

Correspondence - 4/76

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Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

JIMMY CARTER
PLAINS, GEORGIA

N/A

Jimmy Carter,

I think one of the great issues upon which to attack the Republicans is the B-1 Bomber. It hits at the entire argument about Democrats being big spenders. Democrats are not big spenders, rather they are good spenders. They know better how to allocate resources so that the people are the primary beneficiary of them.

It should also be stressed by you that you are not an anti-Washington candidate. You are not running against the Congress, the Executive, etc. Rather you are merely saying that the country needs someone from outside of Washington. Someone who has very few promises to keep and has very few debts to pay. Therefore, when critics say that you want less government, it simply is not true. You do not want less government, you want good government .

I am writing this because I think it is important that you include some of these ideas in your responses to questions so that things are put in their proper perspective.

I wish you the best. I have worked things out and it looks like you should win some 400 electoral votes. Not bad for a peanut farmer.

Sincerely,

Mark Kleinman
1745 N Street, N.W. Room 410
Washington, D.C. 20036

p.s. I was working security in the Press room when you announced Mondale and I noticed that when you left you were escorted through some obscure door through a kitchen. I think that was ill-advised, aside from the risks involved, I think it gave a bad impression. The President and Vice-President to-be should also go through the front gate.

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100



Executive Department
Atlanta 30334

Jimmy Carter
GOVERNOR

January 29, 1971

Mr. Reed Larson
Executive Vice President
National Right to Work Committee
1900 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Larson:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 13 relative to the Right to Work Law.

I stated during my campaign that I was not in favor of doing away with the Right to Work Law, and that is a position I still maintain.

Again, let me express to you my appreciation for your letter and the information contained therein.

Sincerely,


Jimmy Carter

JC/mjp

4/21/76

Governor Jimmy Carter

P.O. Box 1976

Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Governor:

Enclosed please find letter received from Mr. Groot in my area, President of the Building Trades Council, pursuant to the Right-to-Work Law.

Would you please clarify this for me, indicating your position?

Thank you for all assistance rendered.

Sincerely,

L. J. Swoboda

LARY J. SWOBODA
REPRESENTATIVE TO THE ASSEMBLY
Room 48 North State Capitol
Madison, Wis. 53702

GREEN BAY BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES COUNCIL

OF

JURISDICTION IN THE
COUNTIES OF

GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN 54302
1570 ELIZABETH STREET • PHONE 435-9867

BROWN
DOOR
KEWAUNEE
OCONTO

AFFILIATED WITH

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

April 20, 1976

Mr. Larry J. Swoboda, Assemblymen
First District, State of Wisconsin
507 Oak Street
Luxemburg, Wisc. 54217

Dear Mr. Swoboda:

In regards to our conversation this week and the position of Jimmy Carter, candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, herewith please find copy of letter he sent to the National Right to Work Committee and the position he has taken on this matter. If his position has changed on this very important matter, I would be glad to have something in writing.

Thanking you in advance for your kind consideration of the above, I am

Sincerely yours,



Richard Garot, President
Green Bay Building Trades Council

RG/NFP
OPEIU #9 afl-cio
enc:

TELEVISION AND RADIO BROADCASTING STUDIO EMPLOYEES LOCAL

file

804

ROOM 101 BOURSE BLDG.
INDEPENDENCE MALL EAST, PHILADELPHIA PA 19106

April 21st, 1976

Mr. Jimmy Carter,
Plains, Georgia.

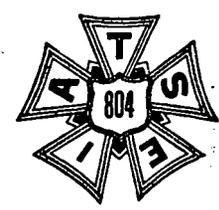
Mr. Carter:

This Union Local has received copies of the enclosed material for distribution to our members.

Considering the serious charges therein, would you care to reply and explain your stand on the matters discussed.

Donn Stewart

Mr. Donn Stewart
Chmn. Board of Trustees





Staff Photo-George A. Clark

Billy Carter: Poor Treatment Charges 'Absolutely False'

Peanut Wages Down in Plains

*Carters Pay \$2.30 an Hour,
But Few Laborers Complain*

By **LYN MARTIN**
Constitution Staff Writer

PLAINS—James Tatum, 50, has bagged, loaded and unloaded peanuts for seven months in a peanut warehouse here.

Like other unskilled, beginning Georgia peanut laborers, he earns minimum wage: \$2.30 an hour.

He doesn't grumble about his take-home check, which he says is around \$75 a week. His wife works at a nearby nursing home and her check helps out, he explains.

And to feed his six kids, he uses a \$130 monthly food-stamp allotment he gets from the federal government.

Tatum's bosses are Billy Carter and his brother, presidential aspirant

Jimmy Carter.

Attention was focused on Tatum and his fellow workers early this week when Richard Murphy, political director of the Employes Service Union, charged that the laborers were poorly treated at the Carter peanut warehouse.

Billy Carter, who manages the peanut-shelling and seed-processing plant, labeled the charges "absolutely false."

Donned in blue jeans and rocking back on two legs of his chair in the warehouse office here, Billy Carter said the charges may have something to do with the fact that the Employes Service Union supports presidential hopeful Fred Harris.

Carter employs about 11 unskilled workers to man the new \$700,000 peanut sheller and the seed-processing plant.

Many of them are high school dropouts, and most have worked at the Carter plant full-time for less than a year. They earn from \$2.30 to \$2.45 an hour.

Carter's nine skilled workers are paid straight salaries which range from \$175 upward weekly.

The unskilled workers are paid only for the hours worked. When the work is done, the workers punch out and go home. They get four paid holidays, and a week's paid vacation after one year's service. The Carter company

See CARTER, Page 11-A



Mrs. Ross: 'I Don't Buy Many Clothes, But I Eat'

Hayes: More Than Paycheck Stub

Carter

From Page 1-A

pays one-half of their personal hospitalization premium. The employees pay full premiums for their dependents.

During peanut season in August and September, the unskilled male laborers work in the fields, along with the temporary seasonal workers, anywhere from 12 to 16 hours a day, seven days a week. They are paid time and a half for overtime.

From wages to fringe benefits, the Carter operation is very similar to the working conditions at three other Georgia peanut companies contacted—Gold-Kist Inc. in Ashburn, Columbian Peanut Co. in Bainbridge, and Hous-ton Peanut Co. in Sylvester.

Workers with more than one year's service may be given raises only according to merit, not tenure, at the Carter company and those three firms. A man could work for three years or even five years and get from no raise to as a little as a 10 to 20 cent raise if that's what he merited.

McClesky Mills, a peanut plant in nearby Americus, gives its employees a yearly cost-of-living raise which amounts to about 5 per cent. But the McClesky manager

explained that those who don't he said, smiling the now-famous Jimmy Carter grin. "You know some of them practically live on them."

Billy Carter has no qualms about keeping undeserving workers at the \$2.30 wage level. "Some are grossly overpaid at that," he said. "I don't really have any system for giving raises. It's just strictly on merit and responsibility."

Only two of Carter's unskilled workers have served more than one year. One six-year employe and another one and one-half year employe each make \$2.30 an hour.

The hourly seasonal employes get no paid sick days, Carter said, because "most of my seasonal help...on their sick days they're drunk."

On the other hand, Carter said, one of his regular workers was out sick about five months, and "his wife still picked up his paycheck every week."

Billy Carter and his wife Sybil believe the workers are satisfied with their jobs. "If they weren't satisfied they'd come to Billy and tell him about it," Mrs. Carter said.

The workers have never been approached by union organizers, as far as Carter knows.

Except for occasionally asking for raises throughout the years, the only thing Billy Carter can remember his workers asking for is radios.

"I put \$400 worth on the tractors and trucks for them,"

he said, smiling the now-famous Jimmy Carter grin. "You know some of them practically live on them."

Pressed to recall any other complaints registered by his workers, Billy Carter said, "They just haven't complained to me."

A peanut farmer wearing faded overalls and lounging in Carter's office added, "Billy's employes ought to think twice when they say how he's treating them, 'cause Billy has treated them real good."

paid even if we don't work. A lot of time it's not our fault when something breaks down or something."

But Billy Carter's right-hand man, Jimmy Hayes, disagreed. "Sometimes there is absolutely nothing to do. It doesn't make sense to keep 10 workers here doing nothing. They'd much rather go out and drink beer or fish anyway."

Billy Carter said, "I'd be a damn fool to sit around here and pay them to do nothing."

Standing up for his boss, Hayes said that there's more to examining the treatment given to Billy Carter's workers than just looking at a paycheck stub.

"What about when the baby gets sick or a man hurts his back?" he said. "They can turn to Billy and get anything they need. He'll always help them."

Hayes said that Carter allows his employes to charge automobile parts to his account when the worker can't afford to pay for them. "He lets them, say, pay \$2 a week until they can get it paid off," Hayes said.

Billy Carter, according to his foremen, pays his workers the minimum wage and then does what he can to help them out himself.

"He loans them money and he gives away a lot of money," Hayes said. "That's not politics. That's how he runs his operation."

Referring to the paycheck most of the unskilled laborers take home, Hayes added, "When you compare it to other places, it's really more than \$80. In Atlanta it would be like \$125. Here you can rent a nice three-bedroom house for \$60 a month."

In the peanut-shelling warehouse, Bertha Mae Ross, 65, sits with her head bent over a conveyor belt of peanuts. Her hands move swiftly over the peanuts as she deftly plucks out the bad ones.

"I make out with what I get," Mrs. Ross said. "I'm a widow and I don't have any children. I don't buy many clothes, but I eat."

Seated across from her is Addie Andrews, 55, who works the same job. Married but without children, Mrs. Andrews says she doesn't know if she should get a raise.

Both women have worked two months out of the year for nearly a decade. They each earn \$2.30 an hour.

Steve Williams, 22, works in the seed-processing warehouse. He and his wife and two preschool children live in his family's home.

His paycheck—about \$75 a week—and his number of dependents make the family eligible for food stamps. He is not dissatisfied with his pay or his job. "I get enough," he said. "We do okay."

Only three of the 11 workers interviewed said they felt they deserved a raise in salary. Only one of the three had worked for more than one year.

Both Arthur Cunningham and Willie Berryman, workers on the peanut sheller, complained that they were not guaranteed a 40-hour work week.

"Some days they tell us to go home because we're finished," Berryman said. "It's not fair, 'cause we can't hardly live off this. They could at least give you a certain amount of money even if you don't make the time. You've got to live, and living costs."



Service Employees International Union AFL-CIO
900 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • (202) 296-5940

George Hardy, International President • George E. Fairchild, International Secretary-Treasurer

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
CONTACT: DAVE STACK
(202) 296-5940

Washington, D.C.

A top official in the half-million member Service Employees International Union has charged presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter and campaign press spokesman Jody Powell with "truthbending" on campaign issues and on working conditions in Carter's peanut processing plant in Georgia.

Richard E. Murphy, SEIU COPE and Legislative Director, visited the Carter holdings and found employees with several years service earning \$2.30 an hour -- the required minimum wage.

"Many of these workers are receiving food stamps," Murphy charged. He said the federal government subsidizes the Carter payroll through the food stamp program.

It's time to take the rich off welfare," Murphy said, adding, "I want a President who cares for people.

STATEMENT: RICHARD E. MURPHY, SEIU COPE DIRECTOR

Jody Powell, Jimmy Carter's press secretary, described my visit to Carter's million-dollar peanut factory as a "bunch of baloney."

Powell's charge is false, as shown by an investigative article by Lyn Martin of the Atlanta Constitution on April 2, 1976 (copy attached). This impartial reporter visited the Carter peanut factory and found the same substandard wages and primitive working conditions that I observed on my visit.

Many of his employees are on food stamps. The Federal government is subsidizing his plant through food stamps. It's time we took the rich off welfare!

Now that Fred Harris has withdrawn from the primary campaign, I hope it will be clear that my "supersleuthing" is being done to let our members and working people everywhere know the truth about a man who could be their next President.

The picture is not a pretty one.

I don't want a big businessman running the country, nor one who is proud to be paying minimum wages and forcing his people to live on food stamps.

Jimmy Carter has asked the poor and the working poor to "trust me." Wretched wages and plantation-style paternalism is no panacea for exploited workers.

I want a President who cares for people.

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western union



▶ JAMES CARTER
PLAINS GA 31780

WE STRONGLY URGE YOU BOTH TO BACK THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HOUSE VETERANS AFFAIRS COMMITTEE TO GRANT COST OF LIVING INCREASES IN VA COMPENSATION TO DISABLED VETERANS THEIR WIDOWS AND THEIR ORPHANS OTHERWISE, WE THE DISABLED VETS OF THIS NATION, MUST BELIEVE, GERALD R FORD, IS DEFYING THE WORDS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN; THAT WE SHALL CARE FOR HIM, WHO HAS BORN THE BATTLE, HIS WIDOW AND HIS ORPHANS. IN THE EVENT, WE HAVE ENOUGH DISABLED VETERANS TO SEND GERRY FORD BACK TO MICHIGAN WHERE HE BELONGS. WE ARE NOT FOOLING, WE MEAN BUSINESS, EVERY DISABLED VETERAN IN THESE UNITED STATES

THE DISABLED VETERANS OF THE MIAMI VETERANS HOSPITAL
MIAMI FL 33125

2257 EST

MGM MC NA MC N

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, PHONE WESTERN UNION TOLL FREE ANY TIME, DAY OR NIGHT:

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PENNSYLVANIA	
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RHODE ISLAND	800 257 2221
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OR DIAL WESTERN UNION'S INFOMASTER SYSTEM DIRECTLY:

FROM TELEX 6161

FROM TWX 910 420 1212

4-13-76

To: Mrs. Carter
From: Bruce Lancaster, Carter Coordinator for NE Louisiana
Subject: Foreign Policy

No address

Several weeks ago I sent a memo to Atlanta providing detailed information on "fat-cat" ambassadors to refute Robert Novak's misleading challenge to Governor Carter's criticisms of unqualified ambassadors on "Face the Nation". Apparently it eventually reached the Governor, who labeled it "great". A copy is attached along with an older background paper on control of intelligence activities which may also be useful.

The Ford administration as well as other Democratic candidates are very vulnerable on foreign policy issues. James Reston recently called Hubert H. Humphrey "Kissinger's most effective supporter in the Senate". Americans rightly hold the foreign policy establishment in Washington responsible for the loss of our reputation for integrity abroad.

This establishment now has the effrontery to publish its rules for selecting the next Secretary of State in Harpers for April, listing 5 possible "people to watch", 3 of whom are long time associates of Humphrey and 2 former Nixon appointees. Brooks Brothers suits are among qualifications mentioned all five offer. Washington Monthly followed with "Gentlemen-In-Waiting", which confirms Harpers' choices for Secretary of State. It reasons that "it was a mistake to conclude that Carter was really a serious threat" to the long-time courtiers and advisors in the Washington foreign policy establishment. He is turning "to exactly the same people as everyone else" because "there's no one else available".

This is not true. Governor Carter offers the only genuine policy alternative to that of the Washington insiders--a foreign policy recognizing the role of the public. He understands Senator Russell Long's complaint that "We want to be in on the take-offs and not just the crash landings of Dr. Kissinger's shuttle flights."

Governor Carter can also find alternative advisors on foreign policy. The Washington insiders bring no group of voters or contributors to a candidate. Their claim to unique expertise is false. Results from their previous foreign policy advice show that many of them know more about Georgetown restaurants than about foreign languages or peoples.

Alternative advisors are available who have been at the heart of the foreign policy process but who are now outside of it through choice. They

could be enlisted to write hard-hitting policy papers, which would be leaner and more specific than the work of most academics and conference-attenders. Papers of this sort are the only way to match the resources available to Dr. Kissinger and certain Senators. I believe I can arrange this and I will not be tied down here after the May first primary.

April 25, 1976

Mr. Hamilton Jordan
Carter-for-President Headquarters
1795 Peachtree
Atlanta, Georgia

JH
4

Dear Mr. Jordan,

I realize that you are a terribly busy man these days, but I feel destiny, providence or divine guidance has intervened on our behalf that I might address the enclosed letter to you. I beseech you to take some of your precious time and read it and if at all possible allow me an appointment in the near future that we might discuss how I can effectively work in behalf of Mr. Carter or his wife.

I wrote the letter as you see by the date last Thursday and hesitated to mail it until I had a name from the Savannah Headquarters to send it to. But today as I read the article in the Savannah Journal Magazine I saw your address and decided I would mail it to you personally instead.

I gave some personal background in the letter but would like to add to that at this time. When I worked at the Nat'l Press Bldg., we had such counts as Continental Canning, Con-Edison, Tennessee Valley Authority etc., was in daily contact with the press, members of Congress, and at times the White House. I function well under almost any circumstances and mix easily. On several occasions served as official hostess for my bachelor boss at the Press Club, am quite at ease in political or business circles.

I left the above employer to marry and within months had started with my husband a meat company. I was personally involved in all phases, record keeping, traveling as purchasing agent, cold canvass selling and with the title of Sect'y Treasurer of Corp. purchased land, installed freezer plant, fought for rezoning and had the company incorporated. At the end of a few years sales had zoomed to \$500,000 and we had entered into all the related fields to our business. We were then meat brokers, wholesalers, retailers, and contract haulers. From past accomplishments I consider myself efficient, organized, a persuasive speaker and confident to the point that the only thing I can't do is the thing I haven't tried yet. I know this must read that I'm something of a monster but quite the contrary is true. I am trying most desperately to impress you with this letter that I might secure some small place in your organization to do a worthwhile thing. Not for the good of just one person but to help in a small way everyone in this country.

My husband and I separated in 1972 and have since divorced. I sold my stock back to the corporation at that time and have been something of a free person since. I am a native Virginian and only as recent as the first of this year became a permanent resident of Georgia. Having retired from the business world, I stopped to contemplate what life is all about, something I was too busy to consider before and vowed not to waste another minute unless it was truly a worthwhile cause and consider the right form of leadership for this country imperative. Many, many years have been wasted with the wrong men for leaders and would sincerely feel a sense of personal accomplishment if any way I can be of service.

Please excuse my impertinence and try to place yourself in my position under these circumstances. I'm quite sure that requests to help are pouring in from all parts of the country and can only hope that somehow you will find time to read my letters.

Your servant,

M. Hope Crasy

April 22, 1976
Route 5,
Statesboro, Ga.
30458

Headquarters
Carter For President
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I am a registered democrat and would like to place myself at your disposal for the duration of the campaign. I have a working background in Washington D.C., Nat'l Press Building with Underwood, Jordan Associates in public relations and advertising, have worked for the gov't T.O. Office, MDW, Cameron Station, Alex., Va. and started my own company which I ran for 6 years. My career in business ended with a divorce. I am 32, female and running a small farm here in Georgia semi-retired. I don't know that you require anymore help but implore you to take the time to read the remainder of this letter whether you do or don't require any assistance.

Let me say that I am for Carter for President 199%. I think it imperative that Mr. Carter prove to the rest of America that a son from the poor state of Georgia is indeed destined to be the next President through an overwhelming victory in his home state. Unanimous would be a little to much to hope for but the closer to it the better. It would add the icing to this first half of the cake.

Mr. Carter must take the presidential nomination at the Nat'l Convention on the first ballot or the most he can hope for is the V-Pres., which in my opinion would be unjust. He must work these primaries to their fullest. As a bystander I have noticed grievous mistakes that cannot be afforded if he is to win the nomination.

Mr. Carter has many fine qualities, while lacking in others. Some can applied to his favor, while others can be used against him if not guarded against. An example would be the endorsements from his fellow Georgia Office Holders. Did they have to be so lack lustre? Please don't take the home state for granted. Campaign here the hardest.

Florida and North Carolina gave their support willingly and so will every other southern state simply because of the southern tradition, barring Alabama which has a candidate of it's own.

If I may be so bold as to volunteer a little advise; whenever possible do not go into detail as to any of your plans if elected. A good answer to those questions would be "you don't have all the facts at your disposal and therefore cannot access the full situation plus the fact that you'll be working in conjunction with the Congress and who can predict what mood they'll be in next year. Ha Ha! ! !

Remember McGovern. He had a good thing going too and blew it with his details. He had an answer to everything and tried to explain it. He also relied on his experts to furnish his information that he had to retract time and again. You almost had the same ending with your famous purity statement. Thank God and Mr. King you were able to pull out of that tail spin. As stated, we're all human and will error but you cannot afford anymore. You're working against the system, the under-dog which makes you a favorite to a certain extent, but its always harder swimming upstream. You must guard more closely your every word. Speaking of words I have read that you pray 25 times a day and make your own bed. Couldn't you just say you are a religious man. Some people could wonder if between doing domestic chores and praying you would have time to think about the world situation much less take any action. These statements over-emphasize your small town image, could you handle foreign policy? Don't be phony but don't give the enemy any more ambition than you have to. Your policy of segreation to the inner Washington press elite is quite commendable. Always keep them at an arms length, given half a chance they will tear you to shreds. The more you talk and the less you say the better off you are. If you give your presidential policy to the public to rip apart before the election you will never get to enforce it. You know as well as I do that no policy, whatever it is, will

please everyone and if stated publicly will lose you some of those precious votes. How can they disagree if they don't know your position?

Your smile, sincereness, and your being an outsider to the Washington arena are your strongest assets at the moment. Again let me take the liberty to say that some of you comments as to when you get in the White House seem to be a little over confident. So^v people may not vote for you simply because they don't think you need their vote, that you're doing alright on your own. Also stress, "With your help," Always, with their help....

Another matter that needs a little more attention is your wife. She is very sweet and her honesty comes through loud and clear but she should be assigned a speech writer or just given a few pat answers. She strikes me as a devoted wife giving you her total support and should say, "she will see as to how she can work most effectively at that time," when ask what she will do in the White House. Also give her more information on the mental health program of Ga. and how she carried out those programs as the wife of the governor. And for heavens sake tell her to stop saying all she had to do was say she was the Gov.'s wife and everyone did whatever she ask. That brings back memories of Watergate. Anything to get a favor returned. Also, she could use a new hairstyle, she's just a little plain to be first lady. Again, don't even let her go into detail about future plans, it's deadly!

Don't worry about Hubert Humphrey, he's another Stevenson and the democrats know they have lost the election if they run him against the Republicans no matter who the V-Prs. is. I think Gov. Brown from Calif. would make you a good V-Pres. if he would take the job and look at the delegate votes, he's running as a favorite son the last I heard. I don't think the pair could be beaten and I think you would be quite a forceful President with this man at your side. His reputation for the

good of the people whether they want it or not has reached the east coast long ago. He would also bring you the college vote, an area in which I think you are a little weak.

I hope I haven't taken someone's time needlessly, but sometimes an aide can't see the trees for the forest. (Pine trees, that is.) I don't know the destiny of this letter, whether it amuses, angers or whatever, as long as it brings some of these weaknesses to the attention of someone that can correct them. I would hate for you to get this far and lose the nomination through a simple oversight. Also the farmers here in Georgia need you now more than ever before. Most of them will vote for you just to see you fire Butz, and almost everyone else in Wash.

Please advise as soon as possible if I can help you here or elsewhere in any way.

Your loyal supporter,

M. Hope Creasy

M. Hope Creasy

P.S. I saw on TV that your Headquarters in Savannah opened today and this letter was an after-thought, so excuse the form and impromptu statements.

P.S.S.

There would be no job too small & none too large!

April 26, 1976

Mr. Hamilton Jordan
Carter Campaign
1795 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

SX4

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I have just read the enclosed article in the Washington Post about your interest in adding to your issues staff, and enclose a resume for your review.

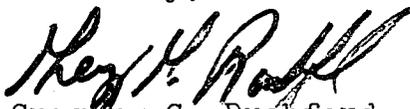
Frankly, I think the Carter campaign has already identified the single most important issue, truth in government. In 1972 I worked on the issues staff of Congressman McCloskey on precisely that issue.

If I could be of assistance in the campaign please let me know. I have been the principal Investigator for the House Intelligence Committee. In the past three years I have run investigations into five major foreign policy areas. Each has broken new ground and received national attention:

1. lax security at U.S. nuclear weapons sites overseas and the domestic United States, and Pentagon inefficiency in correcting the problems.
2. secret foreign policy commitments by President Nixon to the Shah of Iran, and the resulting arms sales in the Persian Gulf.
3. failures of the CIA in analyzing the 1973 Middle East war, the 1974 Cyprus crisis, the 1974 coup in Portugal, during the entire Vietnam war, prior to India's 1974 nuclear explosion, and prior to the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. (This is a subject of an article I have written for the National Observer which will come out shortly).
4. inadequate National Security Council control over covert intelligence operations.
5. political pressures working against honest intelligence evaluation of possible Soviet violations of the SALT Agreements.

Your interest is sincerely appreciated. And good luck this year.

Sincerely,


Gregory G. Rushford

GREGORY GENE RUSHFORD
261 Commons Drive
Vienna, Virginia 22180

Age 31, Married, One Son
Illinois native, USAF
Veteran, Korea, 1968-69.

Education

Graduate, American University, Washington, D.C., B.A.,
History and International Relations, 1969. Postgraduate
work at St. John's Law School, New York, 1970-71; George
Washington University Sino-Soviet Institute, 1972-73; Passing
Score, U.S. Foreign Service Examination, December, 1969.

Employment

Investigator, House Select Committee on Intelligence, since
June, 1975:

- conducted investigation into U.S. intelligence performance
in the 1973 Middle East war; the 1974 Cyprus conflict; the
1968 Tet offensive in Vietnam; the 1974 coup in Portugal;
and other selected foreign policy turning points.
- conducted investigation into National Security Council
procedures for approving CIA covert actions abroad.
- conducted investigation into U.S. intelligence monitoring
of Soviet compliance of the Strategic Arms Limitation
Agreements.

Legislative Assistant, Congressman Clarence D. Long (D-Md.),
May, 1973 to June, 1975:

- conducted investigation into the security of tactical
nuclear weapons. The results prompted a full field investigation
by the House Appropriations Committee.
- conducted investigation into U.S. arms sales policies in
Persian Gulf countries, with emphasis on Iran. Basic finding:
President Nixon, on his May, 1972 visit to Teheran, committed
the U.S. to major new arms sales without a thorough National
Security Council analysis of long-range consequences.
- followed Defense and Military Assistance issues before the
Military Construction and Foreign Operations Appropriations
Subcommittees.

Gregory Gene Rushford
page two

Director of Research, Tamblyn & Brown, Inc., fund raising and public relations for non-profit institutions, from August, 1972 to May, 1973.

Issues Staff writer, McCloskey for President, September, 1971 until campaign concluded, March, 1972. Developed the following issues: conversion to a peacetime economy, Bangladesh, U.S. - Japan Security Treaty and the Pacific alliance.

Part-time experience while student: American Enterprise Institute, summer intern, 1971; World Bank intern, 1970; staff member, Senator Charles H. Percy, 1967-68.

Publications

Jaws of Victory, Little, Brown and Company, 1974, contributor of Watergate chapter; "To Bind Him From Mischief," Ripon Forum, April, 1973, on the Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency.

Travel

- France, England, Holland, Belgium, summer, 1963.
- Korea, Hong Kong, military service, 1968-69.
- The Philippines, Japan, Hong Kong, with wife on her World Bank home leave, April, 1972.
- Japan, January, 1974, with Congressional staff, sponsored by The Japan Economic Research Center.
- The Philippines, Japan, Taiwan, with wife on her World Bank home leave, January, 1975.

References

On Request.

DANIEL M. GABY
18 CLAREMONT DRIVE
MAPLEWOOD, NEW JERSEY 07040
201 - 762-4222

April 8, 1976

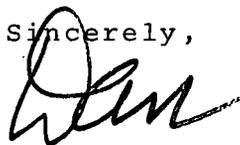
Mr. Hamilton Jordan, Campaign Director
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Hamilton:

Attached please find a copy of the statement issued by the New Jersey Labor Coalition for Full Employment; a group of progressive, highly respected, labor organizations in New Jersey. The statement addresses it very effectively to the special economic difficulties of the industrial northeast and I believe it is crucial that Jimmy and his policy advisors read this statement and undertake immediately the most intensive discussions on these problems. The brain power and commitment represented by these organizations is a very valuable national resource and I am most anxious that they be brought together with Jimmy so that he can have the benefit of their counsel.

I am sure that they would be delighted to help in policy formulation if they could.

Sincerely,



Daniel M. Gaby

DMG:vcb

Enclosure

FOR A
COALITION
OF THE
INDUSTRIAL NORTHEAST

TO PROVIDE
**GOVERNMENT and INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT
IN OUR REGION**

- **For Full Employment**
- **An End To Recession**

ISSUED BY
N. J. LABOR COALITION FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

WILLIAM SHOCKLEY
797 ESPLANADA WAY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

Dear Mr. Carter: 22 April 1976

Gentlemen:

In PARADE (circulation 19,033,098) the article of April 4, 1976 by Lloyd Shearer on my suggestion that Presidential candidates report on polygraph (lie detector) examinations shows that the press can report as responsibly about integrity as it does about financial and physical health conditions. I decided to suggest polygraph examinations to all Presidential candidates for the Texas primaries as promptly as possible after concluding that all of them should learn of the thoughts that I had initially formulated for communication only to Mr. Carter:

"By taking a polygraph examination and by challenging your political opponents to do likewise, you can convert the liability of your 'ethnic purity' phrase into a political asset. Even more significantly, your action will promote open discussion in a search for truth in free societies and strengthen them in the world-wide struggle against totalitarianism and thought control.

"A demonstration of truthfulness has a unique value in your campaign because it has acquired the hallmark of veracity through your repeated assertion in speeches that 'I will never lie to you'. Disbelief in your apologies about 'ethnic purity' was expressed by Representative John Conyers of Detroit, a founder of the Congressional Black Caucus (April 16 in Oakland, California): 'The glass and glitter were put aside for a moment, and he was exposed.' The press remains cynical about your truthfulness."

The need for integrity at high government levels is widely recognized. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL reports that "68% feel that 'over the last 10 years, this country's leaders have consistently lied to the American people,' a Caddell poll finds." U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT's recent survey of 1,400 key Americans ranks "moral integrity" first among ten attributes needed in today's leaders.

The merit of my polygraph proposal depends on the belief that truth is always a good thing and that anything that aids citizens to avoid being fooled by politicians will help the nation. For perspective I have prepared a comment with references and background material including a description of my own selection and use of polygraph questions to refute attacks on my integrity by two national columnists.

Sincerely,

W. Shockley
W. Shockley

Enclosed: PARADE article and comment as discussed above.

Copies with enclosures to:

Presidential candidates for Texas primaries.

Expert Polygraph Advisers: Walter F. Atwood, President American Polygraph Association; Richard O. Arthur, New York;

John E. Reid, Chicago; Lincoln Zonn, Miami.

Communications media.



INTELLIGENCE REPORT

by LLOYD SHEARER

BECAUSE OF VOLUME OF MAIL RECEIVED, PARADE REGRETS IT CANNOT ANSWER QUERIES ABOUT THIS COLUMN.

WEALTH The distribution in the U.S. is increasingly skewed as the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. According to Andrew F. Brimmer, a Harvard University economist who left the Federal Reserve's position as governor in 1975, the gap between the blacks and whites who are poorer and richer is widening. "The 1975-76 2nd annual report of the American Economic Association for the Advancement of Science, published last year, has been rediscovered as to favor the rich vs. the poor, the old, and the central regions of the country and central

who was appointed to the Federal Reserve by Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966, is a proponent of administrative policies. "The faster rate of growth, adoption of a mini-policy, and government assistance to the growing are burden...."

QUALITY KGB, the Soviet apparatus, necessarily in December, Liluyeva -- in's 50-year-old, who nine led Russia and y established a Princeton



WILLIAM SHOCKLEY

TESTING THE CANDIDATES William Shockley, the controversial Nobel laureate from Stanford University, suggests that subjecting Presidential candidates to lie detector tests might help restore public trust in politicians.

Shockley, who won a Nobel prize in 1956 for helping to formulate and construct the transistor,

AN ERA PASSES The glamour age of astronauts has passed, and according to Lee R. Scherer, director of the Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Fla., "We should never anticipate it again."

This year, for the third time since Alan Shepard was launched into space in 1961, America's manned program will be grounded.

No astronauts will return to space until the first manned shuttle is launched in 1979.

recently pointed out at a Marysville, Cal., Rotary Club meeting that the Presidential candidates were becoming more open in revealing their financial and physical health conditions.

"I think the next step after money and health is obvious," he said. "It is to demonstrate integrity. This can be done, as I found in my own case, by using polygraph examinations." Shockley suggested the submission of major questions to the candidates.

How many candidates for the Presidency would be willing to submit to lie detector tests is of course an open question. At the close of a recent White House press conference, a PARADE reporter, mindful of former President Nixon's emotional instability, good-naturedly asked President Ford: "Would you, Mr. President, submit to a mental health examination?"

Quickly Ford replied: "Do you think I need one?"

with the two nuclear solar-powered Viking robots which were launched to Mars last summer to dig out, photograph and study the Martian surface and environment. NASA will launch some 20 satellites this year, but no men.

The last Americans who flew in space were Thomas Stafford, Vance Brand, and Donald "Deke" Slayton. In July, 1975, they met two Russian cosmonauts in orbit. That mission spelled the finish of the giant

MEN EQUALLY GUILTY

in which prostitution is legal. Other Nevada cities have the opportunity to follow suit, but Las Vegas and Washoe, in Nevada, and Reno and Sacramento, have outlawed houses of ill fame.

In those two cities, a new landmark ordinance finds prostitute to be equally guilty subject to fines of \$500 and/or six months in jail. This is the first time, according to Nevada law, that "the john" is found to be as guilty as "the hooker."

Las Vegas has long been a mecca for girls who peddle their virtue to gamblers in the casinos, lounges, and casinos. The various hotels and casinos have long engaged in "a cat and mouse game" with the "hookers." But the girls always return to the lure of the easy money that is irresistible.

HIGHWAY KILLERS

the most dangerous in which to drive an automobile?

Wyoming, with a death rate per 100 vehicle miles, according to the statistics of the National Safety Council, is recorded that sorrowful distinction.

New Mexico is a second with a 5.8 rate. Other dangerous driver states are Idaho, Nevada, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

Foundation for **R**esearch and **E**ducation on **E**ugenics and **D**ysgenics *

A Non-Private, Tax Exempt Organization**

P. O. Box S Stanford California 94305

DIRECTORS: William Shockley, President
John B. deC. M. Saunders
Abram E. Bennett

ADVISER: R. Travis Osborne

22 April 1976

COMMENT TO AMPLIFY

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE POLYGRAPH PROPOSAL OF 22 April 1976

[The thoughts in this comment were expressed while preparing a draft of a letter to Presidential Candidate Jimmy Carter at the time when I concluded that my proposal should be transmitted in brief to all candidates for the Texas primaries. Since that draft letter discusses key items, such as "the national egalitarian lie", that I hope all candidates will seriously consider, I am using it in its present draft form as the principal item of this comment.]

Dear Mr. Carter:

In the enclosed copy of the PARADE'S SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE REPORT of April 4, 1976 by Lloyd Shearer, the item with my picture entitled "Testing the Candidates" expresses a responsible interest in suggestions like the one proposed in this letter to you:

By taking a polygraph examination and by challenging your political opponents to do likewise, you can convert the liability of your "ethnic purity" phrase into a political asset. Even more significantly, your action will promote open discussion in a search for truth in free societies and strengthen them in the world-wide struggle against totalitarianism and thought control.

I am prepared to find polygraph examiners of unquestioned competence and, as president of the FREED foundation, to have that organization pay the costs of the tests.

A demonstration of your truthfulness has unique value to you because your repeated assertions in speeches that "I will never lie to you" has made veracity a hallmark of your campaign. The press remains cynical about your truthfulness.

Disbelief in your apologies about "ethnic purity" was expressed by Representative John Conyers of Detroit, a founder of the Congressional Black Caucus, on April 16 in Oakland, California. "The glass and glitter were put aside for a moment, and he was exposed."

FREED's research emphasizes, not ethnic purity, but instead racial mixtures, specifically the role of white ancestry on the intelligence of American Negroes. I have attempted to enlist the cooperation of members of the Black Caucus to give blood samples to contribute to analysis of our nations' agonizing Black problems. I have also urged Nobel Laureates to express their discordant opinions on these matters and to demonstrate sincerity by polygraph tests. These efforts have failed. Such facts might hasten sound diagnosis and my appeal to you to demonstrate your truthfulness would contribute to this end.

*DYSGENICS - the study of mechanisms adverse to humangenetic quality, particularly retrogressive evolution through excessive reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged. FREED'S endorses, including those listed above, have a common concern with dysgenics and, without implying entire concurrence with all of FREED'S views, endorse FREED'S three theses: (1) Current reproductive patterns threaten futura generations with dysgenic deterioration; (2) Significant research on dysgenics is both urgently needed and possible; (3) Countermeasures acceptable in a democracy should be developed concurrently so that if research confirms the worst, dysgenic trends can be remedied by EUGENICS - the improvement of human genetic quality by applying the known laws of heredity.

**Contributions to FREED are deductible under Section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code.

464.1

Polygraph questions for your demonstration of truthfulness about "ethnic purity" and for your challenges to your political opponents will require careful study. As a suggestion for formulating these questions, I shall describe my own experience as an example. I used polygraph examinations to refute imputations of my lack of integrity by Mr. Buckley and his colleague, columnist William Rusher. I was judged to have truthfully answered "no" to these three questions: "Have you advocated that the U.S. Government should implement the voluntary sterilization bonus plan?" "Have you ever biased your scientific analysis of data pertaining to human-quality problems?" "Did you design the voluntary sterilization bonus plan to apply exclusively to Blacks?"

I do not imply that my opinions on ethnic matters agree with yours. In fact, I believe that your views are opposite to mine on scientific facts about racial differences in social capacity. However, many scientists, including Nobel Laureates, share my opinions; but they probably would deny them publicly. On these matters, wishful thinking and hypocrisy are so prevalent as to warrant the label "national egalitarian lie". I interpret Mr. Conyers' remarks as suggesting that he believes that you are participating in such a lie. I believe that the habits of subservience in the White House to the national egalitarian lie nourished the growth of the Watergate mentality. The national egalitarian lie may have contributed to Patricia Hearst's loyalty to the SLA and to her conviction that the American system lacked integrity.

Demonstrable integrity in our government is a vital need of our nation. Since the Vietnam war became a fiasco and, even more, since Watergate, trust in the integrity of the American system has fallen--especially among American youth. Distrust of the political system abounds. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL reports that "68% feel that 'over the last 10 years, this country's leaders have consistently lied to the American people,' a Caddell poll finds."

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT's recent survey of 1,400 key Americans shows that "moral integrity" was selected by 76.1% in choosing three out ten attributes most needed in today's leaders. Only two other attributes did better than the 30% selection that would result from random coin tossing: "courage" at 55.2% and "commonsense" at 52.9%. Charisma, for example, rated only 22.0%. The evidence is clear that the need for integrity is widely recognized.

My proposal of polygraph examinations of presidential candidates to restore trust in politicians was made in several public lectures last February. The PARADE magazine article of April 4, 1976 (copy enclosed) reported my observation, at a Marysville, California Rotary Club meeting, that presidential candidates were becoming more open in revealing their financial and physical health conditions and quoted me accurately as saying:

"I think the next step after money and health is obvious. It is to demonstrate integrity. This can be done, as I found in my own case, by using polygraph examinations."

Of course, polygraphs are not perfect, any more than are the medical reports or financial statements that have added to openness about candidates for public office. However, I have found in my own experience that the examiners did reliably determine when I answered

"no" falsely, in keeping with their instructions, to a trivial test situation.

My own polygraph examinations involved a patent lawyer who warned me that the degradation of patents by the courts threatens economic growth. I subsequently testified before Senator Bentsen's Subcommittee on Economic Growth. My relationship with the patent attorney that informed me of the economic threat is described in the report of the hearings (see reference below) as follows:

"As a Director of the Alameda County Lawyers Club, [the patent attorney] invited me to address a club meeting on my genetic interests that I quoted [in my testimony] from FORTUNE [magazine]. To my complaints that my sincerity on these matters had been publicly impugned, he arranged for me to take a polygraph test at the club's expense--which I did and passed.

"Incidentally, I believe that the polygraph is a neglected tool in government. Indeed, I proposed, when accepting William F. Buckley's invitation to appear on his TV program, to do so attached to a polygraph; furthermore, I suggested, that if polygraphs accompanied political speeches, it might revolutionize our political system."

The use of polygraphs to inject integrity into politics was not pursued further during Senator Bentsen's hearings. Actually, polygraph examinations before TV cameras or audiences are not practical; however, it is practical to administer examinations under appropriate conditions before or after public appearances.

I shall here extend my suggestion by proposing that polygraph examinations might greatly add to the value of TV interview programs. Consider the responses of a guest who knew that selections from his statements would be subject to polygraph examination and the results published. Questions from viewers might be included. Would guests refuse to appear on such programs? Or would they welcome the challenge as I would--especially if I had my turn in proposing questions for interviewers like Mr. Buckley.

By writing to you, I am following the approach that I instinctively used in making my contributions to the creation of the transistor. I later analyzed it and named it "creative-failure methodology". It is discussed in my testimony for Senator Bentsen's subcommittee and in my transistor article, now in press for a bicentennial issue on electron devices published by the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers. Basically, it uses failures as stepping stones on the path to progress. I believe that if you give your "ethnic purity" failure the polygraph treatment, you may pave a highway for national progress.

I feel that my efforts in this letter have a parallel to those described in my transistor article in press for the IEEE. That article discusses "the path to the conception of the junction transistor", which was my invention. But after its conception, more than three years elapsed before its potential was experimentally realized and the solid-state era started in earnest. In the mean time, there was a preliminary "existence-proof" demonstration that the idea might be realizable but the actual devices that were made were relatively ineffectual. My

proposal for adding integrity to politics by using modern technology is now two years old. The PARADE article is like the early existence proof of the junction transistor. Hopefully, if my proposal really does have merit, then the effort initiated by this letter may carry the project over the threshold and real results will materialize. If they do, then the benefits to mankind through wiser management of human affairs may even exceed those contributed by the transistor.

The merit of my polygraph proposal to you does not depend upon our agreement or disagreement about ethnic differences or on religious premises. It depends only on the belief that truth is always a good thing and that anything that aids citizens to avoid being fooled by politicians will help the nation. Your emphasis on veracity means to me that you share this view.

When I review my activities in my campaign (as I call it) for objective inquiry into human-quality problems, from the viewpoint of invention, I regard one of my concepts as probably most inventive and significant. This concept is that the do-gooders who attempt--often successfully--to block thinking about the subjects that I assert call for inquiry, have gone berserk in their humanitarianism. The ones whom they believe they are protecting are precisely those who will suffer most from the lack of diagnosis. This concept has proven difficult to communicate to the press--but not impossible.

Some of the attached reprints demonstrate that the concepts discussed here, as well as other related ones that I have not covered in this letter, can be transmitted to reporters and are appreciated and accurately reported.

With best wishes for your contributions to truth in the American political system,

Sincerely,

W. Shockley

Attached: Reprints of newspaper articles: Professor Shockley's Presidential candidates polygraph proposal of 18 Feb 76; polygraph proposal for Nobel Laureates at Gustavus Adolphus College in early October, 1975; a report of an appearance at the University of Texas at El Paso. [file nos. 462.1, 457.4-.7, 449]

For the testimony of W. Shockley at the hearings chaired by Senator Bentsen, see "Technology and Economic Growth", Hearings before the Subcommittee on Economic Growth of the Joint Economics Committee, July 15 and 16, 1975 for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Gov. Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402, price \$2.40.

Lie detector tests suggested for presidential candidates

One way to restore public trust in government would be to require presidential candidates to take lie detector tests, Nobel Laureate William Shockley of Stanford University said Wednesday.

Shockley made his proposal in a speech before the Marysville Rotary Club.

According to prepared remarks, Shockley quoted a poll published in the Wall Street Journal

reporting that 68% of the American public feels that "over the last 10 years, this country's leaders have consistently lied to the American people."

"I believe that trust in the American system can be restored," Shockley said.

"A beginning of frankness and truthfulness has appeared in the present presidential campaign. Candidates have made statements about their fi-

nancial status — including even statements of their net worth.

"Medical examination information has also been revealed — even over the objections of his physician in the case of President Ford, including information on typical alcoholic consumption per evening.

"I think the next step after money and health is obvious. It is to demonstrate integrity. This can

be done, as I found in my own case, by using polygraph examination."

Shockley explained he had submitted to a lie detector test to refute an inference by columnist William Buckley that he had lied during a debate about his controversial contentions blacks are genetically inferior in intelligence.

"I took great satisfaction in passing," he said of the test.

The APPEAL DEMOCRAT, Marysville-Yuba City, California
 Thursday, 19 Feb 76, pp. A-1 and A-8.

Shockley Cites 'Retrogressive Evolution'

An internationally acclaimed physicist said here yesterday that in America, Negroes are most threatened by "dysgenics", which he defined as "retrogressive evolution through the excessive reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged."

"Massive statistics prove that Negroes, as a group, average about 15 IQ points lower than whites," said Dr. William Shockley, professor emeritus at Stanford University. He said there was a "moral obligation to diagnose the American Negro tragedy of statistical IQ deficit."

The word "statistical," he emphasized, means that the IQ deficit does not apply to all Negroes — "many Negro IQs are higher than many white IQs." But as a group, Negro IQs are lower, he said, adding that research has established that "cultural bias does not explain lower Negro IQ scores, and furthermore, that IQ scores do statistically predict educational achievement, and so as well for Negroes as for whites."

The Negro IQ deficit means — "again only statistically," he emphasized — "a deficit in educational achievement and, hence, inferior jobs, less pay, lower social status, and other characteristics of the American Negro tragedy..."

It is a serious problem, said Shockley, which all "true humanitarians" must accept as a moral obligation to diagnose.

"To oppose diagnosis of a serious problem is like being against the diagnosis of cancer," he declared.

He said "Negro women of very low social class — averaging low genetic intelligence — bear nearly three times more children than (Negro women) college graduates." He pointed to the 1970 census, which he said showed that rural farm Negro women, aged 35 to 44 years, had already produced 5.4 children versus 1.9 for Negro women who were college graduates. The corresponding statistics for whites were 3.7 and 2.3. He said that although Negroes are less than 10 percent of the U.S. population over 24 years old, they exceed 14 percent of those under 10.

"I believe that analysis would prove that more low IQ children will be born and the welfare burden will grow," and "the taxpayer will suffer, but the genetically disadvantaged babies will suffer most."

Shockley said his "chief concern is for those unfortunate slum babies who are helplessly brought into the world into miserable environments where they are statistically destined to be trapped for life."

He said diagnosis of the "dysgenic threat" is a moral obligation for humanitarians. But "diagnosis of dysgenic trends is blocked

Cont. On Back Page ♦

A-8—Appeal-Democrat (Marysville-Yuba City, CA) Thurs., Feb. 19, 1976

Shockley Here

◆ Cont. From Page One

because thoughts about anti - dysgenic measures inevitably involve the significance of genes compared to environment in influencing human behavior and hence to race and intelligence — all emotionally loaded subjects made taboo by humanitarianism gone berserk."

Dr. Shockley's finding on intelligence and his proposals in relations to them have resulted in widespread controversy. Particularly denounced was his "Voluntary Sterilization Bonus Plan Thinking - Exercise," which he said he publicized "with the intent of opening minds, otherwise closed, to the possibility of finding humanitarian" solutions to the problems he described.

His goal, he said, is to reduce "human misery" and not, as he has been accused of, to create "a super race."

He used the term "evolutionary senility" for "symptoms which appear just before a species becomes extinct from internal causes," and one of the symptoms of evolutionary senility at the present time, he said, is "humanitarianism gone berserk."

He gave as an example genetically defective babies, who, through medical treatment of their genetic defects before birth, survive to "live full and rewarding lives. So far so good. The medical treatment is truly humane. But if the full lives of the babies include the production of offspring who cause population pollution by spreading their genetic defects to future generations, then the humane medical treatment that gave these full lives is humanitarianism that has gone berserk. It will cause evolutionary senility."

Shockley advocated polygraph (lie detector) tests for presidential candidates. His proposal resulted from his own experience when an Alameda County lawyers' club challenged him to submit to tests at the club's expense.

He said he was asked three questions in relation to his theories: "Have you advocated that the U.S. government should implement the voluntary sterilization bonus plan?", "Have you ever biased your scientific analysis of data pertaining to human - quality problems?" and "Did you design the voluntary sterilization bonus plan to apply exclusively to blacks?" Results of the tests showed that he truthfully answered "No" to all three questions.

Regarding presidential candidates, he said candidates have made statements about their financial status and health. He suggested that they demonstrate their integrity by polygraph examinations. He proposed that questions to be asked the candidates in the New Hampshire primaries be sent to the Manchester Union Leader, a Manchester, N.H., newspaper. His own question for the candidates, he said, would be, "Have you concluded that environmental disadvantages do account for the statistical IQ deficit of the American Negro population?"

"The reaction of the candidates might be informative," he said: "The soundness of many major, controversial, national programs, such as busing in Boston, depend upon the scientific validity of a yes or no answer to the question that I have proposed."

Dr. Shockley, who was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1956 for his invention of the transistor, is 65 years old and lives in Palo Alto. In recent years he has spent much of his time lecturing on IQ in relation to race, and sometimes what he has had to say on the subject has led to disruptions by his audiences.

The disruptions, he said, are additional examples of "humanitarianism gone berserk," showing a lack of logic, an



SCIENTIST HERE—Dr. William Shockley, Nobel prize winner whose theories on intelligence in relation to race have made him a controversial figure, spoke at a Marysville service club meeting yesterday.

excess of emotion and little intellectual capacity. "Under Joseph Goebbels (Hitler's propaganda minister), they (the disruptors) would have been quite happy," he declared.

Shockley spoke here at the noon luncheon - meeting of the Marysville Rotary Club in the Elks Club.

Shockley says equal employment could lead to 'business decay'

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. (AP) — A Nobel Prize-winning physicist said today the principle of equal employment opportunity could lead to "business decay" for the United States.

Dr. William Shockley, professor emeritus at Stanford University, said the courts are operating under the assumption that all races are equally intelligent—an assumption he terms the "national egalitarian lie."

Shockley has argued for years that blacks are genetically inferior to Caucasians, a contention widely disputed by scientists who say blacks score lower on some intelligence tests simply because of environmental disadvantages.

In remarks prepared for delivery to the Downtown Kiwanis Club, Shockley said the application of the principle by the courts will "nullify sound personnel policies and ... replace them by quotas both for hiring and promotion."

He cited a recent Supreme Court ruling that ordered a

North Carolina paper company to pay back wages for nine years to a group of black employes who charged the firm with discrimination in promotion policies.

He also pointed to a case where an appeals court upheld a charge of discrimination in hiring, brought by unsuccessful black candidates for police positions in Washington, D.C.

"Both cases involve tests used to select candidates for employment or promotion," Shockley said. "It is the appeals court and Supreme Court rulings and opinions wherein one finds widespread evidence of how judicial reasoning is pervaded and influenced by the false premises of the national egalitarian lie ...

"The danger to the future of American business, and therefore to American prosperity, is implicit in both court cases. The threat of back pay ... is a premise that logically leads to quota hiring. A responsible business executive will logically choose a quota system rather than face financial uncertainty."

He added: "It has been my assertion for years that urban decay has been the tragic product of a welfare system based on the premises of the national egalitarian lie ...

"And now the nation is faced with the next logical consequence of that selfsame lie—business decay."

Shockley called on the business community to support a suitable nonprofit organization that could establish pre-employment tests to determine which candidates were suited for various positions.

"Although I have reached an inescapable opinion that the major cause of American Negro disadvantages is racially genetic, I still insist that this question is open to sound research," he said.

Shockley, winner of the 1956 Nobel Prize in physics for his work on semiconductors, was in Minnesota to attend the 11th annual Nobel Conference at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minn. Thirty Nobel laureates and six theologians will discuss "The Future of Science" at the session Wednesday and Thursday.

THE FREE PRESS
2 October 1975, pp. 1 and 2

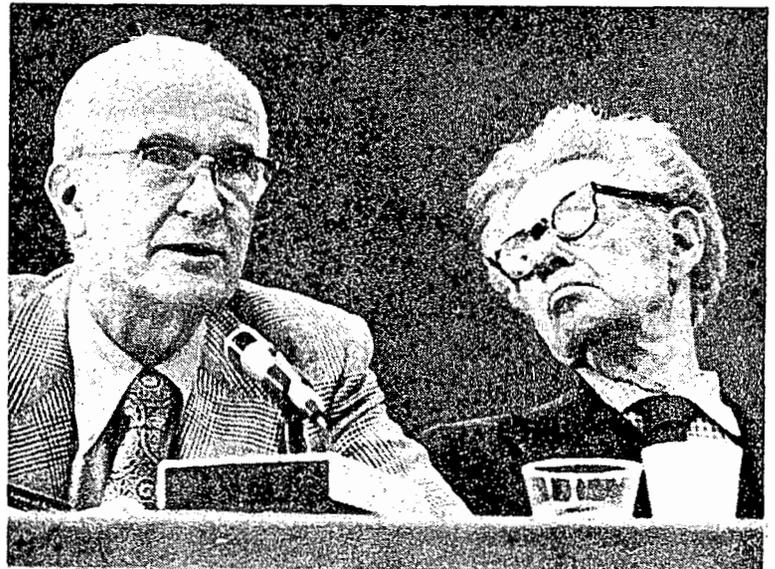
Energy remains Nobel topic

Shockley skirmish fizzles

By LYNN CLOSWAY
Free Press Staff Writer

ST. PETER—The "bait" was dangled, but apparently the Nobel laureates wouldn't bite — at least at Wednesday morning's reaction panel where the controversial William Shockley was among those who analyzed the keynote address of Glenn Seaborg, first speaker in the Eleventh Nobel Conference.

Just slightly more than 24 hours earlier, Shockley had been verbally roughed-up when he



Nobel discussion

William Shockley attempts to open discussion of his controversial suggestion that blacks are genetically inferior to whites in a panel discussion at the Nobel Conference. Looking on at right is Fritz Lipmann, Nobel Prize winner for medicine in 1953. Angela Meyers photo.

spoke to the downtown Minneapolis Kiwanis Club, and protestors took uncton with his theory that blacks are genetically inferior to whites.

That was not the topic of the Gustavus panel, however, as the questions at Anderson Theater centered around energy — solar and nuclear.

After listening quietly for some moments and posing a few questions of his own, Shockley came perilously close, but not quite "on" his renowned contention about racial genetic differences, when he spoke of a worldwide "pervasive inequality" that exists and is integral in the thinking about energy consumption.

Operating under the premise as outlined in the Declaration of Independence, that "All men are created equal," is "optimism that goes too far," Shockley said, or as he also put it, "humanitarianism gone beserk."

He asked for reaction from the other laureate-panelists, but all were silent. The afternoon's keynote speaker, Polykarp Kusch, was quoted earlier as saying he did not feel the Gustavus Nobel conference was either the time or the place to tackle Shockley's genetic question.

Quite obviously some members of the St. Peter audience were prepared at least to observe more of a hoopla surrounding the event.

All the television crews and press members zeroed-in on the panel where Shockley was in

See **SHOCKLEY SKIRMISH**
(Turn to Page 2, Column 4)

(Continued from Page 1)

attendance, camera's poised, awaiting a skirmish. An editor from Time Magazine was calling on the phone, to see if there had been any "action." There had been booing from the audience as Shockley was introduced, but all was quiet at the panel. It could be seen that St. Peter and Nicollet County law enforcement persons were standing by.

This is the first time the conference has been held in a traditionally warmer month — October, as contrasted to the days when the 25-below-zero January conference weather contributed to a dwindling crowd and a burgeoning business for the St. Peter gas stations which provided jump-start service.

The upshot of the change did not bring that presumed surge of

* For "unction" read "umbrage". See errata note top of 457.5.



Chilly reception

Participants in the 11th annual Nobel Conference at Gustavus Adolphus College were given a chilly reception in the new Lund Arena Wednesday — physically, not emotionally. The temperature was 48 degrees during the opening session. Some members of the Gustavus Band, including the director, were more fortunate than others. They brought their coats to the arena. Angela Meyers photo.

Shockley skirmish

balmy air, however. The 48-degree temperature Wednesday and the wind even brought a couple of blackbirds huddling in at Lund Arena (the college's hockey rink) where the main events are in session. One end of the arena is open, and there was enough chill in the air to prevent anyone from nodding off, should they be so inclined otherwise.

Quite appropriately then, the future of energy was on the minds of the panelists, where Seaborg was asked about replacing nuclear energy with solar. He said he did not feel that could come about until at least the 21st century.

Hans Bethe, who holds a Nobel Prize for physics, 1967, said he is even less optimistic than that. There are only two sources of energy to fall back on, he said, "coal and nuclear energy," and the nuclear type "has to be used until something better is economically competitive. That could be easily 100 years."

Therein the speakers got into the questions of money, the inequities between the the rich and the poor countries, and the image of the scientist himself.

Ian Barbour, the theologian participant from Carleton College, said nuclear technology has developed to its present capacity because of the financial support it has had from weapo-

nry. "Nothing comparable has been spent on solar technology," he said. But the potential costs of that are but a "small price to pay," given the imminent dangers of the nuclear route, Barbour added.

Bethe said it is a popular misconception that if science will "spend enough money" it can solve anything, as if "the public has come to expect miracles."

That's not how it works, he added. First needed is a "good idea," and then, later, the money.

"There has not yet been a good idea in the field of solar energy, and I don't see where it will come from."

Seaborg said there has not yet been a feasible method discovered to use solar energy, but Bethe speculated that swampland near the ocean might be used to plant "the right plants," and then solar energy be used to change the plants to methane, or natural gas, "the most critical energy efficiency."

The theologian, Barbour, touched on ethical problems that evolve when technology advances. "Global inequalities" become a serious threat and pose an ethical question, he said.

If growth slows down, other inequalities happen, and poor countries are subject to nuclear blackmail, Barbour added.

Not only the future of science, but of mankind

By ROBERT L. GIROUARD
Free Press
Editorial Page Editor

ST. PETER — "The Future of Science." An imposing title for a conference as high-powered and as important as the one at Gustavus Adolphus on Wednesday and Thursday, a conference touching not only upon the directions and duties of science, but upon the very survival of the civilized world.

There was an attempt to sidetrack the conference.

William Shockley, Nobel laureate in physics, singlemindedly rode the hobbyhorse of his views on eugenics — particularly his feeling that the reason Third World nations don't seem to get anywhere with social development and industrial development is because of the genetic inferiority of blacks. "I am increasingly convinced," Shockley said at one panel discussion following a major address "that social behavior is 80 per cent genetic and only 20 per cent environmental."

Shockley thinks there's a punctuation error in the Declaration of Independence, following the phrase "that all men are created equal . . ." He thinks a colon should follow the word 'equal,' not a semi-colon, so as to clarify emphases.

"Pervasive equality," says Shockley, is a threat to the nation's internal harmony, in the business sector as elsewhere. "This," he says, "is humanitarianism gone berserk."

Like B'r'er Rabbit trying to grapple with the Tar Baby, Shockley kept coming back with undaunted regularity to his single theme, and to the challenge he had made to his fellow laureates: That they must recognize the problem he posed as being a real one; that they should examine his socially taboo thesis seriously, in the spirit of true scientific investigation; and that they should recognize that the problem, if it were proven to truly exist, impinged directly on any

efforts at the control and shaping of populations, or the building and betterment of backward cultures aspiring to Western industrialism. Shockley was convinced that the conference's subject, the future of science, was closely related to his principal tenet. No one else was, however.

Like Br'er Fox, Shockley's colleagues at the 11th Nobel Conference in St. Peter, "lay low." They skilfully sidestepped his attempts to inject the racial issue. They politely ignored his intrusions into panel discussions. They seemed collectively bent on circumventing or blocking his digressions, acting in the spirit of physicist Polykarp Kush, who, before the conference, queried as to his feelings about Shockley's remarks to the press before the conference had even started, said "That is not what we will be gathering to discuss: We will be talking about the title of the conference: 'The Future of Science.'"

As the session wore on, Shockley's fellow laureates became increasingly demonstrative about their impatience with him, resorting to groans and dumfounded expressions, even to dirty looks.

They struggled more than ever to keep discussions on the track, no matter how hard Shockley tried to derail them. There was too much else to worry about.

And scientists at the conference were very worried. They displayed some optimism about science's ability to yank humanity out of a collision course with total catastrophe — a whole breakdown of the biosphere, energy depletion, population growth continuing out of control, dire water shortages, global economic collapse — but they were still optimistic, because they see no one else around capable of tackling the problems before the world.

Part of the reason for their gathering together seemed to be for a mutual redefinition of what

science is. All seem concerned that science is a word that has taken on negative connotations, a word frequently confused with a related word, "technology."

As Kush (as one of four keynote speakers) said: "I have the feeling in talking to some of those from disciplines outside of the sciences, that I may be asked to repair their television sets; with others I have the feeling that I personally have despoiled Lake Erie, intend to uproot the state of Wyoming in the search for coal, and am otherwise wholly free of the values of humane and civilized man."

In a panel discussion following his speech, Kush reacted emotionally to a written question from the audience. The question summarized, for him, all of the misconceptions to which science is subjected, today. The question's author asked if it were not so that scientists had too much power, were too arrogant with it, their discoveries too frequently turned to ill use.

Visibly disturbed by the question, Kush responded, saying that "The ballistics principles used in launching missiles with nuclear warheads were discovered by Galileo; can we now say that Galileo intended his discoveries for future warlike use?" The discovery of scientific fact is an act of grace, he implied — a necessary duty in the examination of man and his place in the universe. The evil or trivial applications of truth cannot be confused with the perception and definition of truth itself.

"If you really want to stop scientific inquiry, the place to start is by hanging all teachers of English and reading. That is where knowledge starts: with literacy. Without it, there would be no science."

His defensiveness was shared by other conference participants, some of whom seemed slightly confused, themselves, about science's ability to set the world's house in order.

Hans Bethe, another physics

laureate, said in a morning panel "the public has come to expect miracles."

This was the central dilemma, then, the paradox which the conference wrestled with subliminally, if not directly. A. People expect too much of science, science doesn't have all the answers, and science doesn't have easy answers. B. People don't realize how important pure scientific research is to the rescue of a threatened mankind, must not allow research projects to be defunded, must accept implicitly, the fact that — if supported and trusted — science could find all of the answers.

This contradictory tension pervaded the whole conference, and panel participants circled around it cautiously, with a tentative, bemused air.

"Where is science headed?" one questioner had penned on a slip of paper. "Toward the salvation of man," responded laureate in medicine, Charles Huggins. He was quite serious. Half the audience laughed — a laughter composed in part of skepticism and derision, half of nervous embarrassment couching a deeper feeling of "if only it were so."

Nor could panelists always agree on important theoretical issues. For example, Hans Bethe categorically stated that he didn't believe nuclear fusion was a possibility, and that mankind should not lean too heavily on expectations of its discovery and implementation, as a future energy source. "We don't know if we can even get it," he said. "Even if it's possible, the economics of the situation may be wholly prohibitive." He and Glenn Seaborg, former Atomic Energy chief, think man will find a new energy source, but not before the 21st century.

Contrast that view with another, from a member of another of the five panels, Robert Hofstadter, laureate in physics, who strongly believes in the possibilities of fusion energy, "or some other new energy source, within 10 to 20 years. I am an optimist on this subject."

Seaborg, laureate in chemistry, and the first of the four major lecturers, offered a less specifically directed form of optimism. After saying that he firmly believed "the successful responses will prevail, moving us to a higher plane," he catalogued a grim tally of the present and future problems of the world.

His key theme: "Mankind is at

the Turning Point." And he said, "during this period we in the more advanced and affluent nations will have to sacrifice enough of our standard of living to support intensive research and development into a variety of innovative — perhaps radically new — ways to operate the world." Doubtless, William Shockley's response would be contrary, one of worldwide *saive qui peut*.

Seaborg's comprehensive, opening address struck a major chord that was to resonate throughout the conference — that more support is needed for scientific research, not less. In this regard, at least, the laureates were sounding their horns, professionally.

Not that they are without strong support in high places.

In his letter of greetings to the conference, President Ford alluded to his recent \$100 million proposal, to create an Office of Science and Technology Policy in the White House. The consensus of Nobel laureates gathered here was that it was a step long overdue — that science critically needed a cabinet level voice in Washington, to coordinate research and development policies, especially with regard to energy.

The atmosphere of the conference, then, was one of moderate optimism, tempered by the awesomeness of the problems the scientific community, and the world, must face together, in a spirit of dedicated cooperation.

Sir John Eccles, laureate in medicine, delivered the third major lecture, and it turned away from the challenges of an external frontier of the world's traumas, to an internal examination of the workings of the brain — "The Brain-Mind Problem as a Frontier of Science."

* * * * *

They must have forgotten that the other — albeit less ballyhoed — portion of the conference was the Walter L. Rugland Assembly, a theological meeting dovetailed with the Nobel Conference — the costs of both events having been underwritten by the Aid Association for Lutherans (AAL).

One diner at Wednesday's lunch asked rhetorically of his AAL colleagues, in a hushed voice, "Did you notice how few

of the Nobel laureates bowed their heads or prayed at the opening invocation this morning?" They had noticed.

This barely perceptible chafing between secular and non-secular views of the world, and of man's place in it — this hardly noted Rugland/Nobel schism — called for some resolution. It came, in a timely fashion, in the fourth and last major lecture of the Nobel conference, that given by University of Chicago theologian, Langdon Gilkey.

Gilkey's view is that science's role in life is "not unlike that in former times of . . . religion."

* * * * *

"Despair, and not confidence, seems . . . to be the issue of a technological culture when it has run its full course."

In the end, there "is always the Lord," who can redeem the times and bring light even to the future that is coming."

This was a somewhat somber conclusion to the 11th Nobel Conference.

It was a far cry from the exuberance of Erwin Schrodinger (himself a 1956 Nobel laureate), who wrote in "Science and the Human Temperament" (1935), that ". . . the chief and lofty aim of science today . . . (is that) . . . it enhances the general joy of living."

There was no tangible, primary joy, at this symposium.

Instead, there was acute recognition that science — like the humanity it has in its best moments hoped to serve — faces primal issues of survival.

The wider implications of the conference would seem to be that we are about to enter — must enter — a new era, one in which two deposed queens, science and religion, reascend their mutual throne, hand-in-hand, a little worse for the wear of centuries, a little less jealous of each other, but determined, this time, to rule as wisely as they can. For they must.

"The final outlook of philosophic thought," Alfred North Whitehead said perceptively in 1941, "cannot be based upon the exact statements which form the basis of special sciences. The exactness is a fake."

The most worthwhile result of this Nobel conference may very well be found — considering the seriousness of the trials before us all — in a compelling and necessary end to pride or fakery: scientific, or religious.

Shockley Urges Nobel Lie Tests

MINNEAPOLIS (UPI) — Dr. William Shockley, Stanford University physicist who believes whites are genetically superior to blacks, suggested today participants in this week's Nobel Conference take lie detector tests on the subject.

Shockley, 1956 Nobel Prize winner for work in developing the transistor, made his proposal in a speech prepared for delivery at a Kiwanis Club meeting. He planned to attend
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(Continued from Page One)

the Nobel Conference at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minn., Wednesday and Thursday.

He said his proposal would help "establish new and vital facts about the vast discordance of beliefs about racial factors in social capacity and, equally important, the sincerity with which these beliefs are held."

Shockley said "urban decay" has resulted from "a welfare system based on the premises of the national egalitarian lie" which says all

groups are born with equal intelligence regardless of sex or race.

"Now the nation is faced with the next logical consequence of that selfsame lie — business decay," he said. "The mechanism here will be for courts to apply the false premises of the lie to nullify sound personnel policies in business and replace them by quotas for hiring and promotion."

"This is being done...in adherence to the 'guidelines' of the Equal Economic Opportunity Commission."

Shockley quoted an appeals court judge as saying that black applicants failed a Washington, D. C., police de-

partment test "at a rate more than four times the rate for whites." The judge said this resulted from "education deprivation primarily due to segregated schools."

"Although I have reached an inescapable opinion that the major cause of American Negro disadvantages is racially genetic, I still insist that this question is open to sound research," Shockley said. "This research is now taboo."

Shockley urged that the matter be studied further. If he's proven wrong, he said, "my distress over a scientific setback would be more than compensated by the fact that the new findings would be of great benefit."

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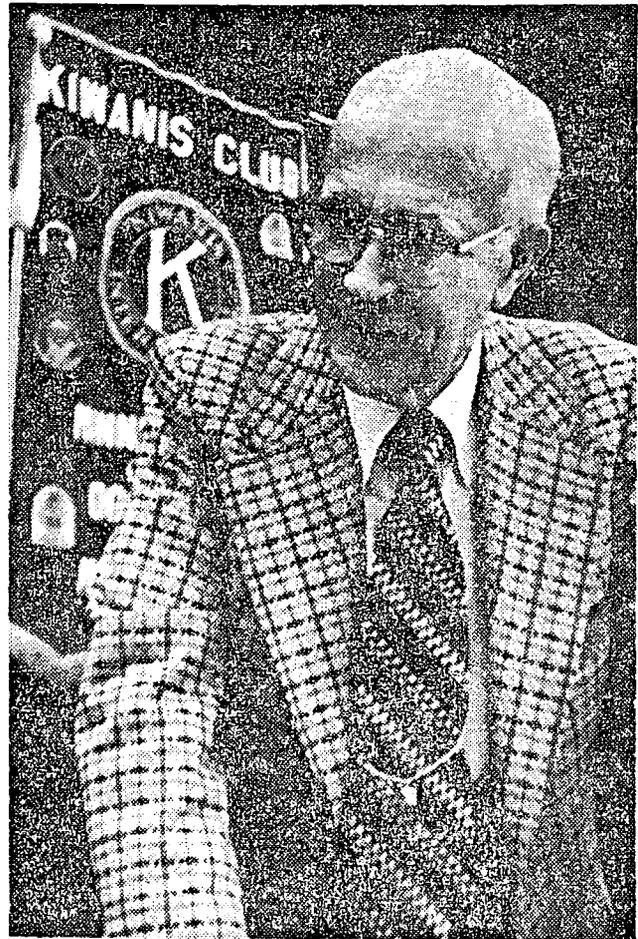
'Racist Pig' Cries Stop Shockley

MINNEAPOLIS (UPI) — Demonstrators shouted "racist pig" and interrupted Dr. William Shockley, Stanford University physicist and Nobel Prize winner, while he addressed a Kiwanis Club meeting Tuesday. Private police forced protesters outside.

Shockley, who has said his studies show that whites are genetically superior in intelligence to blacks, has proposed that all Nobel prize winners and theologians to the Nobel Conference in St. Peter, Minn., Wednesday and Thursday be given lie detector tests on this subject.

About 25 demonstrators — all white — pushed into the room where Shockley was speaking at the Leamington Hotel, shouting such slogans as "racist pig" and drowning out his speech. He was forced to stop speaking for several minutes.

Hotel personnel, private police and Kiwanis members pushed the demonstrators outside. There were spirited scuffles in the hotel lobby. City police were called, but, by the time they arrived, the demonstrators had left.



DR. WILLIAM SHOCKLEY, Stanford University physicist who believes whites are genetically superior to blacks, suggested participants in this week's Nobel conference take lie detector tests on the subject. Shockley, 1956 Nobel Prize winner for work in developing the transistor, made his proposal in a speech delivered at a Kiwanis Club meeting in Minneapolis yesterday.
(UPI Telephoto)

Shockley attacks race, sex quotas in hiring

Nobel Laureate William Shockley of Stanford Tuesday, Sept. 30, sharply attacked racial and sexual quotas for hiring and promotion in business.

In remarks prepared for the Downtown Kiwanis Club of Minneapolis, Shockley said that "urban decay has been the tragic product of a welfare system based on the premises of the national egalitarian lie—a lie that asserts the equality of the distribution of genetic potential for intelligence to all groups, regardless of sex or race."

"Business decay" may follow a similarly based trend in court opinions "to nullify sound personnel policies. . . and replace them by quotas both of hiring and promotion."

He specifically criticized court rulings for back pay for blacks levied against Albemarle Paper Co., North Carolina, and the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department. The first ruling has been upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, while

the second is on appeal.

Reading these opinions reveals "widespread evidence of how judicial reasoning is pervaded and influenced by the false premises of the national egalitarian lie," Shockley said.

"Although I have reached an inescapable opinion that the major cause of American Negro disadvantages is racially genetic, I still insist that this question is open to sound research."

Faced with back pay judgments, as in the Albermarle case, "a responsible business executive will logically choose a quota system (for employment) rather than face financial uncertainty," Shockley said.

"Business has a deep interest in establishing facts and promoting sound diagnosis of the problems of the disadvantaged."

Shockley said his opportunities to discuss this issue before scientific audiences have been "few and far between" since October 1973. He has charged the Na-

tional Academy of Sciences with "American Lysenkoism" in stifling this discussion.

If analysis should prove his own evaluations were wrong, Shockley said, "Many who share my opinions would then endorse efforts to find remedies (for problems of the disadvantaged) based on premises they now reject."

"This great contributions could be made by business support of some suitable nonprofit organizations which would establish the job-relatedness of a battery of preemployment tests."

Coinventor of the junction transistor, Shockley has stirred wide public debate on possible genetic factors in intelligence. During his Minneapolis talk he circulated correspondence calling on Nobel Laureates meeting at Gustavus Adolphus College Oct. 1-2 to demonstrate for others their sincerity by taking lie detector tests concerning their beliefs on this question.

THE DISPATCH (St. Paul, Minnesota) 30 September 1975, p. 21 [Contrary to ASSOCIATED PRESS, my prepared statement ("The National Egalitarian Lie" or "The EEOC and Business Decay", 455), from which AP quotes, did not criticize "the principle of equal employment opportunity". My focus was upon the court actions related to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines—a fact not reported in the reprints of 457.4, 457.5, or 457.6 or others that I have seen.]

Business decay seen in equal job rights

Associated Press

A Nobel Prize-winning physicist said today the principle of equal employment opportunity could lead to "business decay" for the United States.

Dr. William Shockley, professor emeritus at Stanford University, said the courts are operating under the assumption that all races are equally intelligent — an assumption he terms the "national egalitarian lie."

Shockley has argued for years that blacks are genetically inferior to Caucasians, a contention widely disputed by scientists who say blacks score lower on some intelligence tests simply because of environmental disadvantages.

In remarks prepared for delivery to the Downtown Kiwanis Club in Minneapolis, Shockley said the application of the principle by the courts will "nullify sound person-

nel policies and . . . replace them by quotas both for hiring and promotion.

HE CITED a recent Supreme Court ruling that ordered a North Carolina paper company to pay back wages for nine years to a group of black employees who charged the firm with discrimination in promotion policies.

He also pointed to a case where an appeals court upheld a charge of discrimination in hiring, brought by unsuccessful black candidates for police positions in Washington, D.C.

"Both cases involve tests used to select candidates for employment or promotion," Shockley said. "It is the appeals court and Supreme Court rulings and opinions wherein one finds widespread evidence of how judicial reasoning is pervaded and influenced by the false premises of the national egalitarian lie . . .

"The danger to the future of American business, and therefore to American prosperity, is implicit in both court cases. The threat of back pay . . . is a premise that logically leads to quota hiring. A responsible business executive will logically choose a quota system rather than face financial uncertainty."

"Although I have reached an inescapable opinion that the major cause of American Negro disadvantages is racially genetic, I still insist that this question is open to sound research," he said.

Shockley, winner of the 1956 Nobel Prize in physics for his work on semi-conductors, was in Minnesota to attend the 11th annual Nobel Conference at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter. Thirty Nobel laureates and six theologians will discuss "the Future of Science" Wednesday and Thursday.

Race-intelligence theory gets Shockley a cold shoulder

By **BOB GOLIGOSKI**
Staff Writer

ST. PETER — Scientists attending the Nobel Conference are giving the cold shoulder to physicist William Shockley and his thesis that blacks are intellectually inferior to whites because of genetic characteristics.

Shockley, who tried to inject his ideas on race and intelligence into a panel discussion Wednesday, was met with silence when none of the other scientists on the panel responded to his request that they comment on his theory.

Interviewed after the session, he said that none of the 30 Nobel laureates attending the conference has volunteered to take a lie detector test as he suggested earlier to determine their views on racial differences and intelligence.

Shockley, professor emeritus of engineering and applied science at Stanford University, was co-winner of a Nobel Prize in 1956 for his work on the development of transistors.

But it is his views on heredity and intelligence that have brought him public notoriety, especially among critics who label him a racist.

He has been shouted off speaker's platforms a number of times because of controversial ideas. His latest bout with detractors took place Tuesday in Minneapolis when some 25 demonstrators protested his speech before the Minneapolis Kiwanis Club.

The purpose of the panel was to discuss a speech delivered moments earlier by Glenn Seaborg,

former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Seaborg, whose speech touched on a broad range of challenges facing scientists, was a panel member.

Seaborg alluded in his speech to problems of underdeveloped nations and what scientists can do to improve conditions in those countries.

Shockley implied that underdeveloped nations, which frequently have mostly black populations, are poorer because the inhabitants generally lack the brainpower found in so-called "have" nations.

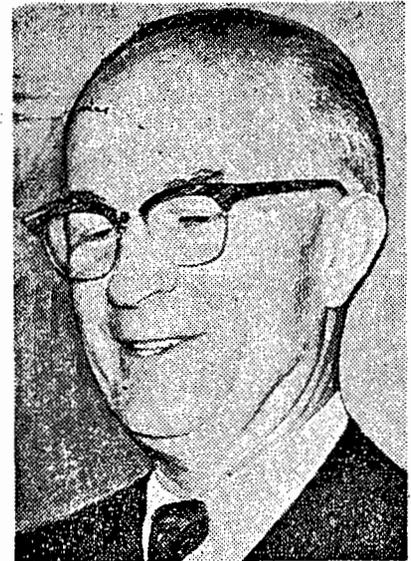
If mankind wants to counter the imbalance existing between richer and backward countries, Shockley said there must be a retreat from the assumption that "the environment" in the "have-not" countries is responsible for conditions there and a realization that genetic makeup is a factor.

He claimed that social behavior is generally controlled 80 per cent by heredity and 20 per cent by environment.

His views have been disputed by a number of scientists over the years.

Another Nobel winner, Julian Schwinger of the University of California, said Tuesday in the Twin Cities that Shockley's polygraph proposal is "an amusing exercise but it's irrelevant. It hardly matters how honest you are if you are wrong."

Shockley promised to keep bringing up the heredity-intelligence idea during today's final



Physicist and Nobel Prize winner Dr. William Shockley received the cold shoulder from fellow scientists at St. Peter Wednesday.

—AP Wirephoto

sessions of the conference as it is "fundamental" to the conference theme — "The Future of Science."

Much of the panel discussion focused on the future of solar energy. Physicist Hans Bethe of Cornell University said that except possibly for home heating solar power will not be a viable alternate energy source for 100 years.

Bethe said solar energy systems would be prohibitively expensive to operate.

An estimated 4,000 persons are attending the conference.

(This article, and those of 457.4 & .5, do describe the reactions of the participants to the issues that I raised and to my proposal "to demonstrate to others their sincerity by taking polygraph tests" and thus to "establish new and vital facts about the vast discordance of beliefs about racial factors in social capacity and, equally important, the sincerity with which these beliefs are held." This key point is missing in Bob Goligoski's quotation above of Dr. Schwinger but was reported by UPI, see 457.6. Another of my key points, generally overlooked, was reported in a MINNEAPOLIS STAR article by Willmar Thorkelson: "Investigation of this premise [that dysgenics threatens] he said, could be the outstanding contribution of the Nobel Conference.")

U.T. Students Heckle Shockley Dysgenics Talk

By PHIL KIMBALL

Amid periodic boos, catcalls and hisses, to which he has become accustomed on the lecture circuit, Dr. William Shockley, Nobel Prize-winning physicist, attempted to describe the danger faced by a society in which medical science and social welfare systems may be "unwittingly" jeopardizing man's intellectual and physical development.

Shockley, whose views have produced discomfort among much of the population, racial minorities in particular, was invited by the Student Senate at the University of Texas at El Paso to speak on 'Human-Quality Problems and Research Taboos.'

His Wednesday afternoon appearance before a capacity crowd in the university's Student Union theater generated widespread interest, if not support for his views.

Modern-day America, and particularly the scientific-intellectual community, said Shockley, is largely reluctant to face the issue that "... nature may be very cruel to some individuals and groups."

In Shockley's view, modern technological society has eliminated to a large extent those "brutal natural processes" which, while they do not necessarily guarantee pervasive improvement of the human species, at least do not work in favor of the survival of the less capable or adaptable among us.

DANGER OF DYSGENICS

A danger equally as great, in Shockley's view, is that of "dysgenics," which he defines as "Retgressive evolution through excessive reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged."

The American black population, he said, is the one group most threatened by dysgenics at the present time. Illustrating that dysgenic threat with a large chart projected behind him as he spoke, Shockley broke down statistically the number of children born to American women between 35 and 44 years of age, both black and white, drawn from rural farm backgrounds, and the ranks of college graduates.

At current reproductive rates, said Shockley, the rural black farm woman produces 5.4 offspring, as opposed to only 1.9 for her college-educated counterpart.

Among white women in the same age group, the rural farm housewife produces 3.5 children compared to 2.3 for her college-educated and presumably intellectually better-equipped counterpart. The greater number of children born to rural black women, more than twice the number produced by college-educated black women in the same age category is, in Shockley's opinion, one manifestation of a dysgenic trend.

Shockley played down the importance of environmental factors when compared to the purely genetic in the determination of an individual's intelligence. Putting it in layman's terms, he said, "Genes have four times the influence on I.Q. that environment has."

He is critical of the hesitance of members of academic circles and the scientific community to face squarely the possibility that the American black's "statistical I.Q. deficit" may be the outgrowth of his genetic inheritance more than owing to a deficient environment.

"Benign neglect," said Shockley, "may let dysgenic forces get out of control."

Shockley previously has suggested the payment of \$1,000 to individuals for each point below 100 I.Q. to encourage voluntary sterilization "... to reduce dysgenic agonies for the genetically disadvantaged and the overburdened taxpayer."

He called for dispassionate empirical investigation of questions relating to differences in intelligence level between races and ethnic groups. There is a "moral obligation to diagnose," said Shockley. "The American intellectual and higher education community at least pays it lip service," he continued.

The diminutive and mild-mannered Shockley persisted in attempts to state his case throughout the session despite the cacophany of epithets such as "pig," "honkey" and "racist." He was seemingly oblivious to occasional outbursts of rhetoric generated mostly from within the ranks of minorities in the audience.

As one interruption succeeded another, he continued to peer through his wire-rimmed glasses, making observations and statistical analyses which much of the audience must

have found painful, or at best, unflattering.

Quietly answering an allegation from the audience that he was a "white supremacist" who plays with statistics, he pointed out available data indicates that both the American-Oriental and Jewish populations are represented in the scientific community far out of proportion to their absolute numbers.

Shockley told the multiracial group, composed principally of blacks, chicanos and white, that he has a "... fundamental faith in mankind." He believes, he said, modern men have the "brainpower" to sort out the statistical data available objectively and dispassionately. He quickly noted his belief that man has the "humanitarianism" to deal equitably with the questions which he has posed.

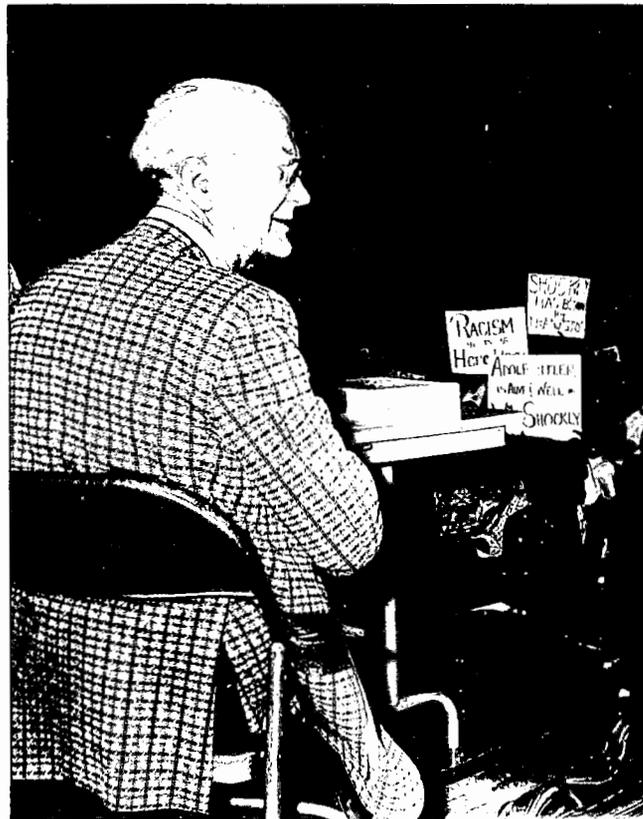
At the meeting's close, Shockley was rebutted by Elliot

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Williams, president of the university's Black Student Coalition, who read aloud from a treatise entitled "On Black Intellectual Inferiority" by Francis C. Welsing.

He called for an end to "... push-button reactions' to social events such as the appearance of Dr. Shockley." His lengthy statement read in part, "If we could calm ourselves sufficiently and avoid 'push-button reactions,' we would have the time to relate to the history of Nazi Germany."

As the audience entered the theater, members of MEChA, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan, passed out handbills expressing their disappointment that U.T. El Paso's student senate had chosen to invite Shockley to speak. It said, "... we feel that his views only serve to isolate people. Rather than create an atmosphere of understanding and awareness, Mr. Shockley (sic) creates conflict."



TEMPEST — Dr. William Shockley, Nobel Prize-winning Stanford University professor, faces signs accusing him of racism, equating him with Hitler, as he speaks before an audience Wednesday at the University of Texas at El Paso.

—(Times Staff Photo by Lance Murray)

Nobel laureate to speak on racial intelligence

A Nobel laureate, believed to be the first to visit UT El Paso, will speak at 3:30 p.m. Wednesday in the Union Theatre.

William B. Shockley, who won the Nobel prize in 1956 for inventing the transistor, will discuss his controversial theory, "Human Quality Problems and Research Taboos." He claims there is a hereditary discrepancy between races and Blacks are intellectually inferior to Whites.

His visit is the result of a senate bill appropriating \$1,000 to promote a "White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) Week" on campus.

The bill was introduced by senators Charles Niziol and seconded by James Downie.

Shockley believes intelligence is inherited, saying more research is required in the field. This research, he contends, has been suppressed by moral taboos.

Downie said Shockley

thinks of himself as a humanitarian, because he is "trying to bring out into the open problems of future generations. He wants to get them out before they get very critical."

The senator added he doubts the scientific basis of this intelligence theory but thinks it is "definitely" worth investigating.

Downie asserted a "WASP Week" is significant, since El Paso is in "just the opposite

situation of the rest of the United States. I feel other minorities are taking all the powers and the WASPS are being left out in the cold."

Shockley, a physics professor at Stanford University, recently has lectured at other universities, including Yale, Harvard and Texas Tech, where he spoke during "Black Week" and drew a crowd of more than 1,000 students.

Philip Hilmelstein, UT El Paso psychology professor, also will speak on intelligence testing.

The lecture is free to faculty members and students with SA cards.

SAN JOSE MERCURY, San Jose, California, 25 Apr 75

Crowd Pleases Shockley

Nobel Prize winner Dr. William Shockley of Stanford University stepped on stage at the University of Texas at El Paso to explain his theory of genetics, that blacks are hereditarily inferior to whites.

The theory met with restrained scoffing, but he complimented the crowd on their behavior.

He said his critics continually err in thinking he is for dysgenics, the theory that evolution may be retrogressive for blacks through excessive reproduction of the economically disadvantaged.

"I'm anti-dysgenics," he said. "I'm led to believe the major difference is hereditary."

He complimented the

crowd of 450 in the UTEP student theater for their restraint from violence against his theory.

"You compare better than Yale University," he said. He was booed at Yale last week.

Said Shockley: "Our welfare program may be — unwittingly — downbreeding the black population toward genetic enslavement."

He cited census figures that showed rural black women give birth to 5.4 children while college-educated black women give birth to 1.9 children. The same figures for white women are 3.5 and 2.3, respectively.

Theories of diet and culture as the basis for genetic breakdown do not hold up, he said, adding that genetic improvement by better diets and cultural opportunities are also unlikely theories.

Speaking with the aid of slide graphs, Shockley said, "Nature may be cruel to some groups of our population and our welfare program may be making it worse. It is a moral obligation to diagnose the American Negro tragedy of statisti-



WILLIAM SHOCKLEY
... Stanford prof

cal IQ deficit."

"Protests against my speaking do not follow ethnic lines," he said.

He complimented the students for an "orderly and nonviolent picket line at the entrance of the theater."

20B Queen's Avenue,
London N10 3NR,
England.

20 April 1976.

Hamilton Jordan,
Campaign Manager,
Jimmy Carter for President Committee,
PO Box 1976,
Atlanta, Georgia 30301,
USA.

JT

Dear Mr Jordan,

I am a 28 year old Assistant Press Officer at the BBC in London and I have been awarded a Congressional Fellowship for 1976-7 by the American Political Science Association. I am being funded by the Harkness Fellowship programme of the Commonwealth Fund of New York who are giving me an additional two months in the United States before the Congressional Fellowship programme begins in November to follow the Presidential campaign. I am writing to you to find out whether it would be possible for me to work in Governor Carter's campaign in some capacity this autumn if, as I expect, he wins the Democratic nomination.

During my year in the United States I shall be looking at how politicians in Washington represent their constituents and how they handle their press liaison. I would very much like the opportunity of participating in the Presidential campaign and I would be happy to take on a very minor role. I am specially interested in working for Governor Carter, whom I see as the most interesting and hopeful figure in the Presidential contest, and I am attracted by what I have read of his campaign organisation. I also have a lot of affection for the south, especially Georgia and South Carolina where I have spent most of my two visits to the United States.

At the BBC I handle press inquiries on programmes and policy matters. Before joining the BBC in 1974 I spent four years with Britain's National Union of Students. From 1970 to 1972 I was Assistant Press Officer with the union, working on press liaison and campaign publicity. I then moved to become Head of Publicity for the union's £3 million youth travel company, NUS Travel, where I was responsible for press relations, publicity and advertising.

I was educated at Brentwood School in Essex and won an Open Scholarship in history to Queens' College, Cambridge in 1965. I graduated in 1969 with an Upper Second class BA Honours degree in history and then spent twelve months teaching history and learning journalism on a trade magazine before joining the National Union of Students.

I fully realise how busy you are at the moment, but I would very much appreciate any help and advice you can give me. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Jim Talbot

Jim Talbot.

Michael J. McManus
85 Halliwell Drive
Stamford, Connecticut 06902

April 27, 1976

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Carter for President
Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Carter:

After hearing you speak in New Canaan two evenings ago, I moved from a position of strong interest to enthusiastic commitment. I was particularly impressed with your ^{positive} answer to my question about whether you intended as President to create a program like Goals For Georgia to give citizens a voice in shaping national policies. As summarized in the front of your 1972 publication, Goals For Georgia, "...the effect of ongoing citizen participation may prove the most reliable way of restoring popular faith in government while giving enlightened direction to political leadership."

Do you have any publication which summarizes which of the goals set by the people were accomplished in your term in office?

You asked those of us who were present to give any suggestions you felt would be helpful in your campaign. I gave Greg Schneider a two page memo (enclosed) which suggests a mechanism for giving citizens a voice on national issues based on my experience in directing a multi-media effort involving all 19 TV stations (including ABC, CBS, NBC) in the New York area and 26 daily newspapers. I initiated similar "Town Meetings" presenting public policy choices for citizen debate and balloting in such cities as Roanoke, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Corpus Christi. More than 12,000 ballots were returned in Roanoke, for example, out of 225,000 residents in a five county area. There were dramatic changes of attitude and policy.

This experience convinces me that there could be no more effective campaign issue than a pledge to give Americans a voice to their government. But what is lacking in your speeches to date is a clear, simple mechanism for implementing your pledge. I am concerned that a mere extension of the Goals process to the national level would not work, and would like to meet with you to help design an approach (and some speeches, if you like) that makes sense to you. My proposal has the flaw of not creating a comprehensive agenda at the start of your Administration, which you seem to want. On the other hand, I see these problems with the "Goals" approach:

1. I believe it would be better to frame choices for debate rather than goals, which often seem like airy platitudes, such as these Goals For Georgia, which are so vague that progress toward them is not measurable:

---The very best education should be provided for citizens of all ages and abilities

---Teachers should be given the support and assistance they need to do an outstanding job

---Policies and programs which help to improve education or extend its benefits should be endorsed or created

On the other hand, it would be very exciting to frame some alternatives for discussion like this question:

---Should the federal government create jobs for the unemployed, and if so, how:

- a. No
- b. Yes, and enact a tax cut which creates about 30,000 jobs per \$1 billion of cut according to the Congressional Budget office
- c. Yes, and stimulate small scale public works projects which create 60,000 jobs per \$1 billion
- d. Yes, and hire aides to teachers, nurses, police, etc. which will create 120,000 jobs per \$1 billion

2. I believe the media must be given the central role in presenting options for public debate, and in spelling out the consequences of the alternatives. Without this element of public education, people's horizons will not become broadened and they will not weigh costs as well as benefits of possible public actions. If the press is given total freedom in preparing this information, I think it will work cooperative with government in helping citizens grapple with the future, and in giving citizens computer card ballots for citizen response.

3. The process of deciding which issues are to be taken to the people is a difficult one, which ideally should involve representatives, the Administration, Congress, citizen groups and the media. We need to think this through, but my inclination is to leave the final decisions on which choices are asked up to representatives of media to underscore the openness of the Administration.

I'd welcome a chance to meet with you.
cc: Steve Stark

Niki McManis

ASIAN Thought & Society :

An International Review

To Dear Governor Jimmy Carter

*May God bless you, keep you, and
lead you to victory for the United States!*

In Christ.

Peter S. H. Tang

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK – ONEONTA

BOSTON COLLEGE: CENTER FOR EAST EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND ASIA

BUNDESINSTITUT FÜR OSTWISSENSCHAFTLICHE UND INTERNATIONALE STUDIEN

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E-W

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Asian Thought & Society is a forum of international opinion on theoretical issues which have arisen through the impact of an entire spectrum of intellectual trends. It is especially concerned with socialist and Communist theories and related doctrines, and includes analyses of social structures and changes in Pacific and South Asian countries.

Main emphasis is on world-view, philosophy, religious and ethical values, evolution of the arts, politico-economic doctrines, anthro-po-sociological theories, and, in general, problems of cultural development in Asia. Contributors are invited to examine problems of cross-cultural communication from all points of view and particularly from that of the impact of contemporary ideologies and the process of modernization on traditional and/or current thought and society.

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Furthermore, ATS has organized a special Profile editorial board to sum up the major issues and events that take place in the intervals between issues of our journal. The synthesis, which will not be mere chronology, is undertaken by pooling the efforts of expertise from varied fields and is composed either by the Editor-in-Chief or his invitee on the basis of input from the Profile editorial board. Although the members on the board are renown scholars having access to the first-hand research materials, they do welcome the opinions of the readers. *Therefore, ATS openly invites suggestions and information on the relevant issues and events in those areas it covers. The data provided, however, should not be longer than four pages; and ATS will acknowledge such information and inspiration publicly in our journal as the space permits.*

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A Revolutionary Charter: The 1975 Constitution of The People's Republic of China*

Peter S. H. Tang

Professor of Political Science, Boston College, and
Associate, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University

The new Constitution of the People's Republic of China (PRC), adopted on January 17, 1975, by the 4th National People's Congress (NPC) of the PRC¹ sets a model for revolutionary statehood never before seen in the constitutional evolution of communist-ruled countries. Chairman Mao Tsetung defined the term constitution in 1954 as a "fundamental charter," so the present Constitution, embodying Mao's "revolutionary line," may be referred to as a revolutionary charter.

This fundamental political and legal document is indeed a living revolutionary charter, following the promise of the 1973 Constitution of the Communist Party of China (CPC) to practice the "theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."² It has been produced by over two decades of socialist revolution and construction, especially the anti-revisionist struggle and the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution ("GPCR") since 1966. Following Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, i.e., the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism — as reaffirmed by the CPC's Ninth and Tenth Congresses in 1969 and 1973 — the 1975 PRC Constitution is to implement these directives "for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."³ Together with the forthcoming Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,⁴ the 1975 PRC Constitution may in the long run replace the 1936 Stalin Constitution of the Soviet Union as the pattern for the state machines of the communist Parties dedicated to revolution throughout the world.

Since the proclamation of the Chinese Soviet Republic at Juichin, Kiangsi, on November 7, 1931, and the nation-wide revolutionary seizure of power in 1949, the Chinese communist-directed ship of state has travelled a long way through constitutional processes. The 1931 Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic covered the CPC territorial bases consisting of some 300 counties scattered through 11 provinces and making up roughly one-sixth of the area of China proper, prior to the Long March of 1934-35. Adopted at the first all-China Congress of Soviets on November 7, 1931, this constitution set itself the tasks of "abolishing feudalism," "restricting the development of capitalism," "freeing China from the yoke of imperialism," and "bringing about the culmination of the workers' and peasants' revolution in its final victory throughout the whole of China."⁵

The next interim constitutional document sponsored by the Chinese Communists, following their victory in the revolutionary civil war, was the Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), adopted at its First Plenary Session on September 20, 1949.⁶ Implementing Mao's thesis on the "people's democratic dictatorship," the Common Program transformed China into a "new democracy" or "people's democracy"

*This article is drawn from the writer's forthcoming book *Mao Tsetung Thought and the International Communist Movement* to be published by the Research Institute on the Sino-Soviet Bloc, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. The preparation of this article and related studies was supported by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Philosophical Society. This writer is much indebted to Peter R. Prifti of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a leading authority on Albanian affairs, who translated this writer's *The Chinese Communist Struggle against Modern Revisionism: Theory and Practice* into Albanian, for sharing his valuable source material, findings, insights and analyses concerning the 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution available at present only in Albanian. He authored *The Albanian and Chinese Constitutions (A Comparison)* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Center for International Studies, 1976), which was most helpful.

Professor Peter S.H. Tang, a former diplomatic envoy of the Republic of China, has been one of the most prolific writers on Chinese Communist affairs. And he is to be a regular commentator on the Sino-soviet politico-ideological disputes for *ATS*.

or the "Republic of the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (Preamble and Article 1) — combining Mao's "democracy for the people and dictatorship for the reactionaries."⁷ According to this Common Program, "the Chinese People's Democratic Dictatorship is the state power of the people's democratic united front composed of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic elements, based on the alliance of workers and peasants and led by the working class." (Preamble) Under the Common Program, China's economic policy was "taking into account both public and private interests" by coordinating and regulating "state-owned economy, cooperative economy, the individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen, private capitalist economy and state capitalist economy." (Article 26) In fact, the People's Government was to "encourage the active operation of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and to the people's livelihood" and to "assist in their development." (Article 30)

The immediate predecessor of the 1975 PRC Constitution of 30 articles is the 106-article Constitution of the PRC adopted by the first NPC at its first session on September 20, 1954.⁸ This Constitution marked, as stated in its Preamble, the "victory in the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism." It established the system of a people's democratic dictatorship to accomplish, step by step, "the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce," "to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country," "for planned economic construction and gradual transition to socialism." (Preamble) The 1954 PRC Constitution still protected "capitalist ownership" along with state, cooperative, and individual working people's ownership of the means of production. (Articles 5, 8, and 10) However, it did pledge to "restrict and gradually eliminate" rich-peasant economy and "restrict and transform capitalist industry and commerce" by "gradually replacing capitalist ownership with ownership by the whole people" (Articles 8 & 10), i.e., "state ownership." (Article 5) As early as 1955, the socialist transformation of industry and commerce was in the main completed through the transitional stage of joint public-private enterprises. Likewise, agricultural collectivization was largely implemented prior to the inauguration of the commune system in 1958.

These accomplishments and "tremendous changes" have taken place in China's political, economic, social, and cultural life as well as in international relations since 1954, along with the advent of Soviet "revisionism" in 1956 and Soviet "social-imperialism" in 1968. In view of the changing situation, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao stated in his Report on the Revision of the Constitution to the 4th NPC that despite the correctness and applicability of the basic principles that the 1954 PRC Constitution stood for, "some parts of the Constitution" were "no longer suitable."⁹

Prescribing perseverance in "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the 1975 PRC Constitution for the first time in the constitutional development under the Chinese Communists declares that "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our nation." (Article 2) For the first time, the new constitution affirms that "the Communist Party of China is the core of the leadership of the whole Chinese people." (Article 2)

Among Constitutional documents of other communist-ruled states only the Draft Constitution of the Albanian People's Socialist Republic — which, if adopted, will replace its March 1946 predecessor — has a comparable orientation. Pointing out that "Marxism-Leninism is the ruling ideology in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," (Article 3) it emphasizes: "Development of class struggle to the benefit of socialism and continual strengthening of the state of dictatorship of the proletariat . . . [and] continual revolutionization of the entire life of the country are the broad means by which socialist society is strengthened and advanced." (Preamble) The Albanian Draft Constitution further urges continuing revolution through two-line struggle, i.e., class struggle in a socialist society: "The People's Socialist Republic of Albania develops the revolution without interruption through class struggle with the aim of assuring the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road and achieving the complete construction of socialism and communism." (Article 4) The Albanian Draft Constitution explicitly recognizes the exclusive leadership of the Party: "The Party of Labor of Albania, vanguard of the working class, is the only leading political force of the state and of society." (Article 3)¹⁰

In comparison to the 1954 PRC Constitution and the similar constitutions of the various communist-ruled states, patterned on the 1936 Stalin Constitution,¹¹ the 1975 PRC Constitution and the 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution are particularly noted for their revolutionary character inspired and prescribed by a correct, revolutionary Communist Party. Never before has a constitution of a communist-ruled state been, through express emphasis on the instrumentality of the Communist Party, so clearly identified with the goal of the communist revolution and integrated into the process of revolution itself. The communist-led revolution is conducted by the Communist Party with the assistance of its directed state machine. More simply, the communist-ruled state is to serve the Communist Party which in turn is to serve the revolution. This logic is embodied in the 1975 PRC Constitution and the 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution. The role of the Party in leading the state is clearly spelled out throughout the 1975 PRC Constitution in its Preamble, its general principles, and its description of the structure of the state as well as of the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens.¹²

For the sake of the communist-led revolution, the leadership of the Party is stressed for the entire duration of the revolutionary struggle up to the advent of communism so that the Party will be identified with the proletarian revolution and its revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Thus the 1975 PRC Constitution affirms: "We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought." (Preamble)

Only by this complete identification of the Party with this revolutionary ideology and goals can the Party be healthy in theory and practice and assure a correct leadership over the state and the people for the completion of the revolutionary mission in a protracted struggle which might last for many generations, if not centuries. The 1975 PRC Constitution also includes this realistic warning to the revolutionary Party-state against revisionist deterioration, and capitalist restoration:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can be resolved only by depending on the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on practice under its guidance. (Preamble)

In addition to these theoretical principles, the 1975 PRC Constitution attributes supremacy to the Party as the command headquarters, and honors it with overall revolutionary tasks in order to assure the continuation of the revolution. In doing this the new Constitution places the Party in direct control over the state machinery and army. Thus, the 1975 PRC Constitution stipulates: "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China." (Article 16) This is similar to the provisions in the 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution: "The People's Assembly is the highest organ of state power" (Article 65) and the functions of the Assembly must be "in accord with the general line and directives of the Party of Labor of Albania." (Article 66) The same can be said for the armed forces of both countries: "the According to the 1975 PRC Constitution, "the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China" and "the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces." (Article 15) The 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution states that "the Armed Forces are led by the Party of Labor of Albania" (Article 91) and that "the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania is the General Commander of the Armed Forces and the Defense Council." (Article 92)

Other provisions of the 1975 PRC Constitution have further clarified the Party's unquestioned leadership. For example, the 1954 PRC Constitution stated: "The People's Republic of China is a people's democratic state led by the working class," (Article 1) and "all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people" (Article 2). The 1975 PRC Constitution does make a similar assertion to the effect that "the People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class"

(Article 1) and "all power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people" (Article 3). But it adds a different dimension by stressing the role of the Party in connection with both the working class and the Chinese people: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China." (Article 2)

To be more specific, the 1975 PRC Constitution spells out in precise language that the Party leads and is above the state, the army and the people. For instance, in regard to the citizenry, the 1954 PRC Constitution stipulates that "citizens of the People's Republic of China are equal before the law." (Article 85) But the 1975 PRC Constitution stresses: "The fundamental rights and duties of citizens are to support the leadership of the Communist Party of China, support the socialist system and abide by the Constitution and the laws of the People's Republic of China." (Article 26)

To place the Party above the state, army and people is evidently to enhance the Party's leadership in order to consolidate revolutionary power. In his report on the revision of the Constitution — delivered on January 13, 1975, and adopted on January 17, 1975, at the first session of the 4th NPC, — Chang Ch'un-ch'iao noted that in addition to the restructuring of the organs of state power and the elimination of the chairmanship of the state, "all this will certainly help strengthen the Party's centralized leadership over the structure of the state and meet the desire of the people of the whole country."¹³ Evidently the dictatorship of the proletariat places the state under the direction of the Party. The Party-directed state (or the dictatorship of the proletariat), according to Chang, "suppresses the reactionary classes and elements and those who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, and suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities."¹⁴ He also suggested: "The People's Liberation Army and the people's militia . . . are the pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat." The Party's leadership over the people permits, however, in a "high degree of centralism" with "ample democracy," as represented by "great debates," "big character posters" and "freedom to strike" (Article 28) which effects the continued revolution under the proletariat dictatorship. Thus Chang concludes that these measures will "help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁵

The supreme leadership of the Party over the state, the army, and the people also extends to the economic and social life of the people. The "socialist ownership by the whole people" and the "socialist collective ownership by working people" are the essence of "a series of principles and policies for the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base."¹⁶ The social and cultural revolutionary struggle are expected to be waged through the people's life styles. The 1975 PRC Constitution provides that the "state organizations and state personnel must earnestly study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought," (Article 11) and that "the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture" (Article 12).

The revolutionary character of the 1975 PRC Constitution has to be attributed to the continuous revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the CPC since the adoption of the previous constitution in 1954 and especially since the beginning of the nationwide, intensive Cultural Revolution in 1966. Premier Chou En-lai so affirmed:

The cultural revolution has provided a new experience on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities have unfolded a mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and thus heightened their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure has achieved major successes.¹⁷

The revolutionary character of the Party leadership is principally instrumental in conducting anti-revisionist struggle domestically and internationally. As Chang Ch'un-ch'iao indicated, that China has thus succeeded in smashing "the schemes of Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao for restoring capitalism internally and capitulating and selling out the country externally," and defeating "reactionaries both at home and abroad."¹⁸

Making the Party the command headquarters satisfies the pressing requirements of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship. The requirement that the Party be genuinely devoted to the revolution is absolutely essential. Mao has repeatedly taught his followers that the Party must exercise only correct leadership. Incorrect leadership must constantly be guarded against or replaced by the ideological struggle within the Party through criticism and self-criticism. It can never be tolerated. The Cultural Revolution and the recent movement of similar ideological struggle are extended beyond the environs of the Party to the nation at large, mainly to help assure a correct revolutionary Party leadership.

This revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has been formulated by Chairman Mao since 1957, with his thesis on the correct handling of contradictions among the people and the subsequent rectification campaign within the Party, culminating in the Proletarian Cultural Revolution which began in 1966. On this basis, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought was presented in the form of "the basic line for the entire historical period of socialism" which was reaffirmed by the 9th and 10th Congresses of the CPC in 1969 and 1973 respectively. As Premier Chou En-lai stated in his January 13, 1975, Report, "the Tenth National Congress of our Party again elucidated the Party's basic line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism, and pointed out even more clearly the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹⁹ This continued revolution means "the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, and between the two lines, the Marxist and the revisionist."²⁰ Chou added that "the key to the fulfilment of this task is for the cadres and the masses to study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao assiduously in order to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism."²¹

Elaborating on the necessity of the Party's basic line of the two-road struggle, Mao declared:

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle; there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.²²

Indeed this basic line of anti-revisionist revolutionary struggle conceived by Mao was embodied in the 1975 PRC Constitution. As Chang Ch'un-ch'iao said:

It is precisely the victories of these struggles that have given birth to this socialist Constitution. We are confident that the people of all our nationalities and, first of all, the Communists and state personnel, will earnestly implement and courageously defend this Constitution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end, so as to ensure that our great motherland will forever forge ahead victoriously along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.²³

Yet the Communist Party-state strives for more than its own preservation. As a prerequisite of one's own salvation, the communist revolutionary ideology calls for dedicated promotion of the communist movement the world over for the "emancipation of mankind." In upholding proletarian internationalism, the communist-led revolutionary struggle abroad consists mainly of the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism which can be conveniently combined as a struggle against superpower hegemonism. The 1975 PRC Constitution emphatically points out: "China will never be a superpower. We should . . . oppose the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and oppose the hegemonism of the superpowers." (Preamble) Chang Ch'un-ch'iao explained:

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony; we have written into the draft that 'China will never be a superpower' in order to show that our country does not seek hegemony today and that it never will. Only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. We shall always unite with the people of all countries in the common struggle to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the face of the globe, so that all mankind will be emancipated.²⁴

Premier Chou En-lai confirmed:

Along with the people of other countries, we have won tremendous victories in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and in particular against the hegemonism of the superpowers. We have smashed imperialist and social-imperialist encirclement, blockade, aggression and subversion, and have strengthened our unity with the people of all countries, and especially the third-world countries.²⁵

Looking toward the future, Chou advocated, as prescribed in the 1975 PRC Constitution, continued struggle against superpower hegemony:

The contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense. Their contention has extended to every corner of the world, the focus of their contention being Europe. Soviet social-imperialism 'makes a feint to the east while attacking in the west.' The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters today, and they are the source of a new world war We should continue to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs We should ally ourselves with all the forces in the world that can be allied with to combat colonialism, imperialism and above all superpower hegemonism.²⁶

Not surprisingly, Mao's "revolutionary line" against imperialism and social-imperialism by way of fighting against superpower hegemonism met with severe criticism from the Soviet Union. The Soviets vigorously attacked this concept of struggle against the hegemonistic superpowers along with the "Maoist theses of 'preparations in case of war'" introduced into the 1975 PRC Constitution: "As is generally known," they claimed, "Maoism's foreign policy is in fact aimed at urging mankind toward world war by the fomenting of hatred and enmity between peoples."²⁷ More specifically, the Soviets denounced the replacement of a provision contained in the 1954 PRC Constitution concerning "friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other Socialist countries" with the "anti-Soviet attacks" stated in the 1975 PRC Constitution:

The hypocritical calls in the introduction to the 1975 Constitution for 'firm adherence to proletarian internationalism' and 'the strengthening of solidarity with the socialist countries' and others stand in glaring contrast to the actual policies of the Chinese leaders. Formulas of this kind have as their aim concealment of the adventurist, hegemonistic policies of the Maoist leadership on the international scene and the betrayal by the Peking leaders of the interests of socialism and peace.²⁸

In fact, the 1975 PRC Constitution can be regarded as a revolutionary charter designed for its militant tasks at home and abroad. These tasks aim at vanquishing imperialism and particularly social-imperialism, the principal obstacles on the path to socialism and communism. As an outgrowth of modern revisionism from within the communist ranks, social-imperialism — especially Soviet social-imperialism and its resulting satellite empire, tightly controlled through political, economic and military integration — must be the principal target of continued revolution under the proletarian leadership. While beautifying this satellite empire as a "world socialist system," which might have been possible if the principles governing inter-Party and inter-state relations stipulated in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement had been adhered to, the Soviets had to admit the real bondage of such a satellite empire:

The standards set in socialist constitutions, formalising the membership of the corresponding countries in the world system of socialism, are of enormous political and legal significance.

This represents a new phenomenon in the constitutional law of the socialist countries.

The Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic notes that the Republic constitutes a firm link in the world socialist system (Preamble). This is re-emphasized in Article I of the Constitution, which formalises the socialist character of the state. Article 12 in the 1971 Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria emphasises that the Republic belongs to the world socialist community and views its membership in that community as one of the principal conditions for its independence and all-round development. The draft Constitution of the Republic of Cuba states that the Republic is a constituent part of the world socialist community and that this is one of the basic preconditions for its independence and all-round development. The new edition (1974) of the German Democratic Republic's Constitution establishes in Article 6 that the Republic is an inalienable constituent part of socialist states.

Special note must be taken of the provisions in the constitutions of the fraternal states which stress their desire to strengthen their union and their friendship and cooperation with the USSR.²⁹

Though couched in terms of socialist solidarity, these satellite constitutions are actually a formal acknowledgement of Soviet supremacy. Going beyond the political domination in the traditional sense of imperialism the Soviets for the past two decades have driven hard in achieving economic control of the satellite empire through processes of integration. It is more frightening to note that this economic bondage for fellow satellites within the Soviet empire has been constitutionalized as the Soviets themselves admit:

A number of new socialist constitutions single out the importance of economic cooperation, especially under the conditions of developing international socialist economic integration. 'This cooperation, based on comradely mutual assistance and the international socialist division of labour, is being systematically developed and strengthened by the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic,' states Article 14 of its Constitution. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria notes in Article 13 that the country's economy is developing as part of the world socialist economic system and, in Article 22, that the state, in directing social and economic development, is making effective use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour. The 1974 edition of the GDR's Constitution indicates in Article 9 that the Republic's economy is developing in conformity with the economic laws of socialism on the basis of socialist relations of production and the purposeful implementation of socialist economic integration.

The provisions in new constitutional legislation cited above possess a dual significance. On the one hand, they form a legal foundation for corresponding external economic actions by socialist countries, while on the other they serve as a basis for current internal legislation. Thus, the law on the Council of Ministers adopted in the GDR in 1972 imposes upon the Government the aims of organising economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries in the interests of implementing genuine socialist economic integration.

The development of constitutional legislation in socialist countries thus testifies that the principle of socialist internationalism has become one of the leading principles in the internal law of socialist countries. This principle, as one of the most important constitutional bases of socialist states, also possesses an international-legal character. It is formalised by the most recent treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the USSR and other socialist countries, in bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between other socialist countries and in a number of multi-lateral international-legal acts by socialist countries: for example, in the Comprehensive Programme of socialist economic integration.³⁰

Thus Moscow's attack on the 1975 PRC Constitution is unjustified in view of the persistent and systematized Soviet violations of the communist-proclaimed principles governing inter-Party and inter-state relations of respect for the other's equality and independence. Alluding to such Soviet deviations, Premier Chou En-lai declared: "The Soviet leading clique have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and our debate with them on matters of principle will go on for a long time."³¹

The Kremlin's deliberate vilification of the new PRC Constitution dramatizes the

diametrical opposition between the Soviet and Chinese attitudes toward the nature and role of the Communist Party-state, the proletarian revolution and the communist ideology in transforming the world's existing political, economic, social, and cultural order, as well as human nature itself. The overlooking of the revolutionary character of Chinese communist systems and policies has contributed to their being generally misunderstood in the past. They will be misconstrued in the future, especially in light of Soviet misrepresentation, if the 1975 PRC Constitution is not seen for what it is.³²

Following Mao's example, Peking usually takes comfort and pride from adverse criticism by a class enemy or renegade. The more rabid such attacks on the 1975 PRC Constitution become, the more correct must this charter be regarded as to its revolutionary character, in view of negative lessons provided by its opponents or counter-revolutionaries.

From the Chinese Communist point of view, the Soviet Union has been victimized by a long and rapidly growing series of revisionist practices. This revisionist trend was started by Khrushchev in 1956 when he abandoned the proletarian revolution to peddle his revisionist thesis of peaceful transition to socialism, peaceful competition and indiscriminate peaceful co-existence. Modern revisionism was soon institutionalized through the adoption of the 1961 CPSU programs, aiming at the revisionist "party of the whole people" and the non-proletarian "state of the entire people" to destroy the proletarian dictatorship by restoring capitalism. Further downstream in revisionist degeneration was Brezhnev's outrageous practice of social-imperialism by the invasion and occupation of a fraternal Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Although it was the first socialist state, the Soviet Union formulated and proclaimed its 1936 Stalin Constitution in an atmosphere of Comintern-advocated united front with non-communist parties around the globe. Desirous of breaking through the "capitalist encirclement of the socialist homeland," the authors of this constitution were preoccupied with its "democratic" appearance rather than with its revolutionary appeal abroad. This state of affairs was soon followed by Soviet expansion both on the eve and after the conclusion of World War II, the subsequent Cold War between the East and the West, the death of Stalin in 1953 and the coming of Khrushchevian revisionism. While the 1936 Stalin Constitution of the Soviet Union has served practically as a uniform blueprint for other communist-ruled states, the above mentioned circumstances have not been conducive to the reformulation of that constitution by the USSR for revolutionary struggle at home and abroad.

In spite of the frequent Soviet references to ideological education — including the latest unsubstantial elaboration in Brezhnev's Report to the 25th CPSU Congress — there is a persistent lack of genuine ideological understanding, vision, faith and dedication among the Soviet elites. Though the 1961 "revisionist" CPSU program, adopted at the 22nd CPSU Congress, has influenced the thinking of several communist Parties in using the thesis of the "all-people Party" and "all-people state," it has not inspired or produced a serviceable state constitution. The subsequent CPSU congresses — the 23rd in 1966, the 24th in 1971 and the 25th in 1976 — have further demonstrated the Soviet ideological weaknesses of confusion and inertia by shelving the issue of the "all-people Party" and "all-people state" which is fundamental to the communist revolution and ideology based on their class nature.

In his report to the 25th CPSU Congress Brezhnev alluded to the preparation of "the draft of a new Constitution of the USSR."³³ Couching it in vague and feeble terms, as in discussing the work of the Party and ideological education, Brezhnev suggested:

One of the basic features of the draft of the new Constitution will be the further consolidation and development of socialist democracy. . . . We have started from the premise that the new Constitution should establish and define in precise terms the supreme purpose of our state. It is to build a communist society.³⁴

Brezhnev was mindful primarily of building "the material and technical basis of communism," rather than of fomenting communist revolution, let alone of the essence of the 1975 PRC Constitution for "continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," when he said: "we shall emphasize the humanistic character of the socialist state, a state which sets itself the goal of building communism in the interests of the working man, of the people as a whole."³⁵ In a chain reaction based on the formula of ideology-revolution-Party-state gradation, the Soviet ideological deviation is bound to void the revolution which the assumed communist Party-state is to serve.

In sharp contrast, the 1975 PRC Constitution — born in the intensive and extensive anti-revisionist struggle — along with the 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution, provides a forceful and effective answer to the stagnant and lifeless skeleton of the Soviet bureaucratic dictatorship resulting from revisionist deterioration of a supposed proletarian Party-state system. Strictly observing the line of service and responsibility from a communist-ruled state to a communist Party to a communist-led revolution, and further to a far-reaching communist ideology, the 1975 PRC Constitution is a charter dedicated to communist revolution as conceived by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Footnotes

- 1 For the English text of the 1975 PRC Constitution see *Peking Review*, No. 4, Jan. 24, 1975; pp. 12-17.
- 2 Referred to, e.g., by Chou En-lai in his "Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," (Aug. 24 & 28, 1973), *Peking Review*, Nos. 35-36, Sept. 7, 1973, p. 17; referred to also in the text of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, *ibid.*, p. 26.
- 3 Referred to, e.g., by Wang Hung-wen in his "Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution" (Aug. 24 & 28, 1973), *ibid.*, p. 30; referred to also in the text of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, *ibid.*, p. 26.
- 4 The text of the draft constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was published in *Zeri i Popullit (Voice of the People)*. For reports on this document see *The New York Times*, Jan. 23, 1976, p. 7 and *The Economist*, Jan. 31, 1976, pp. 52-53.
- 5 For an English translation of the Constitution of the Kiangsi Soviet Republic see Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952; London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1952), pp. 220-224.
- 6 For an English translation of the Common Program see Otto B. Van der Sprenkel, Robert Guilain and Michael Lindsay, *New China: Three Views* (London: Turnstile Press, 1950), pp. 199-216.
- 7 Mao Tse-tung, *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1961), p. 10.
- 8 For the English version of the 1954 PRC Constitution see Peter S. H. Tang, *Communist China Today: Vol. II: Chronological and Documentary Supplement* (N.Y.: Praeger, 1958), pp. 90-110.
- 9 Chang Chun-chiao, "Report on the Revision of the Constitution" (Jan. 13 & 17, 1975), *Peking Review*, No. 4, Jan. 24, 1975, p. 18.
- 10 The translation of these and other provisions of the 1976 Albanian Draft Constitution have been kindly provided by Peter R. Prifti.
- 11 For the English text of such Constitutions consult Jan R. Triska (ed.), *Constitutions of the Communist Party-States*, (Stanford: The Hoover Institution, 1968).
- 12 Cf. Preamble and Articles 1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 and 26 of the 1975 PRC Constitution, *Peking Review*, No. 4, Jan. 24, 1975, pp. 12-17.
- 13 Chang Chun-chiao, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 Chou En-lai, "Report on the Work of the Government," (Jan. 13, 1975), *ibid.*, p. 21.
- 18 Chang Chun-chiao, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- 19 Chou En-lai, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 Quoted in Chang Chun-chiao, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Chou En-lai, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 27 I. Ilyinsky, "Constitutions of Peace and Friendship among Peoples," *International Affairs* (Moscow), No. 1, Jan. 1976, p. 45.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- 29 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
- 31 Chou En-lai, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- 32 Cf. Peter S. H. Tang "What China's Constitution Means," *The Christian Science Monitor* (Op-Ed. page), Apr. 3, 1975, p. 27.
- 33 L. I. Brezhnev "Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Party's Immediate Objectives in Home and Foreign Policy" (February 24, 1976), *New Times* (Moscow), No. 9, Feb. 1976, p. 63. The complete text of the report appears on pages 29-64.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 35 *Ibid.*

Confucianism: Symbol and Substance in Recent Times

Tu Wei-ming
University of California
Berkeley

In this essay, I shall discuss the symbol and substance of Confucianism in the light of the Cultural Revolution and the ensuing events. Although I am fully aware that issues of power and policy on the economic, political, and social levels may have exerted a greater transforming influence on the brute facts of life in present-day China, I will in this study address myself mainly to the ideological question.

As an apparent digression, which is actually not, I shall begin by an examination of Levenson's renowned thesis on *redness versus expertise*, or *value-priority*, in his works on the fate of Confucianism, and suggest that this "Levensonian" interpretation needs to be broadened and modified if it is to account for the ideological struggle in the Cultural Revolution. The Confucian element will be introduced in a discussion of the Maoist approach to vital problems in China in order to show that Confucian ideas have dominated much of the intellectual discussions in contemporary China notwithstanding the making of a new "state cult" of Maoism. The essay concludes with a series of reflections on the relevance of Confucian symbolism in identifying substantive issues in China's quest for a new value system.

I. The Levensonian Thesis

In an article entitled, "Marxism and the Middle Kingdom," published in the September 1966 issue of *Diplomat*, Joseph R. Levenson makes the following observation:

. . . Ch'ien-lung, proclaiming that the imperial virtue was acknowledged everywhere, could write complacently to George III, "We are in need of nothing. . . ." Mao, however, knows how desperate the needs are — the intervening century and a half had ruined any complacency and the Confucian pretension to virtue that explained it — and his prescription to banish the needs is *science* (very far from Confucian values), most especially including a 'science of society.' The *red of red vs expert* is not an eternally Chinese demand, whether Confucian or Communist, that officials profess to a world view transcending technical skill and specialization. It implies something else, that the modern world is incompatible with the Confucian, not congruent with it — so incompatible that science and technology are in the ascendant everywhere, and Marxism has to own them or lose its own ascendancy.¹

Although this observation seems incongruent with the "spirit" of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it does point to a central *problematik* in contemporary China: how to adapt herself to the modernizing world without losing her own cultural identity.

Reviewed from this perspective, the *red vs expert* controversy has been interpreted as a conflict between an emotional need to be attached to that which defines what the uniqueness of China is and an intellectual choice to develop a highly sophisticated technology. Of course the conflict between identity and adaptation is not new. Indeed it smacks of the conciliatory attempt of Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909) in his "substance-function" (*t'i-yung*) formula. And Levenson's pioneering work itself suggests that the conflict was apparent in the mind of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929).² Without stretching the point, the anti-traditionalism of the *New Century* (*Hsin shih-chi*) and the advocacy

Professor Tu Wei-ming, associate professor of history of the University of California at Berkeley, is specialized in Neo-Confucianism and a contributor of many articles and book reviews to scholarly journals. Of which the latest is "The Confucian Perception of Adulthood," in *Daedalus*, Spring 1976 issue. He co-edited *Traditional China* with Professor James T.C. Liu and is a member on the Editorial Advisory Board of *ATS*.

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(continued other
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HOWARD BUCKNELL III
425 HILL STREET
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

~~Steve
contact
Every~~

Dear Jimmy!

A short analysis of the President's "Energy

"Program" as used to Congress will be forthcoming -
- in advance - here is on the text of the backup paper -
A good friend of mine, Professor Vincent

has no answer to save you in any way possible
in the foreign policy field. As a "negotiable

Republican" (self described) he may offer some interesting

and useful counterpoints to your other contacts.

He is the newly elected president of the International

Studies Association (ISA) - a very prestigious group

within the political science academic field.

Professor Vincent ("Vince") Davis

Director, Patton Chair of International Studies

University of Kentucky

Lexington, Kentucky

40506

TEL: 606-257-4666

Jimmy!

Howard

Dr. Robert G. Barnes
163 Brookside Lane
Fayetteville, New York
13066

April 2, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
Candidate For President
c/o Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia
30301

Dear Jimmy:

As one of 15 "Free Enterprise" Chair Professors in the United States; as one who is financially supported by national business leaders and a "grassroots" government institution (Onondaga Community College); as one who has a PhD in World Politics and International Business with a specialty in the petroleum industry and EXXON Corporation; and as a fellow "shipmate" who graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy (Class of 1953) - I would like to offer my services to you and your staff on a no-fee basis if necessary.

Further, I have two ideas that may be critical for your election:

1. Since it appears that the essential reason for our inflation and unemployment, as well as the disunity between labor, management black and whites within America involves wealth distribution ~~CONFLICT~~ - one immediate way for you to demonstrate your leadership and concern for the less fortunate would be for you to state that the President of the U.S. should take a significant cut in his or her salary and lifestyle, as an example to government, business and labor leaders plus the rank and file. In other words, there needs to be more restraint by Americans during a period when there is significant hardship by so many.
2. Keep emphasizing that you believe in and practice both Free or Private Enterprise and Social Responsibility towards the less fortunate - the great strength of the Democrat Party is the latter, while the great strength of the Republican ^{Party} is the former, and your great strength is that you combine them both. One of President Ford's early speeches or speechwriters stated: "There's one final thing that we can do, rich and poor alike.... we can share our blessings as well as our burdens...and we will be better off spiritually and economically.." Yet, the Ford image is that of a member of the Vail, Colorado Ski and Jet set, as well as a member of the Washington establishment for 25 years.

What really needs doing is for the President of the U.S. and various leaders in our communities to share their/our time and/or money with the less fortunate, whether in the form of education to help others appreciate meritocracy and private enterprise, or whether it means sharing money to help others help themselves.

I plan on being in the Atlanta area on April 14 and would be available to meet with you, Jody Powell, Steve Stark or other members of your staff if there is an interest. I believe that I could make a significant contribution in policy issues and speechwriting, since I have represented the business community in academia for the past three years; since I have had experience in government (Foreign Aid, Treasury Dept., and the Military; and since I'm an Independent at heart.

Respectfully, Bob Barnes *Bob Barnes* Tel. 315,637-8940

ROBERT G. BARNES

AGE: 45 ADDRESS: 163 Brookside Lane
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13066

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SUMMARY OF EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE

Ph.D. World Politics and International Business, U. of Washington, 1971.

Dissertation: "World Corporations and Wealth Deprivation by Governments: A Partial and Exploratory Analysis of the Experiences of Standard Oil Co. (N. J.) and Royal Dutch Shell Group of Companies, 1918-1969."

M.A. Government (Foreign Affairs), George Washington U., 1960.

B.S. Engineering/Liberal Arts, U. S. Naval Academy, 1953.

Academia: Chair Professor in the American Economic System, 1973-
- Citizens Foundation, Inc.; Syracuse, New York
- Onondaga Community College; Syracuse, New York

Professor of Business Administration and Economics, 1971-3
- York College of Pennsylvania; York, Pa.

Business: Marketing Consultant
- International Business Development Company; Bellevue, Wash., 1968
- United Control Corporation (Sundstrand Corp.); Redmond, Wash., 1967

Manager, Market Research (International and Domestic), 1966-7
- Kenworth Motor Truck Company; Seattle, Washington

Commercial Sales, Market Research, 747 Program Management, 1965-8
- The Boeing Airplane Company; Seattle, Renton, Everett, Wash.

Government: International Economist, 1963-4
- U. S. Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

Loan Officer, Program Officer, Special Assistant to Mission Dir., 1961-3
- U. S. State Department (A.I.D.) in Central America.

Publications and Speeches: "International Oil Companies Confront Governments: A Half Century of Experience," International Studies Quarterly, December, 1972

"Nixon, McGovern and the Independents, "York Daily Record," Aug. 17, 1972

"Free Enterprise In The Classroom," Central New York Business Review, January-February, 1975.

"Business and the Changing Society....The Promise of Free Enterprise."

"The Exxon Story - Truth or Consequences."

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"Free Enterprise - What's the Score and Can We Win?"

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April 1, 1976

FOR TV

Mr. Rex Granum
The Carter Campaign
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

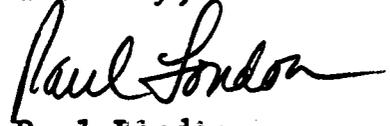
Dear Mr. Granum:

Inflation is clearly an issue of great concern to the American voters this year. Unfortunately, there has been too little public discussion of how the various presidential candidates would cope with this problem from the White House.

Accordingly, The Robert MacNeil Report will devote its April 12th program to an examination of the anti-inflation programs under consideration by the leading candidates.

We would very much appreciate Mr. Carter's responses to the attached questions, as briefly and as soon as possible, so that we may prepare for this program.

Sincerely,



Paul London
Economics Reporter



QUESTIONS TO THE CANDIDATES ON INFLATION

1. If you were elected in November, what do you expect would be the level of inflation at the end of your four year term?

2. To achieve that rate of inflation, would you propose to reduce the federal deficit, or at least keep it from rising?

Not necessary *To G.N.P.*

If so, would you reduce or maintain the level of federal spending? If you would reduce it, where would you cut?

Reductions: front operations

If you propose to reduce the deficit, would you raise or maintain taxes? If you would raise them, which ones would you raise?

Not raise taxes. general tax reform

3. Would you relax regulatory pressure in such areas as pollution control and job safety, or resist the introduction of tougher regulation, in order to reduce corporate costs? If so, please give some examples illustrating how far and how fast you would go.

No

4. What effect do you anticipate your anti-inflation policy would have on the level of unemployment?

hope reduce to 4% { What level of unemployment would you expect at the end of your four year term? *Not trade reduction for inflation*

5. What policies would you like the Federal Reserve Board to pursue? What, if any, control might you have in their policies?

- Less restrictions - Check on co-terminum - Close conduct

6. Do you feel that federal restrictions of wages and/or prices are a useful complementary tool in controlling inflation? If so, what form might such restrictions take?

Not long-term; want basic stability & thereby

Civil Engineering

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KNEELAND A. GODFREY, JR. Editor
ROBERT S. CYPHER Advertising Sales Manager

April 5, 1976

DAVE FOR YOU S

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Post Office Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Carter:

The July 1976 issue of CIVIL ENGINEERING will focus on the U.S. Bicentennial.

We invite you to contribute to one article, a roundup of views of the Presidential candidates on issues relating to our field. The issues are:

- .Expanding our public works construction to spur lagging economy
- .Energy conservation and development
- .Environment
- .U.S. foreign aid to the third and fourth worlds
- .Transportation

Pick any or all to write about. Tell us what you'd do as President in year 1976 to make the U.S. Tricentennial in year 2076 the happiest.

Your contribution will be considered for possible inclusion, in part or full. So be selective--write only about the issues about which you are most concerned and/or most knowledgeable. We'll ask ourselves, in deciding which contributions to include in the article, does he see both sides of the issue? or is he just playing partisan politics? Does he have special insight to the problem or its solutions?

Your contribution needn't be newly written or newly typed--if you wish, mark up a position paper or a speech. Or send us the words of an expert on that subject, whom you trust or agree with. (And, for each issue you write about, if appropriate, send us the name and phone number of a person--staff member or consultant--who can tell us more.)

Finally, tell us about yourself. What have you see, learned, read or done, that relates to these issues? Send us a photo or biographical note.



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We'll be pleased to send you a copy of our edited story, before publication.

Please tell me by April 14 if you will participate in this roundup article. And in that letter, please confirm that you will have your contributions in my hands by May 1.

Sincerely,


Kneeland A. Godfrey, Jr.

P.S. Ours is the magazine of the 70,000 member American Society of Civil Engineers.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

April 22, 1976

Kneeland A. Godfrey, Jr.
Editor, Civil Engineering
345 East 47th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Godfrey,

Enclosed is a paper on energy development, to be considered for inclusion in Civil Engineering.

I have also enclosed a biography and a photograph of Governor Carter. If you have any further questions please let me know.

Sincerely,

David E. Moran

David E. Moran
Issues Staff

P.O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100

