

VIETNAM PROJECT: PARTICIPANTS

Francis  
Fitzgerald - A fine  
the help

Robert Bellah, Ford Professor of Sociology, University  
of California, Berkeley  
-- specialist in American "civil religion"

- ✓ Bart Bernstein, Professor of History, Stanford University  
-- specialist in contemporary American history, American  
political movements, and the history of "liberalism"  
in American social, political, and cultural history

Kenneth Briggs, Religion Editor, The New York Times

- ✓ Marie Cantlon, Religion Editor, Harper and Row, Publishers,  
Inc., San Francisco

*John Hall, L.A. Times - "share experiences"*  
\*Erik Erikson, Psychiatrist and Psychohistorian, Tiburon,  
California

- ✓ Frederick Downs, Management Officer, Veterans Administration,  
Washington, D.C.

-- author of several prominent articles on "Veterans'  
perspective on the war"; a Vietnam veteran; closely  
associated with the work of Max Cleland, Veterans  
Administration head; and author of

Richard Flacks, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the  
Department, UC Santa Barbara

-- specialist in analysis of contemporary social and  
political movements; the history of the counter-culture;  
the turbulence of the 60s, etc.

- ✓ Cynthia W. Frey, Education Division, National Endowment for  
the Humanities, Washington, D.C.

-- Ph.D. degree from UC Berkeley in political science,  
analyses of contemporary political, social, and cultural  
change

Murray Fromsen, Television Reporter and Commentator

-- early television reports on Vietnam influenced American  
consciousness about the war

Donna Gregory, Religion and Humanities scholar, Arizona State  
University, Tempe

-- specialist in symbolic forms; changing attitudes toward  
women in contemporary society; literary theory, etc.,  
a past participant in Center dialogues.

Ole Holsti, Professor of Political Science, Duke University  
(currently teaching at Cal State University, Chico)

-- collaborator with Rosenau on statistical analysis of  
"Vietnam's influence on American beliefs and attitudes"

\* participation pending

VIETNAM PROJECT: PARTICIPANTS (cont.)

Robert Kelley, Professor of American Intellectual History,  
UC Santa Barbara

Michael Lewis, Associate Director, California Council on  
Humanities in Public Policy, Santa Monica

✓ Guenter Lewy, Professor of Political Science, University  
of Massachusetts, Amherst  
-- author of highly-acclaimed and controversial book,  
America in Vietnam; previous nominee, National Book  
Award, for Religion and Revolution

Lawrence Lichty, Visiting Fellow, The Wilson Center, Washing-  
ton, D.C., and Professor of Communications Theory, University  
of Wisconsin, Madison  
-- previous participant in Center dialogue, author of  
nearly-finished book on "the television war"

Edward Linenthal, Lecturer, Religious Studies, UC Santa  
Barbara  
-- recent Ph.D. with dissertation on interpretations of  
"Vietnam" within the context of history of American  
warfare; specialist in "American religion"

Al Lowenstein, American political writer and participant  
-- analyst of the 60s; representative to United Nations

Jacob Needleman, Professor of Philosophy, San Francisco State  
University, and Director, Program for the Study of New  
Religious Movements, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley  
-- specialist in analyzing new religious movements in  
America, and developing American religious self-  
consciousness

Robert Noel, Professor of Political Science, UC Santa Barbara  
-- specialist in use of models and paradigms as indices  
for charting social and political change, and in political  
decision making

Nicholas Piediscalzi, Professor of Religious Studies, Wright  
State University, Dayton, Ohio  
-- specialist in analyses of historical and contemporary  
relationships between Christian religion and Marxism

James Rosenau, Director, School of International Studies,  
University of Southern California, Los Angeles  
-- co-principal investigator, project on American beliefs  
and attitudes about Vietnam

PROJECTED INDIVIDUAL EXPENSES, VIETNAM PROJECT

<u>Name</u>	<u>Transportation</u>	<u>Lodging</u>	<u>Meals</u>
<i>Stanley Rothman</i> ✓			
Robert Bellah	85	70	10
Bart Bernstein ✓	80	70	10
Kenneth Briggs	-	70	10
Marie Cantlon	-	70	10
Erik Erikson	100	100	25
Frederick Downs ✓	-	70	10
Cynthia Frey ✓	-	70	10
Murray Fromsen ✓	50	70	10
Ole Holsti ✓	130	70	10
Michael Lewis ✓	-	70	10
Guenter Lewy ✓	425	70	10
Lawrence Lichty ✓	412	70	10
Jacob Needleman ✓	85	70	10
James Rosenau ✓	50	70	10
	<u>\$ 1,417</u>	<u>\$ 1,010</u>	<u>\$ 155</u>

*in checkbook -  
Flachs -*

STIPENDS

Bellah	150
Bernstein	150
Erikson	150
Fromsen	100
Holsti	100
Lewy	250
Lichty	--
Needleman	150
Rosenau	100
	<u>\$ 1,050</u>

ADDITIONAL EXPENSES

Meals, Participants	
Supper, March 1 and 2	600
Lunch, March 2 and 3	300
Additional Conference Expense	500
	<u>\$ 1,400</u>

SUMMARY: EXPENSES

Participant Transp.	1,417
"    Lodging	1,010
"    Meals	155
Meals at Center	900
Additional Expense	500
	<u>\$ 5,032</u>

PROGRAM OUTLINE

Thursday, March 1

3:30 Welcome, Introductions, Opening Remarks

- Maurice Mitchell, President, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
- David L. Yager, County Supervisor, Santa Barbara County
- Otis L. Graham, Jr., Program Director, Center
- Walter H. Capps, Project Director, Center

*Sullivan  
Expectations*

4:00 Session I

"Questions about the Conventional View of the Vietnam War"

- Guenter Lewy, Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, author of America in Vietnam

5:30 Reception

6:30 Dinner

7:45 Session II

"The Impact of Reporting on the War upon the Outcome and Interpretation of the War"

- Lawrence Lichty, Visiting Fellow, The Wilson Center
- Murray Fromsen, Television Reporter and Commentator, formerly of CBS
- Kenneth Briggs, Religious News Editor, THE NEW YORK TIMES

Moderator: Donald McDonald,  
Editor, THE CENTER MAGAZINE,  
and Center Associate

Friday, March 2

9:00 Session III

"What Changed with 'Vietnam' and How can such Change  
be Discerned?"

Panel Discussion

- Robert Bellah, Professor of Sociology, UC Berkeley
- Bart Bernstein, Professor of History, Stanford Uni-  
versity
- Richard Flacks, Professor of Sociology, UC Santa  
Barbara
- Cynthia W. Frey, Education Division, National  
Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C.
- Michael Lewis, California Council on the Humanities  
in Public Policy
- Al Lowenstein, author, public official, former  
United Nations representative

Moderator: David Wise,  
Center Associate

12:30 Lunch

3:45 Session IV

"Statistical Analysis: Attitudes and Beliefs about the  
War"

- James Rosenau, Director, School of International  
Studies, University of Southern California
- Ole Holsti, Professor of Political Science, Duke  
University

Responses: Harry Ashmore, Center Associate  
Donald Cressey, Professor of Sociology,  
UC Santa Barbara, and Center Associate

5:30 Cocktails

6:15 Dinner

7:30 Session V

Friday, March 2 (continued)

7:30 Session V

"Vietnam: its Impact upon American Consciousness"

-- Frederick Downs, Management Officer, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., and author of The Fire Zone

Responses: Edward Linenthal, Lecturer, Religious Studies, UC Santa Barbara  
Erik Erikson, psychiatrist, author, psychohistorian  
Murray Fromsen, television reporter and commentator  
Robert Noel, Professor of Political Science, UC Santa Barbara

Saturday, March 3

9:00 Session VI

"Vietnam and the Development of an American Cultural Imagination"

Panel Discussion

- Robert Kelley, Professor of American Intellectual History, UC Santa Barbara
- Clifton Fadiman, Center Associate
- Jacob Needleman, Professor of Philosophy, San Francisco State University

Moderator: Otis L. Graham, Jr.,  
Center Associate

11:00 Session VII

"Findings of Conference and Work Yet to be Done"

- Guenter Lewy, Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts
- Robert Bellah, Professor of Sociology, UC Berkeley
- Joseph Schwab, Center Associate

12:30 Lunch and Adjournment

## Program Notes

In designing the program in the way that I have, I was attempting to meet several goals and objectives simultaneously. First of all, my discussions with some of the key participants reinforces my impression that we cannot expect them to write fully developed papers to distribute in advance of the conference. It is not simply that there isn't sufficient time to do this; it is more that they do not feel that their thoughts and ideas on the subject are yet under firm control. Consequently, the program reflects the intention to allow all of the participants to make brief statements (I am suggesting that these be from 12 to 20 minutes each, in most instances) in places in the program at which they own expertise. I anticipate that the purpose of these statements will be threefold: (a) they will contribute to the substance of the conference; (b) they can be used as bases for more polished statements that may or will become chapters in a volume of essays we intend to published on the subject after the conference has been concluded; and (c) they will help guide us in knowing where to put emphases in the work that we intend to do after the conference itself is over. This, then, is our second goal, namely, to prepare a book for publication on this subject. Our intention here is to utilize the statements made during the conference as the bases for essays and chapters in the book. The statements will be transcribed, returned to the participants for further clarification and extension, and then submitted for publication. Thirdly, we want the conference to help us learn more about the impact of Vietnam, that is, upon American consciousness, self-consciousness, an American sense of values, etc. But we are also utilizing it as a case study, or index, into the dynamics of those processes by which things change. So, in this respect, we will be listening to information and impressions about a specific topic, namely "the Vietnam experience in contemporary American life" as we also listen intently for some sort of rules of interpretation by which to come closer to understanding the nature of social and cultural change. Fourthly, we desire the events of the conference to have a rhythms and, if possible, a progression of their own. Consequently, we are starting from a rather fixed position: Guenter Lewy's comprehensive interpretation of the event. Then, after developing some initial impressions and working with rather firm information, we want eventually to return to the larger subject, "the impact of Vietnam upon American sensibility" (may be the best way to put it) to see if we can develop some overarching interpretive theories. As listed, the topics on the "program outline" are very inclusive, but they allow for the kinds of specification of which the selected participants are more than capable.