

THE WILSON CENTER

JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

November 22, 1983

TO: Members of the Board of Trustees
FROM: *James H. Billington*
RE: Transmittal of Minutes

I am writing to forward the minutes of the September Board meeting to you, along with a few other items which you might find of interest. I should like to call special attention to the mention of our endowment resolution in this report. As promised, Vice Chairman Bob Mosbacher wrote each trustee after the meeting, and several of you are now working on our drive. I hope that in coming weeks such participation will grow; it is a powerful and persuasive message to our outside prospects.

Among the enclosures are several items referring to the evening dialogue we held here on November 15 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Soviet-American diplomatic relations at which former Ambassador George Kennan and other former U.S. ambassadors to the U.S.S.R. spoke. I am enclosing a copy of his remarks, the guest list, and some clippings about the evening. I also enclose copies of both an article I wrote for this past Sunday's Washington Post and of my report to the two Congressional delegations I accompanied to the Soviet Union last summer.

I wanted to remind you of the next Board meeting at 10:00 a.m. on Tuesday, March 6. We are planning a special event the night before, and I will send you details of this when they are settled. Please reserve these two dates on your calendar.

With best holiday wishes and the hope that I'll see or hear from you soon.

Enclosures a/s

ADE
PI note on my calendar.
Thanks

J.

THE WILSON CENTER



September 21, 1983
3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.
Summary Minutes of the Thirty-second Meeting
of the Board of Trustees

Present: William J. Baroody, Jr., Chairman

Theodore C. Barreaux
William J. Bennett
Daniel J. Boorstin
James W. Cicconi (for Mr. Baker)
Stuart E. Eizenstat
Mary Frances Lowe (for Secretary Heckler)
Robert A. Mosbacher
Jesse H. Oppenheimer
S. Dillon Ripley and John E. Reinhardt
Anne Firor Scott
Daniel J. Terra (for Secretary Shultz)
Robert M. Warner

Unable to attend: Kenneth B. Clark
Max M. Kampelman
Charles Z. Wick

Staff members present: James H. Billington
Prosser Gifford
George Liston Seay
Mernie M. Weathers

Chairman Baroody commented on the large attendance at the Wilson Council meeting which he and three other Board members had attended earlier in the day. He expressed the hope that Board and Council might work more closely together on the Center's funding needs and invited Board members to participate in the three-day, high-level conference on the future of Germany to be held September 21-23 at the Center.

The minutes of the last meeting of March 1, 1983, were approved.

1. Finance Committee Report. (Mr. Mosbacher, Chairman) Before the committee report was presented, Mr. Baroody circulated a document prepared by Center director James Billington and asked Board members to read it (enclosed). Mr. Billington then summarized the unique opportunities for the Center by virtue of its location in Washington, D.C.; its embassy-like role of finding and bringing scholars into touch with its resources and its political culture; its unique program organization by regions of the world; and its dedicated staff, rotating body of fellows, and increasing network of alumni throughout the world. He stressed that the Center's long-range special mission is to deal with philosophic, historical, comparative dimensions and longer-range strategic perspective. Although annual fund raising has increased and a

certain amount of annual fund raising is healthy, some endowment was needed to permit longer-range planning and allow the leadership of the Center to concentrate more on their creative, catalytic, and facilitative roles.

Mr. Baroody reminded Board members that at the previous meeting in March the Board had discussed the following five possible ways to increase concrete Board participation in the endowment campaign, based on the suggestion made by Robert Mosbacher (Vice Chairman and chairman of the Finance Committee): to (1) identify a new endowment prospect and present him or her to the Center; (2) organize and sponsor an event that introduces prospective donors to the Center; (3) suggest and organize a regional visit; (4) make a personal commitment and contribution to the campaign; and (5) introduce new corporations or foundations to the Center. Mr. Baroody mentioned that ex-officio government Board members and members from the academic community might find direct solicitation for The Wilson Center an impossible task--and that each member should decide how he or she can contribute or participate. He further suggested that the Council and the Board work together for concrete participation by members of both bodies within a definite time span.

Mr. Mosbacher said he would be writing to each Board member to ask for names of contacts, in addition to planning meetings in Texas and California in forthcoming months, at which specially prepared video tapes could be used for presentation.

During the discussion which followed, Mr. Barreaux suggested that Board members might wish to undertake a specific assignment with a counterpart on the Wilson Council in seeking commitments toward endowment.

Asked whether the senior staff might "burn out" their energies raising funds at the expense of administering the Center's programs, Mr. Billington said that in the ten years he has been director, annual private-sector giving has risen from less than \$100,000 to the vicinity of \$2,000,000. In answer to a question, he indicated that he now spends approximately two-thirds of his time fund raising. He said that he and the Center needed to spend more time on the Center's meetings. Asked whether departmentalization inherent in programs might threaten the spontaneity and variety of a more free and random scholarship, Mr. Billington said that approximately half the fellowships of the Center at any given time were located in the broadly defined programs (History, Culture, and Society and the Program on American Society and Politics), but that all scholars in all programs are chosen only for their individual projects.

Deputy Director Prosser Gifford called attention to a chart prepared for the financial report which indicated a "committed carryover" of only eight percent of annual funding for future spending needs. He then pointed out that most conferences must be planned a minimum of eighteen months in advance and that the Center needs some assurance and some flexibility for long-term schedules which endowment would permit.

Mr. Oppenheimer discussed the possible advantages of an annual giving program for the Wilson Council and offered to assist its activities involved in his area of the country.

George Seay briefly described the Wilson Council as presently composed of 35 leaders of foundations and corporate executives, dedicated to assisting the Center with "outreach" and major funding, including endowment. While pursuing an endowment goal of \$7 to \$10 million established several months ago as a result of outside consultation, the Center has received \$1.7 million in firm commitments toward such an endowment. Recently, potential donors have asked about the involvement of those groups governing and supporting the Center in this goal; and a demonstration of such support could help the Center add as much as an additional million dollars. Before Mr. Barreaux moved a resolution of support for the endowment effort, Mr. Mosbacher asked that all members be candid in their responses in order accurately to reflect the enthusiasm (or lack of it) by the governing body.

RESOLVED: That the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars give its full endorsement to the building and investment of a \$7 million Endowment Fund for the programs of the Center. Toward this end, Board members pledge their individual cooperation as appropriate in accordance with the recommendations offered by Vice Chairman Robert Mosbacher on March 1, 1983. It is the desire of the Board that every effort be extended toward the successful conclusion of this campaign by March 31, 1984.

This resolution was unanimously carried.

2. Publications and Meetings Committee Report. (Mr. Gifford for Mr. Wick, Chairman) Mr. Gifford said the regular publication program of the Center has continued to gather momentum: the Wilson Quarterly now publishes five issues a year and copublishing ventures also continue to flourish. A new dimension now in planning with seed money from the Ford Foundation is a series of Wilson Center Papers, which--it is hoped--may after a period of three years become self-sustaining from sales and subscriptions.

A second dimension will be expanding FM radio offerings by producing a once-per-week 30-minute program which will make use of the Center fellows, guest scholars, and meeting and conference participants. These weekly broadcasts will also be available on cassettes and marketed to schools, colleges, and public affairs groups. The Center plans to begin January 1, 1984, with a considerable reserve of prepared programs. He also called attention to the variety of major meetings and conferences forthcoming in the next few months. Mr. Bennett said that there was no need to use hyperbole in describing the Center, which is a very good institution; he commented on the value of the Quarterly to him and suggested adding more of the Center's material to that journal.

3. Program Committee Report. (Mr. Eizenstat, Chairman) Mr. Eizenstat reported that on June 3, 1983, the Center received notification of a grant of \$544,500 from the Ford Foundation to provide support over a three-year period for international program innovation and improved outreach. The grant requires that a considerable portion of its funds be matched for specific projects, and that in addition two or more of the Center's six programs be involved in planning major conferences and meetings.

At its May 9, 1983, meeting the Program Committee agreed that the new European program should develop along lines consistent with the other area programs, and that funding and space allocation be subject to further review. No separate competition for the European program is planned until the fall of 1984; those selected during the coming year would be out of the existing pool of applications to History, Culture, and Society--much in the way that the East Asia Program developed. In early summer 1983, pursuant to Program Committee authorization, a search began for a Program Secretary of the European program.

To inaugurate the program, money will have to be raised to cover staff and meeting expenses. Stipends and some modest programmatic funds are available through federal and Ford Foundation allocation. At least \$100,000 per year will be needed to sustain a program comparable to the other international programs. The Center hopes for support of the European program from the Volkswagen Foundation and hopes to secure in addition a mix of European and American funding to sustain the European program through its first three years.

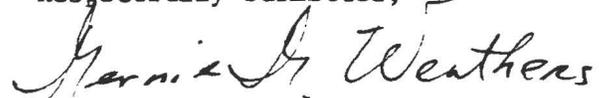
4. Director's Report. Mr. Billington briefly spoke of accompanying during the summer two leadership delegations to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., one with the House of Representatives and a second with the Senate. In addition, he visited the People's Republic of China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea to recruit new talent and to visit Center alumni. He spoke of the generous hospitality and stimulating exchanges with the alumni and their continuing interest in supporting The Wilson Center through scholar recruitment and exploration of funding possibilities. In Russia, Congressman Foley's delegation from the House of Representatives proposed an imaginative set of exchange meetings to follow on the 50th anniversary of recognition of Soviet-American relations. These meetings, in which the Center was to play a major part, may, however, have to be curtailed in the wake of the Korean airline tragedy.

Mr. Billington mentioned that the Center will celebrate on October 24, 1983, the 15th anniversary of the legislation which created the Center with a reception and a small dinner at which Senator Patrick Moynihan, one of the founding fathers and long-time vice chairman of the Board, will speak. In addition, the Program on American Society and Politics hopes to schedule dialogues involving the three former presidents. President Carter has agreed to come in early January, and President Ford may come soon after that.

5. Date of Next Meeting. Mr. Barody scheduled the next Board meeting for Tuesday, March 6, 1984, at 10:00 a.m.

The meeting adjourned at 5:00 p.m., and Mr. Barody requested that members of the Board remain for an executive session.

Respectfully submitted,



Mernie M. Weathers
Secretary to the Board

September 19, 1983

THE WILSON CENTER

I. The Special Opportunity Ahead

Having just completed ten years as director of an active institution and looking forward to the fifteenth anniversary of its enabling legislation, the time may be ripe to tell its major supporters fairly simply just what the Center now is and might be.

I believe that The Wilson Center has already become a uniquely important institution for our civilization, and that it now has a unique opportunity to affect the destiny of that civilization.

This may seem an extravagant claim, but I believe there is a solid argument. I would ask you to correct or refute me if you disagree-- and to support us in new ways if you agree. The crucial elements are as follows:

(1) Washington now contains both the world's greatest repository of scholarly resources and data and the world's most important repository of political power (in terms of both the raw power to coerce and the moral power to inspire). This Center is an utterly unique national institution within the city--created by Congress to be an active, living intermediary--both physically and spiritually--between these two features of this city.

2. The United States has built the largest and most sophisticated system of higher education rooted in research in world history. The Center is utterly unique in America in being an embassy of that university-based world of scholarship to the world of politically based advocacy of Washington, D.C. The Center is the only place for bringing world-class intellects to Washington in any significant numbers, for pure research on self-initiated topics in the humanities and social sciences--and, at the same time, bringing scholars into contact with politicians who are in the very different business of advocacy and horse-trading. The Center differs fundamentally from other high-quality "think tanks" in Washington which do direct public policy research. These centers generally bring preselected scholars to Washington permanently as employees (rather than--as the Center does--temporarily as competitively selected fellows). They usually provide analysis of policy options and/or argumentation for predetermined advocacy positions--and are, thus, essentially an intellectual enrichment of the advocacy process rather than a resource pool of disinterested intellect.

The Center serves as a place to rotate hard-core scholars in and out of Washington (rather than a place to rotate scholar-politicians in and out of government as the "think tanks" often do)--thus offering a distinctive form of vitamin enrichment for both the university world of research and the advocacy politics of this city.

(3) The problems of the world are both deepening and multiplying, and the United States cannot escape from its involvement therein. The problems are so complex, perplexing, and threatening that a fuller engagement of the analytic intellect and moral imagination of our university-based thinkers is profoundly desirable—and may be our most important under-tapped resource for new breakthroughs in wisdom and understanding.

At the same time, material support is rapidly declining for both higher research in the humanities and social sciences within the United States and for international contacts with rapidly proliferating global centers of scholarly activity in the humanities and social sciences. Therefore, the Center's special identity as an international center for scholars gives it a unique potential to do something that is becoming harder to do at the very time that it is much more needed: to bring to Washington the world's best scholars to work on the world's most important problems with the world's best resources in close proximity to the world's most important power center.

Breaking down this ambitious charge into its four component parts, it can be said that the Center does an excellent job of bringing our scholars into touch with resources (thanks largely to the Library of Congress, National Archives, our own Scholars' Guides, etc.); a very good job of bringing here some of the world's best scholars (thanks to open competition and a wide net of recruitment and tolerance of diversity); a fairly good job of bringing the scholars in contact with political Washington (through our 200-odd annual meetings); and only a beginning at the fourth component of defining and focusing on the most important problems.

A public-policy think tank begins with the problems and proceeds to analyze them (often in teams, usually in disaggregated and quantitative terms) and generally seeks directly to influence some predefined area of public policy in the fairly immediate future. The Wilson Center has begun deliberately in a different manner by assembling the elements appropriate to basic research requiring a long-range perspective, qualitative judgments, and culminating in strategic synthesis. We have begun by finding and attracting talent, facilitating access to materials and establishing dignified links with the realities of power.

The Wilson Center now has an opportunity unlike that of any other existing institution anywhere to mount an altogether fresh and sustained attempt to create new understanding and guidance toward resolution of the most important long-term international problems. The Wilson Center has this possibility because it has assembled the basic elements needed to foster genuine breakthroughs in the difficult and elusive area of applying the social sciences and humanities to the strategic amelioration of basic human problems.

II. The Base Achieved

To prepare itself for this unique opportunity, the Center has, during the past decade, developed a set of distinctive assets. It has only two major problems--both of which can and should be tackled now, precisely because the Center is in such excellent shape otherwise and can move from strength. The strengths are:

(1) Organization. The Center has created a unique structure that does not predefine the questions to be solved and liberates the Center from the rigid confines of departmental and disciplinary structures which subtly inhibit direct application to world problems of much university-based research. Emphasis on regions also inclines Wilson Center research to take seriously the cultural diversity and different traditions of different parts of the world--a frequent short-coming of problem-oriented policy research. By organizing itself in accordance with regions of the world, the Center has defined itself in a way unique from all other non-university-based institutes for advanced study. By beginning with the Kennan Institute, it focused immediately on our most intractable international area of concern and adversarial relations, moving next to North-South problems with the Latin American Program. The Center now covers the world (albeit unevenly) and has set a model for combining humanistic depth with social scientific methodology in a way unique to think tanks.

(2) Personnel. The Center's nearly 700 alumni worldwide constitute one of the most potentially powerful as well as intellectually high-powered new bodies of people to become relatively favorably inclined towards the United States in the 1970s. In most cases, these alumni are passionately committed to the Center as an enterprise. Along with our six academic advisory councils and the high-quality (and by now very experienced) talent searchers and issue sifters on our senior staff, the Center has a unique body of human resources waiting to be mobilized for greater intellectual definition and more selective emphases in future competitions, fellowships, and meetings.

The Center has the advantages of a top faculty without the drawbacks of tenured deadwood and the danger of institutionalized (and intellectually limiting) ideological and methodological biases. It also has an extraordinary gifted and vital private sector advisory group, the Wilson Council, that needs to be drawn on more systematically in the new period ahead.

(3) Basic Funding. The Center has achieved a steadily rising federal budget for those areas in which base support is needed and appropriate: the basic fellowship program and most of the core staffing and administrative needs. Through vigorous efforts the Center has greatly increased its annual private funding and brought it about equal in recent years to the level of the federal funding. Annual private (corporate, personal, foundation) funding supports some staff, practically all outreach and new experimentation, and, of course, the Wilson Quarterly, our highly successful form of reporting to the broader educated public everywhere.

III. The Key Need

With a sound organizational structure, high-quality personnel, and a record of success in annual fund raising, the Center has only two serious material problems. But the solution of both is clearly a prerequisite for any sustained, full-scale attempt to realize the moral-intellectual mission of this institution. The two "missing links" are a

secure physical location for the Center over the long term and a small operating endowment to assure its continued spiritual and intellectual independence.

The need for a permanent home has been solved magnificently so far in the Castle; and our Congressional committees hope that this arrangement will continue in the future. There would seem to be a new opportunity to render permanent our home here in the Castle by intensifying our identity with the new emerging International Quadrangle in ways that would be mutually beneficial to both the Center and the Smithsonian. The Center has no higher institutional priority in the months ahead than our efforts to extend and develop our links with the Smithsonian. The Center provides precisely the internationally oriented advanced research in the sciences of man that Secretary Ripley has projected as an extending objective of the new International Quadrangle. The Smithsonian in turn provides the Center with a rich and supportive ambience of cultural artifact and reflective memory of human accomplishment uniquely capable of sustaining and even inspiring the deeper, more synthetic look at world problems that this present-minded city needs.

The need for an endowment must, in my view, be solved fairly rapidly at the level the Board has already agreed on if we are to make the extraordinary effort in staff concentration on qualitative intellectual tasks that must be the main focus of the next decade of its activity.

The increased amount of effort in recent years simply to sustain this high level of annual giving has had high costs in opportunities foregone. It has been at the direct expense of the kind of intellectual definition, sophisticated recruitment, and intense direct effort to define a program focused on the problems of civilization in the future and making the kind of subtle but powerful long-term impact that our Center is now equipped to do. If we are to be able to use the Center's human assets to make an assault directly with this extraordinary instrument on defining what is truly important for the future of civilization, we will need a small number of additional staff and we will need to relieve the senior staff of the continuous and renewed burden of fund-raising which has prevented them so far--and will decisively prevent them in the future--from the intellectual and moral task which the Center is now uniquely equipped to undertake. A secure endowment is the only adequate answer to this problem. It will relieve us of that part of annual solicitation which marginally takes away from the time and energy needed for the subtle arts of recruitment, meeting management, and problem definition.

Is it really possible to reach, in effect, a long-term strategic version of the benefits of a public-policy think tank at the deep level of world-class intellectual advance that this Center has set as its ultimate objective? The founding fathers of our country, who also bridged the world of ideas and the world of affairs, and Woodrow Wilson, who sought to do it on a global scale, had a vision of doing what had never been done before and not accepting the prejudgment of impossibility. Nothing less than Wilson's noble, unrealized task is now before us as a realistic assault possibility. The Wilson Center has already shown in the seventies that it is possible for an old civilization to build new

institutions, and that America is still open to an immigration of ideas from abroad and to a great variety of scholars working harmoniously together here at home. The richness and variety of this Center can and must be used more effectively for the broader and deeper purposes of civilization.

But this cannot realistically be done without a secure financial base of the minimal dimensions we have defined in this endowment drive. One cannot tackle the unique opportunity this Center now has on the fragile base of annual funding and with the increasing drain of time and energy that annual funding on the private side is requiring. We could try to move into a predominant, perhaps overwhelming, reliance on public funding or continue trying to live on multiyear foundation grants. Either course runs the risk of inviting pressure at some future time either to concentrate more on short-range topical problems, advocacy issues, or on lesser intellectual agendas generated basically by the staffs of congressional committees, executive bureaucracies, or foundations.

In short, the attempt in the decade ahead of the free mind to make a fresh effort at a level of depth and intensity perhaps never before undertaken to bring our extraordinary and underused intellectual resources to bear on the most important international questions--this opportunity depends directly and squarely on this endowment effort. If it is not completed successfully, changes in the presently highly friendly relationship with the Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and our by-now knowledgeable and supportive Wilson Council, as well as our special stature of acceptance in the academic community worldwide--some or all of these forces are sure to change and likely to be weakened and the unique body of high-quality staff talent we presently have eroded.

The most important single difference that a secure endowment base would make is that it would permit the Center to have an altogether different and far more creative relationship with its principal advisory, governing, and funding bodies: the Congress, the Board, and the Wilson Council. The scholarly institution and its international network that had been established in this past decade could begin to have a substantive rather than supplicative relationship to these bodies. These bodies of political and economic leaders with public and private responsibilities and a unique treasury of ongoing practical experience--all have a vital role to play in moving from the relatively pure scholarly base established during the past decade to the genuine dialogue and impact projected for the next decade. We--the scholarly community--need the genuine questioning, advising, and agenda-setting skills that are uniquely available to us in these three bodies with which we have dignified scholarly relations. A base of endowment would enable us to draw on all three groups for the substantive advice and special perspectives they can provide--rather than take up all their and our time making the short-term case repeatedly for annual funding. In short, the Center needs a base of long-term financial security to become a Center that develops the long-term planning necessary to deal comprehensively with strategic questions.

There is a time taken at the flood and there is a rich literature on the decline and fall of civilizations as well as on the special role that small creative minorities can play in the building and revival

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of civilizations. It will be a sad chapter in history if the twenty-first century were to look back on late twentieth-century Washington as a city which, amidst the growing complications and problems of its international involvements spent more of its spare time and money accumulating and exhibiting art and missed the opportunity to cross-pollinate and harvest its extraordinary national resources of scholarly intellect. Scholars are thirsty for a broader challenge. The self-righteousness of the sixties and the self-pity of the seventies have both given way to a renewed readiness to serve and a reaffirmed openness of approach. I think I can speak for the senior staff of this remarkably dedicated little institution and for an influential and potentially important alumni body in saying: give us this financial vote of confidence and we will do our best to do the job that we can all feel will make a difference for our children.

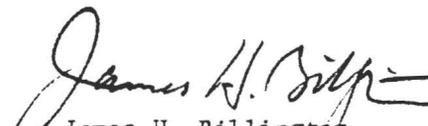
IV. Alternatives

The Center has two other dignified options at the present besides that which I have outlined and recommended.

(1) It can continue as at present to rely exclusively on short-term annual funding for its non-federal expenditures. It could continue to achieve honorable scholarly results and to have some broader impact; but it would need to recognize institutionally the burn-out that is programmed into the present mode of operations for the senior staff and to acknowledge that (even with a reduced program of meetings and outreach) the Center will not be able to make serious substantive use of its substantial national and global access to the "world of affairs". Sooner or later (but probably sooner in this highly political town) the Center may see an erosion of an asset that could never be recovered: its record of, and reputation for, independence, integrity, and world-class scholarly quality.

(2) It can anticipate the risk that lies ahead on its present course given its continued financial vulnerability and evolve consciously toward either of two attainable and intrinsically admirable basic identities that are different from the more ambitious identity it has been pursuing. Either: (a) a facility for scholars taking sabbaticals in Washington, or (b) another policy-oriented "think tank" focused on short-term problems.

By becoming, in effect, essentially subordinate either to the world of ideas or to the world of affairs, the Center would resolve the creative, but perhaps unsupportable tension inherent in its charter. It could still try to reach out occasionally to the other community. If it had to choose between these two identities, I would recommend (1), because there is no such institution in Washington for the modern social sciences and humanities and there are excellent public policy think tanks.


James H. Billington
Director
The Wilson Center

THE WILSON CENTER

JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

May 20, 1983

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

I am writing to invite you to an evening dialogue at The Wilson Center on Monday, June 6, from 6:00 to 10:00 P.M. The subject will be "The Role of Law and Lawyers in Japan and America" With the U.S. legal system under attack and lawyers being criticized as "paper entrepreneurs," we thought it would be timely to reflect on our "litigation society" through a comparison with a distinctly different society, Japan.

Our speakers for the evening will be Isaac Shapiro, Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy, and Michael K. Young, Director, Center for Japanese Legal Studies, Columbia University. The Wilson Center is fortunate in currently having Koichiro Fujikura from the Law Department of Tokyo University as a guest scholar. Dr. Fujikura will comment on the presentations from the Japanese perspective. As always, there will be ample time for audience participation and discussion.

I am enclosing a short paper on the subject of law and lawyers in the two societies to get you thinking about the issues to be discussed. At the meeting we will consider the view of the Japanese as lacking "law consciousness" and discuss the cultural and institutional reasons for a number of differences that exist between the two societies. Differing perceptions of regulation, "rights" and dispute resolution will also be examined. I also hope that we can discuss the implications of these issues for trade and other issues of current interest.

I hope you will be able to join us on June 6. The Wilson Center is located in the Smithsonian Institution Building (the "Castle"), located on the Mall at 1000 Jefferson Drive, S.W. Please call right away to let us know if you are coming. This will aid us in making the preparations for the conference. If you have any questions, please call me or Angela Fields at 202/357-1937.

Sincerely,

Ronald Morse

Ronald A. Morse
Secretary, East Asia Program

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Comparison of Japanese and American Legal Advisors

Robert Brown, Esq.

To Be Published In:
Research and Development

October 1982

During the years following the Meiji Restoration, Japan modeled many of its codes after European ones. Similarly, during the Allied Occupation many changes were made in Japanese codes to make them more similar to American laws. However, neither of these wholesale adoptions affected the public attitude toward law, according to most legal scholars. According to them, the cultural values of the people and the government which led them did not materially change, even though the structure of law in Japan was changed. Thus, according to these writers, there is a gap between what the law says (as borrowed from Western sources) and how the people use the law.

As proof that Japanese attitudes toward the law have not really changed, one example which is frequently cited is the apparent fewer number of lawyers in Japan than in the West. According to these scholars, if Japan had truly adopted Western legal patterns, there would not be a great discrepancy between Japanese and Western practices in this area.

Several authors have described the apparent wide discrepancy between the number of lawyers in Japan and various Western nations. For instance, Professor H. Tanaka of Tokyo University indicates that population per lawyer in

compare U.S. attorneys (including judges and prosecutors) only with practicing attorneys in Japan (which excludes prosecutors, or procurators as they are called in Japan, and judges). Therefore, in Chart 1, the figures for judges (2,700) and procurators (1,173) are included in the total for members of the legal profession in Japan.

The next group which we can identify as including persons who are doing legal work in Japan are the employees of Japanese corporations who work in Legal Divisions (Homubu), Contract Divisions (Keiyakubu) or Documents Divisions (Bunshobu). As one scholar has noted, "Such people play an enormously important role in Japan and tend to be neglected in discussion of the role of law and the lawyer in Japan."

Such persons are usually legally trained in a university law faculty, but did not enter the Legal Research and Training Institute, the sole Japanese law school, they work for corporations advising on legal matters. (Some confirmation that the Legal Institute is in fact not really a law school can be found in the education one receives at the Institute, which is more devoted to courtroom techniques and practical experience than it is to legal education. One is already expected to have received such education before entering the Legal Institute.) Thus, only calling graduates of the Legal Institute "attorneys" can be very misleading.

A further indication that corporate legal department employees could be included in the total for the Japanese legal profession is the fact the U.S. law schools will admit them into their LL.M. programs, although only U.S. citizens who have graduated from a law school can be admitted.

Therefore, in Chart 1, we have included the 1980

the U.S. is about 14 times what it is in Japan. According to Judge T. Hattori of the Tokyo District Court, the ratio is about 10 to 1. Professor D. F. Henderson of the University of Washington in his study of foreign investment in Japan quotes similar figures.

These authors arrive at such wide discrepancies by taking an English word, "attorney", and finding the Japanese translation for it, "bengoshi", without looking at the actual-usage of the terms. The danger with such an approach is that while a word such as "bengoshi" may be translated in a certain way, this does not necessarily mean that all the people in the United States who are called "attorney" would in Japan be called a "bengoshi", or vice versa. One term may be more encompassing than the other.

This is precisely the problem with translating the word "bengoshi" as "attorney". Many of the functions which are performed by attorneys, for instance in the United States, are performed by people in Japan who are not bengoshi. Therefore, to compare the all-encompassing word "attorney" with the much more limited word "bengoshi" is very misleading.

To arrive at a proper analysis of the role of the legal profession in Japan, more than bengoshi must be compared with attorneys. One must compare all those in Japan performing the type of work which is performed by lawyers in Western nations, such as the United States.

The first such group which must be included are judges and prosecutors. Even though these two groups are attorneys in Japan and most other Western nations, some writers when discussing the legal profession of the two nations

neys in Japan is proof that Japan adopted Western laws as models without the Western concept of the role of lawyers also being adopted.

Calendar of Events

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS
Smithsonian Institution Building Washington D.C. 20560 202 357-2115

JUNE 1982

Noon Discussion
Wednesday
June 1

"Jewish Emigration from the U.S.S.R."

Yaacov Ro'i, Director, Russian and East
European Research Center, Tel Aviv University;
Short-term Visiting Grantee, Kennan Institute,
The Wilson Center

Noon Discussion
Monday
June 6

Introducing three new Fellows of The Wilson Center:

Henry M. Pelling, Emeritus Reader in Recent
British History, University of Cambridge, and
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
"Britain and the Marshall Plan."

T. H. Rigby, Professorial Fellow in Political
Science, Australian National University,
Canberra. "Revolutionary absolutism: the mono-
organizational society and the new class."

Jiri Valenta, Associate Professor, Department of
National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate
School. "Soviet crisis management in bordering
communist countries: implications for the United
States."

Dinner/Discussion*
Monday
June 6

"The Role of Law and Lawyers in Japan and the
United States"

Isaac Shapiro, attorney, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley
and McCloy

Michael K. Young, Director, Center for Japanese
Legal Studies, Columbia University

Commentator: Koichiro Fujikura, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Professor of Law, University of Tokyo

Conference*
Tuesday
June 7

"Energy Pricing, Supply, and Demand in East Asian
Developing Countries"

Harry G. Broadman, Fellow, Center for Energy Policy
Research, Resources for the Future

A. B. Harland, Deputy Assistant Administrator,
Energy Office, United Nations Development Program

Jayant Sathaye, Staff Scientist, Energy Analysis
Program, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory

Corazon M. Siddayao, Research Coordinator, Energy
and Industrialization Project, East-West Center

Colloquium
Tuesday
June 7

"Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority:
Origins of a Social Movement"

Susan Harding, Fellow, The Wilson Center; Assistant
Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan

Commentators: Michael Agar, Professor of Anthropology, University
of Maryland

Donald Mathews, Professor of History, University
of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Noon Discussion
Wednesday
June 8

"Future of East-West Relations"

James Leonard, Aspen Institute

Herbert S. Okun, Aspen Institute

Dinner/Discussion*
Wednesday
June 8

"Using History for Policy Analysis and Public
Management"

Ernest May, Fellow, The Wilson Center; Charles
Warren Professor of History, Harvard University

Richard Neustadt, Littauer Professor of Public
Administration, Kennedy School of Government,
Harvard University

Commentators: Jeff Bingaman, U.S. Senator from New Mexico

Robert Blackwill, Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Foreign Affairs, Department of State

Phillip S. Hughes, Under Secretary, Smithsonian
Institution

Noon Discussion
Thursday
June 9

"The Japanese Approach to Environmental Issues
and Regulation"

Koichiro Fujikura, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Professor of Law, University of Tokyo

Colloquium
Thursday
June 9
4-6 pm

"The Social Composition of Agrarian Rebellions
in Prefamine Ireland: The Case of the Carders
and Caravats, 1813-16"

James Donnelly, Fellow, The Wilson Center; Professor
of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Commentators: Samuel Clark, Associate Professor of Sociology,
University of Western Ontario

David W. Miller, Professor of History, Carnegie-
Mellon University

Colloquium
Friday
June 10
3-5 pm

"Stalin: The Disloyal Patron?"

T. H. Rigby, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Professorial Fellow in Political Science,
Australian National University

Commentator: Robert Tucker, Professor of Politics,
Princeton University

Colloquium
Monday
June 13
4-6 pm

"The Structure of Power in Venezuela"

German Carrera Damas, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Professor of History, National University,
~~Caracas, Venezuela~~

Commentator: John Lombardi, Professor of History, Indiana
University

Noon Discussion
Tuesday
June 14

"Is China Going Capitalist?"

Dorothy J. Solinger, Director, Asian Studies
Program, University of Pittsburgh

Dinner/Discussion*
Tuesday
June 14

"Debt and Development: The Prospects for Growth
in a Rescheduled Latin America"

Anthony Solomon, President, Federal Reserve
Bank of New York

Noon Discussion
Wednesday
June 15

"Russia and Byzantium: Common Roots or Common Structure?"

Alexander Kazhdan, Senior Research Associate,
Dumbarton Oaks

Colloquium
Wednesday
June 15
4-6 pm

"Friends and Enemies in U.S. Far Eastern Policy,
1931-1953"

Ryuichi Nagao, Fellow, The Wilson Center; Professor,
School of Liberal Arts, University of Tokyo

Seminar
Thursday
June 16
4-6 pm

"Soviet Investment Imperative and the Economic
Burden of Defense"

Stanley Cohn, Professor of Economics, State
University of New York at Binghamton

Commentator: Robert Campbell, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Chairman, Department of Economics, Indiana
University

Cosponsored by the National Council for Soviet and
East European Research and the Kennan Institute
of the Wilson Center

Noon Discussion
Monday
June 20

"Big Business and Politics in Japan"

Gary D. Allinson, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Ellen Bayard Weedon Professor of East Asian
Studies, University of Virginia

Colloquium
Monday
June 20
4-6 pm (room 486)

"Psychiatry and Dissent: The Soviet Experience
and Its Implications"

Walter Reich, Fellow, The Wilson Center; Program
Director, The Staff College, National Institute
of Mental Health

Commentator: Boris Zoubok, Department of Psychiatry, College
of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University;
former Soviet psychiatrist

Colloquium

Tuesday

June 21

4-6 pm

"America's Size and Shape: Federal Urban Policy
from Humphrey to Reagan"

Otis Graham, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Distinguished University Professor of History,
University of North Carolina

Commentator: Stuart E. Eizenstat, attorney; Member of the Board
of The Wilson Center

Noon Discussion

Wednesday

June 22

"Genetic Recoil of the Demographic Shotgun:
Qualitative Decline in U.S. and Soviet Populations"

John Glad, Secretary, Kennan Institute,
The Wilson Center

Colloquium

Wednesday

June 22

4-6 pm

"Corruption in Asia: The Human Cost"

Syed Hussein Alatas, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Professor and Head, Department of Malay Studies,
National University of Singapore

Noon Discussion

Friday

June 24

"China and the Two Superpowers"

Xue Mouhong, Professor of International Politics,
Peking University, and Visiting Fellow, Institute
for East Asian Studies, Berkeley

Noon Discussion

Tuesday

June 28

"The China Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy"

Robert S. Thompson, Professor of Government,
University of South Carolina

Colloquium

Tuesday

June 28

4-6 pm

"Moscow: Urban Policy and Politics under Stalin"

Timothy J. Colton, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Associate Professor of Political Science,
University of Toronto

Commentator: T. H. Rigby, Fellow, The Wilson Center;
Professorial Fellow in Political Science,
Australian National University

Noon Discussion
Wednesday
June 29

"The Unofficial Peace Movement in the U.S.S.R."
Catherine Cosman, staff member, Commission on
Security and Cooperation in Europe

*by invitation.

It is suggested that events be confirmed on the day of the event by telephoning Louise Platt or Cynthia Ely, 357-2115.

*J. Wilson
Ctr*

THE WILSON CENTER



April 29, 1983

The Honorable James W. Cicconi
Special Assistant to the President
and Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

Enclosed are the minutes of the March 1 Wilson Center Board meeting. This was a particularly important meeting, both because of Jim Billington's concise but comprehensive discussion of the Center's mission and because of the Board's discussion of its own responsibilities and those of the Wilson Council. Because of the importance of Jim's remarks, we asked him to write them up more fully than can be reported in the minutes and we circulated a copy of this write up to you on March 22. I commend them to you as a solid expression of the principal purposes and priority emphases of the Center as discussed by the Board on several occasions and as adhered to by the Director and his staff in seeking to implement the Center's responsibilities.

With respect to the role of the Board and the Wilson Council, this will continue to be the focus of our discussions in upcoming Board meetings and, I hope, we will have opportunities to discuss our respective roles on a more informal basis from time to time between Board meetings.

In this regard, the Council is working on a more precise definition of its role as noted in the minutes. And we discussed a matter of significant importance at our recent Board meeting relating to collective support of our development and endowment effort. The endowment campaign, as you know, has had encouraging early results leading to commitments of nearly \$2 million. We have now reached the point where the active participation of our Board and Council members is needed--indeed essential in dealing persuasively with prospective donors.

I hope you will review the recommendation of Bob Mosbacher and the finance committee as outlined on page 2 of the minutes. The list of 5 recommendations is suggestive rather than exhaustive and I fully realize that some Board members will be in a better position than others to follow through. But I would appreciate your consideration of these steps and where possible your indication of which one or more of them you might be willing to undertake. Some form of help from everyone is really quite important at this point in helping persuade others that the governing body of the Center

fully supports its plans for growth and development.

I know you will do what is possible in the context of your own responsibilities. Jim, Bob Mosbacher and I will be very grateful for your help and anxious to follow through on your suggestions.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill".

William J. Baroody, Jr.
Chairman
Board of Trustees

THE WILSON CENTER



April 13, 1983

TO: Members of the Board of Trustees
FROM: William J. Baroody, Jr., Chairman
SUBJECT: Revised Board Assignments

(B)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Mr. Baroody, Chairman;
Mr. Ripley, Vice Chairman;
Messrs. Baker, Bennett, Kampelman,
Mosbacher and Shultz

FINANCE COMMITTEE: Mr. Mosbacher, Chairman;
Messrs. Barreaux, Oppenheimer, Powers*,
Ripley, Shultz and Wick

PERMANENT SITE COMMITTEE: Mr. Ripley, Chairman;
Messrs. Baker, Boorstin, Kampelman,
Warner and Wick, and Ms. Heckler

FELLOWSHIP COMMITTEE: Mr. Warner, Chairman;
Messrs. Barreaux, Bennett, Clark,
Kampelman and Ripley, and Ms. Scott

PROGRAM COMMITTEE: Mr. Eizenstat, Chairman;
Messrs. Baker, Oppenheimer, Warner
and Wick, and Ms. Heckler

PUBLICATIONS AND
MEETINGS COMMITTEE: Mr. Wick, Chairman;
Messrs. Boorstin, Clark, Eizenstat
and Mosbacher, and Ms. Heckler

*Designates non-Board member Mr. John J. Powers, Jr., Chairman of the Wilson Council.

THE WILSON CENTER

March 1, 1983

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Summary Minutes of the Thirty-first Meeting of the Board of Trustees

Present: William J. Baroody, Jr., Chairman

Theodore C. Barreaux
John C. Broderick (for Mr. Boorstin)
Stuart E. Eizenstat
Max M. Kampelman
Jesse H. Oppenheimer
John E. Reinhardt (for Mr. Ripley)
Anne Firor Scott
Daniel J. Terra (for Secretary Shultz)
Ronald L. Trowbridge (for Mr. Wick)
Robert M. Warner

Unable to attend: James A. Baker, III
William J. Bennett
Kenneth B. Clark
Margaret M. Heckler
Robert A. Mosbacher

Staff members present: James H. Billington
Prosser Gifford
Michael J. Lacey
George Liston Seay
Mernie M. Weathers

Chairman Baroody opened the meeting by noting the departure of Richard Schweiker and nomination of Margaret Heckler as Secretary of Health and Human Services and, thus, as a member of the Board. He also noted the departure of Charles Blitzer, who has represented Mr. Ripley so long and so well on the Board, to become director of the National Humanities Center in North Carolina; and welcomed John Reinhardt, a former statutory member of the Board and now Acting Assistant Secretary for History and Art, as Mr. Ripley's representative at this meeting.

The minutes of the last meeting of October 5, 1983, were approved.

Finance Committee Report. Mr. Baroody first called on Ambassador Terra, who said that the luncheon which he hosted in Chicago on January 24, honoring Wilson Council member John Swearingen, was an attempt to broaden the base of private funding through local involvement and recognition.

Reporting for the Finance Committee, which met prior to the Board meeting, George Seay cited funding developments of recent months and outlined the long-term funding strategy, briefly summarizing the report of the committee on (1) federal support, (2) private short-term funds, (3) private mid-term funds,

(4) private long-term funds (the endowment campaign), and (5) endowment special efforts. Mr. Seay commented that since beginning the \$7 million campaign for a nucleus endowment in October, \$1,500,000 in firm pledges for general endowment has been raised mainly through contacts with individuals. A new phase of this effort will be aimed at corporations, foundations, and long-standing supporters of the Center. The agreement contracted in early October with the Cambridge Associates Group to design the endowment goals was now considered closed, with the remainder of the grant received from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to be used for such future consultancy as may be needed.

Mr. Baroody pointed out that it will take strong, sustained, and continuous effort and involvement on the part of the Board to advance the Center's work and create a financially stable base. He read the following telegram from Mr. Mosbacher:

I endorse, urge, and strongly request that the following plan which you, Jim Billington, and George Liston Seay propose be unanimously accepted by the Board. Every Board member should do one or more of the following: (1) identify a new endowment prospect and present him or her to the Center; (2) organize and sponsor an event that introduces prospective donors to the Center; (3) suggest a regional visit and organize same; (4) make a personal commitment and contribution to the campaign; (5) introduce new corporations or foundations to the Center.

I am sorry I cannot be with you, but hope this plan can be put into effect immediately.

Discussion centered on ways individual Board members might participate and the Council's understanding of its mission and purpose. Suggestions included making funding support a prerequisite for Council membership, better indoctrination of the fund-raising role expected of members, and stressing geographical distribution or committee assignments for members. Mr. Billington commented that the Center has benefited from the recent broadening of regional representation and that the Council itself was discussing reforming the membership and bringing in new members. He asked the Board for names of key people to make the Council more broadly representative as suggested by Messrs. Oppenheimer and Terra and in line with the Mosbacher injunction. Mr. Seay, speaking as the Council's executive secretary, said the Council is presently working on a charter to delineate its mission; that in its approximately ten-year history contributions amounting to \$1,800,000 have been raised; that Council members consider fund raising to be part of their obligation; and that the Council had at its last meeting expressed a desire to work more closely with the Board of Trustees through shared meetings, discussions, and activities.

Program Committee Report. (Mr. Eizenstat, Chairman) Mr. Eizenstat stated that the Board had, in principle, at its April 6, 1982, meeting, recommended the creation of a new European program at the Center. In preparing to present recommendations about how such a program might be structured, Center director James Billington has commissioned two outside, independent inquiries into the nature and needs of this field by Dr. Renata Fritsch-Bournazel, a research fellow at the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris, to determine

major current research activity and intellectual priorities within Eastern and Western Europe; and by Dr. John Talbott, Professor of History at the University of California at Santa Barbara, to survey existing centers and needs inside the United States. The final reports have not yet been received, but preliminary reports stress that there is remarkably little activity focusing on new issues, and that most European studies programs in this country are both weak in number and poor in quality. After the final reports are received, the director will prepare a recommendation for the Program Committee of the Board, which will in turn prepare a final recommendation for the Board on the structure of the proposed program. After discussion, it was decided to delegate the Program Committee to authorize a competition for fellowships in the European program in advance of final determination at the next Board meeting of the scope and nature of this program.

Mr. Eizenstat reported briefly on the progress of the Program on American Society and Politics, under Michael Lacey. There have been two groups of ten fellows each; the first began work in the fall of 1981. Special events have included a commemoration of the 125th anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth, an evening session on Franklin D. Roosevelt and his legacy in connection with Roosevelt's centennial, and a two-day conference which was held in late October at the Belmont facility on the role of the state in recent American history. Mr. Lacey, at Mr. Eizenstat's request, then outlined future planned conferences and projects (focusing on the history of American public policy, the development of environmental politics and policy in the United States since World War II, and, in conjunction with the U.S. Information Agency, a project with intellectuals from the Third World expressing their view of America's impact, both culturally and politically, on development in their own societies).

Fellowship Committee Report. (Mr. Warner, Chairman) Mr. Warner reported that the Committee had met on February 1 and selected 52 fellows, one adjunct fellow, 16 alternates, and endorsed additional candidates eligible for Volkswagen Fellowships (Attachment A). Mr. Billington said that, although there are areas which are targeted for special recruitment efforts prior to each fellowship competition, there are never established quotas or any internal fixed ratios in the selection process itself, but that the Center relies on the guest scholar route for a measure of balancing.

Mr. Warner moved and the Board approved unanimously an increase on ceiling for fellowship stipends from the current \$35,000 to \$38,000. Second, Mr. Warner moved that the allocation of monies that can be used annually for guest scholarships be fixed at 10 percent of the annual federal fellowship appropriation. Each year the Board has authorized the designation of a specific sum of money from the total fellowship allotment as a fund for guest scholars, if so needed: from an initial allocation of \$25,000 in 1976, increased to \$50,000 in 1978 and to \$75,000 in 1980. Mr. Billington explained that guest scholars do not come through the regular competition, but take advantage of space which becomes available for a short period of time; that the Center does not pay for their transportation costs; that they receive a stipend which tends to be somewhat lower than the full fellowships; that many bring their own funding; and that there were approximately 47 guest scholars in the last fiscal year. A motion was made and unanimously adopted to approve the full report of the Fellowship Committee including the new formula for allocating guest scholar funds.

Director's Report. Mr. Billington announced that Abraham Lowenthal, secretary of the Latin American Program, will go on leave on March 16. Mr. Louis Goodman, former staff director of the Latin American-Caribbean program of the Social Science Research Council, and, since November, program associate of the Latin American Program, will become its acting director. Thomas Bruneau, professor of political science and director of the Center for Developing Area Studies at McGill University, will join the Latin American Program in July as a senior program associate. Sam Wells, secretary of the International Security Studies Program, will go on leave later in the year. The Center is exploring the possibility of having a former fellow and a current member of the advisory council of the International Security Studies Program, General Andrew Goodpaster, assume some of the senior responsibilities in that particular program. In the Kennan Institute, Herbert Ellison, professor of history and chairman of the Department of Russian and East European Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle, was selected after a search and will come on board in midsummer as secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies.

Mr. Billington expanded on the theme of his most recent annual report: the integrity, importance, and impact of the Center. Created as an "International Center for Scholars," the Wilson Center's basic universe is that of advanced scholarship. It does not "relate" to that community; it is a part of it: a rotating body of scholars who collectively represent the independent scholarly community in action in Washington--each working on a major individual project of his or her own choosing.

He said that all his discussion about the Center assumes the continuance of its scholarly base: the maintenance of open competition and high quality control in the selection of fellows, and the insistence that all scholars work toward a major scholarly product and participate in dialogue at the Center.

Following that, he said, two key questions remain.

(1) How does the community of scholars at the Center relate to the other communities to which the Center has an obligation and/or an opportunity to relate? He then discussed the unique relationship that has developed and opportunities that exist in relating to three Washington "communities" (the United States government, the Washington intellectual community, and the Smithsonian Institution) and to three broader "communities" that are national--and in many respects, international (the "world of affairs," the nonacademic public, and the Center's symbolic function as a Presidential memorial).

(2) Given the central commitment to scholarly integrity and the parallel commitment to interact with broader publics, how can the Center best increase the importance and the impact of the scholarship conducted here? He suggested that scholarship at the Center could probably make the greatest contribution by stressing, wherever possible, questions of value which underlie questions of policy; by introducing the historic, the comparative, the philosophic, even the theological and imaginative dimensions of world problems. To increase the impact of its scholarship, he pointed to many Center successes, but wondered if everything above basic scholarly publication obligations and the full development of the Wilson Quarterly might not best be concentrated on the systematic exploration of the entire new range of electronic technologies as a means of reaching out.

Mr. Kampelman complimented Mr. Billington on his presentation and asked if he would prepare a written version for distribution.

Deputy Director Prosser Gifford distributed a paper on Center publications and meetings (Attachment B) and summarized some of the recent publications, which developed from conferences held at the Center. Ten individual cassettes produced by National Public Radio (NPR) have been included in a publication called the Cassette Gazette that NPR produces monthly, which goes to a large number of radio stations and public affairs groups around the country. These cassettes are made by two Center scholars with a member of the senior staff as a moderator and present a discussion on a given topic. A series called The Wilson Center Papers is being created from the occasional papers of the various programs. Mr. Gifford displayed a mock-up copy, briefly summarized the wide range of meetings and activities currently going on at the Center, and invited questions and comments.

Date of Next Meeting. Mr. Baroody said a two-day conference on German-American relations was scheduled in September, and a Wilson Council meeting rescheduled to occur at that time. He asked that the Board change the regularly scheduled October 4 meeting to September 21 at 3:00 p.m. to coincide with both the Council meeting and the conference.

The meeting adjourned at 5:10 p.m., and Mr. Baroody invited Board members to remain and participate in the special evening honoring former Board chairman, Max Kampelman.

Respectfully submitted,



Mernie M. Weathers
Secretary to the Board



WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BUILDING WASHINGTON D.C. 20560

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:

Ann C. Sheffield
(202) 357-2841

THE WILSON CENTER ANNOUNCES

RESULTS OF ANNUAL FELLOWSHIP COMPETITION

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars has offered research appointments to 52 new fellows, Chairman of the Board of Trustees William J. Baroody, Jr. announced today.

Wilson Center fellows are chosen competitively once a year on the basis of submitted research proposals from throughout the world.

Baroody noted that the latest round of competition with 406 applicants from 34 countries around the globe, was especially keen because of the quality of the proposals received and the diversity of talents represented. As in the past, fellowships were awarded not only to academics, but also to journalists, public officials and others.

The following fellows, who were chosen in one general and five focused programs, will pursue their projects while in Washington.

PROGRAM ON HISTORY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Warner Bement Berthoff, Professor of English and American Literature, Harvard University. The continuances of virtue: meaning and value in imaginative literature.

Robert Oakley Collins, Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara. Jonglei: the past and present of the future.

Bernard John Cooke, Professor of Religious Studies, College of the Holy Cross. Religious and cultural symbol systems.

Chidananda Dasgupta, India. Managing Editor, SPAN Magazine, United States Information Service, New Delhi. Cinema and social change in contemporary India.

2.

Seymour Drescher, Professor of History, University of Pittsburgh. Implementing human rights: British abolition.

Thomas Christopher Garvin, Ireland. Professor of Political Science, University College of Dublin. Social structure and Irish republicanism.

Robert Abraham Hill, Jamaica. Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. Marcus Garvey and the Black international: a centennial biography.

Robert Emmet Kennedy, Jr., Professor of European History, George Washington University. A cultural history of the French Revolution.

Rosalind E. Krauss, Professor of History of Art, Hunter College and Graduate Center, City University of New York. Photography's discursive spaces: reality surveyed.

Sabah Uddin Kushkaki, Afghanistan. Former Afghan Minister of Information and Broadcasting. Why Russia invaded Afghanistan: when a people fail to meet their objectives.

Silva Meznaric, Yugoslavia. Senior Researcher, Association of Slovene Trade Unions. Conflicts and consensus in inter-ethnic space: the influence of labor immigration on a small nation's cultural identity and its policy implications.

Gieve Gustad Patel, India. Private Medical Practitioner, Bombay. The bequeathing of civilization from one generation to the next: a play.

Andrus Pork, U.S.S.R. Docent in Philosophy, Tartu State University. Patterns of explanation in history and in politics.

Paul Walter Schroeder, Professor of History, University of Illinois. The European states system, 1789-1848.

Klemens Szaniawski, Poland. Professor of Philosophy, University of Warsaw. Ethics and logic.

William Augustine Wallace, Professor of Philosophy and History of Science, The Catholic University of America. The modeling of nature: man and the sciences in contemporary culture.

Merwin Crawford Young, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison. The African colonial state in comparative perspective.

PROGRAM ON AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Donald DeBats, Senior Lecturer in American Studies and Politics, Flinders University, Australia. The American voter in the 19th century: case studies in a traditional electorate.

Ronnie E. Dugger, Publisher and editor-at-large, The Texas Observer. Lyndon B. Johnson and the evolution of domestic policy in the United States since 1953.

Betsy Erkkila, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Pennsylvania. Poetry and politics: a study of the political text and context of Walt Whitman's work.

Mario Garcia, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara. Historical analysis of the Mexican-American community.

Tom Gerety, Associate Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh School of Law. Faith's good staff: religion in American law.

Hazel Hertzberg, Professor of History and Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. A history of social studies in American public schools, 1880-1980.

Peter Kruger, Federal Republic of Germany. Professor of History, Marburg University. The United States and German federalism, 1871-1949.

Mark Reutter, journalist, freelance writer, Baltimore. Making steel: life and work at Sparrows Point.

Massimo Salvadori, Italy. Professor of Contemporary History, University of Torino. The relationship between civil society and the state, socio-economic development and the problems of democracy in some currents of American political thought.

Mildred Sanders, Associate Professor of Political Science, Rice University. The roots of regulation: economics and politics in the nineteenth century.

Warren Susman, Professor of History, Rutgers University. Emergence of the culture of abundance, 1880-1940.

Alan Trachtenberg, Professor of American Studies, Yale University. Photography and culture in America.

KENNAN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED RUSSIAN STUDIES

Boris Gasparov, Stateless. Visiting Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stanford University. History of Russian language from a socio-cultural perspective.

Peter B. Reddaway, United Kingdom. Senior Lecturer in Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science. Soviet policy towards dissent since 1953: how is it formed, implemented, changed?

Teodore Shanin, United Kingdom. Professor and Head of Department of Sociology, University of Manchester. The Stolypin reforms in Russia as the archetype of rural transformation strategies in contemporary "developing societies."

Robert C. Tucker, Professor of Politics and Director of Russian Studies Program, Princeton University. Stalin: a study in history and personality.

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM

Roderic Ai Camp, Director of Latin American Studies, Central College, Pella, Iowa. Public-private interests: entrepreneurs and the state in 20th century Mexico.

Tom Joel Farer, Distinguished Professor of Law, Rutgers University Law School. Development, social conflict and defense of human rights in Latin America: the tale of a decade.

Rosario Green, Mexico. Professor and Researcher, El Colegio de Mexico and Associate Researcher, CEESTEM (Center for Third World Studies), Mexico. Trans-national banks and national development in Mexico.

Thomas Eloy Martinez, Argentina. Assistant to the Director General, Radio Caracas Television, Venezuela. Peron against Peron.

Carol A. Smith, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Duke University. The roots of revolution in Guatemala: a social history.

Evelyne Huber Stephens, Assistant Professor of Political Science, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts and

John David Stephens, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Brown University. Dependency, development, and democratic socialism: lessons from the Jamaican experience. (joint project)

Augusto Fernandez Varas, Chile. Director of Research and Professor, FLACSO (Latin American Faculty of the Social Sciences). Latin America in the new Soviet policy of transitions to socialism.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM

Steven Loomis Canby, President, C & L Associates. The art of war, military reform and western security.

Harold Karan Jacobson, Professor of Political Science and Research Scientist, Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. The determination of U.S. military force levels: political processes and policy changes.

Robert Scott Jaster, former Associate National Intelligence Officer for Africa, Central Intelligence Agency. The Rhodesian peace settlement: lessons for Third World conflict resolution.

Talukder Maniruzzaman, Bangladesh. Professor of Political Science, University of Dacca. Military withdrawal from politics: a comparative study.

David Stanley McLellan, Professor of Political Science, Miami University (Ohio). Cyrus Vance.

William Young Smith, General, U.S. Air Force, Deputy Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command. Strategy, arms programs, and arms control: the way ahead.

EAST ASIA PROGRAM

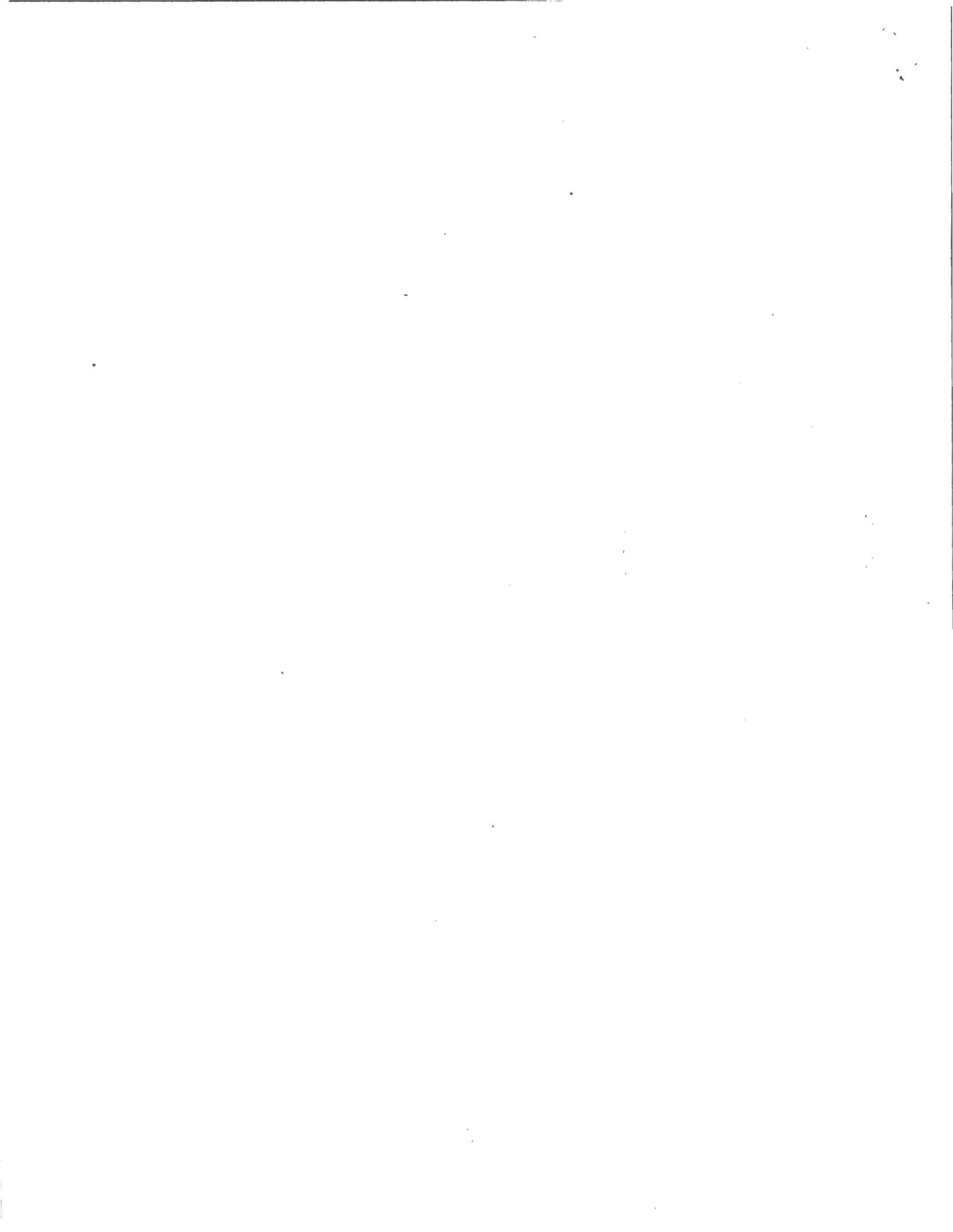
Mary Brown Bullock, Director, Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC, National Academy of Sciences. China turning West: educational/scientific relations with Europe, Japan and the United States.

Theodore Friend, Former President, Swarthmore College. Imperialism, revolution, and reversion: Indonesia and the Philippines, 1941-1949.

Tetsuya Kataoka, Japan. Professor of Political Science, Saitama University, Saitama. A history of post-war Japanese political thought.

Byong-ik Koh, Republic of Korea. Professor of History, Hanlim College, Ch'unch'on. Confucianism and its modern transformations.

Yuan Tien, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University. China's revolutionary conservative family policies: restorations, redirections and ramifications.



"B"

PROSSER GIFFORD, Deputy Director

March 1, 1983

TO: The Board of Trustees

FROM: Prosser Gifford

Notes on Publications and Meetings

Since the last meeting of the Board of Trustees the Wilson Center has published six special reports, an Annual Report for 1981-82, thirteen working papers, two newsletters, and will have a ninth Scholars' Guide (to Southeast Asia Studies) available this month. Of the special reports three warrant special mention. The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic results from a conference organized last May by a Guest Scholar at the Center, Nikki R. Keddie, and was published by the Middle East Institute in October. Thus it represents both the value of encouraging Fellows and Guest Scholars to organize scholarly conferences in their fields and the value of co-publishing with other institutions which have established audiences in particular fields. Korean Studies in America. Options for the Future grew out of a three-day conference in June 1982 examining a century of Korean-American diplomatic relations. At that time it became clear that a serious analysis of the status, the strengths and weaknesses of the pursuit of Korean studies nationally would be a service to the field as well as a contribution to thought about area studies generally. Some Lessons and Non-Lessons of Vietnam is the result of a collaboration between the International Security Studies Program and The Wilson Quarterly. It was mailed to 800 people in the relatively short time of two weeks after a conference in which 50 historians and analysts of the American involvement in Vietnam debated what we know and what we need still to know about the years 1964-73.

We have accumulated considerable experience during the past year with FM Radio programs, having done seventeen with the Longhorn Network in 1982 and several with Radio Smithsonian. If we receive the Ford Foundation grant, we will be in a position to consider our own radio show on a weekly basis. With our Fellows and staff we have ample capability. What we need to augment is organizational management and regularity of production. We have already established with National Public Radio the fact that our programs are of a high technical and substantive quality; they have been picked up by NPR and put in its Cassette Catalogue. Ten of our programs are now commercially available in cassette form and are announced through the monthly Cassette Gazette sent out by NPR. A number of others are in preparation. This means that the business of reproducing and supplying cassettes is entirely done by NPR, and that we will receive a modest royalty from the sales. As we develop our own program, we may also be able to package cassettes together in ways which will make them more useful to schools,

colleges, universities, and public affairs groups nationally. I append a list of these programs now available as cassettes.

Again contingent upon receipt of a grant from the Ford Foundation, we are prepared to unify our six series of Occasional or Working Papers put out by each program into a single Wilson Center Papers series with a more attractive, uniform format and tighter editorial control. We would then undertake to experiment with marketing strategies with the intention that the Working Papers series would become self-sustaining by the end of a three-year period, through subscriptions to institutions and individuals. We recognize that this will not be an easy task, but, if successful, it holds out the promise of significantly enlarged audiences for our Working Papers and also acknowledgement of the principle that our products ought to be self-sustaining where possible. The developments in word-processing and direct printing technology are such that we may be able to hold down production costs. We already have in view an experienced person to assume the difficult editorial task of evolving a single series of uniformly high quality.

Among meetings which are forthcoming, I mention only a sampling of the major events. We have, as the March calendar indicates, a full roster of colloquia and noon discussions, as well as our internal seminar on "Authority and Participation." But here I take note only of major events over the next few months to which we are committed. With a small senior staff, I believe that we are running near capacity year 'round on meetings as well as on accommodation for fellows and guest scholars.

February 28 - March 1 Inter-American Dialogue, Wye Plantation

The second plenary session of the Inter-American Dialogue, a major initiative co-chaired by Wilson Board member Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz and former President of Ecuador, Galo Plaza. The Dialogue is designed to examine key issues in U.S.-Latin American relations and involves 48 distinguished leaders -- half from Latin America and the Caribbean, half from the U.S. and Canada. The first plenary was held October 15 and 16, 1982 at The Wilson Center. An edited volume will be produced based on the background papers and discussions from the two meetings.

March 8 Evening Dialogue. "Totalitarianism and Authoritarianism: a Workable Distinction?"

Sidney Hook, Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace, Stanford

Michael Walzer, Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton

March 10-11 Conference on the Study of Central Asia

This two-day conference will bring together leading scholars with Middle Eastern, Soviet, Chinese, and Central Asian competence to examine an area that is everybody's periphery. What is the state of knowledge about and what ought to be the research agenda for Central Asia?

March 11-12 Caribbean Editors's Conference, Miami Florida

Jointly sponsored by The Wilson Center and Florida International University, the Conference will bring together key experts on the Caribbean and journalists and editors from the Southeast to discuss key issues facing the Caribbean region. The Conference is part of the Program's project on enhancing public understanding in the United States of U.S.-Caribbean relations.

March 29 ISSP, Core Seminar III. "Nuclear Free Zones: The Record of the Past and Opportunities in the Middle East"

Warren Donnelly, Congressional Research Service

Joseph Pilat, Congressional Research Service

April 5 Conference: Prospects for U.S.-Japan Energy Cooperation and Competition

This meeting, cosponsored by the Energy Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown, will treat oil and gas trade in the Pacific Basin, the politics of U.S. exports, options for cooperation, and competition in photovoltaics and other energy investments.

mid-April U.S.-Venezuela Policy Dialogue

A high-level meeting of a small group of opinion-makers from Venezuela and the U.S. to discuss issues of importance in the bilateral relationship. This is the third in a series of such meetings.

April 25-26 Workshop: "Intelligent Systems, Communication Technologies, and Cultural Values."

Held in cooperation with the United States Information Agency, the purpose of this workshop is to bring ten or twelve of the leading experts on artificial intelligence together with about 40 invited participants from a wide range of disciplines to discuss and clarify the concepts underlying the use of artificial intelligence as they affect the ways we work (robots, word processors, computers), the way we think (what is the relationship between artificial intelligence and the structure of the human brain?), and our deeper culture (can artificial intelligence systems be culture free?). After these concepts have been discussed, amplified, and clarified during the course of the workshop, they will then become the basis for exhibits at the United States pavillion at Expo 85 in Tsukuba, Japan. One of the principal themes of Expo 85 is technology and telecommunications, and the United States is determined to have an exhibit which will display, not only American technology, but American imagination about the consequences and uses of that technology.

May 6 Evening Dialogue with Andrei Sinyavsky

May 13-14 Fifth Annual Editors' Conference, Latin American Program

An annual conference designed to bring together editors and journalists from across the U.S. and top specialists on Latin America, government and business to discuss Latin American issues significant for press coverage.

May (date not yet certain) Conference: History and Public Policy

This will be built upon the work of three distinguished American historians, who are all currently Fellows: Otis Graham, Robert Kelley, and Ernest May.

May 11? and 26? ISSP: Core Seminars V and VI on "Nuclear Power Exports and Proliferation"

probably late May Planning Session, U.S.-Colombian Policy Dialogue.

A small working group will be assembled in May to develop plans for a first Dialogue between U.S. and Colombia leaders. As with the Venezuela Policy Dialogue, its purpose is to develop greater understanding of each country and of the importance of the bilateral relationship.

We have in addition several major conferences in the planning stage for the fall of 1983 and the spring of 1984.

Sept. 22-23 Conference: "Germany in Europe and the World"

a major attempt to examine the historical roots, present state and future possibilities of developments within Germany which affect or condition its relationships with NATO and the United States.

October or November Conference: "Environmentalism in historical perspective -- origins and outcomes of the third American conservation movement"

January 1984 Conference: "The Treaty of Paris in the Eighteenth Century States' System"

This meeting is cosponsored with the Folger Library's Center for British Political Thought. Emphasis will be put upon the political economy of European states at the end of the eighteenth century and the effects of American independence upon intellectual conceptions of empire, economic policy, and political thought.

spring 1984 Conference: "Through Foreign Eyes: American Traditions and
Third World Development"

REPORTS

International Security Studies Program:

"Report 1980-81"

"Some Lessons and Non-lessons of Vietnam"

American Society and Politics:

"A Commemorative Celebration"

"Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal Legacy"

History, Culture and Society:

"The Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic"

East Asia Program:

"Korean Studies in America: Options for the Future"

Wilson Center ANNUAL REPORT 1981-82

NEWSLETTERS

Wilson Center News Autumn 1982

Latin American Newsletter January 1983

SCHOLAR'S GUIDE

Southeast Asian Studies (to be published in March)
Patrick Mayerchak

WILSON QUARTERLY

Special Issue 1982

New Year's 1983

Spring 1983 (publication date: March)

OCCASIONAL/WORKING PAPERS

KENNAN INSTITUTE

- #155 F. I. Kushnirsky
"Soviet Planning: Evolution in 1965-1980"
- #156 Ilya Serman
"Russia and the West"
- #157 "Yugoslavia after Tito" (seminar papers)
- #158 Jagat S. Mehta
"Solution in Afghanistan: From Swedenisation to Finlandisation"
- #159 Edward Allworth
"The End of Ethnic Integration in Southern Central Asia"

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM

- #118 Sergio Zermeño
"From Ech to de la Madrid: The Upper Classes and The Mexican State in the Stuggle for Hegemony"
- #119 Abraham F. Lowenthal and Samuel F. Wells, Jr. (eds.)
"The Central American Crisis: Policy Perspectives"
- #120 Herbert S. Klein
"Peasant Response to the Market and the Land Question in 18th-and 19th-Century Bolivia"
- #121 Germán Colmenares
"The Nation and Regional History in the Andean Countries: 1870-1930"
- #122 Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz
"Indian Labor in the Andes: Theories of the 16th-Century"

OCCASIONAL/WORKING PAPERS

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM

- #45 Glenn H. Snyder
"Alliance Politics and the Security Dilemma"

EAST ASIA PROGRAM

- #12 Hahu-Been Lee
"Generating Momentum Toward a Pacific Community"
- #14 Chalmers A. Johnson
"The Policy Dilemmas of Americas Response to the
Challenge of Japan"

Thirty-minute FM Radio Programs made by The Wilson Center
for the FOCUS program, now available on cassette
from National Public Radio

1. Focus on India. Changes in Indian villages over the past generation and changes in the perceptions of the Indian elite about the nature of nationalism are among the topics discussed by two Wilson Center Fellows. Nayantara Sahgal, an Indian novelist who knew at first hand many of the generation of which her uncle Jawaharlal Nehru was the leader, and Dr. Morris Carstairs, a medical doctor and psychiatrist with much experience of both physical and mental health issues in Indian villages, reflect upon their sense of Indian society today. The moderator is Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director of the Wilson Center.
2. Focus on Bureaucratic Reform in China. Drawing upon a day-long Wilson Center conference, Wilson Fellow Hong-yung Lee and Edward Friedman, staff member of the East Asian Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee discuss efforts at modernization in contemporary China, examining particularly constraints on political, administrative, and economic reforms by established revolutionary elites and cultural traditions. The moderator is East Asian Program Secretary Ronald Morse.
3. Focus on Science and Technology in China. Panelists Richard Baum of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Richard P. Suttmeier of Hamilton College draw upon a one-day Wilson Center conference to examine the basis for the current interest in China in science and technology, its potential for modernizing the industrial sector, and its likely impact on U. S. science. The moderator is East Asian Program Secretary Ronald Morse.
4. Focus on Japan. Japanese as well as U.S. views of the current trade imbalance, Japan's internal politics and its changing sense of its larger world role, and the "lessons" of its economic success for the United States are among the topics discussed by Wilson Fellow Susan Pharr, author of a recent book on Japanese politics, and East Asian Program Secretary Ronald Morse, an authority on Japanese energy policy. The moderator is Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director of the Wilson Center.
5. Focus on Korea. Drawing upon a Wilson Center conference covering the first hundred years of United States-Korean diplomatic relations, Professor Edward Wagner of Harvard and Professor Koh, Byong-ik, former President of the Academy of Korean Studies near Seoul, Korea discuss the significance of critical periods of Korean history, such as the thirty years of Japanese colonial rule, the brief American "occupation" after the second world war, the post-Korean war years, and relationships with North Korea. The moderator is Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director of the Wilson Center.

6. Focus on Space - the first twenty-five years. Discussing the race for space twenty-five years after Sputnik, Professors Walter McDougall, a Wilson Center Fellow, and John Logsdon, of the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum, assess the consequences of the United States space program for the organization of science and science education, for the relationship between basic research and its applications, and for the apparent separation between civilian and military space programs. The moderator is Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director of the Wilson Center.
7. Focus on Russian Writers. Novelist Vassily Aksyonov, a Fellow at the Wilson Center, reflects with Kennan Institute Secretary Abbott Gleason on the effects of the changing Soviet political climate on writers of his generation and the influences on them from modern international fiction and the earlier suppressed Russian avant garde. The moderator is Alexander Wilde of the Wilson Center.
8. Focus on Education in Language and Culture. Wilson Center scholars Cyril E. Black of Princeton and Eleanor T. Jordan of Cornell reflect upon the critical importance of training which combines foreign language learning with knowledge of cultural differences. Utilizing their sustained experience with the Soviet Union and Japan, respectively, they discuss ways in which Americans might better learn and maintain real foreign language comprehension. The moderator is Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director of the Wilson Center.
9. Focus on Poland. Reviewing the conditions of Poland's year under martial law, two scholars of the Wilson Center, Leopold Unger and Artur Miedzyrzecki, speak about the resources of mind and spirit - the intellectual tradition and the Church - which enable the Polish people to keep going in the face of repression and economic disaster. The moderator is Prosser Gifford, Deputy Director of the Wilson Center.
10. Focus on the Enlightenment. Two Wilson Center scholars, Professor John Pocock of The Johns Hopkins University and Maurice Cranston of the London School of Economics, discuss the British and French enlightenments of the eighteenth century and their relationships to the American Revolution. They draw upon their research on Edward Gibbon and Jean-Jacques Rousseau for illustration of eighteenth century thought. The moderator is Ann C. Sheffield, who is in charge of the Center's program in History, Culture, and Society.

THE WILSON CENTER



JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

April 22, 1983

Mr. James W. Cicconi
Special Assistant to the President
and to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

I would like to invite you to attend an evening dialogue entitled *The American Presidency: What are the Specifications for the Job?*--that will be held on Tuesday, May 3, from 6:00-10:00 p.m. at The Wilson Center. Our panelists will be Hedley Donovan, former editor-in-chief of Time Inc. and member of the Wilson Council; William Leuchtenburg, professor of history, Columbia University and former Center fellow; Kenneth Thompson, White Burkett Miller professor of government and foreign affairs, University of Virginia; and Steven Hess, senior fellow, Brookings Institution.

We will begin our evening with cocktails at 6:00 in the rotunda of the Center, which is on the third floor of the Smithsonian Institution "Castle" building. We will then proceed to the opening presentations of our panelists, followed by dinner and the concluding hour or so of open discussion. We will conclude all activity promptly at 10:00 p.m.

The construction of new museums behind the Castle has eliminated parking areas previously used by our guests for evening events, although parking is still available along Jefferson Drive (the Mall). Entrance to the Center is through the east door of the Castle building, where a guard will direct you to our location on the third floor.

I hope you will be able to attend what promises to be an especially rich and rewarding evening. You may confirm your attendance by returning the enclosed confirmation card or by telephoning our special events office at 202-357-2115.

I look forward to seeing you on the evening of May 3.

Sincerely,

James H. Billington

Enclosure

AA
Pl call Memie.
Can't go. See if
other WH staff being
invited. If not I
may have a suggestion
or two. JH 4/27 done 4-29

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Wilson
chr
JAMES H. BILLINGTON, *Director*

THE WILSON CENTER



April 11, 1983

Mr. James A. Baker, III
Assistant to the President
and Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

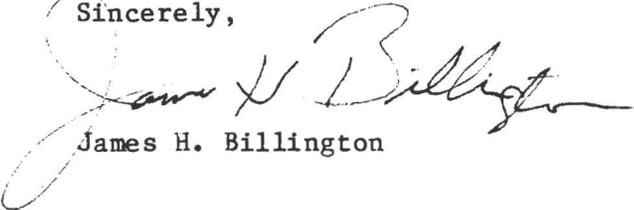
On behalf of The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, I write to invite you to a special dialogue on Thursday, April 21st, to discuss the subject, "Why are Fundamentalist Positions Gaining Strength within Various Religious Traditions and with What Political Consequences?" We will have a variety of different perspectives represented. The discussion will be opened by Orrin G. Hatch, U.S. Senator from Utah; Bruce Lawrence, Professor of History of Religion, Duke University; and Seymour Siegel, Professor of Ethics and Theology, Jewish Theological Seminary.

The evening will begin at 5:30 p.m. in the Rotunda of The Wilson Center with tea and refreshments. Presentations by the opening speakers will begin at 6 p.m. in The Wilson Center. We will break for dinner at about 7:15, returning to the Library directly after dinner, and continuing the discussion until 10:00 p.m. As is our practice at The Wilson Center, the number invited to the evening dialogue will be small enough to enable everyone who wishes to participate in the general discussion following dinner.

The Smithsonian Institution Building (the "Castle") is located on the Mall at 1000 Jefferson Drive, S. W. There is parking on the Mall side but no longer any area available on the Independence Avenue side because of construction. The building can also be reached by the Blue and Orange Lines of the METRO. The Wilson Center Library is located on the third floor of the Castle Building.

We look forward to your participation in this evening and hope that it will indeed be possible for you to come. Would you please notify Cynthia Ely or Louise Platt at 357-2115 whether or not you can attend?

Sincerely,


James H. Billington

THE WILSON CENTER



James H. Billington, *Director*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

William J. Baroody, Jr., *Chairman*
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Jesse H. Oppenheimer
S. Dillon Ripley
Richard S. Schweiker
Anne Firor Scott
George P. Shultz
Robert M. Warner
Charles Z. Wick

BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING

TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1983

3:00 p.m.

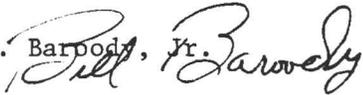
1. Introductory remarks by Chairman William J. Baroody, Jr.
2. Approval of Minutes of October 5, 1982, Board meeting
3. Reports of Board committees
 - a. Finance Committee (Mr. Mosbacher, Chairman)
 - b. Program Committee (Mr. Eizenstat, Chairman)
 - c. Fellowship Committee (Mr. Warner, Chairman)
4. Director's Report
5. Old business
6. New business
7. Next meeting scheduled for Tuesday, October 4, 1983,
at 3:00 p.m.

THE WILSON CENTER

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BUILDING WASHINGTON DC 20560

February 14, 1983

TO: All Members of the Board of Trustees

FROM: William J. Barpodas, Jr. 

SUBJ: Board Meeting of March 1, 1983

This is just to remind you of the Board meeting and dinner to honor Max Kampelman on March 1. In addition to the suggested agenda and Minutes of the last Board meeting, I am enclosing the Center's latest Annual Report. Rather more time and energy will be devoted this time to the Director's Report, which will deal in detail with some of the broad questions he raises in that report about importance and impact.

Enclosures: a/s

THE WILSON CENTER



James H. Billington, *Director*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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Max M. Kampelman
Jesse H. Oppenheimer
S. Dillon Ripley
Richard S. Schweiker
Anne Firor Scott
George P. Shultz
Robert M. Warner
Charles Z. Wick

October 5, 1982

3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Summary Minutes of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Board of Trustees

Present: William J. Baroody, Jr., *Chairman*

Theodore C. Barreaux
John C. Broderick (for Mr. Boorstin)
James W. Cicconi (for Mr. Baker)
Stuart E. Eizenstat
Max M. Kampelman
Robert A. Mosbacher
S. Dillon Ripley and Charles Blitzer
Anne Firor Scott
Daniel J. Terra (for Secretary Shultz)
Ronald L. Trowbridge (for Mr. Wick)
Robert M. Warner

Unable to attend: William J. Bennett
Kenneth B. Clark
Jesse H. Oppenheimer
Richard S. Schweiker

Staff members present: James H. Billington
Peter Braestrup
Zdenek David
Prosser Gifford
George Liston Seay
Mernie M. Weathers

Chairman Baroody welcomed Ambassador Daniel Terra (formerly representing Secretary Haig, currently representing Secretary Shultz) and Ronald Trowbridge (representing Charles Wick) to the Board meeting.

Mr. Baroody asked that comments and changes to the revised committee assignments, circulated at the April meeting, be forwarded to him by October 15. He invited Board members to attend the Wilson Council meeting the following day when a Board member, Richard Schweiker, Secretary of Health and Human Services, would speak.

Mr. Ripley announced the beginning of excavation in the Quadrangle behind the Smithsonian Building to create 450,000 square feet of space in two new buildings. He expressed the hope that The Wilson Center would consider participating in a very active way in some of the space that will be made available there for seminars or discussions.

The minutes of the last meeting of April 6, 1982, were approved.

Publications and Meetings Committee. (Mr. Trowbridge for Mr. Wick, Chairman) Mr. Trowbridge had chaired the meeting of the committee just prior to the Board meeting and requested that the appropriate Center staff members speak about the following issues that were raised:

Wilson Quarterly. Editor Peter Braestrup said the Wilson Quarterly's "fifth issue" would appear on November 1 with a special focus on the news media. Subscription prices have been raised 25 percent; the impact of the price increase on circulation (now 112,000) was as yet unknown. The Quarterly is seeking additional working capital to increase advertising and circulation promotion plus some extra money for next year's special issue on U.S. defense policy. The recession may hurt in 1983-84, but the Quarterly expects to move to bimonthly publication by 1988 and to begin showing a "profit."

Center publications and seminars. Prosser Gifford said that the endowment campaign would encourage experiment in this area. The Center is currently making a special effort to get out reports of conferences--such as that of May 1982 on the Iranian revolution--by inserting notices in the Quarterly. The Center is also mailing out to key audiences in the scholarly community reports from the programs, encouraging publication of books which result from core seminars, and reaching an agreement with National Public Radio to tape some Center programs that will later be sold through their cassette catalogue.

Proposal for a Wilson Center Working Papers series. Mr. Gifford said that Center programs produce working papers--research in progress deriving from meetings and the work of the Center fellows. Each program has so far handled differently the question of production and distribution of the approximately 85-100 papers coming annually from the Center. The Center is now considering ways to put the production and distribution on a more uniform and professional basis.

Zdenek David, Center librarian, displayed the first eight Scholars' Guides to the resources in the Washington area. He called attention to the good reviews they have received in library journals and to the many requests for them from abroad. Projected forthcoming Guides include Southeast Asia, Northwest Europe, and maps, charts and aerial photography, as well as revisions of the earlier Russia/U.S.S.R. and the Latin America/Caribbean Guides.

In the ensuing discussion about ways to assess the value of meetings, mention was made of the large number who attend annually (an estimated 7,000 to 10,000 participants), the constant need to have the best people present for each meeting, and the need for strong chairmen to maximize the benefits of the dialogue format.

Fellowship Committee Report. (Mr. Blitzer for Mr. Ripley, Chairman) Mr. Blitzer referred Board members to the September 21 memorandum, "Report on Wilson Center Fellows and Guest Scholars" (Attachment B).

Director's Report. Mr. Billington referred to Ambassador Kampelman's introductory statement to the 1980-81 Annual Report on the central importance to the Center of its fellows, an extraordinary body of international scholars. He invited Board members to get to know them informally and to participate in

of Management and Budget and with Smithsonian counsel before the testimony was given; and, should the bill be passed, it will be fully reviewed with the Board before any commitments are undertaken. Mr. Billington also mentioned that the Kennan Institute's project with the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow, to develop a bibliography of the research institutes of the Soviet Union, has been lagging and at present is on "hold."

Date of next meeting. Mr. Baroody announced the next Board meeting would be on Tuesday, March 1, 1983, at 3:00 p.m., with a dinner honoring Board member Max Kampelman to be held that evening.

The meeting adjourned at 5:00 p.m., and Board members were invited to remain and participate in the evening dialogue on the topic of transborder data flows, at which Professor Karl Deutsch was to open the discussion.

Respectfully submitted,



Mernie M. Weathers
Secretary to the Board

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

THE CASE FOR ENDOWMENT

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

The Case for Endowment

The need for endowment

The Wilson Center seeks endowment for three compelling reasons: first, to ensure the continuity and integrity of its programs; second, to improve its ability to communicate to a wider public; third, to underwrite the opportunity to innovate and experiment. Each of these dimensions has been tested with proven results during the Center's initial decade.

First, there is the need to enhance the planning and functioning of the Center's programs. Meetings, conferences, workshops, and the staff required to plan and run them are the essential link between individual scholarship and the variety of perspectives to be found among other world-class scholars and active policy-makers. The Center has a Congressional charter to create this link, using the comparative advantage of its Washington location, and twelve years of operating experience. To plan and staff a comprehensive and tough-minded intellectual agenda for a major conference requires a year's lead-time, the commissioning of specific papers, and the selection of a broad range of participants including some new or relatively unknown persons. Creating the right mix, particularly in combination with foreign institutions and foreign scholars, involving careful identification of participants, sustained correspondence and arrangements, the translation of papers, and many other details.

The income from an endowment for the Center's programs would make possible advance planning for conferences on important subjects without the delays and uncertainties necessitated by the ad hoc raising of funds in advance for each initiative. The assurance of available funds for the advance planning of crucial conferences will permit the Center to respond more rapidly to special opportunities, whether they arise from an initiative within the Center or from an invitation by another institution or a foreign government to co-sponsor a workshop or a conference. The availability of these funds will provide the margin for excellence to ensure the high quality of intellectual endeavors which require much time and effort and the participation of a large number of people.

The second need is to enhance the distribution of scholarly results to the wider public. The Center has experimented successfully with relatively quick, attractive printing (The National Interests of the United States), with FM radio programs and cassettes, and with direct printing from its own word processors. But the technical possibilities for "demand" printing of the

Background

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars is a unique, non-partisan memorial to our 28th President that brings outstanding scholars from all over the world into contact with the unparalleled research materials and the vital policy concerns of Washington, D.C. Centrally located in the midst of the Smithsonian museums, half-way between the White House and Capitol Hill, The Wilson Center annually hosts some 100 of the world's leading thinkers, holds 200 meetings, and publishes the most widely read quarterly journal of ideas in the English-speaking world (the Wilson Quarterly, circulation 105,000).

Since it began operating in 1970 under Congressional charter, the Center has welcomed scholars and thoughtful men and women of affairs from all over the world who submit research proposals for its annual, open fellowship competition. The ever-changing body of fellows resident at the Center represents a major intellectual resource for the nation. The fellows engage in dialogues that are shared with Washington policy-makers and often (via public radio) with a national audience. The Center's international programs (on the USSR, Latin America, East Asia, and International Security—primarily Europe and the Middle East) provide the best opportunity in America for advanced residential research and for deep non-partisan dialogue with policy-makers involved with these regions. One-half of the 40 fellows in residence at any given time in the Center are working in these four focused programs; the other 20 are evenly divided between two more broad-ranging programs: on American Society and Politics and on History, Culture and Society.

Funding

Conceived by Congress as a new type of "living" Presidential memorial, The Wilson Center was created (in the manner of the National Gallery and the Kennedy Center) as a national institution that could and should receive both appropriated federal funds and private financial support. In FY 1982, the Center had an operating budget of \$5.3 million (including the Wilson Quarterly) of which about 35 percent comes from Congressionally appropriated funds. This mix of financial support enhances the Center's ability to function as a "neutral" location for meetings and discussions of all sorts. The Center's presidentially appointed Board of Trustees includes eight public, ex-officio members* and an equal number of persons appointed for six-year terms by the President from the private sector. The Board includes both Republicans and Democrats, scholars, Cabinet officers, and business people. The Center

* The Secretary of State, the Librarian of Congress, the Archivist of the United States, the Director of the United States Information Agency, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of the Smithsonian, the Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and one member of the Executive Staff of the White House.

The Numbers

Given these purposes, the Center's endowment needs are specified below in tabular form.

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Level of annual Expenditure</u>	<u>Portion to be financed annually from endowment income</u>
1. Program planning and development of meetings, conferences, workshops, core seminars	\$500,000	\$250,000
2. Communication outreach, publications, radio, and adaptation of new word processing technology	250,000	125,000
3. International activities—opportunities in international education	<u>100,000</u>	<u>50,000</u>
	\$850,000	\$425,000

On this basis, what is required is an endowment sufficient to generate approximately \$425,000 per year of usable income. Dependent on the assumptions one makes concerning total return (income and growth), this suggests an endowment corpus of approximately \$7,100,000 if one posits a 12 percent total return and an inflation rate of 6 percent, so that 6 percent would be in effect usable income. Of the \$7,100,000, \$800,000 would be specially related to a Hewlett Foundation challenge grant for innovation and new initiatives in the international field (the third purpose listed). Thus, an endowment of \$7 million would ensure basic continuity of the core of the Center's program and communication budget for the foreseeable future. Much of the endowment income, because it is dependably available in advance, could in turn be used to finance projects cooperatively or on a matching basis, so that the leverage provided by the endowment would be increased significantly over the \$425,000 it would generate annually.

1. The six programs of the Center are in a position to generate significant conferences on topics of importance--often in the international field with co-sponsorship from foreign governments or institutions. Four current examples are (a) two conferences with diverse and high-ranking Venezuelan

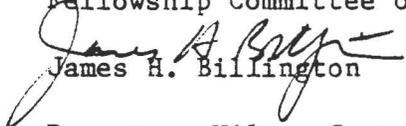
the fundamental purposes of the Center. As we did with the Wilson Quarterly and with FM radio, we wish to be sure that the product is worth the expense and energy required to produce it.

3. The third item is an "opportunity fund," with special emphasis on international education. Income from this fund would enable the Center (a) to develop special materials--perhaps resulting from a conference planned in response to other intellectual needs--for use in international education; (b) to involve more American university faculty in its international programs than would otherwise be the case; (c) to build a meeting or a workshop quickly around a foreign visitor or delegation whose arrival and availability could not be foreseen more than a few weeks in advance; and (d) to give emphasis to the long-term importance of training and teaching in difficult languages and little-known regions (such as Soviet Central Asia). These examples suggest the wide range of opportunities which the Center invites, and many of which we must now forego through lack of funds. We would wish only to do a limited number more--and to do them well--but even a half dozen more events per year planned specifically to result in some enduring product of value to those interested in international education would significantly increase the Center's public reach and its impact.

Fund management

Endowment monies must in today's economy be managed both carefully and aggressively, with an eye on long-term growth as well as on income. We are confident that we can put into place, with excellent professional advice, a plan for securing the maximum long-term value from an endowment. The Center is currently preparing for the Finance Committee of the Board of Trustees an assessment of management options for timely decision.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees
 FROM: 
 James H. Billington
 SUBJECT: Report on Wilson Center fellows and guest scholars
 DATE: September 21, 1982

As we do every October, we are reporting on guest scholars for the past fiscal year and bringing you up-to-date on other fellowship and guest scholar activities since our last meeting. There are no items requiring action.

I. Report on FY 82 guest scholars

On the attached pages, we report on the 29 guest scholars funded by FY 82 funds: they include 18 foreigners from 13 different countries, and eleven U.S. citizens from 7 states and Puerto Rico. These guest scholars, in addition to their overall contribution to the Center, add diversity to the Center's mix and include: seven practitioners, eight women, two U.S. minorities, eight Western Europeans, and two Japanese. The total group of guest scholars funded by federal stipends has cost the Center \$54,250 from FY 82 fellowship funds--approximately 5.6% of our total FY 82 fellowship funds. Their average length of stay has been 2.3. months.

II. Report on new Fellowship appointments

Since our reports of last February and March, the following 6 individuals have been offered fellowships. Five of these individuals are on lists of candidates (alternates: Susan Harding, German Carrera Damas; special invitation: Shlomo Avineri, Ernest May; Volkswagen: Sergio Cotta) already approved for fellowship appointment by the Board of Trustees. Mohamed Hakki was approved for a special out-of-cycle fellowship appointment--after careful review by the academic council of the International Security Studies Program and the Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees.

Shlomo Avineri, Israel. Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The anti-modernist theme in early socialist thought. (October 1983-July 1984) (HCS)

German Carrera Damas, Venezuela. Professor of History and Director of the Office of Culture, Central University of Venezuela. Internal power structure and national planning in Venezuela. (April 1983-July 1983) (LAP)

Sergio Cotta, Italy. Professor of Philosophy of Law, University of Rome. The relationship between violence and the philosophy of praxis and its influence on political life. (September 1982-December 1982) (HCS)

Mohamed I. Hakki, Egypt. Chairman, Egyptian State Information Service. Domestic determinants of Egypt's foreign policy. (September 1982-August 1983) (ISSP)

Susan Harding, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan. Transforming American families: a comparative study of the feminist and profamily movements. (January 1983-April 1983) (ASP)

Ernest R. May, Charles Warren Professor of History, Harvard University. American government and society, 1930-1970. (January 1983-June 1983) (ASP)

III. Report on new Fellowship declinations

Since our reports of last February and March, two more individuals have declined offers of fellowships:

(HCS) Temma Kaplan, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles. Political mobilization and female consciousness in Spain, 1873-1982.

(ASP) Nelson Polsby, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley. American political party reform and its consequences.

Polsby finished the project for which he had applied to the Center, and Kaplan accepted another fellowship.

IV. Report on Fellowship extensions

As already reported to the Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees, two fellows have had their appointments extended:

(HCS) Tadeusz Kowalik, Poland. Associate Professor, Institute of the History of Science, Education and Technology, Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw. Planning and freedom: the relationship between national economic and social planning and human liberties in both Eastern and Western nations. (April 1981-November 1982) Kowalik received a three-month extension from September 1, 1982-November 30, 1982.

(ASP) Mary O. Furner, Associate Professor of History, Northern Illinois University. Toward the corporate state: professional social science and the transformation of American liberalism, 1875-1929. (January 1982-December 1982) Furner received a four-month extension from September 1, 1982-December 31, 1982.

V. Recent Grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Wilson Center

On October 23, 1981, the Executive Committee of the Rockefeller Foundation granted \$125,000 to the Wilson Center toward the costs of fellowships and program activities in the humanities. This sum has been made available for use during the eighteenth-month period beginning January 1, 1982. The funds thus provided are to be used to provide partial support for fellowships and guest scholarships for humanists and to make possible a variety of conference activities emphasizing humanistic perspectives on contemporary social and cultural issues.

THE WILSON CENTER



James H. Billington, *Director*

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MEMORANDUM

To Cicconi 2/22

TO: The Board of Trustees

FROM: Robert M. Warner, Chairman, Fellowship Committee *R Warner*

SUBJECT: Recommendations on Fellowship Stipend Ceiling
and Guest Scholar Allotment

DATE: February 22, 1983

The Fellowship Committee at its meeting on February 1, 1983 unanimously approved the following two items and recommended their approval by the full Board of Trustees.

I. Increase in Ceiling on Fellowship Stipends

In October 1979 the Board of Trustees authorized that the maximum stipend for fellowships from federal funds be raised to \$35,000 from the previous \$30,000 ceiling which had been set at the Center's beginning. We recommend an increase in the stipend ceiling to \$38,000.

The requested increase in the ceiling would provide the Center greater capacity to attract senior scholars of the highest caliber. The ceiling ensures that no fellowship recipient receives more than \$38,000 of federal fellowship monies in any twelve-month period. It will not become an average cost figure for fellowship stipends, but will give the Director a slight increase in flexibility at the top range currently offered fellows.

The Fellowship Committee recommends that the Board of Trustees authorize the Director to approve stipends up to \$38,000 within any given year.

II. Allocation of Fellowship Monies for Guest Scholarships

In addition to its fellowship program, the Center also has a guest scholar program which provides greater flexibility in responding to promising candidates throughout the year. Guest Scholars are appointed by the Director after systematic staff review for periods of normally 1-3 months, although the Director is authorized to appoint a guest scholar for up to twelve months. Every effort is made to ensure outside scholarly review of the project of these shorter term scholars, and appointments are made on a space available basis after priority consideration has been given to the fellows who emerge from the annual competition. The guest scholar program allows the Center to react

II. Allocation of Fellowship Monies for Guest Scholarships (Continued)

quickly to exciting applicants who present themselves after the competition is completed and also enables the Center to try to reach out to certain areas where there has been a degree of imbalance in the fellows from the current competition. Guest scholars have added significantly to the diversity of the Center's scholars (in professions, countries, and groups represented), and they have been especially effective in connection with conferences and other special programmatic needs. The guest scholar route also enables the Director to bring to the Center some absolutely first-rate practitioners and foreign scholars whom it is difficult to attract here long enough for a fellowship appointment.

Each year the Board has authorized the designation of a specific sum of money from the total fellowship allotment as a fund for guest scholars, if so needed. The initial allocation was \$25,000 in 1976. The Board increased that figure in 1978 to \$50,000 and again in 1980 to \$75,000. These last two allocations represented about 8% of the total fellowship budget.

We are now asking the Board to authorize a certain percentage of the total fellowship monies for guest scholarships rather than a specific dollar amount. We recommend that the Board establish a new fixed percentage of the overall fellowship funds reserved for guest scholarships set at 10% (for FY 83 this would mean \$117,600). In this way the portion of funds available for guest scholarships in subsequent years will automatically reflect any changes in the fellowship budget.

This percentage allocation establishes only a permissible maximum by giving the Director the flexibility to spend up to this amount on guest scholars in a given fiscal year. Any monies reserved for guest scholars may of course be re-allocated to fellows instead as has often been done in the past.

To further strengthen the Center's group of scholars, the Fellowship Committee recommends to the full Board of Trustees that 10% of the total fellowship funds be made available for guest scholars.

Report of the Fellowship Committee Meeting of the Board of Trustees
February 1, 1983

Those attending: Robert M. Warner, Chairman
William J. Baroody, Jr. (ex officio)
Theodore Barreaux
William J. Bennett
Kenneth B. Clark
John Reinhardt (for S. Dillon Ripley)
Anne Firor Scott

Fellowship competition in general (see attached summary sheet)

We received fewer applications this year than last (405 as opposed to 457 in 1981), but the overall number, and even the distribution of the total number of applicants among the programs, is almost identical to that of 1980. The distribution of proposals across the Center's programs was as follows: 134 applications in History, Culture, and Society; 108 in American Society and Politics; 58 in the Latin American Program; 36 in the Kennan Institute; 46 in the International Security Studies Program; and 23 in the East Asia Program.

The 52 fellows appointed represent a slightly larger percentage of applicants (12.8%) than the 50 appointed last year.

The percentage of foreigners appointed (37%) is smaller than last year's, while that of practitioners (21%) is about the same.

We consider the 52 fellows appointed for 1983-84 a diverse and vital group with important and exciting projects. These 52 fellows come from 16 states in the U.S.A. and 16 foreign countries and include our first fellows ever from Afghanistan and Ireland.

The eleven non-academics include 5 journalists, 3 public officials, one doctor, one consultant, and one general.

While the average age of fellows has risen slightly since last year (from 45 to 47), the average age of applicants has remained the same. As in the past, the average age of women appointed (42) is lower than that of the men (48).

Although the percentage of women applicants decreased significantly (15% this year as opposed to 22% last year), the percentage of women appointed fellows (17%) is higher than last year's (10%).

The fields of the fellows' research have remained relatively constant. As in the past, the largest numbers of fellows are historians (17) or political scientists (17). Other fields represented include philosophy/religion/ethics (6), economics (1), anthropology (1), sociology (4), literature (4), art history (1), and film (1). Taken as a whole the group seems more humanistic than in past years with a number of people in literature, ethics, religion and cultural history (including photography, film, and drama).

The Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees reviewed 81 applications and a comprehensive memo by the Director summarizing the recommendations of the six panels and giving his own. After a lengthy discussion of the applicants and other issues raised in the memo, the Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees made the following decisions:

Decisions

- I. Designation of Thomas A. Sebeok as an "Adjunct Fellow" for 1983-84. Sebeok, chairman of the Research Center for Languages and Semiotic Studies at Indiana University, will be a Regent's Fellow at the Smithsonian next year. This special category of "Adjunct Fellows" was established by the Board of Trustees in the fall of 1974 "to encourage formally the increased participation in the intellectual life of the Center on the part of distinguished representatives of the scholarly community of the Smithsonian Institution." These "Adjunct Fellows" do not receive an office or a stipend, but are invited regularly to take part in the Center's schedule of scholarly activities.
- II. Appointment of 52 Fellows: 17 in History, Culture, and Society; 12 in American Society and Politics; 4 in the Kennan Institute; 8 in the Latin American Program; 6 in the International Security Studies Program; 5 in the East Asia Program. (see attached press release).

In addition to these 52 fellows appointed from the competition, the following three fellows from the Center's list of special invitees (individuals already approved for fellowship appointment by the Board of Trustees) will be at the Center next year:

Shlomo Avineri, Israel, Herbert Samuel Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University. The anti-modernist theme in early socialist thought.

Michael E. Howard, United Kingdom, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford University. Analysis of war: popular and expert assessments of the nature and duration of conflict, 1911-1916.

Samuel Huntington, Frank G. Thompson Professor of Government, Harvard University. The contradictions of development: an historical and comparative study.

- III. Appointment of 16 Alternates: 6 in History, Culture, and Society; 3 in American Society and Politics; 1 in the Kennan Institute; 3 in the Latin American Program; 2 in the International Security Studies Program; and 1 in the East Asia Program. (see attached list).

IV. Approval of additions to the list of candidates eligible for Volkswagen Fellowships

A. Reporting on the Volkswagen Grant

The Center received a five-year grant of \$385,000 from the Volkswagen Foundation of Germany in 1979. The grant provides annually for the support of two twelve-month appointments for Western European scholars, one of whom must be a German national. As it is often difficult for Europeans to come to the Center for periods of time longer than four months, we agreed with the Volkswagen Foundation that in any given year we might have four or more VW fellows at the Center for shorter periods of time than a year.

In this third year of the grant's implementation, we have brought four Western European scholars here on Volkswagen funds--one from the United Kingdom, two from the Federal Republic of Germany, and one from Italy. These four fellows are on the list of candidates for Volkswagen fellowships endorsed by the Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees, and all except one emerged as fellows from the regular fellowship competition last year. The one exception came on a 4-month fellowship appointment at the discretion of the Director.

B. Review and endorsement of additions to the list of candidates for VW fellowships

Following the procedure approved by the Fellowship Committee of the Board in 1980, the Fellowship Committee of the Board of Trustees approved 43 additional candidates for Volkswagen Fellowships. In accordance with the requirements of the Volkswagen Foundation, this list will also be reviewed by their foundation staff and by two senior German scholars, Drs. Dietrich Geyer and Hans-Peter Schwarz, both former Wilson Fellows.

These 43 individuals, after the next review stage is completed--along with the approximately 200 candidates already approved for VW fellowships--will be eligible for fellowship appointments under the terms of the Volkswagen Foundation grant via direct invitation to be extended at the discretion of the Director. The Director will normally extend invitations to those individuals awarded fellowships through the regular competition and to those on the special invitation list, and will clear specific individuals with the Fellowship Committee should anyone not from these sources be chosen for a period of time that exceeds four months. Of the thirteen fellows funded by VW so far, eleven emerged through the regular competition, one came from the special invitation list, and one came for a 4-month period.

SUMMARY SHEET

APPLICANTS COMPARED WITH APPOINTED FELLOWS, 1981/1982

		<u>1981</u>		<u>1982</u>	
		<u>Applicants</u>	<u>Fellows</u>	<u>Applicants</u>	<u>Fellows*</u>
Foreigners	#	159	23	129	19
	%	35%	46%	32%	37%
Women	#	100	5	61	9
	%	22%	10%	15%	17%
Practitioners	#	100	11	113	11
	%	22%	22%	28%	21%
Average Age**		45	45	45	47
<hr/>					
Total #		457	50 (10.9% of applicants)	405	52 (12.8% of applicants)

* These figures include two applicants (Evelyne and John Stephens) in the Latin American Program who submitted one joint proposal.

** Of the 50 fellows appointed for 1982-83, 16 (or 32%) were under 40 years of age. Of the 52 individuals appointed for 1983-84, 14 (or 27%) are under 40 years of age.

Of the 52 fellows for 1983-84, the average age of the nine women is 42 and the average age of the forty-three men is 48.

The fellows appointed for 1983-84 come from 16 foreign countries and from 16 states and the District of Columbia.

APPOINTED FELLOWS, ROUND 23, FEBRUARY 1983

COUNTRIES

Afghanistan	(1)
Argentina	(1)
Bangladesh	(1)
Chile	(1)
Germany	(1)
India	(2)
Ireland	(1)
Italy	(1)
Jamaica	(1)
Japan	(1)
Mexico	(1)
Poland	(1)
South Korea	(1)
United Kingdom	(2)
U.S.S.R.	(1)
Yugoslavia	(1)
"Stateless"	(1)

STATES

California	(2)
Connecticut	(1)
District of Col.	(3)
Illinois	(1)
Iowa	(1)
Maryland	(2)
Massachusetts	(3)
Maine	(1)
Michigan	(1)
New Jersey	(3)
New York	(2)
North Carolina	(1)
Ohio	(2)
Pennsylvania	(4)
Rhode Island	(1)
Texas	(2)
Wisconsin	(1)

16 CANDIDATES RECOMMENDED FOR ALTERNATE APPOINTMENTS TO THE WILSON CENTER

February 1983

PROGRAM ON HISTORY, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY

Kemal Afzal Faruki, 59, Pakistan, Advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan, Rawalpindi; Barrister-at-Law. Democracy and authoritarianism in the Muslim world.

David Elmore Kaiser, 35, Assistant Professor of History and Philosophy, Carnegie-Mellon University. European international conflict and social change, 1559-1945.

Arnost Klima, 65, Czechoslovakia, Professor Emeritus of Economic History, Charles University, Prague; Member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The diffusion of new technology and economic development.

Martin Meisel, 51, Professor of English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University. The imagination of chaos.

Thomas Hubert Morawetz, 40, Professor of Law, University of Connecticut School of Law. Reasoning about rights: jurisprudential lessons from the theory of knowledge.

Helen Nader, 46, Associate Professor of History, Indiana University. Estate management in early modern Castile.

PROGRAM ON AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Jennifer R. Nedelsky, 33, Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University. Individual autonomy and the bureaucratic state.

Alan Olmstead, 40, Professor of Economics and Director, Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis. The causes and consequences of agricultural mechanization in California, 1860-1960.

William Taylor, 60, Professor of History, State University of New York at Stony Brook. Public space, public opinion and the origins of mass culture, 1880-1929.

KENNAN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED RUSSIAN STUDIES

Victor Levin, 67, Israel, Professor of Slavic Languages, Hebrew University.
The language of Russian prose: 18th - 20th centuries.

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM

Marcello A. Carmagnani, 42, Italy, Professor of Latin American History,
University of Turin, Italy. Finances of the central government and formation
of the modern Mexican state, 1821-1910.

Richard Graham, 47, Professor of History, University of Texas, Austin.
Society and politics in Brazil, 1840-1889.

Hector Perez Brignoli, 36, Costa Rica, Professor of History, University
of Costa Rica. A history of Central America in the twentieth century,
with an abstract of historical statistics.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES PROGRAM

Michael Andrew Barnhart, 31, Assistant Professor, State University of
New York at Stony Brook. America's acquisition of military bases overseas,
1941-1954.

Dov Solomon Zakheim, 33, Special Assistant, Under Secretary of Defense
(Policy). Matching problems to strategy and policy: the challenge of
defense management.

EAST ASIA PROGRAM

Lawrence R. Sullivan, 37, Associate Professor of Political Science,
Adelphi University. The controversy over political authority in China,
1898-1982.



WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BUILDING WASHINGTON D.C. 20560

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: Ann C. Sheffield
(202) 357-2841

THE WILSON CENTER ANNOUNCES

RESULTS OF ANNUAL FELLOWSHIP COMPETITION

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars has offered research appointments to 52 new fellows, Chairman of the Board of Trustees William J. Baroody, Jr. announced today.

Wilson Center fellows are chosen competitively once a year on the basis of submitted research proposals from throughout the world.

Baroody noted that the latest round of competition with 406 applicants from 34 countries around the globe, was especially keen because of the quality of the proposals received and the diversity of talents represented. As in the past, fellowships were awarded not only to academics, but also to journalists, public officials and others.

The following fellows, who were chosen in one general and five focused programs, will pursue their projects while in Washington.

PROGRAM ON HISTORY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Warner Bement Berthoff, Professor of English and American Literature, Harvard University. The continuances of virtue: meaning and value in imaginative literature.

Robert Oakley Collins, Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara. Jonglei: the past and present of the future.

Bernard John Cooke, Professor of Religious Studies, College of the Holy Cross. Religious and cultural symbol systems.

Chidananda Dasgupta, India. Managing Editor, SPAN Magazine, United States Information Service, New Delhi. Cinema and social change in contemporary India.

Ronnie E. Dugger, Publisher and editor-at-large, The Texas Observer. Lyndon B. Johnson and the evolution of domestic policy in the United States since 1953.

Betsy Erkkila, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Pennsylvania. Poetry and politics: a study of the political text and context of Walt Whitman's work.

Mario Garcia, Associate Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara. Historical analysis of the Mexican-American community.

Tom Gerety, Associate Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh School of Law. Faith's good staff: religion in American law.

Hazel Hertzberg, Professor of History and Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. A history of social studies in American public schools, 1880-1980.

Peter Kruger, Federal Republic of Germany. Professor of History, Marburg University. The United States and German federalism, 1871-1949.

Mark Reutter, journalist, freelance writer, Baltimore. Making steel: life and work at Sparrows Point.

Massimo Salvadori, Italy. Professor of Contemporary History, University of Torino. The relationship between civil society and the state, socio-economic development and the problems of democracy in some currents of American political thought.

Mildred Sanders, Associate Professor of Political Science, Rice University. The roots of regulation: economics and politics in the nineteenth century.

Warren Susman, Professor of History, Rutgers University. Emergence of the culture of abundance, 1880-1940.

Alan Trachtenberg, Professor of American Studies, Yale University. Photography and culture in America.

KENNAN INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED RUSSIAN STUDIES

Boris Gasparov, Stateless. Visiting Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Stanford University. History of Russian language from a socio-cultural perspective.

Peter B. Reddaway, United Kingdom. Senior Lecturer in Political Science, London School of Economics and Political Science. Soviet policy towards dissent since 1953: how is it formed, implemented, changed?

Teodore Shanin, United Kingdom. Professor and Head of Department of Sociology, University of Manchester. The Stolypin reforms in Russia as the archetype of rural transformation strategies in contemporary "developing societies."

Robert C. Tucker, Professor of Politics and Director of Russian Studies Program, Princeton University. Stalin: a study in history and personality.

EAST ASIA PROGRAM

Mary Brown Bullock, Director, Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC, National Academy of Sciences. China turning West: educational/scientific relations with Europe, Japan and the United States.

Theodore Friend, Former President, Swarthmore College. Imperialism, revolution, and reversion: Indonesia and the Philippines, 1941-1949.

Tetsuya Kataoka, Japan. Professor of Political Science, Saitama University, Saitama. A history of post-war Japanese political thought.

Byong-ik Koh, Republic of Korea. Professor of History, Hanlim College, Ch'unch'on. Confucianism and its modern transformations.

Yuan Tien, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University. China's revolutionary conservative family policies: restorations, redirections and ramifications.