The Rice University Studies is successor to The Rice Institute Pamphlet
THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY

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Discussion Leaders and Rapporteurs Gather for Conference with Assembly Chairman and Co-Chairman. Seated from left to right: Marvin Hurley, Carey Croneis, and Ben Woodson. Standing: W. H. Masterson, Carl Reistle, Dwight Brothers, C. M. Hudspeth, and W. W. Akers.
GOALS FOR AMERICANS

Proceedings of

THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY

May 18-21, 1961

A Conference Sponsored by
Rice University in Cooperation with
The American Assembly, Columbia University

Held at
Cohen House, Rice University
and
Fort Clark Ranch, Brackettville, Texas
THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY is dedicated to the belief that free citizens of a democracy can make up their own minds on public questions if they have access to sound, unbiased facts. Established at Columbia University in 1950 by Dwight D. Eisenhower, it is an affiliate of Columbia and is now incorporated as an educational institution by the Regents of the University of the State of New York.

The American Assembly seeks to supply background, define issues, stimulate discussion, and evoke conclusions in matters of large public interest. It holds several national conferences each year on subjects chosen for importance and timeliness by the American Assembly Board of Trustees. Authorities are retained to write objective background papers presenting essential data and defining the main issues in each subject. This material is made available to participants prior to sessions of the Assembly. At the nonpartisan conferences some sixty or seventy men and women widely representative of American leadership meet for several days to discuss the Assembly topic. Their conclusions and recommendations receive wide news coverage.

Major subjects that have been considered by previous Assemblies include relations with Western Europe, monetary policies and inflation, economic security for Americans, atoms for power, the United States and the United Nations, the Secretary of State, perspectives and pros-
pects in American agriculture, and the United States and its relations to the Far East, to Africa, and to Latin America.

Regional assemblies, such as the Southwestern Assembly, are held under the joint auspices of the American Assembly and certain selected universities.

**THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY**

The first Southwestern Assembly, cosponsored by Rice University and the American Assembly of Columbia University, was held at Rice and the Fort Clark Ranch, Brackettville, Texas, April 17-20, 1958. The subject of discussion was Atoms for Power: United States Policy in Atomic Energy Development. The second Southwestern Assembly was held May 18-21, 1961, on the subject: Goals for Americans.

The background materials on “Goals,” prepared for the American Assembly, were made available to the participants of the second Southwestern Assembly. The final report of the American Assembly on this subject, however, was not seen by the Southwestern panel members. On the other hand, the agenda prepared for the American Assembly—except for relatively minor changes—was used at the Fort Clark panel sessions. It is included as a part of this report.

George R. Brown, chairman of the Board of Trustees of Rice University, had been a member of the Twelfth American Assembly which discussed Atoms for Power. When Henry M. Wriston, president of the Assembly, suggested that Rice sponsor a Southwestern Assembly on the same subject, Mr. Brown proposed that the actual panel discussions be held at the Fort Clark Ranch, far
from the distractions of a large city. This counterpro-
posal was accepted. Accordingly, in 1958 the partici-
pants met on the Rice campus for the initial luncheon
and for the organizational briefing. The entire party was
then transported by private planes to the ranch. This
plan of operation proved so successful in the Southwestern Assembly that it was also followed in the second.

In the 1961 Southwestern Assembly membership was
comprised of some seventy leaders in public affairs, re-
presenting agriculture, business and industry, science,
engineering, medicine, commerce, banking, the law, the
press and television, and education, both private and
public.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Southwestern Assemblies require an usual amount
of planning and cooperation because of the fact that they
are held at two places separated by more than three hun-
dred miles. Fortunately the Rice University staff has
had the benefit of the advice and assistance of two of
the Trustees of the American Assembly who live in
Houston: Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, president, The Hous-
ton Post, and L. F. McCollum, president, The Continen-
tal Oil Company. Clifford C. Nelson, executive vice pres-
ident of the American Assembly, also has been especially
helpful both in the planning and operational stages of
the Southwestern Assemblies.

Rice University is also grateful to Brown & Root Con-
struction Company, Dow Chemical Company, Continen-
tal Oil Company, Humble Oil & Refining Company,
Tennessee Gas Transmission Company, Texas Eastern
Gas Transmission Company, and Cameron Iron Works
for supplying the company planes which, for the 1961 Assembly, made the trips to and from the Fort Clark Ranch possible. Thanks are also due several individuals whose private planes expedited the solving of transportational difficulties.

The principal speaker, J. Erik Jonsson, complicated an unusually complex schedule in order to fit into the Fort Clark program, and his cooperation is deeply appreciated. Members of the administrative and service staff of the Assembly, whose names are listed elsewhere, as well as the companies which loaned their services, also deserve the thanks of all the participants. Mrs. W. C. Hardy, director, Food Services, Cohen House, and Whitlock Zander, alumni secretary of Rice University, and Bob Ross and Glynn Tetens, manager and resident manager respectively of the Fort Clark Ranch, all played important roles in making the Southwestern Assembly a success.

Finally Rice University and both the American and Southwestern Assemblies are again deeply indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Herman Brown and Mr. and Mrs. George R. Brown for making the unusually attractive facilities of the Fort Clark Ranch available to the University and thus to the participants in the Assembly.
THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY
May 18-21, 1961

SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 18

11:30-12:30 Assemble at Cohen House, Rice University Campus, Houston
12:15 Luncheon, Cohen House
1:15 Comments on organization and introductions—Carey Croneis
   Welcome—George R. Brown, Chairman, Board of Governors, Rice University
   Comments—Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Member, Board of Trustees, The American Assembly
   The American Assembly—Clifford C. Nelson, Executive Vice President

3:00-3:15 Departure by plane for Fort Clark Ranch, Brackettville, Texas

5:30-6:30 Social Hour, Fort Clark Ranch Headquarters
6:45 Dinner, Ranch Headquarters
8:30 First Panel Discussions—Education

Friday, May 19

7:45-9:00 Breakfast, Ranch Headquarters
9:30 Second Panel Discussions—Economic Growth, Technological Advancement, and the Organization of the Economy
10:45 Coffee
1:00 Luncheon, Ranch Headquarters
2:30 Third Panel Discussions—Health and Welfare: Meeting Human Needs
3:45 Coffee
6:00 Social Hour
7:00 Dinner, Ranch Headquarters
8:30 Address—J. Erik Jonsson, Chairman of the Board, Texas Instruments, Inc.

Saturday, May 20
7:30-8:30 Breakfast, Ranch Headquarters
8:45 Fourth Panel Discussions—United States Objectives in World Affairs
10:00 Coffee
11:45 Luncheon, Ranch Headquarters
1:00 Buses leave for short excursion to Piedras Negras, Mexico
5:30 Social Hour and Barbecue, Ranch Pool Area

Sunday, May 21
7:45-8:45 Breakfast, Ranch Headquarters
9:00 Plenary Session, Ranch Theatre
12:00-1:15 Buffet Luncheon, Ranch Headquarters
1:30-1:45 Planes depart for San Antonio, Houston, and Dallas

The Panels meet as follows:
Panel I—Room 1, Meeting Hall
Panel II—Room 2, Meeting Hall
Panel III—Room 3, Meeting Hall
THE OPENING LUNCHEON

COHEN HOUSE, RICE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

May 18, 1961

At the first luncheon session of the second Southwestern Assembly Chairman Carey Croneis briefly welcomed the guests and discussed the plans and projected procedures for the entire meeting. Dr. Croneis then introduced, in sequence, George R. Brown, Mrs. Oveta Hobby, and Mr. Clifford C. Nelson, whose remarks, partly in condensed version, are herewith reproduced.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE R. BROWN,
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF GOVERNORS, RICE UNIVERSITY,
WITH REFERENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY
AND THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY

It is again my pleasure to welcome the Southwestern Assembly and its distinguished colleagues to the campus of the Rice University.

In 1958 when we met here, it was Rice Institute, but Rice has been a university in everything but name for many years.

We are pleased with the progress of our humanities curriculum. Fifty-one per cent of our undergraduates are in the Liberal Arts program. As you can see we have another humanities building under construction.
There are other areas of satisfactory progress. I mention them with what I hope is appropriate modesty.

We have always been proud of our Graduate School, which is large for a university of this size. We have been granting doctor's degrees since 1918, and last year we awarded thirty-seven. This is a high percentage for a student body of less than two thousand.

It has not been easy to limit the student body to this number, but we think we are correct to stress the quality of instruction we offer, a quality which possibly would suffer with a greater enrollment. Last year we selected 425 Freshmen out of 2,700 completed applications. Our cost per student has gone from $350 at the end of World War II to a present cost of $2,274.

As you know, Rice is a privately endowed institution which charges no tuition. With such a financial limitation, we have problems in maintaining our high standards.

Again, I welcome all of you, and hope we all face a pleasant and informative weekend.

STATEMENT OF MRS. OVETA CULP HOBBY
WITH REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY
AND THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY

It makes me very happy as a director of the American Assembly that Rice University is once again engaged in supporting the Southwestern Assembly.

It gives me a proud feeling to realize that busy people will take time from their own affairs to spend time considering the affairs of our country and to try to find solutions for the problems which face us as a nation.

For a number of years the Assembly and this branch of it have been engaged in this work, and the results,
as reflected in national attitudes, have been most encouraging. An organization such as this, working quietly and calmly, does not usually command the attention of news media as does, for example, a flamboyant politician with an ax to grind, but among the thinking people of this country, the Assembly’s reports are attracting increased interest each year.

The fact that the Assembly has no ax to grind is its greatest virtue. The fact that people who are successful in their own fields are willing to work together in the Assembly is its greatest strength.

At Fort Clark, you people will sit down and without outside interference will look into the question of our national goals. This is an excellent study subject because at this time it probably would be difficult to find any large segment of our people who are in full agreement as to what our national goals should be or what priority should be given to their attainment.

From your deliberations should come, and I hope will come, ideas which will be of great value. The Congress is well aware of the Assembly and many members look to its reports for guidance in framing legislation.

I wish you well in your labors. I know you will find these four days a rewarding experience.

STATEMENT OF CLIFFORD C. NELSON
WITH REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY
AND THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY

The President’s Commission on National Goals and the American Assembly are two distinctly different beings joined temporarily that there might be generated such meetings as this one sponsored by William Marsh Rice University.
The President’s Commission was a temporary body of private citizens, now disbanded. It was picked by President Eisenhower in January of 1960 but was entirely nongovernmental and nonpartisan. It was privately supported and without government subsidy.

The American Assembly, on the other hand, is a permanent, national, nonpartisan educational organization which holds meetings on current topics and publishes books on these topics. It is, as Mrs. Hobby called it on one occasion, “America’s official forum.”

Because the president of the American Assembly, Henry M. Wriston, was appointed chairman of the President’s Commission on National Goals, and because President Eisenhower had himself founded the American Assembly in 1950 when he was president of Columbia, it seemed to be the proper administering agency for the work of the Commission. But it soon became evident that the American Assembly had to have help, since its staff is small. So the Assembly opened an office in Washington, D. C., and appointed four people to conduct the staff work. William P. Bundy was Staff Director, and associated with him were Messrs. Hugh Calkins and Guy Coriden, and Miss Barbara Donald.

The members of the Commission then laid out what they thought to be the most critical problem areas—certainly not all. They engaged writers to prepare essays. Each writer associated with himself an ad hoc advisory committee representing a wide spectrum of opinion. At least one commissioner sat on every committee.

Both writers and Commission members worked vigorously. Indeed, they well illustrated the Biblical injunction, “Whatsoever thy hand doeth, do it with thy might.” The Commission met many times and, using
the essays as background, wrote their report, which they gave to the President in late November 1960.

The American Assembly then added the report to the essays and the result is this book, *Goals for Americans*, which you have read as background for the meeting at Fort Clark.

Now it was never the intention of the Commission to lay the report on the presidential desk, have its picture taken, and then go home, leaving the document to gather dust in triplicate. The Commission members knew that they themselves were not putting forward definitive solutions and spelling out programs. Furthermore, they sought not to gain acceptance, but to evoke discussion, in the faith that wide public consideration leads to national consensus. Hence this Assembly in Texas, and others, large and small, across the nation.

I have described briefly the work of the Commission. That is pretty much how the American Assembly works: a subject, background papers, and lengthy discussion, followed by an Assembly report, and a book for wide circulation. After each Assembly, on any subject whatever, we join with other colleges and universities for regional, state, and local meetings.

In all of these Assemblies—at Fort Clark, Arden House, everywhere—the technique is identical. The entire group is divided into three round tables which remain intact during the discussions. There is a single agenda, so that each group considers the same subject at about the same time. At the close of their discussions, the reports are put together into a single statement, reviewed in plenary session, approved, and then issued to the press and subsequently published by the sponsoring institution.
One of the significant differences, therefore, between the Assembly and other very worthy conference organizations is that it asks its participants to reach conclusions, and, having arrived at these conclusions, not to hide them but tell their neighbors. This, the Assembly feels, and the Commission felt, is the path to national consensus—not the making of policy but the proclamation of principles which help to create an atmosphere within which policy is made.

For the rest, the Assembly has no stake in the outcome of this or any of the other meetings it presents. It does not take a position on any subject and beat the drum for it. What emerges is the result only of the participants’ deliberations. So the role of the American Assembly in this meeting is that of catalyst and counselor, and the role of Rice University that of active operator and host—first among equals.

I hope that you may have a series of stimulating discussions leading to a vital final report. As the Commission points out, “The way to preserve freedom is to live it.”
GOALS FOR AMERICANS  

**Discussion Agenda**

**First Session**

Attainment of our goals at home, our world responsibility, and our very survival as a nation depend in large measure on the quality and effectiveness of our educational system.

1. Must we spend more of our national income on education and, if so, to what extent should the federal government help?

2. How crucial is the need for more teachers and how do we meet the need?

3. Should changes be made in curriculum and academic standards?

4. Is the organization of our school system wasteful, inefficient or outmoded and, if so, how can we reform it?

5. Are our institutions of higher and professional education adequate to meet the needs?

**Second Session**

The degree to which we will be successful in achieving our goals—both domestic and foreign—in the next decade will depend to a large extent on the performance of our economy.

1. Are the policies we are now following adequate to
reduce the present high level of unemployment and to find jobs for the 13-1/2 million additions to the labor force of the sixties? What new measures might be taken?

2. Can and should we take specific measures to increase our annual rate of growth?

3. One of the most controversial economic and political issues in the United States today is the structure and level of the tax systems. Is revision or general overhaul needed? What specific changes should be made?

4. What other measures, if any, ought the government to take to insure satisfactory performance of our economy?

5. Should the government take further action to regulate and improve collective-bargaining procedures?

6. Is our technological advance as rapid as it should be, and, if not, what should be done to accelerate it?

7. What, if anything, should be done to facilitate social and economic adjustment to technological change?

THIRD SESSION

Despite the highest standard of living in the world, there are still many Americans who because of inadequate incomes, social incompetence, or physical or psychological handicaps are unable to support themselves, secure adequate medical care, or carry out their responsibilities as citizens, individuals, and heads of families.

I. Are our medical and health facilities and services adequate? Are they efficient? In what ways, if any, do they fall short, and how can they be improved?
2. How shall the cost of medical care be financed?

3. How much real poverty exists in the United States today, and should the government take further action to alleviate it?

4. How serious are the problems of juvenile delinquency and social incompetence, and what, if anything, can be done about them?

FOURTH SESSION

The basic foreign policy of the United States is the preservation of its own independence, economic prosperity, and free institutions. These vital interests can best be safeguarded in a prosperous, peaceful, and open world. Today our nation and the rest of the free world are in grave danger of the increasing power of the Communist nations and the threat of Communist aggression and subversion.

1. In what areas and in what forms is the Communist threat most serious? What general policies should be pursued to meet these threats?

2. What should our policy be toward Communist China and Taiwan?

3. Does the continued partition of Germany and the critical Berlin situation call for any reappraisal of American policy?

4. Should we take a new look at our participation in international organizations and the role of the U.N. in particular?

5. Can we hope for any measure of disarmament in the next decade? If so, what specific proposals should we advocate? What safeguards must we insist on?
GOALS FOR AMERICANS” and the superb expressions of knowledge and understanding it contains make idle any endeavor to add materially in originality or in re-evaluation to the complete framework within which Messrs. Wriston, Gardner, Weaver, and others have written so well. My choice, thus, is to share with you some specifics of personal experience and to enumerate some conclusions drawn in the field of education which touches upon and indeed affects all goals for Americans.

Fifteen years ago in an attempt to look forward and to plan for fruitful and enjoyable retirement years, I concluded that the area of education offered the greatest challenge and link to the present and to the future, and it would be my retirement vineyard. It seemed to me then, as it seems still, that most of our problems as a nation—whether social, economic, or political—have origins in failure to educate people in a manner and to a degree which enables each individual to reach his maximum potential. Often, I thought, we boasted of freedom, but failed to mature sufficiently to accept and discharge with vigor and vision our responsibilities to protect and enlarge upon its possibilities. More nearly than anything else, I believe education can insure that
CHAIRMAN CRONEIS CALLS FOR ORDER AT FRIDAY NIGHT BANQUET AT RANCH HEADQUARTERS
J. Erik Jonsson, Chairman of the Board, Texas Instruments, Inc., Delivering Principal Address of Southwest Assembly, Friday, May 19, 1961
no future Gibbon will write “The Decline and Fall of the American Empire.”

To get my feet wet and to explore gradually this area which excited my interest and curiosity, private education and its problems seemed to afford the best opportunity. Little did I understand the impossibility of dipping a tentative toe in the turbulent stream of education without the risk of falling overboard head over heels. My experience can be likened to learning to swim in the Niagara River just above the Falls with nary a barrel in sight. Even so, the decision has been a richly rewarding one, albeit at times productive of its share of discouragement and frustration, and these years have brought me, via membership on the board of trustees of all and chairmanship of two, deep involvement in five diverse institutions:

The Hockaday School in Dallas is a private school for girls which endeavors to “provide adequate preparation for capable girls to gain admission to the most exacting schools in the country.” Its students number 550 in Grades 1 through 12, and 20 per cent of its total enrollment are boarders.

The Dallas Pilot Institute for the Deaf, a private school ranging from nursery through the sixth grade, is dedicated to teaching profoundly deaf children how to communicate orally. The children acquire their academic education through speech and speech reading. No sign language is permitted.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, with a student body in Troy, New York, and other RPI locations of about 3,300 undergraduates and about
1,300 candidates for advanced degrees in various phases of engineering and the sciences, is the oldest engineering school in America. Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, a liberal arts school, has a student body of 1,300 women.

The Graduate Research Center of the Southwest was organized to assist colleges and universities of the Southwest in the establishment of facilities and the concentration of personnel for performance of research and training in the sciences at doctoral and postdoctoral levels. With coordinated and cooperative efforts, we believe the Center can provide complementary and supplementary services not practical, or in some instances possible, undertaking for a single college or university.

This wide band of activity rather than a narrow one which would have permitted more intensive focus evolved partly by chance, partly by exposure to the opportunity to learn and to serve. Happily, it has provided some distinct advantages in opportunities to perceive as broad a spectrum of problems in private education as possible, to benefit from the ready willingness of educators to share their gains in knowledge of new teaching methods or aids, and to foster cross-fertilization, so successful in business and industry, of methods and procedures for handling problems of various kinds and levels in different parts of the country. Continued exposure to institutional problems helps to make clearer the scope and depth of difficulties educators of the sixties face as well as the broad aspects of our national dilemma in the far-reaching and critical area of educa-
tion. Nationally, the scope of this dilemma seems staggering.

1. The much publicized population explosion forces us to think in terms of doubled enrollments in higher education, greatly increased numbers of secondary and primary students. This imposes a tremendous pressure on private institutions and on local and state governments to provide funds for new and improved schools and facilities, for additional teachers and administrators, for maintenance, and for working capital.

2. The explosion of newly discovered knowledge, the vital need to understand the import of it, to sort it, to store it, to present it to those who can use it, and to acquire still more new knowledge through research puts upon us burdens, perhaps as great as that of the population explosion, in meeting our intellectual needs.

3. Our national security thus requires sharp expansion in graduate work, particularly in engineering and the sciences, and this difficult task must be accomplished quickly or it will be too late. It is equally important to seek progress in the humanities, so often neglected in recent years.

4. Our situation obviously demands higher standards of performance from teachers, a greater number of top-quality teachers whose compensation and status we shall surely have to improve markedly in order to have them.

5. Student performance must improve also.
To achieve this we shall need not only better teachers and facilities, revised and improved curricula, new teaching aids and methods, but better student inspiration and guidance on proper objectives in a changing world.

The social consequences of failure to meet the educational problems of the decade are too appalling to consider. Perpetuation of juvenile delinquency, crime, disease, slums, and a host of other ills could result. The political consequences of ignorance, criminality, or inaptitude in high places or low could be total destruction of all we have sought to accomplish. Above all, we must remember that the economic factors, while difficult to handle, will cost less in solution than in failure.

On the institutional and personal observation level, I found characteristics common to all the institutions which captured my interest. All were in need of money and lots of it. None had a successful record in money-raising efforts of any magnitude. The corollary was understaffing, overwork, and frequent use of people and facilities unsuited to the task at hand. In the main, the staffs were competent, dedicated, and undismayed by lack of perfection in their situation. Unyielding requirements of expediency gave them little time to think of future goals or to plan for their achievement, to review current performance and improve it, or to maintain flexibility to meet new and demanding needs. Practically all personnel was underpaid. New talent of the kind required was difficult or impossible to attract.

The most noteworthy approach to the common college ailment of difficulties in hiring and holding faculty because of inability to pay salaries competitive with industry occurred at my alma mater, Rensselaer Poly-
technic Institute. A few years ago the Institute found its young graduates were offered more money by industry than was or could be paid to its instructors with two to three years of experience. Lacking substantial endowment to meet either that situation or the need for more classrooms and facilities to accommodate steadily increasing numbers of students, RPI, the oldest engineering college in the United States, undertook in a manner typical of the engineering approach to develop a sound statement of objectives, problems, and plans for solutions based on the premise that costs of instruction and administration would have to be reduced or held constant while quality was maintained or improved. The Institute organized its program of institutional research to increase instructional productivity at less cost under the label, "Project Reward," intending to represent both an over-all progressive attitude toward experimentation for more effective and efficient ways of teaching and an agency which would provide services to faculty and administration actively engaged in such research.

The first activity of Project Reward was and is the collection and processing of instructional cost-analysis data. Yearly unit costs of instruction now are available for a period of five years in three forms: per student credit hour, per student contact hour, and per instructor contact hour as well as percentage of classroom utilization. An RPI report on Project Reward states:

The processed data are interpreted by academic administrative officers to ascertain trends and to identify critical factors in the operation of separate programs. The annual analyses have also become a means of measur-
ing, in terms of cost, the results of instructional experimentation, for example, in class size and in the use of closed-circuit television. Administrators find the data in these analyses vital to the decision-making process.

There is nothing novel about cost analysis. Its use to spotlight trouble areas and to aid decision-making in a college is. New construction needs unquestionably were minimized at RPI by better programming and scheduling of space use developed after cost studies detailed this problem. More effective use of space would appear to represent an easy road to the dollar we must amass for the fundamental improvements in our educational systems which all of us keenly desire. Without question, in public and private schools and at elementary, secondary, and higher levels—in all of them—a common challenge lies within this area.

The RPI report on its program for improvement continues:

The second area of activity in which we engage—by far the most glamorous—is the development of multi-media instructional methods and materials. This activity is based on the premise that, with consultation and production service provided, the teacher can increase his own capabilities and that greater student learning will result. We want every teacher's influence to become as effective as possible, not only through the growing wisdom of experience but also through better methods and materials for communicating what he knows. Increasing staff capabilities and effectiveness is an aspect
of the quality factor in instructional productivity.

A "Little Hollywood" on the RPI campus has, together with the faculty, made a real contribution to better teaching at less cost. An outstanding example is an adaptation of closed-circuit TV for presentation of a course on strength of materials to a class of 150. Fine scripts were written by top faculty talent, presented by persuasive narrators, and effectively photographed and projected to insure that back-row students could see and hear better than when direct observations of experiments were made by observers in groups one-tenth the size. The results?

1. A controlled experiment showed this type of teaching for this course superior to a more conventional type of student learning.

2. Not only was the number of faculty personnel necessary for presentation reduced, but it was possible to use more experienced talent at an over-all cost saving.

3. The ability to magnify the image of machines and specimens indicated that great savings could be made in initial cost, housing, and maintenance of test equipment, i.e., a tiny model and a camera were substituted for an expensive testing machine.

Without belaboring these points further, it can surely be said that planned realistic approaches to better utilization of plant, the development of new methods and techniques for teaching, and determined scrutiny of all potential avenues of saving by faculty, administration, and trustees have resulted in holding the
line on the RPI unit cost of instruction even though faculty salaries have been raised and students have enjoyed an improved educational experience. It is believed that the path now is understood by which further gains can soon be made and reported. The superb teacher, for whom there will never be a substitute, will have at hand the best tools and aids possible for his work. Using them to the best advantage, he can place increasing responsibility on the student, one of the better ways to develop the "whole" person. The outcome will be the increase in compensation and status for faculty and administration so well merited and long denied together with the satisfaction that comes with success in meeting difficult and worthwhile challenges.

Let me return briefly to the application of TV in the RPI course. This project led to the renovation of a traditional lecture hall into a modern pilot auditorium-studio with a "communication wall" for multi-media presentations that permits sequential or simultaneous presentation. The renovation, in turn, led to investigation, now nearly complete, of the design of auditorium-studio facilities for engineering education. With a typical gesture of academic good will the Rensselaer people have worked with a number of institutions to share these gains. St. Mark's School for Boys in Dallas has constructed a new science building patterned on the RPI teaching-auditorium design with the communications wall and other features.

I believe this firmly demonstrates the beneficial effects of cross-fertilization of ideas and results. In addition to St. Mark’s, key SMU people have visited RPI and counseled with its program administrators. The Dallas Pilot Institute for the Deaf is being assisted cur-
rently by RPI in the development of new visual aids for teaching deaf children. This remarkable school, established and sponsored by the Pilot Club of Dallas, which is composed of about fifty women from Dallas business, for nearly twenty years has made possible useful, happy, meaningful lives for children who might otherwise have been a burden to themselves, their families, and the community. A visit to their school is at once a shattering and an uplifting experience. Seeing the terrible struggle for understanding so cheerfully undertaken by these youngsters with little or none of the precious hearing most of us take so lightly, one is helpless to remain an idle bystander.

Because deaf children depend entirely on visual perception for their ability to understand and to learn, the Pilot Institute has begun a program aimed at development of new and improved visual aids utilizing more advanced techniques and materials. Visual aids now in use are magazine, newspaper, and crudely hand-drawn pictures which are often inadequate for the job to be done and always time consuming in preparation. If slides, movies, filmstrips can be produced which will expedite the learning process for deaf children and free valuable teaching time, its genesis can be traced to the cross-fertilization of ideas between institutions and the willingness and receptivity of people of responsibility in the field of education. Improved means of teaching the deaf may lead to a reverse flow of knowledge, and to methods of communication which could be useful even to the college professor and other teachers of higher levels.

My personal experience in educational institutions has set before me yet other lessons. In seven brief years
at the Hockaday School I have shared a whole gamut of educational problem-solving and have witnessed a Board of Trustees, always composed of wonderful people, but frequently diametrically opposed in their thinking, become integrated into a unified and hard-hitting, aggressive, forward-looking group, and I have seen obsolete by-laws exchanged for simple, flexible, and workable ones. Jealous of the school's high scholastic standards and character requirements, faculty, administration, alumnae, parents, and trustees have worked diligently to safeguard and improve all the school had to offer. Faculty salaries have been increased as rapidly as possible through increased tuition and fees. Whole and partial scholarships have been offered to deserving students unable to pay. Students have been given more responsibility for self-discipline and have used it well.

A primary lesson pertains to facilities and grounds from a broader aspect than utilization. Especially for private schools and colleges, there is no adequate substitute for sufficient ground area to protect its future plans for and ability to grow and to prevent encroachment of undesirable neighbors. At Hockaday this was perhaps the most difficult and threatening challenge of all. Situated on a packed eight-acre campus surrounded by small houses in a neighborhood which might deteriorate dangerously, it became necessary for this institution with extremely limited assets to turn its back on what little worldly goods it possessed and start afresh. Even though there is never a convenient time for surgery, no good money was thrown after bad in an effort to salvage an old campus that lacked potential for sound future expansion, and the excitement of a major challenge has carried us in working harmony to a hundred
beautiful acres and buildings with costs in excess of $3,500,000.

The experience gained in coming to this decision at Hockaday and the reassurance of its proved rightness was to lead me recently to recommend that Skidmore College abandon an outgrown, outmoded forty-acre campus with a replacement cost of $10 million for a new beginning on a beautiful thousand-acre site with almost limitless possibilities. Alight with the prospect of newly designed buildings of beauty and efficiency which would require minimum maintenance and make utilization of new teaching tools and methods a joy rather than a burden, on conclusion of a site survey now underway, Skidmore Trustees have this range of choices: (a) to use the new site only for physical education and recreation, (b) to occupy both campuses simultaneously, wearing out the old facilities as new ones can be constructed, or (c) to plan a new campus for occupancy all at once. There is the prospect of selling the old campus to a secondary school or smaller college which in turn would upgrade its position, or of forming a cluster of colleges which might include a men's college or graduate school or a combination of these. Whatever the decision, the town of Saratoga Springs will be the better for it.

The shadow of education stretches far across the economic and social well-being of a community. Therein lies the story of the Graduate Research Center referred to in the beginning of these remarks. The focus of GRC is to foster advanced learning (doctoral and postdoctoral) in science and technology. This should not imply to any reader a disregard for the humanities, for it is hoped that the academic climate which the
Graduate Research Center of the Southwest and the graduate research centers which hopefully will be entities of the individual universities and colleges of our region will help influence progress in higher learning in the humanities, too.

Today technology touches the lives of men in endless ways, and enlightened self-interest makes us comprehend its relevance to the economic and social well-being of the communities in which we live—local, regional, national, and international. As a tremendous force in the world, technology in point of time is but an infant. Only in the past two decades have there been the beginnings of a revolution in which the technology emergent from new science replaces the primitive technology of "practical" man. Whatever brings us to the full realization of the impact of science and engineering on our world, there is a simultaneously essential need to recognize—to realize—the unending demand for our society to educate men with the intellectual power to command the new science and technology.

Formal graduate education in the world is also of recent origin, following, of course, the explosive growth of science. With the first doctoral degree in the United States for scholarly pursuits said to have been granted by Harvard College in 1873, advanced graduate education in the United States is scarcely more than seventy years old. Not until 1890 did doctoral graduates from American universities appear in noticeable numbers, and the really significant upturn in doctoral training awaited the 1920's.

Today the doctor of science is no longer a mere intellectual curiosity; his brains are essential to us as individuals and as a nation. Not a whim of competitive
industry for more power, this demand for men competent to wrest further benefit for mankind from science and technology reflects a change of deep social significance. For every man who is not educated to the full extent of his creative capability, our communities can count the loss in unemployment, poverty, and the accompanying loss in human rights and opportunity. The regions that fail intellectually will fail economically, becoming chronically poor and colonial to the intellectually advanced regions.

The development plan of the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest states it thus:

The industrialization of the Southwest arises in the middle of the most striking economic revolution of history—the technological revolution of the 20th Century. Whereas before, industry has grown slowly out of simple mechanical ideas, the 20th Century has produced a fundamental change. In this century man has discovered how to exploit the secrets of nature for his benefit and advantage through advanced scientific research and technological development. Such research and development are yielding a whole new range of products and processes that provide health, leisure, and unbelievable speed of transportation and communication; the emergent opportunities assure a measure of freedom and dignity beyond the imagination of earlier generations. These benefits are derived from the advanced technological industry which is itself derived from the forefront of scientific and intellectual skills.

This 20th Century industry, emerging from
the new technology, has tended to concentrate its roots in the northeastern, northern, and far western regions of the United States. This was in part simply the evolution of the traditional industry of those areas to the new technological forms—but only in part. The new industry of the Far West has been almost wholly a creation of modern technology where little industry existed before.

The key to the situation seems to lie in the location of centers of advanced education—particularly doctoral and post-doctoral education. Modern technological developments require the most advanced intellectual skills for their conception and progress. Without such skills industry of today cannot compete or even begin. Even the most basic and elementary industries are bowing to new, better and more complex processes which originate from the skills and discoveries of scientific and engineering personnel of advanced training.

The Graduate Research Center of the Southwest represents a concerted effort to mobilize toward becoming a focal point around which simultaneous measures can be initiated voluntarily to create a significant and distinguished graduate academic program in the region. The principle underlying the activity of the Center must be diversity, in which each college and university within a community acts independently and voluntarily in its own self-interest. That self-interest, however, may best be served as it furthers and supports the enlightened interests of the region. This occurs when there are opportunities for joint efforts out of which can arise the
intellectual atmosphere in which each group can thrive. One of the Center's goals is to provide opportunities for such cooperation. If one accepts the fact that no one university can contain all knowledge, then interchange between universities and other scientific facilities becomes essential to the broadening of intellectual opportunity of faculties and students. Let me emphasize our belief that the creation of the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest must be regional. The climate required to make the Southwest a region which attracts and produces leaders in science and technology cannot be created by a single city or state, but can only be derived from a broad base of academic opportunities throughout the region.

GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE CENTER

To enlarge the reservoir of intellectual skills at the graduate and post-doctoral level in the Southwest through specific measures of assistance and encouragement to the universities of the area and to their facilities to the end that the economic welfare and growth of the region is assured of development in its mature phase. To provide within the Southwest an atmosphere of scientific leadership which will strengthen the United States' position among nations, which will enlarge the body of graduate scholars proportionately faster than the population growth, and which will improve generally our national scientific posture.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE CENTER

To focus the effort for generating capability within the region to produce within the next
fifteen years a total of about 2,000 doctoral graduates annually in all fields of learning while at the same time improving the quality of education. In its initial efforts, the Center will concentrate its energies on the physical and life sciences and on engineering.

Again, let me stress that the objective of the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest is to supplement, not duplicate, the research opportunities of our Southwestern universities, to provide facilities to university faculties not available or practical on their campus, but essential to their research.

The role of the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest thus may be to act as a focus and a catalyst in development and guidance of plans and actions in a complete regional attack on the problem of enlarging the opportunity for graduate education in the Southwest, and to construct, staff, and develop central research facilities to supplement the research facilities at the universities and at industrial laboratories. Scientists and faculty of the region thus would have access to advanced research opportunities. The Southwest, now graduating about 22 Ph.D’s per million population per year compared to the national average of 48, must assume its share of responsibility and leadership in this important field.

In summary, let me state my painful realization of having recounted only fragments of personal observations and experiences in the area of education, especially as these relate to the over-all scope of institutional, community, regional, and national challenges and opportunities. Hopefully, the fragments do suggest a few
of the conclusions on which there can be at least general agreement. Undoubtedly you can add to them.

Surely an enumeration of conclusions might begin with the certainty that in education—for education—it is mandatory that we establish goals and determine ways and mechanisms for accomplishing them. It is equally important by our attitude, by our attention, and by mechanisms we develop for the purpose to insure that the goals and plans for accomplishing them can—will—be changed as needed. Both the policy and techniques of formal planning are essential tools in the struggle for survival that industrial organizations continuously wage. Since no other element of our national life seems more critical to survival than the field of education—in this case of people, of freedom, of a way of life—we must abandon “can’t do” attitudes, and adopt and adapt complete and detailed planning, seeking thereby the answers to a series of questions logically a prelude to any problem-solving. What are we doing now in the field? Where do we go from here? How do we get there?

These questions posed within the framework of the needs of the Southwest have germinated the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest. Broad plans for its development have been made. Detailed planning for it and for individual college and university research centers in our area hopefully are in the offing.

A second, easily reached conclusion is that improvements in the effectiveness of the educations our populace acquire can be achieved, often without increase of costs. In plain words, we can farm better with what we have than we do. The RPI story clearly shows, I believe, that we can utilize better the buildings and facilities presently available by bringing to bear the tools al-
ready at hand. These range from simple cost analyses coupled with decisive, positive action to the use of computers in an "operations research" sense and programming thereon.

My case in point, RPI, has demonstrated as well that by use of ingenuity and diligence, it is possible to evolve better teaching techniques, i.e., the adaption of closed-circuit TV to the course I described, and better facilities, i.e., the teaching auditorium, the formal design study of which was accomplished under an Educational Facilities Laboratory grant. Minute though these examples may be in the total scheme, similar accomplishments can provide without increased costs the margins with which faculty salaries can be raised and top caliber people thereby attracted to this vital profession.

Another conclusion, supported by the Pilot Institute visual aid program example used, is that not only must we seek better ways to accomplish our ultimate goal, but we must apply the improvements we do achieve across the whole spectrum of education to the degree that they are applicable. Cross-fertilization of ideas and solutions to problems must be an unending cycle linking public education and private, special and nonspecial, undergraduate and advanced, the humanities and technology.

Still another point for agreement is the need to capture in the educational circuit the enthusiasm, interest, and the deep involvement of more and more of our citizens and their contributions of wisdom, work, and wealth, which Mr. Henry Wriston treasures in the educational institution trustee, plus knowledge, judgment, perseverance, and support which the trio of w's imply. We must be alert to ways to increase understanding and
responsible interest in education; to recognize the analogy of the pebble, the pool, and the ripple. Bob Woods, a profoundly deaf young man employed by my company, Texas Instruments, who, because of Pilot Institute-type training which enabled him to learn to communicate orally, has succeeded in using his other strong capabilities and his college education to become an extremely valuable and competent employee. His performance observed by fellow employees has quickened, deepened, and even created interest in this specialized field, and through it the broader aspects of education. The Bob Woods who with proper education have turned physical handicaps into employer assets undoubtedly have created similar interest and involvement in numerous companies besides my own.

Bold imaginative goals and approaches to their achievement provide another avenue for the deep involvement of more competent people, drawing, persuading, and attracting them. To me the Hockaday School and Skidmore College experiences in the matter of new sites and facilities demonstrate this while serving to illuminate another conclusion, the importance of making timely, sometimes awesome, decisions to relinquish approaches, techniques, and property of diminishing value. If facilities no longer serve their purpose, if a site is encroached upon or too small, if curricula need to be changed, we must have the courage to make choices, however difficult and seemingly ruthless, which make realization of ultimate goals more likely. I reiterate there is never a convenient time for surgery, but it nearly always is more tolerable than the consequences of neglect. The commonplace and contentment with mediocrity breed their like. A community, its cul-
ture, and its economic well-being rise to the level of its intellectual response and needs.

Likewise, only with bold, imaginative plans and programs will it be possible for us to increase the number of our outstanding teachers for whom there is no substitute and for whom there is almost unlimited need. Key to the academic achievements, and, indeed, often-times the social maturity of our nation’s young people, we must seek to find these teachers through concerted and dedicated efforts, to attract, to encourage, and to increase their number. If we succeed, the end product of their efforts, a superior generation to come, should easily persuade our capable citizenry to share the responsibility, cost, and effort necessary for the requisite support of superior education.
THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY
ON NATIONAL GOALS

REVISED FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The final report of the second Southwestern Assembly was drafted by Carey Croneis and William H. Masterson. It was, however, based on the substance of, and in some cases the phraseology of, summaries prepared by panel secretaries William Akers, Dwight S. Brothers, and C. M. Hudspeth after each session of their own particular panels. Sincere thanks are due these rapporteurs as well as the discussion leaders, W. Marvin Hurley, Carl E. Reistle, Jr., and Benjamin N. Woodson. That the resultant composite document rather faithfully represented the consensus of the separate panels is demonstrated by the fact that the report, as printed here, contains relatively few modifications resulting from actions taken at the plenary session.

The participants in the Southwestern Assembly, in plenary session, reviewed the following statements with reference to National Goals. There was a considerable measure of broad general agreement on the final report, but it is not the practice of the American Assembly, or its regional groups, to append the signatures of the panel members to such reports. Furthermore, it must not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every statement in the following paragraphs.
Our democratic system of government requires that each citizen assume his full measure of responsibility for the decisions facing the nation. These decisions demand study, discussion, compromise on detail, and a judicious balancing of actual national needs against available national resources.

The members of the Southwestern Assembly considered and reached a general consensus in four major areas of national concern, as follows:

I. Education

II. Economic Organization—Growth and Change

III. Health and Human Needs

IV. United States Objectives in World Affairs

It must be recognized, however, that the phrase, Final Report, is misleading. In a time of accelerating change, continuing study and constant concern are essential to the formulation of effective national programs. Moreover, the goals we seek have little meaning unless the programs through which we propose to reach them are accepted by the average citizen and translated into his daily life and political consciousness. We, therefore, consider it essential that the programs suggested and the policies approved by the Southwestern Assembly be given as widespread publicity as possible.

We suggest, further, that all participants in the Southwestern Assembly, including the observers, convey the sense of the meetings to their associates who were not privileged to take part in the discussions. By such effective "each one teach one" methods the benefits of the Assembly can be compounded in many communities.
DISCUSSIONS EXTEND INTO THE LUNCHEON PERIODS AT THE RANCH
INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS FOLLOW THE FORMAL SESSIONS
Richard Boyce emphasizes a point to George Brown and Harold Burrow.
I. Education

1. Although the data necessary to arrive at a definitive judgment are lacking, we consider it probable that we should presently be spending more of our national income on education. In any case, it is certain that individual Americans are not now adequately supporting our educational system with the necessary effort, emphasis, and enthusiasm. Since an educated citizenry is a vital national resource, the national government should require, and, when and where necessary, support a minimum standard of education of all citizens. National educational subventions should be in such non-policy-forming areas as aid to construction, scholarships, and research. Such support should be primarily in higher education; but wherever extended—for example, where local community effort is not, and cannot be, sufficient—it should be accompanied by the maximum possible community participation and control.

2. The impending need for additional teachers is implicit in the projected population increase. Successful recruitment can be accomplished by increasing financial awards, not only by a flat salary increase but by devising a salary system that would create advancement opportunities for teachers of outstanding ability and performance. A diligent effort to increase the social status and public esteem of the teaching profession is equally important. It is necessary that colleges and universities engage vigorously in programs designed to attract into the teaching profession students of high talent and sound academic preparation. Additionally, regulations governing certification of teachers should be made compatible with current demands for improved academic preparation, especially for teaching at the high school level.
Furthermore, better utilization of existing facilities should be accomplished through such means as (a) reducing the nonteaching duties of teachers; (b) providing more library facilities; (c) staggering the present elementary and high school nine-month school year over twelve months to utilize more effectively existing school plants and facilities; (d) the use of visual aids, closed-circuit television, and other teaching adjuncts and procedures made possible through modern technology.

3. In an increasingly competitive world there is a stern necessity to give every American as much education as he wishes and is able to acquire. Curricula and standards should constantly be revised in the light of the changing needs of our society. Such re-evaluations should always be made with a view toward what we expect in and from our educated men and women. Neither vocational nor nonvocational courses should be considered inappropriate to university curricula. The humanities, sciences, and basic skills, such as those of effective communication, should be cultivated in institutions of higher education of whatever type.

4. The organization of our school systems is to a considerable degree wasteful and inefficient. To improve efficiency, we recommend greater selectivity both before and at the college level to screen out those who should not, or do not wish to, continue their formal education. At the same time we should insist on (a) basic training of all citizens in the responsibilities of citizenship; (b) tests and standards to be established and maintained by each state for all its primary and secondary schools, such standards to be consistent with the national educational minima previously suggested;
and (c) reorganization and consolidation of school units within the states into area or regional patterns for more efficient operation.

5. The increasing complexity of our civilization requires that our universities and professional schools be constantly upgraded. There is an ever accelerating demand for the most highly trained persons in every professional and scholarly discipline. Greater encouragement and better opportunities must be provided for more qualified students to complete graduate studies leading to advanced degrees. The demand for increased numbers of the professionally trained must not, however, result in decreased quality of the training received. Pre-professional education should include thorough and effective liberal arts education with an appropriate major in scholarly or scientific subjects underlying the profession. The professional education should not exclude the cultivation of the whole man. The organized professions should be concerned with assisting colleges and universities to meet professional demands.

The effectiveness of university education is intimately connected with the level of secondary education and with the soundness of parental training and example. The failure of the first through inadequate support, or of the second through lack of parental responsibility and a "let the school do it" attitude, will only result in substandard higher education for young Americans.

II. Economic Organization—Growth and Change

1. The reduction of the present high level of unemployment can best be accomplished not by government spending for defense, public works, public health, and so forth, but by maintaining and increasing opportuni-
ties for private enterprise to create, develop, and serve new markets in and outside the United States. In rejecting the solution of government spending, private enterprise must assume greater responsibility for public needs; but in return it must be freed from unnecessary governmental restrictions.

New measures calculated to reduce unemployment and absorb new labor should include (a) upgrading the training of marginal labor; (b) improving vocational education to enable labor to achieve the higher skills demanded by new technology; (c) the development of procedures and inducements which will make the labor force more mobile; (d) the researches necessary to anticipate the impact of impending technological changes before they occur.

2. To increase our annual rate of national economic growth, we should:
   a) Revise our tax laws to provide incentives for economic expansion.
   b) Provide a better climate for the expansion of our exports in world trade.
   c) Encourage and reward scientific and technological advances.

3. Revision of the tax structure is needed. The basic objectives of such revision should include measures: (a) to require less governmental spending by providing incentives for individual spending for nonbusiness purposes and thereby develop one requisite for fuller employment; (b) to promote incentives for economic growth; (c) to produce venture capital; and (d) to relinquish to state and local government the sources of tax revenue which will enable them to carry out their
proper functions. Additionally, the states should rely principally on a sales tax for adequate revenue to meet their growing needs.

4. Measures calculated to increase our exports might include: (a) the achievement of a favorable balance of trade by encouraging greater individual productivity and more significant technological advances; (b) an aggressive attempt to balance the budget.

5. Government regulatory agencies are necessary to control some aspects of our economy. Because by their nature they are not directly responsible to the public, they must be carefully watched. The public welfare requires that government insist on fair collective bargaining. The monolithic growth of certain unions, however, has produced pressure blocs with sufficient power to paralyze the nation; and the practice of industry-wide collective bargaining has tended, as in the steel industry, to increase prices. Neither of these results is in the national interest. Antitrust laws should be amended so as to require of unionism the same degree of responsibility as is now required of management. Nonpolitical, technically competent judicial boards may also be used for industry-wide bargaining, as has been done successfully in Europe. Increased productivity is desirable for both labor and management. This desired end cannot be achieved under a government dedicated to an anti-management philosophy.

6. The rate of our scientific and technological advance should be increased. Almost certainly, it would be increased by government and private industry’s aid to basic graduate research. Increased government and private aid to the applied sciences would also result in the training of a large group of inventive people who
would shorten the time lag between a basic discovery and its application to consumer goods. Another important aid would be the relaxation of the present severe governmental tax posture, especially as it applies to plant depreciation.

7. The proper social adjustment to technological change can be accomplished through an educational program of carefully balanced scientific, technological, and humanistic components. Industry and government must combine to train labor for its full utilization and to prevent its obsolescence. Unemployment compensation should be related to an educational program so that the worker's abilities may keep reasonable pace with technological advance. Abrupt retirement of competent people must be avoided whenever possible.

III. HEALTH AND HUMAN NEEDS

1. Our facilities for health and human needs are not adequate. This is especially true at local and state levels, and in certain areas such as mental health and preventive medicine. Certain segments of the American population, such as the colored races and certain Latin Americans, do not get adequate medical care.

2. A more realistic approach to the problem of medical costs by citizens, doctors, and hospitals is required if we are to avoid socialized medicine. Although medical care costs must be met by local communities where personal or voluntary programs are inadequate, such costs are primarily the responsibility of the individual. Where the costs are demonstrably too great for individual means, they can be met in large part by distributing them through employer-employee hospital and insurance plans.
Insurance plans have caused some, and probably considerable, unnecessary use of hospital facilities; but presently there is no criterion for judging the insured patient’s need for such facilities other than the opinion of the attending physician.

Another serious basic medical cost problem is that of the needy elderly citizen. We are opposed to adding old-age medical benefits to the Social Security system because we believe public medical care programs should be administered locally—if necessary through federal grants-in-aid to states. Specifically, a person should be expected to meet his medical costs personally to the fullest extent possible before obtaining governmental assistance. Some tax relief, however, should be granted to those who assist financially in providing medical aid for their elderly relatives.

3. The present system of caring for the indigent appears to be relatively satisfactory, and changes, if any, should be made at the local level, and with emphasis on private sources of assistance. Educational opportunities for the indigent, and the creation of job opportunities for them, are greatly to be preferred to the dole as methods of assisting such persons and, at the same time, strengthening the economy.

4. The nation and the community have an increasing social and moral obligation to deal effectively with the problems of juvenile delinquency and social incompetence through public or private programs—that is, through financial assistance, guidance and counseling, psychiatric rehabilitation and medical services, slum clearance, better housing, and community rehabilitation and development programs.

Nevertheless, juvenile correction should begin pri-
marily within the home. A sense of mutual love and respect will result in the inculcation of self-discipline in children.

Parental discipline has diminished in the last quarter century, and too much responsibility has fallen on the mother rather than the father—or in too many cases the child has been left unattended. It is highly important that our teenagers know the potentially serious consequences of what they may consider a mere prank. In Houston a one-day clinic on criminal law has been introduced in some high schools and presented once each year. This has been a successful venture, and it should be continued and expanded. The need for such clinics is sharply emphasized by conditions at the state school for delinquents at Gatesville, Texas. This facility is tragically ineffective and overcrowded. It houses over 1,200 problem youths, whereas national professional experience suggests that the effective capacity for rehabilitation in such a corrective institution is 300.

Juvenile delinquency in America is not a class phenomenon. It exists in families of all economic levels, but there are times when wealthier families can and do successfully protect their children from the legal consequences of their delinquent acts.

We do not believe that any discussion of social incompetence can ignore reference to spiritual values. Americans tend to treat juvenile delinquency and antisocial behavior as institutionalized matters which some agency can correct. We need to point up the importance of the omission of spiritual values in modern America as one of the deep-seated causes of delinquency.

IV. UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES IN WORLD AFFAIRS

American goals, including the desire for world peace
and the establishment of freedom for the individual everywhere, are presently difficult of attainment because of the aggressive development of the U.S.S.R. and of its global influence. In order to compete with this new and challenging world power, we seek to understand its strength and the threat that it poses.

1. We believe that such strengths as the U.S.S.R. may claim probably lie in: (a) its development of an ultimate and concretely stated goal; (b) its authoritarian, centralized government control; (c) its relative unity of political theory and practice; and (d) its ruthlessness and flexibility in shifting procedures to attain its objectives.

We believe further that the Communist threat to the United States lies in the areas of: (a) the attempt at military conquest either through limited wars growing out of the competition between East and West for the allegiance of new and developing nations, or through total wars and the virtual annihilation of civilization which would probably result; (b) the attempt at subversion of our domestic institutions by internal infiltration; (c) the attempt at destruction of our economic and political relations with other nations of the world; and (d) the attempt at ideological control of men’s minds everywhere.

The Western World, and particularly the United States, also has very great powers presently too commonly undervalued or understated. With confidence in our fundamental strengths, we propose the following policies and procedures to counter the Communist threats: (1) positive espousal, through example, of the democratic ideals of individual freedom and the dignity of man; (2) maintenance of military strength sufficient to remove all doubt of our ability to meet successfully
the Communist military threat; (3) development of strategies and techniques which will assure our ability to compete effectively with the Communist economic threat; (4) education of Americans in the history, strategy, tactics, objectives, and capabilities of the Communist movement; and (5) development of long-term programs which place special emphasis on educational and cultural exchanges in order to meet the Communist challenge.

2. Communist China's blatant hostility toward the United States makes the prospect of any reconciliation extremely dubious. However, the United States should continue to explore every reasonable means of furthering understanding and peaceful relations with the Communist government of China.

The following specific policy recommendations are made: (a) continuation of relations with Nationalist China and support of our present treaty obligations; (b) exploration with Red China of the possibility of increasing communication, nonstrategic trade, and educational and cultural exchanges.

Many members of the Southwestern Assembly expressed a willingness to admit Red China to the United Nations. There was much greater acceptance, however, of a proposal to admit Red China only upon her agreement to policies or conditions compatible with the United Nations charter.

3. We consider it necessary to reaffirm the basic principles of American policy which support German membership in NATO, its economic integration with Western Europe, and the maintenance of our present position in Berlin; any changes or compromises would only strengthen the Communist position. However, we
should be willing to negotiate, always taking into account fully the interests of the people of West Germany.

All members of the Assembly favored continued appraisal of our policy regarding the Berlin controversy, and many voiced hope for eventual reunification of a Germany positively oriented toward the Western World.

4. America played a leading role in bringing the United Nations into being, and we should continue to play a similar role in maintaining and perfecting the organization. Work of the specialized U.N. agencies, such as the World Health Organization, have made significant contributions to the betterment of mankind. With the economic revival of European countries, however, they should be asked to bear a larger percentage of the total cost of the U.N.

Some Assembly members believed that, on political grounds, it is Utopian to think that the U.N. can solve our problems, largely because international politics is a game of power played outside the framework of any over-all institution. It was agreed, however, that we should not hesitate to use the U.N. as an arena to point out the inherent strength of our own position and point up the deficiencies of our opposition. We should also use the U.N. as an effective means of contact with new nations to whom we hope to "sell" the American way of life.

5. In 1945 the United States was confident that the balance of military power was on her side, but fifteen years later our military strength is being aggressively challenged. We should take every step necessary to restore that earlier spirit of national confidence. In this critical race we can never afford to lag behind. Our only justification for great military power, however, is that
we must maintain the strongest possible military capabilities. Otherwise we may be defeated militarily, in which case "the struggle for the minds of men" would take on a totally different aspect.

Despite the present need for military strength, we should always be working toward ultimate armament control. The early steps in such a program would be to exchange nonmilitary information—such as was successfully done during the International Geophysical Year—and gradually work toward abolition of weapons. Inspection of safeguards in nuclear disarmament proposals, however, continue to be essential now and in the foreseeable future.
GOALS FOR AMERICANS:
THE SOUTHWESTERN ASSEMBLY

Comments by W. L. Matthews
Matthews, Matthews, Nowlin, Macfarlane and Barrett,
San Antonio, Texas

THE REPORT of the President's Commission on National Goals and the essays accompanying it contain no clear-cut recommendations for specific action.* This follows from the fact that the report was designed as a nonpartisan or nonpolitical statement. The recommendation of specific action on any of the matters discussed would be labeled "political." All of man's serious problems have now become the concern of government and are discussed by politicians, and have become political.

We therefore must either step over into this forbidden area or content ourselves with broad generalities. It is not too difficult to agree on broad general goals, but such agreements are of no benefit unless specific action to achieve them can be agreed upon.

There are many aims mentioned in the report of the Commission with respect to which no one is sufficiently informed to reach a conclusion as to a specific course of action. This is true as to how to cope permanently with

* Editor's Note: Mr. Matthews was invited to participate in the Southwestern Assembly, but was unable to attend. He was sent a copy of the Assembly's final report and was highly interested in the four-day discussion of Goals for Americans, as his comments indicate. He has given permission for publication of his remarks.
people in various states of need and ignorance in the United States and elsewhere in the world.

Man has a much better understanding of the world and the behavior of matter of which it is composed than he does of mankind. He views the behavior of the matter objectively, but his attitude toward human beings is largely subjective and emotional. He fears to admit and cope with human laziness, selfishness, and stupidity. These are at the root of all human problems, but no leader in government, business, or labor dare talk about them.

It seems to me that we must seek the facts without bias and bravely face the deficiencies which exist in people if we are to devise methods of reaching desirable human goals.

**Education**

We all agree that education—the passing on to each succeeding generation of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind—is the main factor which distinguishes man from other animals. The function performed by schools in this process is of the utmost importance—on this everyone agrees.

The question is asked, “Should we spend more money on our schools?” Since the aim is to provide sound schooling for our people, both young and old, the correct answer to this question should consist of determining what education should be provided and what it will cost. If the answer is that it will cost more than we are now spending, the answer should be, “Yes, we should use more of our resources and manpower on education.”

All agree that our total national resources are not limitless and that the accomplishment of all of our na-
tional aims cannot be pursued except by being sure that in each activity we get our money's worth. Of course, "getting our money's worth" is merely a way of saying that we devote no more of the time and energies of our people and our other resources to a project than is necessary for its accomplishment. This principle obviously applies to education.

As a member of the State Finance Advisory Commission appointed by Governor Daniel last year, I joined other members of the Commission in making the following recommendations with reference to education, all directed at improving public education but orientated to the question of the cost:

(1) In order to increase by 30 per cent the utilization of the time of teachers, and the use of classrooms and other teaching facilities, the schools should be operated on a twelve-month basis instead of a nine-month basis. This would cut down the total time in a student’s life now required for the completion of his education and enable students to complete their college courses and military training before marriage. This suggestion has been long endorsed by many educators, and it must be sold to the general public.

(2) Competent teachers should be paid higher salaries, under a merit plan, and be given larger classes and better teaching equipment such as closed-circuit television, films, and other aids enabling them to bring their superior teaching abilities to bear on more students.

(3) Admission requirements to colleges and
universities should be strengthened so as to admit only students having the capacity for learning and, conversely, to discourage the enrollment of students whose lives would merely be frustrated by the vain attempt to take advanced education. One of the largest state-supported schools reported that, over a ten-year period, the groups of freshmen re-entering at the beginning of the Sophomore year, were reduced by failures and dropouts after the first year by almost 40 per cent. Over 60 per cent failed or left school before graduation. Many colleges have high entrance standards. All should have.

(4) After a complete study by competent people the curricula of the schools, and especially the colleges and universities, should be recast to eliminate courses of minor value, thus affording an opportunity to increase the teaching time and facilities dedicated to more important subjects. Data furnished by the Texas Commission on Higher Education shows that, in the nineteen state colleges and universities, substantially the same number of semester hours are dedicated to courses in education—teaching how to teach—as are dedicated to all courses in science. This is an illustration of what may be true in many schools throughout the nation. This subject has been commented on by writers on education, and there is general agreement that a very large amount of teaching time can be saved from unnecessary courses for devotion to more important subjects. Why not set up machinery for putting the blue pen-
cil to the curricula in our schools throughout the nation?

Of course, we must continue to amply support our schools, but it is certain that a substantial portion of our national resources to be devoted to educational activities may be saved if sensible changes are made in what we teach in the various levels of the school systems.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Both the Commission report and the essays deal extensively with the question of "economic growth." This term is apparently accepted as meaning an increase in the annual gross national product—which in turn means the total value during a year of all services performed and goods produced in the United States.

Gross national product, so defined, has been increasing during the past twenty-five years at the rate of about 3 per cent per year compounded. President Kennedy in his campaign advocated that measures be taken to accelerate this increase to 5 per cent per year. He and his supporters expressed great dissatisfaction with what they termed a "slow rate of growth." What does the President mean in using these words?

He surely does not mean that we should increase the gross national product by producing more agricultural commodities or automobiles which are now glutting the market, or more clothing, food, beverages, and other consumables which seem to be in ample supply. What specific goods or services should be provided in greater abundance to increase the gross national product? Until this question is answered, no plan can be devised for increasing the gross national product. Unless a plan is devised, how can we approve or disapprove this aim?

This matter of increasing "economic growth" seems
to be equated in politics with providing jobs for people who are now unemployed. Surely no plan for employing the presently unemployed in the production of goods and the furnishing of services can be made without determining the character of the unemployed and what they are fitted to do and what goods they can or ought to be employed to produce and what services they ought to be employed to render.

Here is a good instance of where words are used on a broad and sweeping scale as a substitute for ideas.

There seems to be a variety of opinions among economists and those who collect information on unemployment as to how many of the unemployed in the United States are actually out of a job and how many are simply not working because they prefer either not to work or refuse to leave areas where work opportunities have diminished or disappeared.

The problem of people who are unemployed in areas where job opportunities have diminished or disappeared has, like all other human problems, become an emotional political issue. The strong inclination of a person to continue to live in a place or neighborhood has recently been more or less recognized as a “right” or “liberty” that should be supported by government funds and action. I doubt that our people generally and our economy should be taxed with the cost of supporting people for the rest of their lives, or even long periods, in uneconomic areas. The most that should be done would be to furnish funds to aid these people in moving to areas where they can get employment. There is little the government should do in bringing business or factories to them.

There are, of course, many methods for distributing
to the unemployed. However, the methods now and heretofore used bring on a rash of problems based on the nature of the human animal. Many people fear that the affording of substantial unemployment compensation over extended periods of time will result in chronic unemployment of a large number of people who choose to have their needs supplied without working. On the other hand, many believe that only an insignificant fraction of people will choose idleness if their needs are reasonably well supplied without working.

These differences in opinion about the nature of man account in a large way for the difference between the leaders of our two major political parties. The Republican leadership advocates self-reliance and contends that continued extension of government aid weakens the fiber of our people and will result in a constant increase in the number of those who do not work. The Democrats profess no such fear. They advocate broad government aid to individuals in need and presumably believe this will not diminish their willingness to work.

This is so fundamental a question that careful, dispassionate inquiry into the motivation of the masses of our people should be made. We should get authoritative answers and have the courage to announce them and act upon them.

**OTHER NATIONS AND PEOPLES**

The necessity for knowing more about man and his conduct is of equal and even greater importance in determining what we can effectively do for the people in Africa, Asia, and South America. Some thinking people point to the fact that the African people and the people of other undeveloped countries, up until the last hundred and fifty years, lived undisturbed in their own
areas without achieving any substantial measure of what we call civilization. These people argue that this fact means something about these people. They say that it indicates that they do not have the energy or inclination to do the things that the people of the United States and other economically developed countries have done. Certainly, good sense and logic supports this thesis.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the reason we in the United States have more housing, more automobiles, and more of practically everything else than other nations is that we have a large percentage of energetic and enterprising people who have worked to produce these things. The reason the Africans and the people of other backward areas do not have these things is that they simply have not made them. It is certainly hard to explain to a sensible, logical, and ordinarily selfish person that we should furnish goods and services to these people on a long-term basis. In fact, our production is inadequate to undertake such a project because of the vast number of "have-nothing" people in the world—they outnumber us over ten to one.

If our people are to help the people of other countries without changing our form of government, it is necessary that our business and professional people go into these countries and actually take part in their economic development. Without great change in our government, we cannot enter and deal with economic matters in other parts of the world on a permanent or long-term basis.

If a foreign country invites or permits our business, engineering, and professional people to enter, it should be on the basis that they will be protected in their persons and property and that our government will stand behind our citizens in seeing that their rights are re-
spected. That is, when our people go into an area, make investments, and conduct business, our government should require that they be permitted to continue their activities in peace and safety as long as they meet the standard of business conduct generally recognized in the country at the time of entry. What I suggest would be called "imperialism," but we cannot do or attempt to do something the wrong way merely because someone may apply an epithet to doing it the right way.

We have made grants of money or credit to various nations. It is apparently a part of the policy of our government to continue this, possibly in greater and greater amounts. Many believe this to be a most doubtful and difficult way of helping the people of other countries. It obviously does not cause them to be friendly to us. It helps mostly the government, which in many of the countries is not devoted exclusively or effectively to helping the people.

If funds or credits are made available to a foreign government, it is obviously difficult to see that these funds are used for a specific purpose. Even though they take the funds in agricultural commodities or machinery or engineering services, these will displace the necessity for the minimum use of other available funds and permit these other funds to be used for purposes we would not and should not support.

An imperfect world inhabited by imperfect people will always be filled with human problems. All we can do is try to see man and his problems as clearly as possible and act as intelligently as our imperfections will permit.
AWARENESS of the difference between those things that lead to slavery and those that insure liberty is our first line of defense against enslavement. Unless we as individuals can find our way through a maze of theories by following fixed landmarks of sound beliefs, we can soon become confused and discouraged. Unfortunately, there seems to prevail a belief that we inherit an understanding of our system of government and economics just as we inherit black hair or a ruddy complexion.

Our heritage is best understood through a careful study of the thoughts and dreams of our forefathers from the time they took the first step to carve a civilization out of a primal wilderness and a way of life out of primal beliefs. It was upon a spiritual foundation of faith that our founding fathers began to erect their temple of liberty—building it upon the supporting tripod of constitutional representative government, civil and religious freedom, and private competitive enterprise. The architects of our government built our nation upon a background of centuries of bloodshed and sacrifice; and our

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Colonel Hurley served as a discussion leader at the Southwestern Assembly. These remarks were prepared on May 23, 1961, two days after the close of the session. He has given permission for their reproduction.*
Constitution became the foundation of our liberty, resting on a broad base of popular sovereignty.

We are showing tendencies to depart from the teachings of our fathers. We have been accepting more and more developments to strengthen a trend toward centralized government. We have condoned more and more threats to our liberty. We have bartered away one after another of our freedoms for a series of minor selfish concessions.

We are not sure where protection against exploitation ends and socialistic use of police power to equalize or redistribute wealth begins.

We are not sure where public charity for those too old or too afflicted to work ends, and the communistic doctrine of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" begins. We can profess a strong opposition to statism, and yet find a lot of reasons why a particular part should not be eliminated until many other things are done first—as long as that part promises personal profit or advantage to us.

We are not sure where the public policy of full employment ends, and the belief that the state owes every citizen a living begins.

We are not sure where underprivilege stops and privilege begins. At times we seem to be striving for a state in which everybody is not merely as well off, but even better off, than everybody else. By action in our legislative halls, at times we seem to be trying to legislate the underprivileged into the ranks of the privileged.

We are not sure but that a "public be saved" attitude on the part of a master politician is not as dangerous as a "public be damned" attitude, especially if the politician has never given any serious thought to the meaning
of either "public" or "saved." Thoreau had keen insight when he said, "If you see a man approaching you with the obvious intent of doing you good, you should run for your life."

We are not sure whether Uncle Sam should be a thrifty, hardheaded businessman or an indulgent father, or even a fairy godmother.

We are not sure when the national interest is served and when it is abused by aid for "underprivileged" countries, shipbuilders, air lines, home buyers, pensioners, veterans, farmers, and the so-called "little businessman." But we are well aware of the fact that there is an ever increasing line queued up for their "fair share" of federal funds.

The strangest thing about an apparent drift toward collectivism is the amazing discrepancy between words and actions. All of us profess loyal devotion to the Constitution, to sound principles of government and economics, until we start to translate that devotion into action —until patriotic idealism is found to be in conflict with our own self-interest. This inconsistency, I am confident, springs more from foggy thinking and shortsighted expediency than from any true moral lapse.

We see the threat of the wage earner who disregards the property rights of those who provide his tools. Like a blind Samson, he would pull down the pillars of his temple of liberty and watch his freedom perish in the ruins.

We see the threat of the public official who fails to realize that government can spend only a share of the margin between the production and the consumption of people. Actually, the choice of a political system is simple. We can choose a system under which the state does
much but also takes much, or we can choose a system under which there are strict limitations on both what the state does and what it takes. We seem, however, to be seeking a political system that has never and can never exist—a system under which the state would provide everything without taking anything. Such hopes are contradictory, absurd, and childish.

We see the threat of the manager who does not recognize a responsibility to his employees and to his community, as well as an obligation to carry his frightful load of essential responsibilities of government. Expedience directs him away from the actions needed to preserve the system under which his enterprise exists.

We see the threat of the citizen who looks to government for his own personal security from the cradle to the grave. If his pleas are successful, he will lose his freedom and gain no security in exchange.

Today, in other words, one after another, spurious substitutes are being palmed off on us for our basic virtues as free men: government aid for self-reliance; collectivism for individual initiative; a partly socialized economy for personal responsibility; public subsidies for thrift; subservience for pride of citizenship; paternalism for courage; and materialism for religious faith. In many ways we are being tempted to give up our natural relations with reality, and to seek our welfare in the magic formulas of some kind of social and economic witchcraft.

Today, then, good citizens, who are motivated with spiritual resources and equipped with a knowledge of the operations of our way of life, are challenged to erect bulwarks of understanding against these threats to our liberty.

Freedom is never lost by a vote of the people on the
subject itself. But when the spirit that caused our guarantees of human liberty to be written seeps away, the documented principles become meaningless.

To be consistent in measuring up to our citizenship responsibilities, we have to start with certain principles we will not surrender. Then, with intelligence, character, and courage, we must follow the implications of these principles when they are put into practice.

Our answer is an understanding, an acceptance, and a practice of basic beliefs of the type our founding fathers built into our temple of liberty, and the same type of dedication and convictions to ideals that they demonstrated.

Time does not wear down nor eat away the eternal truths and aspirations of the human soul. Nor does time change the fundamental concepts that form the foundation for our way of life. What are some of these living principles that are priceless products of our heroic heritage. Despite the very real danger of oversimplification, let me review some that seem to me to be basic:

1. There is a spiritual foundation for all life, and a spiritual basis, clearly documented by historical experience, for our way of life.

2. Mankind is the noblest creation of God and is capable of carrying forward the amazing record of achievement and service he has already made.

3. Our American system of individual enterprise offers mankind his best opportunity and his greatest trust.

4. The state, under our system, was created
by and for the citizens and is subordinate to the citizens.

5. The local community is the most basic unit of our social, economic and political system; and government should be kept as close as possible to direct supervision by the citizens themselves.

6. There is an inseparable relationship between free worship, free speech, free elections, and free enterprise, with a threat to one placing all in jeopardy.

7. Social progress depends upon economic progress, and people as a whole can have more only when they produce more; so we must continue to give men and women incentive to work and produce and save and invest; and we must continue to encourage education, science, research, and invention.

8. Our system recognizes the supreme worth and dignity of the individual and gives him, whether he be worker, investor, producer, or consumer, a wide measure of personal choice in making decisions.

9. Our system provides opportunity for people to have more leisure, better education, and more family life, but it is up to the individual to determine whether he will neglect, abuse, or take advantage of these opportunities.

10. The pattern which promotes the public welfare and provides the best opportunity for progress and happiness for the most people is one in which individuals are given the widest
opportunity to develop and utilize their own abilities.

11. True welfare and happiness for the greatest number can be built only on the general observance of high ethical standards; and good morals, based on high standards of conduct in government, business, labor, or forms of social life, must begin with the individual.

12. We must build, then, stability of character, based upon clear concepts of the spiritual foundations of life, and thus prove ourselves worthy as individuals of the great heritage that is ours as American citizens.
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