

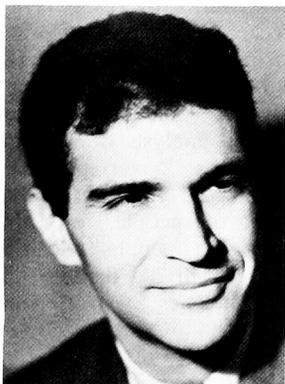
# the **KEY** reporter

volume xxxiii • number two • winter 1967-68

## PHI BETA KAPPA AWARD-WINNING BOOKS FOR 1967

*Children of Crisis* • *The American 1890's* • *Modern Genetics*

Phi Beta Kappa announced its three \$1000 Book awards for 1967 at the annual meeting of the Senate in December. The presentations were made at a dinner honoring the authors. The books chosen represent significant contributions to learning which go beyond narrow interpretations of scholarly disciplines. The winner of the Ralph Waldo Emerson prize was Robert Coles for his book *Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear* published by Atlantic-Little, Brown. The Christian Gauss Award went to Professor Larzer Ziff for his volume of literary criticism *The American 1890s: Life and Times of a Lost Generation*, published by the Viking Press. Haig P. Papazian won the Science Award for his work *Modern Genetics*, published by W. W. Norton.



Robert Coles

Dr. Robert Coles, eighth winner of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Award for studies of the intellectual and cultural condition of man, is a child psychiatrist and research psychiatrist at the Harvard University Health Services. His studies of the South, which resulted in *Children of Crisis*, began in 1958 when he was assigned to Biloxi, Mississippi, as an Air Force physician. The South was then just beginning to desegregate elementary schools, and it was during this period

of racial tension that Dr. Coles worked with children and adults of both races.

"What I have tried to pursue," writes Dr. Coles, "is a method of study (the clinical) and what I have tried to do is locate my body and mind where certain *citizens* are up against difficult times, so that their lives, like those of the sick, may have something to teach the rest of us." Dr. Coles' studies indicate that individual children involved in school desegregation test cases often grew in emotional strength and stability despite harassment and isolation. His work contains many illuminating insights into the self image of the individuals he came to know and their reactions to the mores of their environment.

In recommending *Children of Crisis* for the Ralph Waldo Emerson Award, the Award Committee commented: "These case studies, presented with a meticulous concern for significant detail and with a compassionate understanding of man



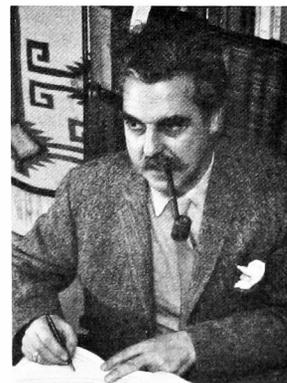
Larzer Ziff

at his noblest and his vilest, add a psychiatric and psychoanalytical dimension to the usual social, economic, and political analyses of one of the, perhaps *the*, crucial issues of our society. The book is not only free of jargon; it displays a constant awareness of the multiple factors at work in individual cases of courage or hatred — public and private, political and economic as well as personal, familial and psychological."

Larzer Ziff, winner of the Christian Gauss Award, is professor of English and vice-chairman of the department of English at the University of California, Berkeley. He is also the author of *The Career of John Cotton*, and editor of a number of volumes in American literature.

In his prize-winning book, *The American 1890s*, Mr. Ziff deals with an often neglected transitional period in American literature. He combines a wealth of skillfully controlled detail to demonstrate his conclusion that a generation of writers who seemed to fail in their own time left a lasting impression. Hamlin Garland and Henry Blake Fuller, Ambrose Bierce and Richard Harding Davis, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Theodore Dreiser "appeared to be part of the temporary disorders which had been thrown off in the spasms of the nineties," writes Mr. Ziff. "But these spasms proved in fact to be not the convulsions of rejection but the first strong and sure labor pains of modern American literature."

In giving the Christian Gauss Award to Mr. Ziff, the Award Committee said that *The American 1890s* is a "finely balanced, zestful, and comprehensive work. It succeeds in criticizing the 'genteel tradition' without mocking it . . . and it 'places' the nineties beautifully in American lit-



Haig P. Papazian

erary history . . . The chapter on the Midwestern imagination is typical of Ziff's ability to use popular novels, political writing, sociology and economics, and make them pay off magnificently in assessing the aims and accomplishments of a whole group of writers . . . Altogether an admirable book which should be standard for some time."

*Modern Genetics* was written by Haig P. Papazian, who teaches genetics at the School of General Studies at Columbia University and is a research biologist at Yale University. "Genetics is exciting," says the author, "and it is so because of its simple logical structure. The beauty of a scientific theory is not enhanced by glamorous presentation nor by an attempt to amaze the reader with size or complexity . . . The structure of the science of genetics as it stands today can be presented without omitting any essential part because of fear that the reader will not be intelligent enough to follow."

Keeping well in mind that he is writing for the "intelligent layman," Dr. Papazian covers a considerable amount of modern genetic theory in an imaginative, witty and clear style. He succeeds in conveying in depth some of the newest and most revolutionary ideas in genetic research without confusing his readers with complex mathematical, chemical, and biological information. It was for this ability to explain a complex science to nonscientists that Dr. Papazian was given the Phi Beta Kappa Science Award, whose purpose is to stress the need for more literate and scholarly interpretations of the physical and biological sciences and mathematics.

## TOWARD JUSTIFYING DEMOCRACY

by Harry R. Davis

H. L. Mencken, that sweet-tempered American iconoclast, is recorded as having remarked, "I do not believe in democracy; but I am perfectly willing to admit that it provides the only really amusing form of government ever endured by mankind." Mencken's comment may stimulate us to put the phenomenon of "democracy" and the issues surrounding it into proper perspective. Certainly we have tended, in the past century or so of Western experience, to glorify the idea of democracy — sometimes to the point of its becoming our ultimate value, our effective religion. We have tended to load all the eggs of our most serious expectations into the one basket of "democratic society." Disillusion has long since set in, for the basket of democracy is too small and too frail to carry such a load. Democracy simply cannot answer all our problems, nor fulfill all our dreams.

Nevertheless, even those of us who prefer to scale down very considerably the quantity and quality of faith we place in democracy may still value it highly and be most seriously concerned about its health and future. It is, of course, OURS — a very central strand of the culture and society into which we have been inducted, not to say indoctrinated. But to accept it for that reason would be to live the life unexamined — a life unworthy of humane and intellectual men.

An initial defense of democracy might be built on broadly pragmatic grounds: democracy *works*. It does not work always and everywhere, to be sure; but the evidence is strong

---

Harry R. Davis is Professor of Government at Beloit College. This article is a somewhat revised version of a speech delivered by Mr. Davis at the Phi Beta Kappa initiation banquet of the Beloit chapter in March 1966.

in Britain and the Commonwealth countries, in the United States of America, in the Scandinavian states, and in a few other spots on this many-troubled globe. But students of politics, and even thoughtful citizens, cannot stop with arguments so merely and grossly pragmatic. We must ask ourselves *why* it is that democracy works, why democracy ought to be preferred over authoritarianism — what line of argument can *justify* democracy? This problem is of course a large and complex one, requiring exhaustive scholarly and philosophic labors. In this essay we can only sketch out two or three insights which seem illuminating, a couple of wrong answers, and a tentative thesis.

### I

A necessary preliminary step is to pin down an operational definition of democracy. For present purposes, we shall rule out at least three conceptions of democracy which have wide support. First, we shall not mean by democracy a social system in which the Communist Party holds monopoly authority to define the true interest of the people. Second, we shall not deal with "economic democracy." Justifiable as many applications of the equality standard may be in the economic sphere, use of the word "democracy" to designate them is more confusing than convincing. Third, let us exclude the loose and imprecise usage which would understand democracy as a "whole way of life" that might include democratic personalities, democratic families, democratic business corporations, and even democratic colleges!

Let us instead define democracy in a way which sticks closer to its literal, primitive and most commonly understood meaning as one kind of *political* system, a form of *government*, a method of ordering the political process. Literally and classically, democracy means "government or rule by the people," by "the many" as distinguished from rule by one person or a few. In the small-scale Greek polis and the New England town meeting, popular control of the governing process could be relatively direct and pure. In modern experience, however, populist democracy proved impracticable, and the political systems we have to explain and defend actually embody *indirect* popular control, through representation. Thus the more sophisticated analysts of democracy have come to understand it, not as "government *by* the people," but as "government with the consent of the people," or "government responsible to the people," or (still better) "government accountable to the people." Henry Mayo's working definition will serve us well: "a democratic political system is one in which public policies are made, on a majority basis, by representatives subject to effective popular control at periodic elections which are conducted on the principle of political equality and under conditions of political freedom."

### II

As a clue to the nature of the justification required for democracy, let us notice that democracy (understood as government *by* persons accountable to the people) is essentially one possible answer to only one of several important, perennial problems about government: the problem of *who* ought to rule. Another great political issue, indeed a prior one, is the question of the *purposes* and functions of government. Aristotle identified for us one simple but profound aspect of this latter problem which is crucial. For him, the prime moral issue about a particular government is: in whose *interest* is it exercising power — in its own interest or in the interest of the governed, the people? In the centuries since almost every philosopher and politician who has spoken to the sub-

ject has agreed with Aristotle that the only true and justifiable purpose of government is to serve the needs and interests of those who are being governed; that is, government ought to be *for* the people, to serve the public interest, the common good, the general welfare. But great disputes have raged over our logically related question, *who* is most likely to govern in the interest of the people?

The ground-rules, the logical terms for the debate about this question, were set classically by Plato in his *Republic*. Plato's own answer to the problem was hardly democratic, of course. He argued that philosophers ought to be kings, or at any rate that a class of reasonably authentic philosophers ought to be our guardians. Why? Because philosophers are by definition those who have true *knowledge*, including knowledge about what is best for all of us and therefore knowledge of how best to rule. Plato's rhetoric about making kings into philosophers, or philosophers into kings—or *somehow* bringing power and wisdom together—has been powerfully persuasive; and so a great many people of the past 2400 years who may not have accepted Plato's own answer to the question have nevertheless accepted his way of framing the question. Thus the claim of some special knowledge, insight, illumination about the people's interest and how best to achieve it has constituted at least a part of the claim to authority by a great variety of rulers down through the ages, from ancient and medieval aristocracies through divine right kings to twentieth-century dictators.

But the claim to general superiority is not really sufficient: this still leaves open the possibility that, here or there, on this or that public issue, the ruler might be wrong and thus ought to be subject to criticism and opposition. So the modern dictatorships have pushed the argument to its logical conclusion: the fascists and Communists claim, not just superiority, but *infallibility*! In the Communist Manifesto the Party is explicitly defined and identified as those who lead because they "clearly understand the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." Under the dogmatizing impact of Lenin's leadership and the Stalin era, Communist confidence in the true, "scientific" political knowledge of the Party has been pushed to the point of absolute certainty and infallibility. The fascist claim about the dictator's knowledge is most simply and blatantly summarized in the Tenth Commandment of the Italian Fascist Decalogue: "Mussolini is always right."

### III

If we accept (as I think we must) the issue of political *knowledge* as pivotal for the problem of who ought to rule, what answer or argument can be made on behalf of democracy? Must we simply agree with George Bernard Shaw that "democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few?" Two types of efforts to support and justify democracy have been made in the context of the "political knowledge" debate. One kind of argument simply transfers the claim of superior knowledge from the king or dictator or party to the many, the people. The other one denies altogether the objective reality of any public interest or common good, and therefore the possibility of anyone's having knowledge about it. In my judgment, neither strategy is convincing and reliable as a justification.

The attempt to justify democracy on the basis of a radical faith in the competence and wisdom of "the people" has been a strong element in both popular culture and political philosophizing for the past two centuries. Locke earlier laid the groundwork for it by designating the people as the ultimate political judge—even though he intended in practice

the English middle class. But it was Jean-Jacques Rousseau with his doctrine of the mystical "general will" who provided the most powerful and radical of arguments along this line. Indeed, Rousseau explicitly argues that the general will is, among other things, *infallible*! And a great many democrats have believed him ever since. This populist type of democratic thought was one expression of the romantically optimistic culture of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberalism, which has supplied the principal ethos of American intellectual life. But the political, intellectual and spiritual experiences of the twentieth century have brought about considerable disillusion, and have rendered incredible any thesis involving the magical infallibility of the mass of people.

Rejecting the infallibility of the many (as well as that of the one or the few), and observing the logical and psychological connections between philosophical absolutism and political absolutism, various recent thinkers have attempted to justify democracy by rejecting all absolutes and embracing a radical relativism or skepticism. Among the writers who seem to take this position are Hans Kelsen, Karl Popper, T. D. Weldon, T. V. Smith, and Robert Dahl. Certain versions of the philosophy of logical positivism have lent support to this approach, inasmuch as they affirm that the scientific is the only valid mode of knowing and thereby reduce value judgments to mere personal preferences.

The argument seems to run thus: There are no metaphysical or ethical absolutes, at least none that are accessible to man's knowing. Therefore it is impossible for anyone to discover what is the "right" course of action for the community or where the "true interests" of the people reside. Therefore let us have democracy—understood as a political system in which every individual and group can compete to achieve whatever his own self-interest appears to require, with the resulting compromise becoming public policy.

Without attempting a direct critique of the relativist position, we may suggest three kinds of reasons for concluding that this approach to justifying democracy is invalid. First, the absolute relativist (aside from the dubious consistency of his position) has no ground or standard for justifying for or condemning *anything*. Ultimately he can only reiterate that democracy and its values are his personal preference. Second, it seems more than doubtful that the self-seeking individuals and groups posited by the relativist argument could form and maintain a political community of any kind, let alone a democratic one. These Hobbesian men could hardly even agree to the proposition that the proper end of government is protection of the interests of the whole community, the common good. As John Hallowell puts it, in his *Moral Foundations of Democracy*, "The very nature of compromise presupposes some commonly acknowledged principles of justice in terms of which mutual concessions can be made . . . How can 'compromises' which are dictated by the superior strength of one particular group or bloc be anything but the beginning of repeated demands by the stronger party for endless concessions from the weaker?" Third, it may be relevant to note that all the great "founding fathers" and classical philosophers of democracy were believers in moral and metaphysical absolutes—Locke, the English Puritans, Rousseau, the American founders, J. S. Mill, and so on. Such historical evidence is hardly conclusive philosophically, but neither does it seem likely that the correlation is merely accidental.

Rousseau's effort to transfer the claim to absolute political knowledge from the few to the many proves to be untenable. The efforts of some recent writers to support democracy on the ground of philosophical relativism appear to be fatally defective. Where, then, can the democrat turn?

There is at least a third possibility, one which depends on a basic philosophical distinction between metaphysics and ethics on the one side and epistemology (the problem of knowledge) on the other. Notice that the absolutist argument of the authoritarian (whether elitist or populist) includes affirmations on both these levels. The authoritarian claims, and must claim, (1) that reality is such that objective truth about its characteristics may be known (including truth about what is morally and politically valuable), and (2) that he or his group in fact knows this truth (even to the point of infallibility). The thorough-going relativist, on the other hand, affirms that there is no metaphysical/ethical reality to be known — and of course the epistemological question therefore does not arise. But the distinction between metaphysics/ethics and epistemology makes a third position logically possible. This position combines metaphysical/ethical absolutism with epistemological relativism: (1) reality is such that objective truths about its characteristics might be formulated (including truths about what is morally valuable and politically desirable for the common good), and (2) while it is within man's power to attain some degree of knowledge of such truths, no person or group can attain to the full, certain or inerrant knowledge of them which would warrant a claim of political infallibility.

This middle position, for which "fallibilism" seems a proper label, enables us to avoid both the authoritarian consequences of dual absolutism and the nihilistic, anarchistic implications of consistent relativism. More positively, fallibilism affords the ground for a convincing justification of the democratic political process.

An illuminating illustrating of the three positions is supplied by the argument of three baseball umpires about the proper approach to calling balls and strikes. The first man, obviously an authoritarian, contends that "I call 'em as they are." The second, a relativist-nominalist, argues that "They are neither balls nor strikes until I call them." The third, in true fallibilist-democratic spirit, modestly affirms only that "I call 'em as I see 'em." No true baseball fan will doubt the fallibility of all umpires! But he certainly believes in the objective reality of the game and the pitches, and presumably he has confidence that, under the watchful eye of the crowd, the judgment of the umpires is sufficiently correct sufficiently often to permit the game to continue.

Clearly it follows from the theory of universal fallibility that the unchallengeable monopoly of political power by any arbitrarily "chosen" one or few persons is unjustifiable. But does not the positive proposition that "the many" or "the people" ought to rule require a much more positive justification? If all men are equal in that their lives and interests have the same value, and in that they are fallible, is it not still true that some men are more fallible than others? Does not even a democracy need the leadership and expertise of the few who are more politically competent?

The answer to such questions seems to be "yes—but . . ." At least three arguments from fallibilism seem to support a considerable emphasis on the "but . . ." side of the answer, and at the same time to go far toward positively justifying a democratic political system.

*First*, recall that the kind of democracy we advocate in our operational definition does not provide that some mob known as "the many" actually and directly governs. Advocacy of government by the few but accountable to the many clearly concedes much, but by no means everything, to the superior competence of the few.

Fallibilism in the philosophic and cultural realms requires that the search for truth be conducted through continuous and free discussion, open to the competition of all ideas, evidences and

arguments. The consequent and parallel procedure required for the political realm is that the competition for power to determine public policies be continuous, free, and open to the participation and judgment of all men. The process must be kept open and free for all in both realms, because we can know in advance neither which ideas will make for truth and justice nor which politicians or parties may be the competent bearers of those ideas. Practical necessity requires that we occasionally take votes and decisions, but none of them is irrevocable, and the search for the common good continues. *Second*, even the relatively modest but still decisive role reserved for "the people" in our model of democracy does assume a certain kind of epistemological-political competence on the part of the many: the capability of the great majority of people to make at least gross judgments about how well the ruling was done by the few, the leaders. The classic argument is of course the analogy to the consumer: one need not be an excellent chef to judge the quality of the meal, nor a professional shoe-maker to know whether the shoe pinches — nor a superior politician to know whether the governing has been done well.

*Third*, authentic political wisdom includes more than the rather technical competence, or even the rational "knowledge," to which our argument has thus far pointed. It involves man's will as well as his mind, virtue or moral goodness as well as technical or rational skills, the will-power to choose the right ends and means as well as the intellectual power to discover them. Failure to give due weight to the moral will as a crucial and highly problematic element in the human condition is perhaps the decisive defect of Plato's original analysis as well as of all the "Greeks" who have followed him. Experience, both personal and historical, suggests that men are as universally and fatally fallible in their wills as in their minds. Recognition of this fact adds a conclusive dimension to our other arguments about the problem, and strongly reinforces the basic fallibilist thesis. The resulting political problem is beautifully stated by James Madison in *The Federalist* (No. 51): "What is government itself but the greatest of all [adverse] reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed, and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

Except for this element of moral fallibility, it might still be argued that some superior intellectual elite could be better equipped than the people themselves to know and achieve the common good. But as A. D. Lindsay explains, in *The Modern Democratic State*, "Why should the argument about shoes pinching imply the control of government by the ordinary voter? The answer is that experts do not like being told that the shoes they so beautifully make do, not fit. They are apt to blame it on the distorted and misshapen toes of the people who have to wear their shoes. Unless there is power behind the expression of grievances, the grievances are apt to be neglected."

Utopian illusions about the perfect virtue of the people are of course no more tenable than about that of the few. But the basic remedy for moral fallibility must be similar to that for intellectual fallibility: we must trust the continuous process of freely competing truths, parties, and interests, and hope that both the few and the many can muster sufficient virtue to keep the community viable.

## V

Exploration of the philosophic sources and supports of the doctrine of fallibilism is beyond the scope of this essay. Import-

(Continued on back cover)

# reading

recommended by the book committee

**humanities** GUY A. CARDWELL, ROBERT B. HEILMAN,  
GEORGE N. SHUSTER

**social sciences** LEONARD W. DOOB, FREDERICK B. ARTZ,  
LAWRENCE H. CHAMBERLAIN, NORMAN J. PADEFORD,

EARL W. COUNT, LAWRENCE A. CREMIN,  
LOUIS C. HUNTER, RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

**natural sciences** MARSTON BATES, KIRTLEY F. MATHER

## GUY A. CARDWELL

*Northrop Frye in Modern Criticism: Selected Papers from the English Institute.* Edited with an introductory essay by Murray Krieger. Columbia. \$5.

Three brilliant essays on the principles of the "myth critic" who has probably been the most influential literary theorist in America since the publication of his *Anatomy of Criticism* in 1957. Mr. Angus Fletcher is mainly complimentary; Mr. Geoffrey H. Hartman is more mixed in opinion; and Mr. W. K. Wimsatt is dominantly and, so far as Mr. Frye's "system" goes, rigorously hostile. In a brief comment on the commentaries, Mr. Frye applies himself directly and indirectly to Mr. Wimsatt's strictures.

*James Dickey: Poems 1957-1967.* James Dickey. Wesleyan. \$6.95.

Among all American poets, Mr. Dickey is one of the few who has been both good and popular. His well shaped, eloquent verses combine the concrete and the magically incantatory. This volume selects from earlier publications and adds twenty-three new poems.

*Randall Jarrell: 1914-1965.* Edited by Robert Lowell, Peter Taylor, and Robert Penn Warren. Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. \$6.50.

Prose and verse by twenty-nine contributors in memory of Randall Jarrell, poet, essayist, and writer of fiction, who died in 1965. Few *Festschrift* or memorial volumes have been contributed to by so many distinguished writers or have illustrated so interestingly relationships among writers. By the testimony here Jarrell himself was an intense person, a lover of humanity, a passionate devotee of literature, and a great catalyst.

*Writers at Work: The Paris Review Interviews, Third Series.* Introduced by Alfred Kazin. Viking. \$7.95.

This anthology — which is up to the standard of the two earlier volumes in this highly successful series — presents extremely candid, often fascinating interviews with fourteen writers of contemporary importance, among them being William Carlos Williams, Lillian Hellman, William Burroughs, Edward Albee, Harold Pinter, Blaise Cendrars, and Louis-Ferdinand Celine. Gossipy though the interviews tend to be, the reader may extract from them serious ideas about current modes of sensibility.

*The Poetry of Hart Crane: A Critical Study.* R. W. B. Lewis. Princeton. \$10.

Beginning with the assumption that Crane is one of the dozen-odd major poets in American history, Mr. Lewis exercises his distin-

guished talents as historian of ideas and exegete of literature to place and illuminate Crane's poetry. He interprets Crane as a kind of Emersonian, seeing the miraculous in the common and recognizing the need to join love to vision. Crane thus read becomes the religious poet of his generation, not death-haunted but in love with life.

*William Troy: Selected Essays.* Edited with an introduction by Stanley Edgar Hyman and with a memoir by Allen Tate. Rutgers. \$9.

Although he was an original, versatile, and influential critic, Troy, who died in 1961, never published a book during his lifetime. This selection from published and unpublished essays exhibits his range and method and will be valued especially by students of the novel. Treated here are such subjects as time and myth and such writers as James, Lawrence, Joyce, Stendhal, Proust, and Mann.

*The Triumph of Time: A Study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress, and Decadence.* Jerome Hamilton Buckley. Harvard. \$4.50.

Mr. Buckley brings together in readable, informative essays (first prepared as public lectures) a congeries of topics that have been for some time of major interest to students of history and of literature. He goes for his data to the poets, novelists, and essayists of Victorian England.

*The Worldwide Machine.* Paolo Volponi. Translated by Belén Severeid. Grossman. \$6. Fantasy (absurdist, blackly comic, Freudian, Milleresque . . .) as fashionably practiced by the epigones has come to seem tedious to a good many readers and critics, but Volponi's novel does hold one's attention. This is a mad study of a madman who is examining potentialities for truth in an absurd world.

## LOUIS C. HUNTER

*New England: A Study in Industrial Adjustment.* R. C. Estall. Praeger. \$7.50.

*Labor Migration and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Puerto Rico.* Stanley L. Friedlander. M. I. T. \$6.

*Europe's Postwar Growth: The Role of Labor Supply.* Charles P. Kindleberger. Harvard. \$6.50.

*Regional Economic Development in Italy.* Lloyd Saville. Duke. \$7.

Economic growth stands close to the top of the list of problems that have engaged the attention of statesmen and economists alike during the past two decades. It provides a common area of interest and bond of sympathy between peoples at widely different

stages in economic development. It has served as a measure of competitive achievement between rival economic and political systems. The cynic might add that it has as its goal the American Way of Life and disillusionment. Among the nations, advanced or underdeveloped, it is rare to find one without wide disparities between regions, and in which efforts to reduce such regional differences are not a subject of official concern and action. To obtain the varied and complex facts bearing upon growth, to determine their interrelationships, and to prescribe ways and means of stimulating and guiding growth in mature and emerging national economies alike are the aims of an impressive and widening body of social scientists. Among the more recent products of their investigations, I have found the foregoing studies of particular interest, both in areas dealt with and the approaches employed.

*Profile of the U.S. Economy: A Survey of Growth and Change.* Emma S. Woytinsky. Praeger. \$12.50.

Bearing a certain resemblance both to *Historical Statistics of the United States* and the *United States Statistical Abstract* but for the general reader far more useful, the *Profile* might be subtitled, *The Intelligent Citizen's Guide to the Economy in Which He Lives*. With more text than tables, this volume illuminates nearly every major segment of the economy and some other matters as well. For everyman's reference shelf.

*The Economy of the Israeli Kibbutz.* Elyahu Kanovsky. Harvard. \$3.50.

Conceding some variations in detail, all the world is divided among three basic economic systems: the *traditional*, from which something like two-thirds of the globe's inhabitants are trying to escape; and the "free" and "communist" systems with which the Cold War has made us so familiar, each with its clamorous ideology and messianic drive. But there is a fourth, more type than system, perhaps. The *kibbutz* is surely one of the most extraordinary institutional innovations of twentieth century man, one more likely to be admired than imitated in a world in which relief from want is but a way station on the road to affluence. Of the varied literature devoted to the history and character of the kibbutz, this small volume provides a useful point of entry.

*From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765.* Richard L. Bushman. Harvard. \$8.95.

A revealing and solidly based account of economic and social change under conditions radically different from those of the upheavals of our day, providing much insight into the turbulent if largely non-violent manner in which our own institutions took form.

## Also Recommended:

*Northern California's Water Industry: The Comparative Efficiency of Public Enterprise in Developing a Scarce Natural Resource.* Joe S. Bain, and others. Johns Hopkins. \$15. *Urban Renewal: People, Politics, and Planning.* Edited by Jewel Bellush and Murray Hausknecht. Doubleday Anchor. p. \$1.95. *Delano: The Story of the California Grape Strike.* John Gregory Dunne. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. \$4.95.

## KIRTLEY F. MATHER

*The Explosion of Science: The Physical Universe.* Edited by Sir Bernard Lovell and Tom Margerison. Meredith. \$24.95.

More than just a sumptuous status symbol for the coffee table, this over-sized, lavishly illustrated book contains crisply written, readily understandable descriptions of current happenings in all the physical sciences and elucidates their implications for mankind today and tomorrow. The authors, including the editors, are eight British scientists, each of whom is well qualified to fulfill his assigned task.

*General Palaeontology.* A. Brouwer. Translated by R. H. Kaye. Chicago. \$7.50.

Initially based on a series of lectures delivered to undergraduates at the University of Leiden by its internationally acclaimed professor of stratigraphy and paleontology, this treatise on general paleontology as distinct from systematic paleontology is highly recommended to all serious students of geologic life development and evolutionary theory.

*Progress Into The Past.* William A. McDonald. Macmillan. \$9.95.

Subtitled "The Rediscovery of Mycenaean Civilization," this handsome book comprises a chronological account of the archeologists and their work, which since 1870 has made known the remarkable cultures that flourished in the Eastern Mediterranean region between about 1600 and 1100 B.C. The maps and drawings reinforce the intriguing text in presenting a vivid picture of the "Late Bronze Age" that was in its way as brilliant as the "Golden Age of Pericles" nearly a thousand years later.

*The World of the Moon.* Henry C. King. Crowell. \$3.95.

*Getting Acquainted With Comets.* Robert S. Richardson. McGraw-Hill. \$7.50.

*Red Giants and White Dwarfs.* Robert Jastrow. Harper & Row. \$5.95.

Each of these was written for the general reader by a well-qualified specialist and is an outstanding example of the fine art of making science known to the layman. The first deals with the moon both as a satellite of the earth and as a world in its own right. It includes photographs taken by Lunik 3, Rangers 7, 8, and 9, and Surveyor 1, as well as a discussion of the data secured by those and other space vehicles prior to late 1966. The second book answers the questions raised by shooting stars, meteors, meteoroids, meteorites, meteor showers, and fireballs in a truly fascinating manner. The third carries the subtitle "the evolution of stars, planets and life" and had its genesis in a series of television programs presented by its author in 1964.

*The Life of the Desert.* Ann and Myron Sutton. McGraw-Hill. \$4.95.

Beautifully and abundantly illustrated, in color and monotone, this description of the animals and plants and their environment in the arid lands of the American West is distinguished by the clarity and accuracy of the fascinating text. It should prove to be a useful guide for visitors to the many national parks and monuments in the region.

*Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics.* Ludwig Wittgenstein. Translated by G. E. M. Anscombe. M.I.T. p. \$3.45.

These "remarks" on the philosophy of mathematics and logic, written between 1937 and 1944, contain many valuable ideas not to be found elsewhere in Wittgenstein's writings. The expertly edited selections from the original manuscripts were translated and first published in 1956 in Great Britain; they are here available for the first time in the United States in an inexpensive paperback edition.

*Lost Land Emerging.* Walter B. Emery. Scribner's. \$7.95.

An eminently readable account of archeological excavations and restorations in Nubia, the greater part of which is even now being submerged beneath the rising waters above the High Dam at Aswan, but the history of which has recently emerged from oblivion, thanks to the fascinating studies of the author and other expert archeologists.

*Radiation and Life.* George E. Davis. Iowa State. \$6.50.

Intended primarily as a textbook for students at the advanced high school or early college level, this clear, accurate, and highly readable introduction to the physical and biological sciences of our day is also a useful resource for inquisitive laymen seeking factual information about nuclear reactors, the biological effects of nuclear radiation, etc.

## EARL W. COUNT

*Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies.* Vol. I: *Introduction and African Tribes.* \$12.50. II: *Asian Rural Societies.* \$10. III: *Mexican and Peruvian Communities.* \$10. Edited by Julian H. Steward. Illinois. Set: \$29.95.

Eleven symposiasts treat the simultaneous modernizings in a highly diverse array of societies: their antecedent cultural positions affording the postulate base. A distinguished work, in that it reaches for a theory of cultural change more adequate and embrace than the current principles of diffusion-assimilation-acculturation.

Were we to redefine "mythology" as the language of man's value-world, then its grammar out-reaches any one thinker's capacity. Here is a worthy little library:

*Myth and Cosmos: Readings in Mythology and Symbolism.*

*Gods and Rituals: Readings in Religious Beliefs and Practices.*

*Magic, Witchcraft, and Curing.* Edited by John Middleton. Natural History Press. Each: \$6.95, p. \$2.50.

And, no less:

*The Anthropologist Looks at Myth.* Compiled by Melville Jacobs. Edited by John Greenway. Texas. \$6.

These three are technical—yet the great things they say will reward us tenacious laymen:

*Olduvai Gorge.* Vol. 2: *The Cranium and Maxillary Dentition of Australopithecus (Zinjanthropus) boisei.* P. V. Tobias. Cambridge. \$17.50.

No creature has emerged in recent years to witness more tellingly to man's place in nature.

*Background to Evolution in Africa.* Edited by Walter W. Bishop and J. Desmond Clark. Chicago. \$27.50.

Fauna and soil sequences from Miocene to Holocene epochs; also, the genesis of man's lithic handiwork: forty-two symposiasts report swift progress and sharpening focus in the same quest.

*The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia.* Carl W. Blegen and Marion Rawson. Vol. I. Parts 1 and 2. Princeton. \$40 each.

Buildings and contents, recorded in detail, illustrated. Vols. II-IV to follow. The definitive report, and self-eloquent.

*Letters From Mesopotamia.* A. Leo Oppenheim. Chicago. \$5.95.

An anthology from clay, translating the life of its time. The guidance is masterly and catholic.

That remarkable collection of *Archaeologia Mundi* (TKR, summer 1966, winter 1966-7, summer 1967) maintains its beautiful stature with:

*Mexico.* James Soustelle. Translated by James Hogarth.

*Persia II.* Vladimir G. Lukonin. Translated by James Hogarth. World. \$10 each.

Two reissues, which have deserved not to die:

*The Land of Poco Tiempo.* Charles F. Lummis. New Mexico. \$5, p. \$2.50.

The 1928 edition of this beloved classic of the Pueblos, in facsimile. "Sun, silence, and adobe."

*The Passing of the Aborigines.* Daisy Bates. Praeger. \$6.50.

Among the lonely noble who have ministered singly and wholly and have understood, was this Irishwoman among Australians.

*Kwakiutl Ethnography.* Franz Boas. Edited by Helen Codere. Chicago. \$12.50.

Boas did not live to see his "summing-up" in print. His unpublished manuscript, judiciously augmented by published selections.

### Also Recommended:

*Structural Anthropology.* Claude Lévi-Strauss. Anchor. p. \$1.95. Reissued.

*Beyond the Frontier: Social Process and Cultural Change.* Edited by Paul Bohannan and Fred Plog. Natural History Press. \$6.95, p. \$2.50.

*Africa in Social Change.* P. C. Lloyd. Penguin African Library. p. \$1.65.

*The Political Organization of Unyamwezi.* R. G. Abrahams. Cambridge. \$9.50.



1811 Q Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20009

Please send information and order forms for the items checked below:

1. keys, tie tack, and tie chain
2. membership plaques and certificates

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....



**LAWRENCE H. CHAMBERLAIN**

*Friendship and Fratricide: An Analysis of Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss.* Meyer A. Zeligs. Viking. \$8.95.

This controversial book will make few converts: the partisans of Chambers and Hiss are not likely to change their earlier opinions concerning the innocence or culpability of either person. For the "uncommitted" reader, interested in the utility of the psychoanalytic technique as an instrument of social investigation, the book is more intriguing than convincing. Throughout there is an *ex parte* quality that is due only in part to the fact that Dr. Zeligs had personal access to one but not the other of the two key actors.

*The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society.* Arnold M. Rose. Oxford. \$8.50, p. \$2.95.

A temperate, carefully researched and documented sequel, supplement, and corrective to the thesis advanced by a number of sociologists but perhaps most widely identified with and espoused by the late C. Wright Mills in *The Power Elite*.

Dr. Rose's conclusions are supported by logic and plausibility as well as plain facts, although it must be acknowledged that his thesis lacks dramatic appeal when set along side the provocative "revelations" of the "devil theorists."

*Modernization and the Structure of Societies: A Setting for International Affairs.* 2 Volumes. Marion J. Levy, Jr. Princeton. \$22.50. In these two volumes of densely packed exposition Professor Levy has attempted to set down a systematic, theoretical analysis of present day socio-economic-political-institutions. The project is one of such magnitude, complexity, and intractability as to challenge both individual competence and available technique.

In one reviewer's opinion the present work does not achieve its declared objectives — but, paradoxically, it achieves its basic mission by providing a frame of reference and a conceptual thrust that all social scientists can employ or borrow from profitably in their own efforts to deal meaningfully with social and political systems.

*John F. Kennedy and The New Frontier.* Edited by Aida DiPace Donald. Hill & Wang. \$5.95, p. \$1.95.

By all odds the best selection of articles on the Kennedy presidency. The authors — a varied group which includes some of our most highly respected scholar-analysts — have much to say that has not been fully reported. The student of presidential politics will find here a veritable treasury of information, interpretation and conjecture about the man who in three short years evoked a new public conception of the presidential office.

*The Rand Corporation: Case Study of A Nonprofit Advisory Corporation.* Bruce L. R. Smith. Harvard. \$7.95.

A solidly packed history of the organization that has been both glorified and vilified in the public prints. This carefully researched and cautiously written case study of the glamour agency of the post-war era is the antithesis of the "fail-safe" mystique that has been associated with the name Rand.

*Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and The New Deal.* Jerold S. Auerbach. Bobbs-Merrill. \$6.50.

This perceptive and literate recounting of the activities of the La Follette Committee in its investigation of American labor conditions fills an important gap in the history of civil liberties in this country. For the seniors among us it will revive memories of surprise and shock; for younger readers it provides needed perspectives for appraising the contemporary scene.

**Also Recommended:**

*The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942.* John Salmond. Duke. \$6.50.

*Congress and Lobbies: Image and Reality.* Andrew M. Scott and Margaret A. Hunt. North Carolina. \$4.50.

*Interstate Compacts in the Political Process.* Weldon V. Barton. North Carolina. \$5.

*All Men Are Created Equal.* Edited by William W. Wattenberg. Wayne State. \$4.95.

**FREDERICK B. ARTZ**

*Byzantium and Europe.* Speros Vryonis, Jr. Harcourt, Brace & World. p. \$2.95.

A compact survey of Byzantine history.

*Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900.* 2nd Edition. M. L. W. Laistner. Cornell. p. \$2.45.

A paper-back edition of an historical classic.

*Land and Work in Medieval Europe: Selected Papers.* Marc Bloch. Translated by J. E. Anderson. California. \$5.50.

A collection of interesting articles by a world authority.

*Amsterdam in The Age of Rembrandt.* John J. Murray. Oklahoma. p. \$2.75.

A wonderful picture of Holland in the Seventeenth Century.

*Enlightened Despotism.* John G. Gagliardo. Crowell. \$3.95.

Excellent introduction to a large subject.

*Perspectives on Brazilian History.* Edited by E. Bradford Burns. Columbia. \$7.50.

A series of interpretive essays on Brazilian history.

*The Bourbon Restoration.* Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny. Translated by Lynn M. Case. Pennsylvania. \$10.

The best account of any period of French history since the French Revolution.

*The Comte De Chambord: The Third Republic's Uncompromising King.* M. L. Brown. Duke. \$8.

A strangely romantic chapter of Nineteenth Century history.

*Romanticism and Revolt: Europe 1815-1848.* J. L. Talmon. Harcourt, Brace & World. \$5.50, p. \$2.95.

An excellent study of the neglected first half of the 19th Century.

*Edward and The Edwardians.* Philippe Julian. Translated by Peter Dawnay. Viking. \$6.50.

A sophisticated, amusing, and perceptive life of Edward VII translated from the French.

*The Outlawed Party: Social Democracy in Germany, 1878-1890.* Vernon L. Lidtke. Princeton. \$10.

A fundamental study of modern German politics.

- SCIENCE • POLITICS •
- MUSIC • ECONOMICS
- PAINTING • RELIGION
- LITERATURE • HISTORY
- FOREIGN POLICY •
- SOCIAL RELATIONS • •

- Richard Rovere
- Kenneth Keniston
- Jacques Barzun
- Alfred Kazin
- Oscar Handlin
- Robert Heilbroner
- Douglas Bush
- Loren Eiseley
- William Shannon
- Phyllis McGinley
- Paul Sears
- Louis Simpson
- Dudley Fitts
- B. H. Haggin
- R. Buckminster Fuller
- Walter Kerr
- David Riesman
- Henry Wallich
- Marston Bates
- George Boas

Outstanding scholars and writers bring you their ideas on a broad range of topics in each quarterly issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. In addition, you'll find reviews of important new books, poetry, and Joseph Wood Krutch's popular column on men and mankind.

Subscribe now at a special introductory rate—\$4.00 for a full year's subscription (four issues). You save 20% of the regular subscription price.

## The American Scholar

1811 Q St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

Please enter my subscription to the *Scholar* for a full year (four issues) for just \$4.00.

Payment enclosed  Bill me

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# CENTENNIAL AT CITY COLLEGE



This is the special medal struck by the City College chapter of Phi Beta Kappa to mark its 100th anniversary. The medal consists of a replica of the traditional Phi Beta Kappa key and the inscription "Gamma Chapter of New York, Centennial: 1867-1967" on one side, and the college's seal on the other. It was designed by Professor Albert P. d'Andrea, chairman of the department of art and a past president of the chapter.

To mark its centennial at the City College of New York in 1967, Gamma Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa arranged a year-long series of special events based on the theme "The Role of the Intellectual in our Society."

At the opening meeting on March 8, Professor Hans J. Morganthau spoke on "The Intellectual and Politics." In June, Connor Cruise O'Brien, former United Nations official and now Schweitzer Professor at New York University, analyzed the workings of the UN in a talk entitled, "Ritual and Aggression." At the concluding event held October 18, Clark Kerr took as his topic "The Urban Grant University: New Assignments and Intensified Controversies." Dr. Kerr was awarded the first Gamma Centennial Medal for his distinguished work in furthering public higher education.

Gamma chapter was honored at a dinner given by the City College Alumni Association in November. All living past

presidents of the chapter received silver-plated medals to mark the occasion.

The City College chapter was founded by an energetic undergraduate named Richard Rogers Bowker '68, who later headed the R. R. Bowker Co., one of the nation's leading publishing firms. Ironically, Bowker himself was refused admission to Phi Beta Kappa because of a dispute with Dr. Horace Webster, then president of City College, over the publication of a college newspaper. It was not until 36 years after his graduation that Bowker was finally inducted into the Society.

Among the City College members of Phi Beta Kappa are: Philosopher Morris R. Cohen '00, Justice Felix Frankfurter '02, Dr. Jonas Salk '34, and two Nobel Prize winners — Dr. Robert Hofstadter '35, and Dr. Arthur Kornberg '37.

A membership directory will be in the chapter history which is now being prepared.

## CARL BILLMAN ΦBK SECRETARY ON LEAVE

Carl Billman, Secretary of the United Chapters, is celebrating the completion of his twenty-first year in this position with an extended leave. Granted by the Senate as a tribute to his ability and dedication, the three month vacation is taking Mr. Billman far from the details at 1811 Q Street. He is touring in the Mediterranean area with visits scheduled to Italy, Greece and the Aegean Islands. A graduate of Harvard and former teacher of history, Mr. Billman supervised the establishment of the Society's Washington headquarters and has directed the work of Phi Beta Kappa during a period of rapidly expanding membership and activity.

## TOWARD JUSTIFYING DEMOCRACY

(continued from page 4)

tant affinities would seem to exist between fallibilism and much contemporary philosophy of science. Fallibilism is perhaps the central concept in the thinking of the influential American philosopher, C. S. Pierce. Still deeper roots might be sought in such concepts of Christian theology as "the Protestant principle" and "original sin." It was, after all, Reinhold Niebuhr who gave us (in *Children of Light and Children of Darkness*) the dictum that it is "man's capacity for justice which makes democracy possible, and his inclination to injustice which makes democracy necessary."

Whatever the grounding of the principle, fallibilism appears to afford us one significant line of argument in justification of democratic government, and adequate reason for joining E. M. Forster in raising "two cheers for democracy."

the **KEY** reporter

volume xxxiii • number 2 • winter 1967-68

Editor: Evelyn Greenberg

Consulting Editor: Carl Billman

Editorial Committee: Irving Dilliard, William F. Hahnert, Robert H. Irrmann, Raymer McQuiston, Mary F. Williams.

Published quarterly (Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer) by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa at the Garamond/Pridemark Press, Baltimore, Maryland. Editorial and executive offices, 1811 Q St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20009. No responsibility is assumed for views expressed in articles published.

Advertising rates upon application. Single copies 20¢, ten or more copies 10¢ each. Subscription \$1.00 for one year, \$2.00 for two years, \$3.00 for five years. Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

Copyright © 1968 by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. All rights reserved.



THE KEY REPORTER  
PHI BETA KAPPA  
1811 Q Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20009

Return Requested

Second class postage paid  
at Washington, D. C.

