas of study selected by the Trustees for special analysis during the opening year(s):

*Oceans*—The first relates to the development of international law and cooperation in the uses of the oceans. Given the fact that the oceans cover 70 per cent of the earth's surface and contain a large proportion of the planet's mineral and food resources, including four-fifths of all known animal life, the extension of existing laws has become an urgent necessity to avoid conflict and to safeguard marine environment in the face of advancing population and technology. New and growing pollution hazards, exploitation capabilities, military uses, scientific research, depletion of certain fish stocks, supertanker developments, unresolved legal issues and claims, differences between the few states with advanced marine use capabilities and those without such means—all call for sustained study to extend existing understanding, law and cooperative practices.

*Environment*—The other area designated for special encouragement involves studies of twentieth-century man in perspective, including consideration of the philosophical, social, political and economic implications of various environmental problems. Many research centers are well equipped to study man as a machine, and technical environmental studies are relatively plentiful. The Center's studies relate to the kinds of attitudinal and institutional changes that are called for if environmental deterioration is to be halted, and on ways in which such changes as are indicated may be brought about. Particular attention is given to new forms of international cooperation needed if those problems that transcend boundaries are to be addressed effectively.

#### 7. *How is the Center financed?*

From its inception the Congress has intended that the Wilson Center be a joint public-private enterprise with financial support coming from both sectors. This in fact has been the case.

The Center was able to organize and start its operations in the spring of 1969 by virtue of a grant from the Ford Foundation. As of December 1, 1970 a total of \$220,000 had been raised from private sources to help meet initial development and fellowship costs.

In the fall of 1970 the Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the use of the Center in fiscal year 1971. In its first operating year the Congress has provided an appropriation of \$750,000 to equip and administer the Center and to finance twenty of the forty fellowships (at an estimated average cost of \$23,000 per fellowship) for which facilities are provided in the interim quarters. For the fiscal year 1972 the Board of Trustees has requested funds which would again permit payment of administrative costs and half of the intended forty fellowships from public sources.

In order to bring the Center to full capacity in its first year of operations the Board of Trustees must raise approximately \$250,000 additional fellowship funds from private sources—foundations, corporations and

individuals—in the United States and in other countries.

Some extremely strong fellowship applications have been received from the United States and other countries, and more are coming in each week.

8. *How are fellowship stipends determined?*

Financial support in the form of stipends are available from the Center to meet the fellow's previous year's salary rate up to a stipulated ceiling with cost of living adjustments for scholars from other countries, based on the principle that the fellowship should not involve financial loss or gain to the recipient. Each fellow, however, is asked in the first instance to seek any possible financial support from his own institution, government, foundations, or other sources. Funds are also available to cover certain travel expenses for the fellow and his immediate family to and from Washington, if warranted by the length of the appointment in question.

9. *What is the scholar selection system?*

Nominations and application forms are available by writing to the Center and completed forms are processed on receipt. The normal selection schedule calls for the issuance of invitations three times each year—March 1 (January 1 deadline for applications); July 1 (May 1 deadline); and December 1 (October 1 deadline). Appointments may start at any time after the issuance of invitations and the completion of arrangements. Ordinarily applications should be received well in advance of the period of appointment sought, but no fixed lead time is required.

In processing nominations and applications the Center staff obtains the advice of expert outside advisory panels. Panel members to date have included such academic and professional luminaries as: Marver Bernstein, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton; O. B. Hardison, Jr., Director of the Folger Shakespeare Library; Margaret Mead, anthropologist; Henry Riecken, President of the Social Science Research Council; Max Frankel, Washington bureau chief of the New York Times; and Daniel Boorstin, Director of the Museum of History and Technology.

In extending and passing on applications the Board has determined that the following criteria will be used: (1) scholarly capabilities and promise in areas of primary interest to the Center; (2) likelihood of contributing the complementary experience and knowledge needed for a lively and productive intellectual community; (3) relevance of Washington area intellectual resources or people to proposed area of study; and (4) thorough speaking and writing knowledge of English.

The Board of Trustees has reserved to itself the final review and approval of all invitations of appointment.

10. *What is the Center's relationship to Washington area and other institutions?*

The WWICS is an independent institution  
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under the direction of its own Board of Trustees and located for administrative purposes in the Smithsonian Institution complex.

It is not related in any formal way to any of the many schools and programs named in honor of Woodrow Wilson—all of which are sponsored and financed by private or state means—although informal ties are close and friendly with these institutions.

The same is true of the universities and colleges in the Washington area. Close, informal ties exist, but there is no formal relationship, since the Center is clearly intended as a national and international institution and not the affiliate or associate of any one private institution.

11. *What are its relations with the capital area community?*

One of the basic objectives of the Center is the creation of an intellectual community in the Washington area which can help strengthen the relations between "the world of learning and the world of public affairs." Each fellow in accepting an appointment has agreed to participate regularly in dinners and other discussion groups with his colleagues and invited guests and to take a turn at leading such discussions or presenting a paper for discussion on such occasions. By this means the Center board hopes that the scholars will establish close and significant ties with the official, diplomatic and private intellectual communities of the area and nationally.

This process is aided by the many resources of the Washington area, which bring increasing numbers of scholars to the city in search of the rich and growing library, program and manpower assets of the area. The Center has established a small information center service to assist scholars to locate most efficiently the resources needed in their work.

In addition, the Center's board has hosted a series of community leader luncheons and other informal get-togethers to create close and enduring ties with the Washington community.

Location in the Smithsonian Institution complex will provide a valuable resource and relationship on which to draw and the social scientists and humanists at the Center will benefit greatly from close relations with the Smithsonian scientific community.

12. *Independent nature of studies and scholars at Center.*

Although the Wilson Center is partially financed from public appropriations and a minority of its Board of Trustees are ex-officio federal officials, the legislative history of the Center and the decisions of the first Board of Trustees make it unmistakably clear that there will be a spirit of complete freedom of inquiry in all scholarly work done at the Center.

To help insure this end the Board determined unanimously that government research contracts will not be sought or accepted at the Center.

The high caliber of first scholars appointed

attests to the genuine and complete independence of the Center from government control.

13. *Woodrow Wilson Quotes and Statements about the Center by President Nixon, former Presidents and Chairman Humphrey.*

WOODROW WILSON

"The man who has the time, the discrimination, and the sagacity to collect and comprehend the principal facts and the man who must act upon them must draw near to one another and feel that they are engaged in a common enterprise. The scholar must look upon his studies more like a human being and a man of action, and the man of action must approach his conclusions more like a scholar."

(Address to American Political Science Assn. Annual Meeting 1911)

"Democratic institutions are never done; they are, like the living tissues, always 'amaking'".

HARRY S. TRUMAN

"Woodrow Wilson was one of the greatest of our Presidents and he brought to that office his deep scholarship, a profound sense of history—and maturity of our democratic purpose. My best wishes to the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on this very important undertaking."

(President Truman's Letter to Chairman Humphrey, May 5, 1969)

JOHN F. KENNEDY

"We have a continuing commitment, in the words of President Wilson, to the service of humanity. His life, his actions, and his ideals serve as an inspiration today to the achievement of the goals that he articulated so well. . . . I hope the Commission will plan a memorial that expresses the faith in democracy, vision of peace and dedication to international understanding that President Wilson himself did so much to advance."

(Statement at Signing of Bill Creating Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission October 4, 1961)

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"The dream of a great scholarly center in our Nation's Capital is as old as the Republic itself. There could be no more fitting monument to the memory of Woodrow Wilson than an institution devoted to the highest ideals of scholarship and international understanding."

(Message to Congress, March 13, 1968)

*The Congress of the United States:*

"The Congress hereby finds and declares . . . that a living institution expressing the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson would be an appropriate memorial to his accomplishments as the 28th President of the United States, a distinguished scholar, an outstanding university president, and a brilliant advocate of international understanding; . . . that (an international center for scholars), symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs,

would be a suitable memorial to the spirit of Woodrow Wilson."

(Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act of 1968 (PL—90-637)).

RICHARD M. NIXON

"My greetings to the first scholars and to all responsible for the opening today of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. As a long time admirer of the twenty-eighth President, who combined a devotion to scholarship with a passion for peace, I can think of no more fitting tribute to his memory than this new international center where men of letters and men of affairs from many nations will dedicate their scholarship to gaining new understanding of the pressing problems confronting men now and in the years ahead. It is my hope that the Center will prove to be, as it was first proposed, 'an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st'."

(Message to Center, October 19, 1970).

"And to [Senator Humphrey] and all the others who worked with him, certainly the thanks of the nation and the thanks of the people around the world go for seeing to it that the living memorial to one of America's greatest men is now coming into being."

(Remarks at Dedication of Center, February 18, 1971)

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

"One of the reasons we have labored so hard to launch the Center is the belief that there is an urgent need for an institutional meeting ground where men and women from many nations whose lives are devoted to public service and outstanding persons from the academic world and other learned professions can come together to work on common problems of major importance which cut across the boundaries of disciplines, professions and nationalities alike in an atmosphere of complete freedom of inquiry and equality.

(Message to Center, October 19, 1970)

"So, Mr. President, in dedicating the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars today, we have set our sights high indeed. We ask no less today of the scholars and staff of the Center and those that will follow them than that they dedicate their experience, creativity and insights to the solutions of man's primary problems and the need for change to meet those problems."

(Remarks at Dedication of Center, February 18, 1971)

FEBRUARY 22, 1971.

FELLOWS AND GUEST SCHOLARS OF WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

A. Fellows

(1) *Environment Studies*

*Stephen V. Boyden*, 45, Australia, Head of Urban Biology Group at Australian National University. Writer and lecturer on broad biological consequences of advancing technology in advanced societies. Writing book on "The Biology of Civilization" which will be an attempt to describe aspects of the

contemporary human situation in biological perspective, and to discuss interaction between natural and cultural processes as they relate to problems of modern man. (October 1970-February 1971.)

*Douglas M. Costle*, 31, attorney and government official. Graduate of Harvard University and University of Chicago Law School. As a senior staff associate on the Environment and Natural Resources Panel of the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization under Roy Ash, Costle and one other have been given principal credit for formulation of President Nixon's reorganization plan and message on the new Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Will concentrate at the Center on related basic values issues of the quest for a better environment and the international institutional and political questions which will call for sustained attention.

*Elizabeth Haskell*, 28, formerly on research staff of the Urban Institute in Washington, D.C.; previously a legislative aide to U.S. Senator Jackson; and policy analyst for the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for water pollution control; is heading small task force project funded largely by the Ford Foundation to analyze state environmental institutions. The study will formulate general guidelines based on legal and public administration research, to assist state legislatures in developing comprehensive, environmental institutional arrangements. Currently also co-authoring book on thermal pollution, she has in past year compiled two-volume compendium and evaluation of federal programs involved in urban waste management and regulation of quality of urban environment.

*Paul G. Kuntz*, 55, Professor of Philosophy, Emory University, Atlanta. A Ph. D. from Harvard, Kuntz has also taught at Smith and Grinnell Colleges. He is the author of several books on philosophy and numerous articles covering a wide range of humanist concerns. Is working at the Center on various writings stemming from *The Concept of Order* (1968) such as order in individual experience, the ordering of societies, and concepts of the order of nature crucial in discussions of the environment.

*Athelstan Spilhaus*, 59, meteorologist, oceanographer, environmentalist; American Association for the Advancement of Science, president 1970-71; Chairman of the Board 1971-72. Self-employed as writer and consultant in Florida during last year, Spilhaus has been president of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia 1967-69; dean of the Institute of Technology at the University of Minnesota 1949-66; and has held a succession of teaching, consulting and board positions in the fields of meteorology, oceanography and other natural sciences. He has held presidential appointments—UNESCO, Seattle World's Fair and National Science Board—under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. His executive writings have concentrated recently on environmental issues, particularly new town issues.

*Robert E. Stein*, 32, Attorney Adviser, Legal Adviser's Office, Department of State; served

as attorney for U.S. Section of International Joint Commission (U.S. & Canada); previously attorney, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; honor graduate, Brandeis University and Columbia Law School. His project deals with methods of organizing transnationally for environmental control with special emphasis on the role that can be played by regional institutions.

(2) *Ocean studies*

*R. P. Anand*, 37, Professor and Head of the Department of International Law, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi; author of several books and numerous articles on international courts, arbitration, conflict settlement, developing role of the newly-independent Asian-African countries in the present international legal order, and several other aspects of international law. Is writing a book on "Legal Regime of the Seabed and the Developing Countries."

*Edward Duncan Brown*, 36, Senior Lecturer in International Law at University College, London; Master of Laws with Distinction and Ph. D., University of London (Ph.D. thesis on legal regime of submarine areas); author of *The Legal Regime of Hydrospace*, 1971, and a number of articles and papers on ocean issues, particularly legal regime of deep sea mineral exploitation, freedom of scientific research and pollution problems. Is completing a study on Arms Control in Hydrospace and undertaking a comparative study in depth of institutional models for a legal regime for the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction.

*Lucius C. Cafilisch*, 34, Assistant Professor of International Law, Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva, Switzerland. Holds law degrees (*License en droit* and *Docteur en droit*) from the University of Geneva and a Master of Arts Degree from Columbia. Has published a book and articles on international law in various periodicals. Is doing research and writing on international legal questions relating to the pollution of the seas.

*Moritaka Hayashi* 32, member of study group of ocean exploitation law at Japanese Institute of International Business Law in Tokyo; Lecturer at Hosei University in Tokyo; previous assignments with legislative reference bureau of the Japanese Diet. Has law degrees from both Waseda University in Tokyo and Tulane University in New Orleans, and has done advanced graduate study work at the University of Pennsylvania. Author of several articles and a book on various aspects of the law of the sea, particularly on continental shelf problems. Will do systematic research on Soviet attitudes toward ocean space, deep seabed and ocean floor problems, and the prospects for international cooperation with the West in this area. (Coming March, 1971.)

*E. W. Seabrook Hull*, 47, marine affairs publicist. President Nautilus Press, and editor, *Ocean Science News*, *Coastal Zone Management*, and *World Ecology 2000*; previous editor, *Underseas Technology*; editor with Mc-

Graw-Hill, Whaley-Eaton Service; authors of books and articles on oceans; Master of Marine Affairs, University of Rhode Island. Is working on model international regime for prevention, control and clean-up of ocean pollution.

*Vladimir Ibler*, 57, Professor of Public International Law, University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Author of a number of publications on international law, in particular on the law of the seas. Is studying problems arising in connection with the proposed conference on the law of the sea in 1973, especially those of preservation of freedom of the seas.

*Gerard J. Mangone*, 52, former Vice President for Academic Affairs and Professor of Political Science at Temple University, Philadelphia, is the author, co-author, or editor of some twenty books on international relations. He is Senior Fellow and Coordinator of Ocean Studies at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

*P. S. Rao*, 27, a graduate of Andhra University, Waltair, India, Rao has just received his doctorate in international law from Yale University. His thesis was on "Legal Regulation of the Exploitation of the Deep Seabed". Is doing research on the international issues involved in offshore natural resources exploitation and world public order.

*George E. Reedy, Jr.*, 52, writer; previously press secretary to President Johnson 1964-65; special assistant to the Vice President 1961-63; staff director, Senate Majority Policy Committee, 1955-60; member of (Stratton) Commission on Marine Science Engineering and Resources (1967-69). Based on his experience on the Stratton Commission and extensive subsequent research, Reedy is writing a book on marine policy problems.

*Hideo Takabayashi*, 43, Professor of International Law, Ryukoku University, Kyoto, Japan; author of numerous articles and book on maritime and ocean law problems, particularly questions concerning the territorial sea. Is doing study of future regime of the deep seabed and the exploitation of its resources, with special emphasis on the needs of developing countries. (October 1970-March 1971.)

### (3) General Studies

*R. C. Anderson*, 51, Associate Director, Brookhaven National Laboratory; specialist in chemistry and American Literature; studied role of science in modern society by an interview process with officials in the Executive and Legislative Branches. (October-November 1970.)

*Shlomo Avineri*, 37, political scientist and historian; chairman of the Political Science Department of Hebrew University in Jerusalem; Ph.D. from London School of Economics (1964). Author of recent works on Marx and Hegel, Avineri wishes to pursue his studies of possible options for the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, with special attention to the role of the Palestinians on whom he is an acknowledged expert. (Coming Sept. 1971.)

*Rajeshwar Dayal*, 61, former senior fellow 417-976-24376

at Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton; previously Foreign Secretary and Head of Indian Foreign Service; Special Representative of U.N. Secretary General in Congo and head of U.N. Mission; Indian Permanent Representative to U.N.; High Commissioner to Pakistan; Ambassador to France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece; Minister in Moscow. Is writing book on international peacekeeping, conciliation and mediation, drawing particularly on the U.N. Congo experience.

*Alton Frye*, 33, on leave as Administrative Assistant to Senator Edward W. Brooke; political scientist; writer; Ph.D. from Yale; former staff member of the Rand Corporation. Is writing book on "A Responsible Congress: The Legislative Context of American Foreign Policy", for which he has received a grant from the Council on Foreign Relations.

*Jackson Giddens*, 35, Assistant Professor of Political Science at MIT; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He is studying the origins and effects of Wilson's approach to communications with other nations, particularly the idea of open diplomacy and its implications for American propaganda overseas.

*Jules Gueron*, 62, Professor, Science Faculty, Sorbonne; specialist in physical chemistry; former Director, French Atomic Energy Commission; former Director General, European Atomic Energy Community. Wants to study (1) process by which U.S. Government science policy is developed; and (2) relevance of U.S. interstate regulating system for European Community. An internationally known physical chemist and science administrator as well as a philosopher and student of comparative political developments. (Coming June 1971.)

*Donald L. Horowitz*, 31, attorney, U.S. Department of Justice. Law degrees from Syracuse and Harvard Law Schools; Ph.D. in government, Harvard University. Author of several articles on race and ethnic problems. Horowitz plans to undertake research and comparative study at the Center on the politics of ethnic and racial relations in developing countries. The study will center on (1) the sources of ethnic conflict, (2) the patterns of ethnic politics, and (3) the strategies of ethnic accommodations in divided societies. Horowitz holds a joint appointment from the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Council on Foreign Relations.

*Robert E. Lane*, 53, Political Science Department, Yale University; formerly, chairman of department; President, 1970-71, of American Political Science Association; author of several books and numerous articles on American government and political life; is studying ways in which political science research can become more useful and better known to top Executive and Legislative Branch officials.

*Yves-Henri Nouailhat*, 35, French historian, writer; Assistant Professor of History at the University of Nantes; is studying relations between France and U.S. between 1914

and 1917 for which he has received a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

*H. J. Rosenbaum*, 29, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Wellesley College, and specialist in Latin American politics and comparative foreign policy. A Ph. D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and author of numerous articles on Latin American Affairs, Rosenbaum is studying recent Latin American security developments and writing a book on Brazilian economic and political development.

*Harold I. Sharlin*, 45, Professor of History, Iowa State University. Teaches history of science and technology and their influence on American culture; author of numerous articles and of *The Making of the Electrical Age* (1963), *The Convergent Century; The Unification of the Sciences in the Nineteenth Century* (1966), forthcoming work on Lord Kelvin. Is working on the role of 19th century science and technology in the formation of American attitudes and beliefs.

*Kurt R. Spillmann*, 33, Switzerland, specialist in American History at University of Zurich; holder of research fellowship at Yale University, 1969-70; author of several publications, including articles on Wilson and Roosevelt. Studying "motives and goals of the peace concepts of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt: a case study of the gap between long-range objectives on foreign policy and the realities of making peace."

*David Wise*, 40, author and journalist, Washington, D.C.; formerly Washington Bureau Chief, *New York Herald Tribune*; co-author of *The U-2 Affairs* (1962), *The Invisible Government* (1964), *The Espionage Establishment* (1967); and *Democracy Under Pressure* (1971), a college textbook on the American political system; numerous articles in leading newspapers and magazines. Studying processes through which government-decision making and action, especially in the field of foreign policy are—or are not—translated into public information and public support.

### B. Guest Scholars

*Lynton K. Caldwell*, 57, political scientist; professor of government at Indiana University; author of a number of books and publications on biopolitics, science, ethics and public policy and articles over several years on environmental questions. Now working on book on "Protecting the Biosphere: International Organization for Environmental Control" for publication in 1972 prior to U.N. Environmental Conference. Based on considerable travels books will concentrate on international understanding, cooperation and arrangements necessary for combatting environmental problems on international scale, influence of international business, science and technology and limitations of present international structure. Will conduct and participate in planned series of seminars at Center in 1971 on international environmental issues.

*Aaron L. Danzig*, 57, attorney, senior part-

ner in law offices of Nemeroff, Jelline, Danzig, Paley and Kaufman, New York City; A. B. and LL.B. Columbia; LL.M. New York University; President, U.S. Financial Co., Inc., New York City; charter member World Peace through Law Center; chairman of U.N. Charter Commission; member Commission to Study Organization of Peace. Author of books and articles, including draft legal regimes on seabeds, U.N., etc. Plans to spend three weeks at Center developing treaty proposal on ocean pollution matters.

*Wilton S. Dillon*, 47, anthropologist and educator, Smithsonian Institution, former director of seminars, now attached to Office of Environmental Sciences. A former university teacher and foundation executive, Dr. Dillon spent six years at the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., helping to organize international cooperation on science and technology in developing countries. He is author of *Gifts and Nations*, and co-editor, *Man and Beast: Comparative Social Behavior*. He is presently working on an essay about the management of science di-

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plomacy, and a book on intellectual life in Africa.

*Rene Jules Dubos*, 69, micro-biologist and leading environmentalist; professor at Rockefeller University in New York City; first to demonstrate feasibility of obtaining germ-fighting drugs from microbes more than twenty years ago. Noted author of fourteen books, including Pulitzer Prize in 1969 for "So Humane an Animal". Dubos has been concerned with the effects and environmental forces—physio-chemical, biological and social—exerted on human life. His interest in the biological and mental effects of the total environment has involved him in the sociomedical problems of the underprivileged communities as well as the developed areas of the world. Dubos has indicated he will devote "ample time to participate in the activities of the Woodrow Wilson International Center" in defining environmental study objectives and in helping to find and select the scholars who would like to work on these problems at the Center in its opening year.

*V. A. Fedorovich*, 46, U.S.S.R., has higher degrees in both engineering and economics and has taught political economy at the University of Moscow. Currently a research fellow at Institute of U.S.A. in Moscow, Fedorovich is a specialist in science policy and is gathering data on U.S. government system of research and development contracting in science. (January-February 1971.)

*Edward Wenk, Jr.*, 50, professor of engineering and public affairs, University of Washington; Chairman, Committee on Public Engineering Policy, National Academy of Engineering; formerly executive secretary (1966-70), National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development; leading authority on multiple policy aspects of ocean uses; first advisor on science and technology, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress; Executive Secretary of Federal Council for Science and Technology; Director of Engineering in civil engineering, Johns Hopkins. Dr. Wenk is spending regularly two days a month on ocean studies at the Center.



# Minnesota Historical Society

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