

# **Political Institutions: State, War, and Politics**

**Pratt Institute   Spring 2006   SS. 205.01   Thursday 2:00 – 4:50**

## **Ric Brown**

Associate Professor of Cultural Studies

Office: Dekalb 419

Office Phone: 1.718.636.3567, ext. 2709

Office Hours: Monday 1:00pm-1:55pm and 4:30pm-5:30pm, Tuesday 1:00pm-1:55pm and by appointment

Email: [brbrowniii@earthlink.com](mailto:brbrowniii@earthlink.com)

URL: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/7364>

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## **Catalog Description**

### SS 205.01 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

This is an examination of the theory and operation of the major types of political systems. The course focuses on the question of power as it extends from the state to daily life. Both formal and informal, sanctioned and unsanctioned modes of political expression will receive attention.

## **Course Description**

When I last offered this course, the subject matter addressed the origins of political institutions and developed an understanding of that political institutions are not just the obvious ones, but that the family, community, even the individual should also be considered political institutions. In part, that emphasis was determined by the prevailing politics of the day, which centered on family values on the conservative side and the emphasis by moderates on obligation to community.

This semester, the course will focus on political institutions again in light of current politics. Specifically, the circumstance of an election during wartime. So this semester special emphasis will be placed on discourse and rhetoric as the mediation between the state and war. If politics is warfare carried on by other means, then it is also true that war is politics carried out by other means. "War is peace and peace is war" was how Orwell put it, but one did not have to wait until 1984. This basic construction is immanent in the theory and practice of the State and of war. Oration is a tactic and a strategy of war and of politics: to speak is to struggle. If we speak freely, then we act. With speech comes forms of rationality (or ways of making sense of the world else speech would not communicate any meaning), so the course will also focus on institutions in a state of crisis. We will use two historical events as case studies: the Cuban Missile Crisis and the realignment of voting in recent U.S. elections to examine modes of decision making and analysis in political institutions.

## **Course Requirements**

### *Class Participation*

Education is not a one way street and we can not expect to simply passively receive knowledge.

Participation is mandatory and will be factored into the final grade.

#### *Mid-term Essay*

A take-home essay question. This will account for 40 percent of your grade.

#### *Final Essay*

8-12 pages in length. *All papers are to be typed and double-spaced on standard paper in a standard font. Handwritten papers will not be accepted.* The paper will count for 40 percent of the final grade.

#### *Absences and Lateness*

Persistent absences or lateness will result in a reduction of your final grade.

#### *Grades and Incompletes*

Incompletes will be granted only in accordance with the established policy of the college. The request must be made in advance of exam week. It must be made in writing. **An incomplete is “available only if the student has been in regular attendance, has satisfied all but the final requirements of the course, and has furnished satisfactory proof that the work was not completed because of illness or other circumstances beyond control” (Pratt Institute Bulletin).**

## **READINGS**

The readings for the class will be drawn from these and other sources. Given the number of bookstores available either on-line or here in the city --- as well as having the New York Public Library at your disposal---- you are responsible for obtaining the required texts. This is not to place a burden upon you, but it is a necessary part of education that you learn how to acquire books and materials for yourself.

The required texts for the class are:

a) articles from the course reader or from on-line sources as noted

b) *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives Won the Heart of America.*

Thomas Frank

New York: Metropolitan Books/ Henry Holt and Company. 2004

ISBN 0805073396

c) *Constructing the Political Spectacle*

Murray J. Edelman

ISBN: 0226183998 |

University of Chicago Press; March 1988.

d) *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*

Graham T. Allison, Graham Allison (Editor);

ISBN: 0321013492

January 1999; Addison-Wesley

**Suggested sources for purchasing the readings:**

The Advanced Book Exchange

[abebooks.com](http://abebooks.com)

The Strand

[www.strandbooks.com](http://www.strandbooks.com) – the huge second-hand store on 12<sup>th</sup> street.

Labyrinths Books

<http://www.labyrinthbooks.com/>

Powells

[powells.com](http://powells.com)

Barnes and Nobles

[www.BARNESANDNOBLE.com](http://www.BARNESANDNOBLE.com)

Amazon

<http://www.amazon.com>

City Lights Books

[www.citylights.com](http://www.citylights.com)

Borders

[www.borders.com](http://www.borders.com)

St. Marks Bookstop

<http://www.stmarksbookshop.com>

St. Mark's Bookshop 31 Third Avenue

**Readings not in required texts:**

A small course pack is being prepared.

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## Session I: Introduction to the Course

### PART ONE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

#### Session II:

Plato, *The Republic*, Book II. The Luxurious State (372A-374E), pgs.59-63

<http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.3.ii.html>

Aristotle, *Politics* Chapter XVII, On the State, the household, and Slavery, pgs.1-6

<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.one.html>

<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.2.two.html>

Suggested Reading:

Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, pgs.41-54

Alexandre Kojève, Selection from an *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit*.

#### Session III:

##### The History of Political Institutions

Karl Marx, *German Ideology*

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/index.htm>

[Chapter One only]

Max Weber, “Science as a Vocation”

[http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/science\\_frame.html](http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/science_frame.html)

Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation”

[http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/politics\\_vocation.html](http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/politics_vocation.html)

Max Weber “Summary of ‘Characteristics of Bureaucracy’” *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, part III, chap. 6, pp. 650-78. <http://www2.pfeiffer.edu/~lridener/DSS/Weber/BUREAU.HTML>

#### Session IV: The State, Authority, and Terror

Max Horkheimer, “The Authoritarian State”.

V. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, from *Lenin on Politics and Revolution*, pgs.184-195.

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/ch01.htm>

Leon Trotsky, Selection from *Terrorism and Communism*, International Publishers

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1920/dictatorvs/index.htm>

Suggested Reading:

“Danton's Death” by Georg Buchner, Henry J. Schmidt, trans. and ed. 1977. *Georg Buchner. The Complete Collected Works, New York: Avon.*

E.V. Walter, “Policies of Violence: from Montesquieu to the Terrorists” in *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse* (Boston: Beacon Press) Kurt Wolff and Barrington Moore. 1968.

Documentary: *Seduction of a Nation*.

#### Session V: The State and Public Discourse

##### The Media and the Institutionalization of Political Discourse

Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle*

**Session VI: Documentary: *The War Room***

**Session VII: The Media and the Institutionalization of Political Discourse II**

Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle*

Documentary: *Spin*

**Session VII: Politics as War Carried out by Other Means: Political Discourse III**

Documentary: *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky*

**Session VIII: War and the State**

Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, Pericle's Funeral Oration, Book II chap. 4, pgs.115-122

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>

Abraham Lincoln, The Gettysburg Address

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/gadd/>

Plato, *Republic* Chap XVIII, v. 466d-471c, pgs. 169-174 ["On War"]

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>

Brutus, X, 24 January 1788 ["On the Standing Army"], from *The Anti-Federalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates*, edited by Ralph Ketcham, pgs.287-292;

[http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1776-1800/federalist/anti\\_I.htm](http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1776-1800/federalist/anti_I.htm)

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, speech at West Point

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/douglasmacarthurthayeraward.html>

Gen. George C. Patton, War Speech

<http://www.pattonhq.com/speech.html>

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/MovieSpeeches/moviespeechpatton3rdarmyaddress.html>

**Session IX: The War Machine**

Delueze and Guattari, "1227: Treatise on Nomadology---The War Machine, Proposition IX," *A Thousand Plateaus*, pgs 416-423.

Xenophon, from *The Persian Expedition* (also known as the *Anabasis*), pgs. 238-241

Penguin Classics edition

General William T. Sherman, excerpt from *Sherman's March to the Sea*, from *The Great Republic According to The Master Historians*, vol. III, pgs. 266-284

<http://www.cviog.uga.edu/Projects/gainfo/marchsea.htm>

**Session X: Politics as War Carried out by Other Means: Political Discourse IV**

Martin Luther King, Jr. Speech at the Lincoln Memorial [I Have a Dream]

Lyndon Johnson, "The Great Society: Freedom is not Enough" aka "To Fulfill These Rights"

<http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/650604.asp>

Lyndon Johnson, "Address before Congress" March 15, 1965

<http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/650315.asp>

Ronald Reagan, "City on the Hill"

[http://www.townhall.com/hall\\_of\\_fame/reagan/speech/cpac1.html](http://www.townhall.com/hall_of_fame/reagan/speech/cpac1.html)

Time to Recapture our Destiny Detroit, Michigan July 17, 1980

<http://www.reaganfoundation.org/reagan/speeches/speech.asp?spid=18>

Mario Cuomo, "Two Cities" Convention Speech

<http://teacher.scholastic.com/researchtools/articlearchives/civics/speeches/spcuomo.htm>

Bill Clinton, First Inaugural Address: "A New Covenant for America"

<http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres64.html>

PART TWO  
TOPICS IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS:  
Two Examples of Political Institutions in a Time of Crisis

**Session XI:** *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives won the Heart of America.*

**Session XII:** *What's the Matter with Kansas? How Conservatives won the Heart of America.*

**Session XIII:** *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*

**Session XIV:** *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*

**Session XV: Review**

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS MID-TERM ESSAY QUESTION  
(2-3 typed pages)

Using your reading of Murray Edelman regarding social problems, political leaders, and political enemies, discuss the political rhetoric used by the Administration regarding any of the following nations: Venezuela, Iran, or North Korea. Note that you will have to use transcripts of Presidential speeches, reports to Congress, etc. These are available via the websites of the Library of Congress and the White House, as well as from the Lexis-Nexis database. Do not rely only on news analyses one often finds in the media.

## **City Upon a Hill**

**Future President Ronald Reagan at the first annual CPAC conference, January 25, 1974.**

There are three men here tonight I am very proud to introduce. It was a year ago this coming February when this country had its spirits lifted as they have never been lifted in many years. This happened when planes began landing on American soil and in the Philippines, bringing back men who had lived with honor for many miserable years in North Vietnam prisons. Three of those men are here tonight, John McCain, Bill Lawrence and Ed Martin. It is an honor to be here tonight. I am proud that you asked me and I feel more than a little humble in the presence of this distinguished company.

There are men here tonight who, through their wisdom, their foresight and their courage, have earned the right to be regarded as prophets of our philosophy. Indeed they are prophets of our times. In years past when others were silent or too blind to the facts, they spoke up forcefully and fearlessly for what they believed to be right. A decade has passed since Barry Goldwater walked a lonely path across this land reminding us that even a land as rich as ours can't go on forever borrowing against the future, leaving a legacy of debt for another generation and causing a runaway inflation to erode the savings and reduce the standard of living. Voices have been raised trying to rekindle in our country all of the great ideas and principles which set this nation apart from all the others that preceded it, but louder and more strident voices utter easily sold cliches.

Cartoonists with acid-tipped pens portray some of the reminders of our heritage and our destiny as old-fashioned. They say that we are trying to retreat into a past that actually never existed. Looking to the past in an effort to keep our country from repeating the errors of history is termed by them as "taking the country back to McKinley." Of course I never found that was so bad—under McKinley we freed Cuba. On the span of history, we are still thought of as a young upstart country celebrating soon only our second century as a nation, and yet we are the oldest continuing republic in the world.

I thought that tonight, rather than talking on the subjects you are discussing, or trying to find something new to say, it might be appropriate to reflect a bit on our heritage.

You can call it mysticism if you want to, but I have always believed that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans to be sought out by those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage.

This was true of those who pioneered the great wilderness in the beginning of this country, as it is also true of those later immigrants who were willing to leave the land of their birth and come to a land where even the language was unknown to them. Call it chauvinistic, but our heritage does not set us apart. Some years ago a writer, who happened to be an avid student of history, told me a story about that day in the little hall in Philadelphia where honorable men, hard-pressed by a King who was flouting the very law they were willing to obey, debated whether they should take the fateful step of declaring their independence from that king. I was told by this man that the story could be found in the writings of Jefferson. I confess, I never researched or made an effort to verify it. Perhaps it is only legend. But story, or legend, he described the atmosphere, the strain, the debate, and that as men for the first time faced the consequences of such an irretrievable act, the walls resounded with the dread word of treason and its price—the gallows and the headman's axe. As the day wore on the issue hung in the balance, and then, according to



the story, a man rose in the small gallery. He was not a young man and was obviously calling on all the energy he could muster. Citing the grievances that had brought them to this moment he said, "Sign that parchment. They may turn every tree into a gallows, every home into a grave and yet the words of that parchment can never die. For the mechanic in his workshop, they will be words of hope, to the slave in the mines—freedom." And he added, "If my hands were freezing in death, I would sign that parchment with my last ounce of strength. Sign, sign if the next moment the noose is around your neck, sign even if the hall is ringing with the sound of headman's axe, for that parchment will be the textbook of freedom, the bible of the rights of man forever." And then it is said he fell back exhausted. But 56 delegates, swept by his eloquence, signed the Declaration of Independence, a document destined to be as immortal as any work of man can be. And according to the story, when they turned to thank him for his timely oratory, he could not be found nor were there any who knew who he was or how he had come in or gone out through the locked and guarded doors.

Well, as I say, whether story or legend, the signing of the document that day in Independence Hall was miracle enough. Fifty-six men, a little band so unique—we have never seen their like since—pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. Sixteen gave their lives, most gave their fortunes and all of them preserved their sacred honor. What manner of men were they? Certainly they were not an unwashed, revolutionary rebel, nor were then adventurers in a heroic mood. Twenty-four were lawyers and jurists, 11 were merchants and tradesmen, nine were farmers. They were men who would achieve security but valued freedom more.

And what price did they pay? John Hart was driven from the side of his desperately ill wife. After more than a year of living almost as an animal in the forest and in caves, he returned to find his wife had died and his children had vanished. He never saw them again, his property was destroyed and he died of a broken heart—but with no regret, only pride in the part he had played that day in Independence Hall. Carter Braxton of Virginia lost all his ships—they were sold to pay his debts. He died in rags. So it was with Ellery, Clymer, Hall, Walton, Gwinnett, Rutledge, Morris, Livingston, and Middleton. Nelson, learning that Cornwallis was using his home for a headquarters, personally begged Washington to fire on him and destroy his home--he died bankrupt. It has never been reported that any of these men ever expressed bitterness or renounced their action as not worth the price. Fifty-six rank-and-file, ordinary citizens had founded a nation that grew from sea to shining sea, five million farms, quiet villages, cities that never sleep—all done without an area re-development plan, urban renewal or a rural legal assistance program.

Now we are a nation of 211 million people with a pedigree that includes blood lines from every corner of the world. We have shed that American-melting-pot blood in every corner of the world, usually in defense of someone's freedom. Those who remained of that remarkable band we call our Founding Fathers tied up some of the loose ends about a dozen years after the Revolution. It had been the first revolution in all man's history that did not just exchange one set of rulers for another. This had been a philosophical revolution. The culmination of men's dreams for 6,000 years were formalized with the Constitution, probably the most unique document ever drawn in the long history of man's relation to man. I know there have been other constitutions, new ones are being drawn today by newly emerging nations. Most of them, even the one of the Soviet Union, contains many of the same guarantees as our own Constitution, and still there is a difference. The difference is so subtle that we often overlook it, but is so great that it tells the whole story. Those other constitutions say, "Government grants you these rights" and ours says, "You are born with these rights, they are yours by the grace of God, and no government on earth

can take them from you.”

Lord Acton of England, who once said, “Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely,” would say of that document, “They had solved with astonishing ease and unduplicated success two problems which had heretofore baffled the capacity of the most enlightened nations. They had contrived a system of federal government which prodigiously increased national power and yet respected local liberties and authorities, and they had founded it on a principle of equality without surrendering the securities of property or freedom.” Never in any society has the preeminence of the individual been so firmly established and given such a priority.

In less than twenty years we would go to war because the God-given rights of the American sailors, as defined in the Constitution, were being violated by a foreign power. We served notice then on the world that all of us together would act collectively to safeguard the rights of even the least among us. But still, in an older, cynical world, they were not convinced. The great powers of Europe still had the idea that one day this great continent would be open again to colonizing and they would come over and divide us up.

In the meantime, men who yearned to breathe free were making their way to our shores. Among them was a young refugee from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He had been a leader in an attempt to free Hungary from Austrian rule. The attempt had failed and he fled to escape execution. In America, this young Hungarian, Koscha by name, became an importer by trade and took out his first citizenship papers. One day, business took him to a Mediterranean port. There was a large Austrian warship under the command of an admiral in the harbor. He had a manservant with him. He had described to this manservant what the flag of his new country looked like. Word was passed to the Austrian warship that this revolutionary was there and in the night he was kidnapped and taken aboard that large ship. This man's servant, desperate, walking up and down the harbor, suddenly spied a flag that resembled the description he had heard. It was a small American war sloop. He went aboard and told Captain Ingraham, of that war sloop, his story. Captain Ingraham went to the American Consul. When the American Consul learned that Koscha had only taken out his first citizenship papers, the consul washed his hands of the incident. Captain Ingraham said, “I am the senior officer in this port and I believe, under my oath of my office, that I owe this man the protection of our flag.”

He went aboard the Austrian warship and demanded to see their prisoner, our citizen. The Admiral was amused, but they brought the man on deck. He was in chains and had been badly beaten. Captain Ingraham said, “I can hear him better without those chains,” and the chains were removed. He walked over and said to Kocha, “I will ask you one question; consider your answer carefully. Do you ask the protection of the American flag?” Kocha nodded dumbly “Yes,” and the Captain said, “You shall have it.” He went back and told the frightened consul what he had done. Later in the day three more Austrian ships sailed into harbor. It looked as though the four were getting ready to leave. Captain Ingraham sent a junior officer over to the Austrian flag ship to tell the Admiral that any attempt to leave that harbor with our citizen aboard would be resisted with appropriate force. He said that he would expect a satisfactory answer by four o'clock that afternoon. As the hour neared they looked at each other through the glasses. As it struck four he had them roll the cannons into the ports and had then light the tapers with which they would set off the cannons—one little sloop. Suddenly the lookout tower called out and said, “They are lowering a boat,” and they rowed Koscha over to the little American ship.

Captain Ingraham then went below and wrote his letter of resignation to the United States Navy. In it he said, "I did what I thought my oath of office required, but if I have embarrassed my country in any way, I resign." His resignation was refused in the United States Senate with these words: "This battle that was never fought may turn out to be the most important battle in our Nation's history." Incidentally, there is to this day, and I hope there always will be, a USS Ingraham in the United States Navy.

I did not tell that story out of any desire to be narrowly chauvinistic or to glorify aggressive militarism, but it is an example of government meeting its highest responsibility.

In recent years we have been treated to a rash of noble-sounding phrases. Some of them sound good, but they don't hold up under close analysis. Take for instance the slogan so frequently uttered by the young senator from Massachusetts, "The greatest good for the greatest number." Certainly under that slogan, no modern day Captain Ingraham would risk even the smallest craft and crew for a single citizen. Every dictator who ever lived has justified the enslavement of his people on the theory of what was good for the majority.

We are not a warlike people. Nor is our history filled with tales of aggressive adventures and imperialism, which might come as a shock to some of the placard painters in our modern demonstrations. The lesson of Vietnam, I think, should be that never again will young Americans be asked to fight and possibly die for a cause unless that cause is so meaningful that we, as a nation, pledge our full resources to achieve victory as quickly as possible.

I realize that such a pronouncement, of course, would possibly be laying one open to the charge of warmongering—but that would also be ridiculous. My generation has paid a higher price and has fought harder for freedom than any generation that had ever lived. We have known four wars in a single lifetime. All were horrible, all could have been avoided if at a particular moment in time we had made it plain that we subscribed to the words of John Stuart Mill when he said that "war is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things."

The decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing is worth a war is worse. The man who has nothing which he cares about more than his personal safety is a miserable creature and has no chance of being free unless made and kept so by the exertions of better men than himself.

The widespread disaffection with things military is only a part of the philosophical division in our land today. I must say to you who have recently, or presently are still receiving an education, I am awed by your powers of resistance. I have some knowledge of the attempts that have been made in many classrooms and lecture halls to persuade you that there is little to admire in America. For the second time in this century, capitalism and the free enterprise are under assault. Privately owned business is blamed for spoiling the environment, exploiting the worker and seducing, if not outright raping, the customer. Those who make the charge have the solution, of course—government regulation and control. We may never get around to explaining how citizens who are so gullible that they can be suckered into buying cereal or soap that they don't need and would not be good for them, can at the same time be astute enough to choose representatives in government to which they would entrust the running of their lives.

Not too long ago, a poll was taken on 2,500 college campuses in this country. Thousands and thousands of responses were obtained. Overwhelmingly, 65, 70, and 75 percent of the students found business responsible, as I have said before, for the things that were wrong in this country. That same number said that government was the solution and should take over the management and the control of private business. Eighty percent of the respondents said they wanted government to keep its paws out of their private lives.

We are told every day that the assembly-line worker is becoming a dull-witted robot and that mass production results in standardization. Well, there isn't a socialist country in the world that would not give its copy of Karl Marx for our standardization.

Standardization means production for the masses and the assembly line means more leisure for the worker—freedom from backbreaking and mind-dulling drudgery that man had known for centuries past. Karl Marx did not abolish child labor or free the women from working in the coal mines in England the steam engine and modern machinery did that.

Unfortunately, the disciples of the new order have had a hand in determining too much policy in recent decades. Government has grown in size and power and cost through the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society. It costs more for government today than a family pays for food, shelter and clothing combined. Not even the Office of Management and Budget knows how many boards, commissions, bureaus and agencies there are in the federal government, but the federal registry, listing their regulations, is just a few pages short of being as big as the Encyclopedia Britannica.

During the Great Society we saw the greatest growth of this government. There were eight cabinet departments and 12 independent agencies to administer the federal health program. There were 35 housing programs and 20 transportation projects. Public utilities had to cope with 27 different agencies on just routine business. There were 192 installations and nine departments with 1,000 projects having to do with the field of pollution.

One Congressman found the federal government was spending 4 billion dollars on research in its own laboratories but did not know where they were, how many people were working in them, or what they were doing. One of the research projects was “The Demography of Happiness,” and for 249,000 dollars we found that “people who make more money are happier than people who make less, young people are happier than old people, and people who are healthier are happier than people who are sick.” For 15 cents they could have bought an Almanac and read the old bromide, “It's better to be rich, young and healthy, than poor, old and sick.”

The course that you have chosen is far more in tune with the hopes and aspirations of our people than are those who would sacrifice freedom for some fancied security.

Standing on the tiny deck of the Arabella in 1630 off the Massachusetts coast, John Winthrop said, “We will be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword throughout the world.” Well, we have not dealt falsely with our God, even if He is temporarily suspended from the classroom.

When I was born my life expectancy was 10 years less than I have already lived—that's a cause

of regret for some people in California, I know. Ninety percent of Americans at that time lived beneath what is considered the poverty line today, three-quarters lived in what is considered substandard housing. Today each of those figures is less than 10 percent. We have increased our life expectancy by wiping out, almost totally, diseases that still ravage mankind in other parts of the world. I doubt if the young people here tonight know the names of some of the diseases that were commonplace when we were growing up. We have more doctors per thousand people than any nation in the world. We have more hospitals than any nation in the world.

When I was your age, believe it or not, none of us knew that we even had a racial problem. When I graduated from college and became a radio sport announcer, broadcasting major league baseball, I didn't have a Hank Aaron or a Willie Mays to talk about. The Spaulding Guide said baseball was a game for Caucasian gentlemen. Some of us then began editorializing and campaigning against this. Gradually we campaigned against all those other areas where the constitutional rights of a large segment of our citizenry were being denied. We have not finished the job. We still have a long way to go, but we have made more progress in a few years than we have made in more than a century.

One-third of all the students in the world who are pursuing higher education are doing so in the United States. The percentage of our young Negro community that is going to college is greater than the percentage of whites in any other country in the world.

One-half of all the economic activity in the entire history of man has taken place in this republic. We have distributed our wealth more widely among our people than any society known to man. Americans work less hours for a higher standard of living than any other people. Ninety-five percent of all our families have an adequate daily intake of nutrients—and a part of the five percent that don't are trying to lose weight! Ninety-nine percent have gas or electric refrigeration, 92 percent have televisions, and an equal number have telephones. There are 120 million cars on our streets and highways—and all of them are on the street at once when you are trying to get home at night. But isn't this just proof of our materialism—the very thing that we are charged with? Well, we also have more churches, more libraries, we support voluntarily more symphony orchestras, and opera companies, non-profit theaters, and publish more books than all the other nations of the world put together.

Somehow America has bred a kindliness into our people unmatched anywhere, as has been pointed out in that best-selling record by a Canadian journalist. We are not a sick society. A sick society could not produce the men that set foot on the moon, or who are now circling the earth above us in the Skylab. A sick society bereft of morality and courage did not produce the men who went through those year of torture and captivity in Vietnam. Where did we find such men? They are typical of this land as the Founding Fathers were typical. We found them in our streets, in the offices, the shops and the working places of our country and on the farms.

We cannot escape our destiny, nor should we try to do so. The leadership of the free world was thrust upon us two centuries ago in that little hall of Philadelphia. In the days following World War II, when the economic strength and power of America was all that stood between the world and the return to the dark ages, Pope Pius XII said, "The American people have a great genius for splendid and unselfish actions. Into the hands of America God has placed the destinies of an afflicted mankind."

We are indeed, and we are today, the last best hope of man on earth.

