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"THE AMERICAN FRONTIERS IN THE SIXTIES"

Fourth Program in

THE GREAT CHALLENGE series for 1961

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Members of symposium: Walt Kelly, social and political satirist, creator of "Pogo"

Dr. James R. Killian, Jr., Chairman of the Corporation, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Sylvia Porter, syndicated columnist, financial editor of The New York Post

The Honorable Abraham A. Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

General Maxwell Taylor, President of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts

Moderator: Howard K. Smith, CBS News Washington Correspondent

Producer: Warren V. Bush, for the Public Affairs Department of CBS News

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ANNOUNCER: The CBS TELEVISION NETWORK presents live, from Caspary Auditorium of Rockefeller Institute in New York City, THE GREAT CHALLENGE, the fourth season that brings together those who make and record history to consider the critical challenges of our time. The subject of this, the fourth and final THE GREAT CHALLENGE symposium of 1961: "The American Frontiers in the Sixties."

Participating in the discussion today: former Governor of the State of Connecticut, and now Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Abraham Ribicoff; Sylvia Porter, nationally syndicated columnist and financial editor of The New York Post; Consultant-at-large to the President's Science Advisory Committee and Chairman of the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. James R. Killian; the American social and political satirist, creator of Pogo, The Possum, Walt Kelly; and former United States Army Chief of Staff and now President of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York City, General Maxwell D. Taylor.

Your host, CBS News correspondent, Washington, Howard K. Smith.

SMITH: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to the fourth and final installment of the fourth year of THE GREAT CHALLENGE. In all these discussions we have required of our guests a sense of prophecy and a sense of perspective. Today for the first time, we're going to limit - put a time limit on the sense of perspective, a limit of ten years. We do this in the expectation that it will bring their comments down to the actual bearing of the times we live in upon you, the American individual.

The decade of the 1960s is just three months of age. We can see already that the chief feature of recent history, unremitting change, is going to go on at a faster rate than ever before in the 1960s, and we want to ask our guests how, in the nine years and nine months left before January 1st, 1971, will our lives be affected by the speeding technological revolution, by the multiplying of our population, by the changes in our economy, our arts, our education, our politics, our mores, our habits, our fads, our fashions.

I'd like to begin by asking Governor Abraham Ribicoff, who I believe spends more money than anybody except the Secretary of Defense, and who helped to launch this new decade. What can we expect of the 1960s?

RIBICOFF: Howard, under the leadership, dedicated and courageous, of President Kennedy, we can anticipate for the United States quality, excellence, vigor and character that will really bring a new frontier and a new perspective for the people of our nation.

SMITH: Dr. Killian, what can we expect?

KILLIAN: I'm a chronic optimist but I have felt for a long time that our country was in danger; that in the kind of turbulent world in which we live, there're hazards, there're requirements that place upon every individual in our country a command to turn in a peak performance. I think since Sputnik, and as a result of many other events, many things have happened to stir the American people to the position they're in, and to raise their sights and to make it clearer that they do have this kind of requirement for peak performance.

SMITH: General Taylor.

TAYLOR: I'm impressed with the fact that we're faced with a number of frontiers as we press forward in this decade. All of them are dangerous and all of them have great possibilities - they offer a great reward. Certainly, in the international field, there're many dangers which we will run. On the other hand, if we man that frontier with brave men and women, I'm sure that we will succeed.

On other frontiers, such as the cultural frontier, I have great feeling that growth is ahead of us, and great opportunities await us.

SMITH: Miss Porter.

PORTER: Well, I'm happy to say that I agree completely with what has been said so far, and I'd go a little farther. I think that in the last few years, there has been a re-awakening in our country to the rewards of the satisfaction and the values of performing to the limit of one's capabilities. I think there is a new dedication to quality in our country, and a desire to work for quality and for great performance, which will lead us to new heights in this decade.

In my own sphere of economics, I think there are demands for excellence of performance which are far beyond the imaginations of those - of just the single generation ahead of us. I think we are on the threshold of a new era, not only raising us to new heights, Governor, but to new quality as well as quantity of success which I think will defy the imaginations even of those who are here today.

SMITH: And now, what's going to happen in the next ten ever-lovin' blue-eyed years, Walt Kelly?

KELLY: Well, some one asked me if Pogo would run again, and I don't want to answer "yes" or "no" - this is a political question. But I'll give a very firm "maybe" and try to point out that I disagree with all four people here that if we achieve the heights that we're talking about, we're going to run out of fools - and fools are my business.

SMITH: Well, lady and gentlemen, in the Fifties, we lost one very big illusion, the illusion that in the world of technology and science America can do anything better than anybody else. Do you foresee any illusions we have to lose in the 1960s? Any comments? Any answers?

RIBICOFF: Well, I would say, Howard, we must be mature and realize the great values of other peoples, other cultures, other ideas; of the re-awakening and awakening of the peoples of Africa and Asia; the need for American leadership with a clear eye and an understanding heart. Nobody knows all the answers - and once we start approaching this sense of maturity, I believe that our leadership will be stronger and more powerful and more influential in the rest of the world.

PORTER: I'd like to comment on that, Governor, and add that one of the illusions which I think we're beginning to lose is that materialistic success and increasing leisure time in themselves are very satisfactory. I think that we're beginning to understand that in addition to achieving both greater leisure time and greater materialistic success, that with it we have to have something that we think is worthwhile, that each one of us as an individual thinks is worthwhile, otherwise both of these great achievements are pretty empty. And I think this illusion will be lost and as a result out of it will come new attitudes toward

materialistic success and new attitudes toward leisure time, which will be very good for us all.

TAYLOR: Hanging onto this metaphor of the frontier, which I like, I think one of our illusions that we'll have to lose is the frontier will wait for us; that we can't gradually extend the railroad across the West and reach the frontier in due course - there're other competitors who're going to be on that frontier ahead of us unless we move rapidly. It seems that so many times, as Dr. Killian knows, we have started in a race too late, and thereby exposing ourselves to all the difficulties of catching up. Whereas initiative and moving to the frontier again with our best people would have avoided that situation ever arising.

KILLIAN: I think, too, we are going to have to become much more realistic about our whole international relations. We will have to recognize, as some one has said, that while we're omnipresent we're not omnipotent in our relations with the world; that we have got to adjust ourselves to conditions to find out how to deal with them, to roll with the punches and still maintain our leadership and our effectiveness.

KELLY: I worry just a little bit, Howard, about this continued search for what is outside us, and I think our probings of outer space now are somewhat significant, in that just our attitude here as shown so far is that we're still thinking rather in terms of outer space, outside the United States, and whereas I think that the role of the cartoonist, the humorist and, in fact, the philosopher of these days - and all these people here are philosophers - I believe that his role is that of exploring inner space, in the words of Marya Mannes. We have to find out who we are

before we can do anything with anyone else - and if we can do it with a certain amount of fun and self-forgiveness which we usually indulge ourselves in - but if we can also spread that self-forgiveness to forgiving other people, I think that we'll be in good shape come ... (inter.)

PORTER: But isn't that just what we're beginning to do? That's why all the self soul-searching and that's why the moanings about our state of education, the standards of education, the standard of health, the standard of just about everything that would be in the Governor's province ... (inter.)

RIBICOFF: I think, Sylvia, along that line, it interested Dr. Killian, coming from one of the great technical institutes, with the realization that education goes beyond the sciences and the technology, that the humanities play a most important part - and I know you, at your own M.I.T., keep on more and more teaching the humanities to your technicians. And I think one of the most encouraging factors is that here we have General Taylor, with a lifelong career in the Army, now heading up the Lincoln Center for the Arts, indicating that America has and is being successful, will develop all art forms, realize that a whole man has to find peace within himself, the spiritual values, the artistic values, that go towards the creation of maturity and the whole man. It is very interesting to me that General Taylor now is with the arts after having left the weapons of war.

KILLIAN: May I have a footnote to your comment and that is that science itself can be a humanistic subject in the best sense of the word; that really science, fundamental science,

deals with an adventure of the human spirit, of trying to understand man's relation to the universe. So I would put in the category of all of these things, as a part of the whole list of knowledge and learning, science not as a technique, but science as a cultural objective.

TAYLOR: Referring to the Governor's comment on my present association with Lincoln Center, I must say I feel a little afraid sometimes carrying a gun on the frontier of the performing arts. Nonetheless, I have a very deep feeling it's the most important frontier and many exciting things, perhaps some dangerous things, are going to happen there.

SMITH: Governor Ribicoff, I'd like to ask you for a specific forecast: Is the Kennedy Administration, in the Sixties, going to be a four-year administration or an eight-year one?

RIBICOFF: That is so easy. Eight years, definitely.

SMITH: Well, General Taylor, you wrote a book called: "The Uncertain Trumpet," do you feel that the trumpet sounds as uncertain or has it changed in any way?

TAYLOR: Well, I might say that I'm glad to be with the Metropolitan Opera and the Philharmonic where all the trumpets are indefinitely in tune. Seriously, I have not found any situation, really, in the defense field which changed the real concern I had over the course which we're going to follow, and I do think we're indeed facing several years of real crisis in terms of our defense posture.

SMITH: Could you define the crisis, what it looks like? You said that in the book of "The Uncertain Trumpet."

TAYLOR: Yes, I think it's - I don't like to get into the perhaps technical discussion, but it amounts to this: that we have deliberately withheld our ability, restrained our ability to cope with limited wars which obviously are the most probable form of military challenge, and meanwhile allowed this technological gap which has been referred to put us at a very definite disadvantage in terms of these long-range missiles, which are terribly important, of course, not because we ever hope or expect to use them, but because of their deterrent effect and their maintenance to help maintain the big peace.

SMITH: Any other comments on that?

KILLIAN: I think the importance of tooling up adequately for limited war is very urgent and very great.

TAYLOR: I'm glad you feel that way, Doctor.

KILLIAN: I do. But I feel also that that's more important than things like activities in space, which sometimes I think we've been diverted by - even, I think, your former service - but ... (Laughter) May I make another comment on space now that two of our people have mentioned it. I feel that one of the illusions that we very much need to lose in the next decade is this illusion that glamorous things may be the most important kinds of things. We have somehow a devotion to what someone has called "technological spectaculars" in our time; that we tend to think of the things that are really spectacular as being the most important. They may not be the most important. We need to be not only concerned with exploring space but exploring the atom, exploring the cell, understanding human beings, doing things on earth that can be possibly of more importance than getting out into space.

TAYLOR: That concern over gadgetry always worried me very much when I was involved in the defense problems. The fundamental requirement of this country is good men and women.

RIBICOFF: Well, isn't this developed by those in a position of authority, those in a position of leadership, owing frankness and candor to the American people. I think this becomes a great quality of government because from my experience the American people are grand. The American people always react to any challenge once they know the facts upon which they are being asked to make any basic decision. And I know of no greater quality of leadership than to keep the American people informed - and once they are informed they're willing to move ahead without having to glamorize these crises, and what you are talking about, Dr. Killian, and what you were referring to, General.

KELLY: Of course, that's a form of Republicanism, you know. (Laughter) The government's not supposed to inform the people, the people are supposed to ask. It's up to you and it's up to me and it's up to all those that J.F.K. delivered his address to on - what day was that? (Laughter)

PORTER: But there's an explanation, I think, for the attitude that we deplore here and which we ... you say, and I think properly so, are changing among the American people. We went through a depression, the worst of all the world's history - recorded world's history. On top of that we went through the worst global war of all history; then we had the police action in Korea. I think it's understandable that a nation such as ours would want to breathe for a few years and take it easy for a little while. One has to, in all forms of life, and I'm sure this - in all cycles, and everything is -

have a breather in between. Well, we had a breather in the Fifties, and I think that this spectacular ... spectaculars that you talk about, beginning with Sputnik, helped wake us out of the breather.

KILLIAN: I agree.

PORTER: And I think we're out of it now and I think we're ready to move. And I think the American public doesn't have to ask. I think the American public knows, Walter, and we're ready to move, which I think is the reason ... (inter.)

KILLIAN: We all of us keep saying we are ready to move, we have now stirred. Are we moving? I think this is a question that faces us.

RIBICOFF: I would say we are. I think one of the great decisions was made on November 8th - it was a close decision - but it indicated the willingness of the American people to make a choice, and the genius of the American people, historically, is at the right time they make the right decision, and the right decisions are usually reflected in national elections. And historically, this has always been true in times of crises. The choice that the American people made on November 8th, indicated that they wanted to move ahead. They had a candidate in a hard campaign who was telling some very unpalatable truths - and I know many politicians felt that a candidate for office shouldn't be talking to the American people this way, but he was challenging the American people, to bring out of them their best. And I believe that this is one of the genuises of the Kennedy personality and the Kennedy leadership is that he will be able to galvanize the people, to get more of us participants, the desire for excellence, the desire for quality, the desire for imagination. This is what I foresee, that we are going to undertake with the great traditions of the past, the great

genius of the American society, to develop quality and have more and more Americans to be participants in the affairs of our nation in the world instead of merely observers.

SMITH: Governor, among the things that President Kennedy said both when he was a candidate and since was that he would have to ask for sacrifices, he has so far asked for none. What sacrifices should he ask of the American people?

RIBICOFF: Well, when you say what sacrifices is he asking, I don't agree that this is a case, Howard. The President has presented to the American people a series of programs - a series of programs that really reflect one of the fields that Sylvia's in, he is in the midst of a deep recession in which he seeks to bring the American people out of this recession. Some five and a half million people are unemployed. Some one has to pay the bill to get these people fed and clothed and housed.

There's a crisis for education. The way this educational crisis will be met, will be by the Federal Government coming into this crisis and participating in education for excellence.

The question of the health care of our people, the question of medical care for our people, the question of taking all our resources and developing our resources for the benefit of the American people. As of this moment, what sacrifice an American person can make is really to pay his share of the taxes willingly without grumbling. (Laughter) And this, of course, is part of it. And outside of that is to really give it all you have and work as hard as you can for the objectives of our nation.

SMITH:

Dr. Killian.

KILLIAN: Mr. Secretary, I certainly agree in general about what you say. But you make the comment that to strengthen education now the Federal Government must come in to a greater extent than it has in the past, and that this will solve our educational crisis at the present time. I wonder if it will. I think it's going to be necessary for every individual, every parent, every school board, every State Legislature, every one who is concerned with the educational process, every trustee of a private institution, to feel the urgency of doing something here. Unless we get that sense of importance concerned with the individual institution, of the individual school, I don't think the Federal Government is going to get to first base.

RIBICOFF: We've all got a part to play, Dr. Killian, and I have always felt that the commitment of the American people is not as deep towards education as you would be led to believe by reading the newspapers and listening to some speeches. It will certainly require that all of us, whether you as a president of a college, the parents, the states, the towns and the Federal Government to actually play your part. But you know, four years is a long time, and much remains to be done in the field of government, and I more or less do get a chuckle out of my experience when someone expects the whole blueprint, the whole course of action to be decided in the space of eight short weeks. And I think that men like Howard Smith are a little too impatient. (Laughter) I think the President is doing very well in the short period of eight weeks.

SMITH:

Miss Porter.

PORTER: I'd like to comment on that. One of the major problems that we're going to face in the 1960s, will be the employment of the uneducated young person. Now, when we were invited to come on this program, you remember, we were told about quantitative as against qualitative values and that quantitative - you know, how many youngsters are going to go to high school and how many are going to college and so forth. We also know that if we continue the trends of the decade of the 1950s, about seven and a half million youngsters will not have completed high school and about two to two and a half million in this decade will not even have gotten out of elementary school. Now, this is an educational problem of educating the adult to tell his youngster or her youngster of the urgent need, not only for their nation but for themselves, of carrying on and being educated - and this does not mean education in M.I.T. or in Harvard or whatever it is. It means education for the limit of that person's capabilities, which is trade school, too. And as a person who had a TV set go on the blink on Friday night, I think a person who can fix a TV set is a mighty expert individual.

SMITH: Walt Kelly.

KELLY: Well, we worry, Howard, almost too much about how far we've gone in so short a time. I remember when Mr. Kennedy was running for the office, which seems like years ago now, but on the other hand if you'll recall there're an awful lot of people who were talking about him being very young and not too well versed in certain things, and it reminded me of Mark Twain's estimate of his own father. He said when he ... when Mark Twain was thirteen why he was ... he despaired of the old man, he thought he'd probably never make it, that he was going to be pretty stupid all his life, and when

Mark had reached the age of twenty-seven he was surprised at how much the old man had learned. (Laughter) Well, I think we're about there now. We're finding out that this gentleman has a firm grip on the situation. I think that ... I don't think that we can entirely say that the other Administration did not have a grip. I think that we can look forward to certain advances in the South on seating school children who are of certain pigmentation. They didn't used to have seats there. And we are sort of moving forward. And it's going to take a long time.

Once in a while, we get a chance to do something and the roads are cleared and you move very fast. But I don't think we have to move too fast on this. This is a rather profound area that we're moving into. It's going to be ... it's a question to me as to whether there will be a 1971. Might be nothing here but a very deep hole reaching down into eternity. But let's hope that we get through 1964, Governor.

SMITH: General Taylor.

TAYLOR: You raised the question of the sacrifices implicit in the new program and the answer referred largely to the budgetary aspects. Certainly the financial cost of these programs is an important part of them and also measures to a degree the sacrifice taxpayers and citizens will have to pay. But I'm always impressed again with the fact that it's the individual, the leadership, the talent, we put into government, for example, which is a very important part. Call it sacrifice if you will. I personally don't view it as such. Some people talk about going to Washington as making a great sacrifice. Certainly it's a form of civic duty of the first category.

KILLIAN: I viewed it a memorable experience.

TAYLOR: Absolutely. I think ... (inter.) ... you
can speak ... (inter.)

RIBICOFF: This is very interesting because I do think
in the past when someone went to Washington, they would say that I
am making a great sacrifice, I'm giving this up. You know you
haven't heard that from anybody in this present Administration.

KELLY: Not yet.

RIBICOFF: No, and you won't - (Laughter) - you won't -
and the reason is that I have seen men ...

KILLIAN: Congress hasn't been in session very long.

RIBICOFF: No, you don't - men and women of all walks of
life have left their businesses, their professions, their
universities, have come at the request of the President, and he has
gathered around him conservative men, middle-of-the-roaders, liberal
men, people of thought, people of depth, people who see the thrill
and the stimulation of working in this new Administration. And this,
to me, is one of the most encouraging factors of the men that I know
and new people that I have met, who are imbued with the American
spirit, who are imbued with the realization that we have a place to
go and that there is a duty when the President asks you to serve to
do anything that he has asked. And I think one of the things that
the President has done, has brought this leadership quality with a
verve, with an excitement and a willingness that has no mind for
hours, (inter.) ...

SMITH: Miss Porter.

RIBICOFF: ... and no mind for effort to do the job, to
bring the country together and keep it moving ahead.

PORTER: Before Pogo, Kelly's caveat on "Let's go slow on this," is left to ...

KELLY: I said be patient -

PORTER: ... die on the scene, I'd like to comment on that, but without getting into the subject of government aid to education. One doesn't have to go slow on a realization of the need for education. I think you've brought in an entirely irrelevant point there, Walt, in saying, "Let's, you know, this is a very profound subject." Of course, it's profound; it's the survival of a civilization that's at stake in the education of its people. Now, we are, relatively speaking, a literate society. We can be a lot more literate. And again I make my point that that does not mean necessarily having a degree in philosophy. It means training. It means training for work. It means the ability to fill whatever the society is going to ask us, and you, Dr. Killian, can tell me what that's going to be; or you. I do not know. But this is something not to go slow on. This is to awaken the adults, to awaken ... oh, no, I correct myself - to answer the awakening of the adults and the youngsters for the need for education.

KILLIAN: What you're saying is that every individual ought to have the opportunity to be trained to his fullest ability or capacity ...

PORTER: Yes.

KILLIAN: ... at whatever level that may become, so he can be effective within his own terms. There's been too much snobbism about this whole education business, too much concern about degrees and all of that, and not a concern about how to be effective and use one's abilities.

RIBICOFF: This is really music to my ears.

PORTER: Yes. That's what I said.

RIBICOFF: Howard, this is music to my ears because there has been much snobbism and the question of do you just have an intellectual elite, which you don't. And you are right, Sylvia, because what we are in the process of undertaking, even in our own department, is a complete re-study of vocational education. It is just as important to teach a boy how to be a bricklayer, an electrician, or to fix a TV set, and not everybody can be a leader, and not everybody can ride in a space capsule.

Furthermore, we have obligations to the millions of retarded children to do whatever we can for them, because we are a society based upon a western civilization, based upon Hebraic-Christian concept, and this was what distinguishes us, really, from the Soviet Union. And what has been the genius of American education is to develop and to give an opportunity for every boy and girl, what their capacity is, to the highest degree possible. We should do what we can for those who have got superior intellects. But we must do all that we can for those in the mediums and the low grades, to make sure we do as much as we can for all our people.

SMITH: General Taylor.

TAYLOR: I think this danger of snobbism, as Dr. Killian referred to in education, has definitely been with us in the world of culture. I am very much interested, as you know, in the development of Lincoln Center, not only as a place where excellence will be the predominant note in everything presented, but also as a place to break down the idea that culture belongs only to a limited elite here in the country. Lincoln Center is going to be dedicated to broadening the interest of the arts in all areas, particularly

among our young people here in New York City. I don't know how many of you had the - have had the chance to see "Cosi Fan Tutti" presented by the Metropolitan in high schools here in this city. Well, just to see those audiences, the attention of these relatively young children, in this fine representation of Mozart is just a reminder that the world is waiting for good art, if it's just given a chance to see it.

SMITH: I think our greatest spokesman for anti-snobism in culture is Mr. Walt Kelly. Have you a comment on that?

KELLY: Well, I'm against the Bengal Tiger, too.
(Laughter) In other words, I think we can all agree on the need for this. I am not entirely in favor of sending up any balloons unless we remember that we should cut the rope before we embark. We don't really know where we've been as well as we are assuming right here tonight. We don't really know who we are quite as well as we're saying we know, and you cannot plot the future without knowing the past. Anybody can guarantee you the future - anybody. To assure you of the traditions and slow processes and so on of the past is something that I would still like to see done in this country.

PORTER: Are you suggesting that we don't know what principles we stand for?

KELLY: I would suggest that a lot of people don't, yes, ma'am. I think that when you -

PORTER: I think more of the American people than that.

KELLY: I think you can mouth an awful lot of phrases, but I'm not sure at all that you understand that - not you, in particular - but I'm not sure at all that any of us really know what we're talking about when we speak of liberty; and the opposing term, in my mind, is liberalism.

SMITH: General Taylor.

KELLY: ... great deal of difference.

SMITH: You had to command a lot of troops. Do you think they knew what they were fighting for?

TAYLOR: I think they knew a lot better on the front line than they did back home. (Laughter) (Applause) They certainly knew they were playing the game for keeps and the stakes were high.

SMITH: Are you saying that Americans do well in war, but we can't keep them supplied with those. They've got to do it in peace.

TAYLOR: Well, it's amazing how - how high the morale is up where the danger's the greatest and the morale is always lowest back here where the comfort's the greatest.

KILLIAN: I think -

SMITH: Dr. Killian.

KILLIAN: - there's been a very interesting phenomenon in the last couple of years in this country where we've had a series of efforts to restate the American purpose, or to outline the American goals. This, in some ways, appears to be a little corny, but I wonder if it hasn't been of fundamental importance, to try to clarify, to restate, to emphasize, to call attention to, and I have a feeling that there's a buildup here that's going to be very significant.

KELLY: I think corn is a very important part of our product, and I -

PORTER: Dr. Killian, the very fact that we've had this soul-searching for a restatement of our principles indicates that we are aware that these are principles and want to have them restated for ourselves, we want to remind ourselves of them.

KILLIAN: I'm all for it.

PORTER: I cannot believe -

KILLIAN: Actually I participated in two of these.

PORTER: Well, yes, I'm sure you are.

KELLY: Don't you point your finger at me. I want to hear Dr. Killian -

PORTER: All - all right. When you say - ah - the American people don't know what liberty - far be it from me to get off into the esoterics and start defining it, but I think each one of us in various words, and I don't know how many syllables, one to ten, will find ourselves coming to the heart of it. I think that whether on the front line or back there, we'll find - I think we, each one of us, know what dignity is. And I think each one of us has an idea, although we may state it badly and leave out the adjectives or put in the wrong verbs - I think each one of us has an idea what democracy stands for. But, the very fact that we ask ourselves again lays the basis for this quality, that we are looking for.

SMITH: Governor Ribicoff, I wonder if we could talk about what is the future of government in the next ten years? Is it going to grow bigger, and how is it going to effect individuals?

RIBICOFF: I would say that government will grow bigger, whether we like it or not. The country grows bigger, Howard. The problems that government is expected to tackle grow larger. Just the mechanical aspects of keeping a nation going takes people to run

it. It is a great illusion to think that you can make government grow smaller while the country grows larger in every respect. I think what you can expect, though, is that there should be no waste, and that we get value for every dollar spent. As long as we get value for every dollar spent for the benefit of the general welfare of our people, then we can't complain concerning the number of people that work in government. It's only when they waste that you can complain.

TAYLOR: That becomes increasingly difficult with size, though.

RIBICOFF: Well, this becomes - this becomes difficult with any size, whether it's big business, big government, big television, wherever you have - the bigger the bureaucracy, the bigger the waste. This is true. But it has to have again good leadership with imagination that can rise above bureauracy, because this is most stultifying to bureauracy, and this is a tough thing to deal with.

SMITH: General Taylor.

TAYLOR: I was very frequently on the receiving end of these investigations of how the government was wasting money, particularly how the Defense Department was wasting money. I was always impressed that the interest was in the inconsequential and the really big issues were overlooked. I recall the Army was heckled for weeks because they found we had ten years' supply of ping pong balls in our warehouses. Well, that's too many ping pong balls, but no one really asked how much is enough in the field of these - big weapons systems that cost billions and billions of dollars, and how they mesh together to make - make a reasonably rational strategy for the defense of our country.

KILLIAN: And how we would stop an obsolete weapons system.

KELLY: Was the ping pong ball part of an obsolete weapons system? (Laughter)

TAYLOR: No, I would defend the essentiality of some ping pong.

RIBICOFF: Well, you see, this becomes very interesting. What General Taylor says is absolutely true. What Dr. Killian says is true, but there is a great duty on men like General Taylor and Dr. Killian to speak their minds and to speak them out clearly and firmly and to really sound the trumpet. Now, of course, General Taylor today no longer is in the armed forces. Dr. Killian has his place to speak from the Presidency of a great university, and one of the great problems that we have in this country is that knowledgable people sit by and are unwilling to make their points of view known to alert the country, to stimulate the country, and get the country going, and I would say this is one of the duties and one of the great contributions men like General Taylor can make to our society. (Applause)

TAYLOR: I appreciate that comment, but I'd just like to say that the Governor won't spend eight years in Washington if he speaks his mind in that fashion. (Laughter)

SMITH: Dr. Killian.

KILLIAN: May I add two footnotes to what Governor Ribicoff has said, first about the government - big government and all that. I agree that more and more people have a sense of public service and are willing to go to Washington to make the sacrifice, if it is one, and I don't think it need be. But I do think that we do have a critical problem of getting enough first rate senior

civil service personnel into our government, who're willing to stay there year after year, and to build a cadre of strength. We do not now have the personnel system in our government that makes it easy for the President - any President - to provide that kind of administrative leadership, and to accomplish a general strengthening. There's too much red tape imposed by Congress and many other things. We have a critical problem of getting salaries up so we can get first-rate people down there. But that isn't the most important thing. The most important thing is to give them a real chance to work effectively.

KELLY: This is - of course, if you do away with a lot of that you're putting me out of business. But, on the other hand, it does seem to me that we - we have too little excellent bureauracy in our government. There should be a carry-over from one thing to the other -

RIBICOFF: Well, there is. Now this is another great illusion. There are - you read in the paper of the changes, but the overwhelming number of people remain. There are some 70,000 people working in my department, Health, Education and Welfare. I would say outside of the few Presidential appointments - I made about five personal appointments. The rest remained, people who've been there 20 years. Now, I have found that the career people in government that stay year in and year out are excellent, they're able, they're dedicated. They will respond to leadership. If leadership is inspiring, they react to it. They're thrilled with it. But if leadership isn't inspiring they're dull and lackadaisical. So a bureaucracy can only work if you have strong, inspired leadership. But you do make a very very good point, Dr. Killian, that we do not pay enough salaries in our government - high enough salaries in our government to attract able people in the top echelons

where leadership is essential, and this is something that we must do for the future of our nation.

TAYLOR: Is it not so much the very - the top echelon - It seems to me you could get the best - fill the cabinet. It's that second and third echelon -

RIBICOFF: Second and third. They'd have to greatly increase the level of salaries - Now, I've noticed - that in some of the research that is being done in the national institutes of health in Washington, trying to cure cancer and trying to cure heart disease, and the great diseases that plague the people of this country and the people of the entire world, and yet the men who are some of the ablest scientists might receive a quarter or a half of what people, not as good as they are, are receiving in private industry and in private research.

PORTER: May - may I comment on some of the basic significance, economically speaking, of what you're talking about? What you're saying when you talk about an expanding government payroll and a higher pay per person, what you're reflecting in part is the revolutionary economy which we have become, which is a service economy as against a production - more and more - a service economy as against a production economy almost of - oh - predominantly - a quarter of a century ago. Now, what does it really mean? A person who goes to work in government and he stays there is a stable force. He doesn't lose his job, you know, if automobile production goes up or down with steel, but he stays there. When he gets a higher pay he spends it, and he himself as a symbol of a service economy becomes a force of economic stability, and one reason why this recession of 1960, which I think we're out of now, was so short, is the way -

KILLIAN: ... recession, I hope.

PORTER: The election is over. One reason it was so short is the way personal incomes held up, and one reason they held up was because government payrolls held up and got bigger. One reason.

RIBICOFF: Don't ever try to advocate that policy before the Congress of the United States. (Laughter)

SMITH: Governor Ribicoff, a British Member of Parliament, a British Congressman, gets I think, an income of \$4,000 a year, equivalent of about \$4,000 a year. He gets no expenses, no secretaries, no office, and yet people are fighting to become British members of Parliament.

RIBICOFF: Well, I would say that people have fought to be Congressmen no matter what the salaries in the United States, too. (Laughter) (Applause)

KILLIAN: May I make another observation - the scientist whose wages - salaries - are very low in government, frequently have higher salaries than equivalent scientists in the universities. The universities are definitely ... (Inter. - Laughter)

SMITH: Miss Porter, you are about to get onto your field there. You said once that you believed passionately that both depressions and inflations being man-made can be controlled and eliminated. Do you predict that we will not have depressions or inflations in the '60s, or how do you foresee it?

PORTER: Oh, I predict with confidence that we'll never have a severe depression again. I think we have long since learned how to control depressions. We - there was no reason at all why we

had to go through the catastrophe of the early '30s. We just didn't know what was happening to us. We didn't - and what - we not only didn't know, but we also, not knowing, didn't know what to do about it. We have created a series of controls over depressions which are so great that one of the things that I would predict for the 1960s is that now we're going to make recessions more moderate and more moderate so that even these will be relatively painless. You have to have some rhythm, you know, you can't go - like so ... As for inflations, I think that inflations don't thrive in an economy which is not at war, has ample capacity, has ample manpower, and has no scarcities of materials, which is what we're in now. Of course, if we're in a war, then everything's off. But assuming -

KILLIAN: I think that we are in a war.

PORTER: Well, a shooting war, hot, hot war. Assuming that we're not in anything worse that I hope we're in today, I see no reason why inflation also can't be brought under control. I think we will have both under reasonable control. That's all one asks out of life, in the 1960's.

TAYLOR: You're going to take all the fun out of the stock market.

PORTER: Oh, no I'm not. I'm going to put it in.

KILLIAN: Does this mean that you think we're going to be able to control the wage price spiral?

PORTER: Well, Dr. Killian, we're doing a better and better job of controlling that already. And this started in the Eisenhower Administration - so this is completely non-political - (Laughter) the - the - the wage price spiral of the early postwar years was a catching up process, and now we've caught up with a

vengeance. I think that the spiral has become a creep, and I think a creep is very likely to continue because this is the history of our country. We didn't start creeping price rises in the last postwar period. Over the past hundred and - well - at least the past hundred years, I know this, that the average price increase has been over one per cent a year. This is nothing new.

KILLIAN: May I suggest also that research has become one of the great stabilizing factors in our modern economy too?

PORTER: You are so right.

KELLY: Well, they're not paying cartoonists any more, so ... (Laughter)

TAYLOR: There's always been a sacred quality of research programs, I've noticed. Someone said, "They always shake holy water on a research program, and then it never gets cut in Washington."

RIBICOFF: I'm just curious about that, Dr. Killian. Do you think we have enough people to place into effect the results of our research?

KILLIAN: I - may I say, first of all, that I think we have not got enough basic research, enough people working on basic research, first of all. That's our primary problem. After that I think our problem is to find ways to take this research output which is steadily growing and apply it in a technological sense effectively, and I think we've got to have better engineers, engineers that are capable of dealing with the more sophisticated kind of technology than we've ever had before.

RIBICOFF: And in the field of medicine, too, I think.

KILLIAN: Well, that's a form of technology, yes, that's right.

RIBICOFF: — That we are making great advances - strides in the field of medical research, and yet we have a continuous shortage of doctors. Therefore, we cannot place into effect and treat the people with the new methods that are being developed, and this becomes a great problem for our people.

KILLIAN: There are two facts that the American people ought really to be concerned about today. One is that the enrollment in our medical schools is tending to decline, at least the applicants have been going down, and the enrollment in our engineering schools has been going down for nearly four years.

KELLY: Don't we exchange information with - oh - Russia, for example? Do we have anything - have we worked out any program of that?

RIBICOFF: Well, I think scientific - very few scientific secrets, I believe, in the field of medicine. They go - they go from country to country. I think there's a sharing wherever they are. There is a feeling. And the research keeps on going all the time. I think one of the problems we do have, and this is part of the President's program, Walt, is to have a more effective scholarship program for doctors and grants for medical schools to encourage the growth of medical schools. This is one of the great problems that we face as a people. But, of course, we do have a free society, and you can't say, as they do in the Soviet Union, "You are going to be a doctor. You are going to be a scientist. You are going to work in a space capsule, and you are going to get economic statistics." We do have a freedom of choice with our young men and young women. I think what we must do is inspire our

young people to be willing to go into the professions where they can serve others, serve others the best, when they find they so serve they will get the greater satisfaction, such as the teaching profession. The teaching profession is underpaid, whether it's at the university or grade school or high school, and these are the prices society will have to pay by giving them a decent wage, and giving them the status to make them feel that they have a definite contribution which they have in our society. And if you get an interest in basic fundamentals and principles, I did get a - I was interested in this great soul-searching about American purposes, and where America's going. Much of it was deep philosophy, but I've always felt that if we simply went back to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, you've got as great a purpose as America ever has to have in order for America to go forward, not only for itself, but the entire world without this great philosophy that some people try to do - (inter. (Applause))

KILLIAN: I agree fully, but some of these statements have also said that we've got to double our expenditures for education by 1970, and that's a specific, unphilosophical goal in a sense.

SMITH: Governor -

KILLIAN: But it does point up the kind of problem that you're talking about.

SMITH: Governor, let me ask you a political question. In the 1960s will the Democratic Party remain a kind of half digested coalition of the most liberal and the most conservative elements in the United States?

RIBICOFF: I would say for - for the foreseeable future, the - both the Democratic and Republican Party will run the spectrum of economic and social thought the same way as America runs the spectrum of social economic thought. And I don't have a great quarrel with that because while it would be wonderful if you would have solidified political parties, but as long as you have a fluid society, a fluid society will reflect itself in a variety of political thinking. Now, this isn't easy. This is difficult, and it makes it very difficult for the man who tries to put a program across, but we don't have a frozen society. We have a fluid society, and a fluid society expresses itself with the entire spectrum of political thought.

TAYLOR: Several times in discussing the shortage of teachers, of scientists, of public servants, the question of preparing them adequately comes up. Certainly all these people have to meet the grocery bill as we all do. But I faced this in the armed services. I'm sure you can't put a price tag, or the satisfying the profit motive is not the solution. It's only a very small piece of it, and rather than creating in our society a true respect for these professions so that they - the fact that the individual feels he is indeed performing a service which satisfies him and is appreciated by his fellow citizens, is, I think, the most important aspect.

RIBICOFF: And yet, I am very encouraged because I find in talking to young people today that we are raising one of the great generations of all time in America. In spite of juvenile delinquency, in spite of the complaints, I find that our young people are idealistic, our young people want to serve. Witness the thousands and thousands of applications to the Peace Corps which will

be unpaid, merely to serve their nation. You can go through the high schools and colleges of our nation and find an inspirational group of young people, which gives me the greatest hope, the greatest faith for the future of our nation in the young people today.

PORTER: I think this all started again with - with your Sputnik, and it's spread out. I mean - at first it was only science, you know, and now - then it was engineers, and who knows what particular sphere it will be tomorrow? But there certainly is - this country cannot possibly be living in a vacuum. A new respect for the professions - of the underpaid professions - there always has been a respect for the position, and there always has been a respect for the scientist, but now it is for the teacher. It's a new respect for the teacher which bodes very well for our country, and I think the young people today - what I see - have a desire for quality, a dedication to it.

RIBICOFF: Sylvia, you just try to get a teacher a raise, and you'll find out that it's still very difficult to get a teacher a raise. (Applause)

PORTER: This is so, but the teachers' salaries and the various - oh - difficulties in the schools and buildings, and all the rest of the fringe benefits, or whatever words you want to use, this is not the same thing, as saying a desire to be a teacher, the pay of it is separate from the respect for the - for the profession, Governor.

RIBICOFF: Yes, but society does not have the right, because another individual is willing to serve others, not to pay them enough so they can support a family in just an ordinary decent manner, or educate their own children, and this is one of the

problems we're fighting for today in the whole field of education.

(Applause)

PORTER: Well, of course.

KELLY: I have to agree with Sylvia this way, but -

(Laughter) It does seem to me that the monetary rewards for doing anything in this country of ours lies, rather large in the field of entertainment and so on, and I think the encouraging business that I've discovered, Mr. Secretary, is in speaking with college students, they are not as interested in becoming second Frank Sinatras and so on, although Sinatra has contributed a great deal, still he - by taxes alone, God knows, (Laughter) but they are looking forward to this inspirational and rewarding activity of life. They're learning that rather than to - to stay alive, they would rather - they would rather be alive. They would like to live, and this is only one life we've got. They're learning that this is a good chance to take it. Might not be a second time around, and this is the time to live that life to its fullest. Your best reward is dealing always with other people and not necessarily through some microphone or camera or - or otherwise.

SMITH: Walt, you've been called, "An uncanny observer of the overlooked obvious." Are there any obviouses that may have been overlooked in the course of this discussion?

KELLY: Well, I just shot my bolt, Howard. I don't know, that I got anything to say. I - I do think that the humor of a people is not alone that which is comic, and we are now beginning, probably, to round into a nation. I'm not sure of that, but I think that we are. I think that we're through a great deal of the adolescence of our earlier years. I think that now we are beginning to see not alone what we can do for ourselves, but what we can do for other people by knowing ourselves better. (Applause)

SMITH: Miss Porter, there's one word we haven't heard at all, and it's a word that's going to figure very large in the '60s: "automation." What's automation going to do to us, raise our unemployed, or increase our standard of living, or both?

PORTER: It will increase our standard of living as all technological progress throughout history always has.

KILLIAN: I'm glad she's saying that.

PORTER: Instead of you. (Laughs) Temporarily, of course, automation is a problem, and only a blind person would fail to recognize that in factories around the land, even in offices around the land, it already is a major factor in the displacement of workers temporarily. But over the period of the years I cannot see how it can fail to help us grow to new heights as an economy and help us also help other nations grow to new heights on themselves, and as nations grow they employ their people, and as they employ their people unemployment becomes a manageable problem. And far be it from me to - even to suggest that just because it's a temporary threat that we should consider looking at it with fear rather than with pride.

SMITH: Well, excuse me, I'm afraid our time is up, and I would like to try just to summarize in a very few words some of the points that were made. I've tried to divide the guests between pessimists - and that's not a good word - people who look upon the future with some reserve - and on the other hand, optimists. I think General Taylor, though he is not now identified with military affairs, was very impressive with his statement that he still fears for our defenses under the new Administration as he did under the old. And Dr. Killian was especially concerned at the coming crisis in doctors and engineers. Mr. Ribicoff - Governor

Ribicoff said that he thought - I think this is the most impressive point he made - he thought we were raising one of the greatest generations ever, in spite of all the statistics on juvenile delinquency. Miss Porter said that we've got the quantity, now she expects the next ten years to deal with quality. And Mr. Kelly, who said that he was optimistic and his only concern was whether there would be a 1971.

Thanks to our guests and thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Good night. (Applause) (Music)

ANNOUNCER: This has been the fourth and final symposium of THE GREAT CHALLENGE series of 1961. The topics discussed throughout the series included, "The World Strategy of the United States As a Great Power," "International Communism," "The Changing Patterns of Our Political System," and finally "The American Frontiers in the Sixties." Our special thanks to President Detlev W. Bronk and his associates for making available the Caspary Auditorium of the Rockefeller Institute in New York City for these broadcasts, and we also wish to thank you for the many fine comments and suggestions you have sent us throughout this special series. THE GREAT CHALLENGE is a Public Affairs presentation of CBS NEWS.