

NATIONAL PUBLIC BOARD OF EDUCATION

Approved For Release 2004/10/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000300690001-6

PUBLIC CHOICE IN EDUCATION

1290 Bayshore Highway
Burlingame, California 94010

Burlingame: (415) 344-1173
San Francisco: (415) 661-9980

December 1, 1976

Dear Mr. Bush:

Executive Registry
76-5880

Be...
CP

For your information, we enclose materials on publism, on 400 Public-esteemed Americans, on the First National Forum on Publism, along with your Moderator Form. We have reason to believe these materials can lead to a more harmonic and democratic America, and, through that, to a more harmonic world society.

We have been encouraged greatly by responses to our original report of March 1976; the responsiveness of Walter Cronkite, Margaret Mead, Robert Hutchins, Milton Friedman, Morris Udall and of many other scholars and public figures was related to quotations we have used or to other aspects of the report.

On the merits of the enclosed material, we are turning to 400 responsible American leaders, asking you to bring about thought in America on serious questions. You can do this without cost or compromise by being informed on, and by moderating such questions before the public at events like the forthcoming First National Forum on Publism (please see the enclosed Moderator Form).

We hope that you find these materials thought-provoking, and that you can employ publism as a tool in your professional, volunteer and personal endeavor on behalf on the public, to prevail in your efforts as you intend.

Respectfully yours,

Eugene A. Haggerty

Eugene A. Haggerty
Superintendent

*George Bush,
We especially value
your responses, for you can thus
actually strengthen our American
society and nation.*

Eugene Haggerty

a nonpartisan, nondiscriminatory, nonsectarian, nonprofit
public—not government—association

1 December 1976.
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Publicism

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Provisional List

(**designates those receiving our original report of March 1976, many of whom have responded.)

Abernathy, Ralph	Bundy, McGeorge	Freeman, Nelson W.
Adler, Mortimer	Burger, Warren	Friedan, Betty
Agronsky, Martin	Bush, George	**Friedman, Milton
Albee, Edward	Bryd, Robert	Fulbright, J. William
Ali, Muhammad	Caldwell, Erskine	Galbraith, John K.
Allen, Steve	Campbell, John	Gallup, George
Alsop, Joseph	Carey, Hugh	Garagiola, Joe
Anderson, Jack	Cary, Frank	Gardner, John
Anderson, Robert	Carney, Art	Gerstacker, Carl
Anderson, Roger	Carpenter, Walter, Jr.	Getty, J. Paul
Angelou, Maya	**Carter, Jimmy	Glazer, Nathan
Arness, James	Case, Clifford	Gleason, Jackie
Arrow, Kenneth	Cash, Johnny	Glenn, John
Ashbrook, John	Cavett, Dick	Godfrey, Arthur
Askew, Reubin	Chancellor, John	Goldberg, Arthur
Astaire, Fred	Chavez, Cesar	Goldwater, Barry
Atkins, Orin	Chisholm, Shirley	Graham, Billy
Baez, Joan	Chomsky, Noam	Graham, Katherine
Bailey, F. Lee	**Church, Frank	Granville, Maurice
Bailey, Pearl	Clark, Kenneth	Grasso, Ella
Ball, George W.	**Clausen, A. W.	Gray, Harry
Ball, Lucille	Commager, Henry Steele	Greeley, Andrew
Baraka, Amiri (Jones, LeRoi)	Conant, James	Greenspan, Alan
Barth, John	Connally, John	Gregory, Dick
**Bayh, Birch	**Cooke, Alistair	Griffin, Merv
Beame, Abraham	Cooke, Terence	Griffin, Robert
Belafonte, Harry	Cooper, John S.	**Halberstam, David
Bell, Daniel	Coppola, Francis F.	Harness, Edward
**Bentsen, Lloyd	Cosby, Bill	Harriman, Averell
Bernstein, Leonard	Cosell, Howard	Harrington, Michael
Bethe, Hans	Cousins, Norman	**Harris, Fred
Bikel, Theodore	Cox, Archibald	Harris, Louis
Bishop, Jim	Cranston, Alan	**Harris, Sydney
Blackmun, Harry	**Cronkite, Walter	Harris, William, Jr.
Blaauvelt, Howard	**Crosby, Bing	Hart, Phillip
Block, Herb	Daley, Richard	Hatfield, Mark
Bogdanovich, Peter	Davis, Sammy, Jr.	Hauge, Gabriel
Bok, Derek	**Dellums, Ronald	Hayakawa, Samuel I.
**Bond, Julian	DeYoung, Russell	Haynes, H. J.
Boone, Pat	Dole, Robert	**Hearst, William R., Jr.
Boorstin, Daniel	Douglas, Mike	Heilbroner, Robert
Borlaug, Norman	Downs, Hugh	Heller, Joseph
Bowles, Chester	Dunlop, John	Hesburgh, Theodore
Bradley, Thomas	Dunlop, Robert	Hess, Leon
Brando, Marlon	Durant, Will	Heston, Charlton
Braun, Wernher von	Dylan, Bob	Hitchcock, Alfred
Brennan, William	Eagleton, Thomas	Hope, Bob
Brewster, Kingman	Eastland, James	Hughes, Harold
Brinkley, David	Eisenhower, Mamie	**Humphrey, Hubert
Broder, David	Eisenhower, Milton	Huston, John
Brooke, Edward	Ervin, Sam	Hutchins, Robert
Brown, James	Farmer, James	Inouye, Daniel
**Brown, Edmund G., Jr.	Fitzgerald, Ella	Ives, Burl
Bryenner, Yul	Fong, Hiram	**Jackson, Jesse
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	Ford, Betty	**Jackson, Henry
Buchanan, Patrick	Ford, Ernie	Jackson, Maynard
Buchwald, Art	**Ford, Gerald R.	Jamieson, John K.
Buckley, James	Ford, Henry II	Javits, Jacob
**Buckley, William F.	Foy, Lewis	Jaworski, Leon
Burke, Yvonne B.	Frankel, Max	Johnson, Lady Bird
Burnham, D. C.	Frankenheimer, John	Jones, Reginald
Burns, Arthur	Franklin, W. H.	Jordan, Barbara
	Freeman, Gaylord	Jordan, Vernon

(over)

*This early-draft list includes names representing the broad cross section of American interests. Your suggestion of omitted or mistaken names will help inform our search for, and create a refined, respected index of those 400 of greatest benefit to the American people (see Moderator Form)

Provisional List: 400 Public-esteemed Americans (continued)

October, 1976

Karnes, William	Nozick, Robert	Smith, Margaret Chase
Kaye, Danny	O'Brian, Lawrence	Sommer, Charles
Kennedy, Edward	O'Connor, Carroll	Speer, Edgar
Kennedy, Rose	Onassis, Jacqueline	Spivak, Lawrence
Kerr, Clark	O'Neill, Thomas	Spock, Benjamin
Kilpatrick, James	Paley, William	Stapleton, Jean
**King, Coretta	Pauling, Linus	Steinem, Gloria
**Kissinger, Henry	Peale, Norman V.	Stevens, John P.
Kristol, Irving	Peck, Gregory	Stevenson, Adlai, 3rd
Kubrick, Stanley	Percy, Charles	Stewart, James
Kuralt, Charles	Perelman, Sidney J.	Stewart, Potter
Kuznets, Simon	Phillip, Kevin	Stokes, Carl
Laird, Melvin	Platten, Donald C.	Stokes, Collin H.
Lancaster, Burt	Poltier, Sidney	Stone, W. Clement
Lapham, Lewis	Porter, Sylvia	Strausz-Hupe, Robert
Larkin, Felix E.	Powell, Lewis	Sullivan, Leon
Larkin, Frederick, Jr.	Procknow, Donald	Susskind, David
Lear, William	Proxmire, William	Swearingen, John
Leontief, Wassily	Quinn, Anthony	Symington, Stewart
Levi, Edward	**Reagan, Ronald	Taft, Robert
Lewis, Jerry	Reasoner, Harry	Talmadge, Herman
Libby, Willard	Redford, Robert	Teller, Edward
Linkletter, Art	Rehquist, William	Terkel, Studs
Lipset, Seymour	Reneker, Robert	Thayer, Paul
Lodge, Henry Cabot	**Reston, James	Thomas, Danny
Long, Russell	Rhodes, John	Thomas, Lowell
Longley, James	Ribicoff, Abe	Thurmond, Strom
Lowell, Robert	Richardson, Elliot	Tower, John
Luce, Clare Boothe	Rickover, Hyman	Townsend, Lynn
Lyman, Richard	Riles, Wilson	Trautman, Gerald
MacGregor, Clark	Rizzo, Frank	Truman, Bess
MacLaine, Shirley	Roche, John	Tuchman, Barbara
MacLeish, Archibald	Rockefeller, Nelson	Tunney, John
Mailer, Norman	Rockwell, Willard	**Udall, Morris
Manning, Robert	Rodino, Peter	Ullman, Al
Mansfield, Mike	Romney, George	Usery, W. J., Jr.
Marshall, Thurgood	Rowan, Carl	Van Dyke, Dick
Martin, Dean	Ruckelshaus, William	Vidal, Gore
Marusi, Augustine	Rumsfeld, Donald	Volpe, John
Mathias, Charles	Rusher, William	Von Hoffman, Nicholas
Mauldin, Bill	**Rusk, Dean	Vonnegut, Kurt
Mayer, Martin	Rustin, Bayard	Wagner, G. A.
McCarthy, Eugene	**Ryan, Leo	Wald, George
McClaskey, Paul	Safire, William	Walker, Daniel
McColough, C. Peter	Sallinger, Pierre	**Wallace, George
McCormick, Brooks	Salisbury, Harrison	Wallace, Mike
McGovern, George	Salk, Jonas	Walters, Barbara
McNamara, Robert	Samuelson, Paul	Warner, Rawleigh
**Mead, Margaret	Sanford, Terry	Wayne, John
**Meany, George	Sarnoff, Robert W.	Weicker, Lowell
Medberry, Chauncey J.	Saroyan, William	Weinberger, Casper
Menotti, Gian-Carlo	Sawhill, John	Welles, Orson
Michener, James	Saxon, David	White, Byron
Miller, Arthur	Scall, John	White, Theodore
Mitford, Jessica	Schenkel, Chris	Whitmore, James
Mondale, Walter	Schlesinger, James	Wilkins, Roy
Moore, William H.	Schulz, Charles	Williams, Tennessee
Morton, Rogers	Scott, George C.	**Wilson, F. Perry
Morton, Thruston	Scott, Hugh	Wilson, Janes Q.
Mott, Stewart	Scranton, William	Wilson, Thornton
Moyers, Bill	Seaborg, Glenn	Woodcock, Leonard
**Moynihan, Daniel	Seeger, Pete	Woodward, Joan
Murphy, Thomas	Sevareid, Eric	Wriston, Walter
Muskie, Edmund	Shapp, Milton	Yankelevich, Daniel
Nader, Ralph	Sheen, Fulton	**Young, Andrew
Newman, Edwin	Shore, Dinah	Young, Coleman
Newman, Paul	**Shriver, Sargent	Zornow, Gerald
Nisbet, Robert	Shumway, Norman	Zumwalt, Elmo
Niven, David	Simon, William	
Nixon, Patricia	Sinatra, Frank	
Novak, Michael	Smith, Howard K.	

National Public Board of Education
 1290 Bayshore Highway
 Burlingame, California 94010

CONCISE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE FIRST NATIONAL FORUM ON PUBLISM

What is the purpose of the forum?

Our purpose, and that of the forum, is to explore the potential of publism as an ideologically neutral means toward realizing the goals of people throughout America and the world.

Who is sponsoring the forum?

The National Public Board of Education is inviting an as balanced as possible cross section of organizations and individuals to cooperate in sponsoring the forum, thereby assuring a rigorously fair discussion of all public issues.

When and where is the forum to be held?

The forum is calendared for the week of November 27, 1977, in San Francisco, the birthplace of the United Nations. We have reserved accommodations at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel.

Why have you invited 400 public-esteemed Americans to moderate this and other forums on publism?

We think that the 400 most respected Americans, the objects of our search, are people with the greatest likelihood of bringing about thought on matters of greatest importance to America.

Does moderating the forum necessarily require my presence at the San Francisco deliberations?

No. We recognize that many of the 400 may be unable to attend the San Francisco sessions but that they will want to moderate questions in their area of experience, nonetheless. Special communications equipment will be on hand for this purpose.

If I accept your invitation, doesn't this imply cost, commitment, advocacy or endorsement of your organizations's objectives?

Unmistakably, no. Your acceptance serves, rather, as evidence of your public-spiritedness and your open-mindedness on questions of importance to the public.

How is the forum related to other possible solutions to societal problems?

Cooperatively. We are inviting proponents of all possible solutions to cooperate in the resolution of public problems. We would liken the forum to a garden of flowers using their differences to show their beauty.

What qualifies you to put on a national forum on publism?

Although we have discovered publism, and have developed it to a significant point, we intend to cooperate with and to learn from every organization and every individual able to help us put on a publicly beneficial forum.

Will the results of the forum be made public?

Of course. This is our means of valuing people everywhere. It is our hope that, together, we can contribute to thought in America on vital public issues, thus conquering the tyranny of public ignorance.

for further information:

National Public Board of Education
1290 Bayshore Highway
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(415) 344-1173

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This report presents findings from a search for public education and information beginning with a course on "Educational Validities" at San Francisco State University in 1968. It intends to clarify the distinction between seller forces (which represent private interests or ideologies) and the public interest.

PUBLISM: AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—BEYOND CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM
Toward Checking Seller Society, and Creating a Public Society

(A Declaration of Public Independence)

"The capitalist and Communist worlds are two bankrupt systems in conflict now, neither adequate to the requirements and possibilities of a safe and decent world. What is required is a sort of radical innovation and leadership that rescued the American economic system from the depression of the 1930s."

HENRY KISSINGER, Secretary of State
as reported by columnist James Reston

Dr. Kissinger's statement is part of a rising tide of experience and information which calls for a new era for humankind: an epoch safely beyond the profoundly futile and undeniably dangerous capitalist-communist struggle.

Can there be any possibility, or any realistic method of escaping the hypnotic spell cast by capitalist, communist and other seller-driven forces? If a departure were feasible, what would be the agreed-upon features of the escape engine?

We propose to show that publism can be the engine of public liberation, and that each and every American and world citizen can easily understand its value for the survival and betterment of all humankind.

Publism is founded on a series of discoveries which have lain bare unexamined questions, and that have suggested solutions to several of the world's most appalling problems. In pursuing an understanding of events it has been useful to cast aside common assumptions about the nature of contemporary phenomena in order to reconsider their significance in fresh ways. Concern has been focused on the public factor and public

effect, on lobbyism being sold as professionalism, on government schooling being sold as public education. Special attention has been given to describing the seller classes or institutions as they differ from the public class, and ways sellers oppress and deceive the public—and themselves. Perhaps most importantly, publism has issued from investigation of public principles, values and purposes, whose understanding has brought about a coherent and practical sense of public society.

This report continues with consideration for these discoveries as they unfold to describe 1) the existence of a seller society, and 2) an approach to public society (primacy of the public over government and other private interests).

S E L L E R S O C I E T Y

How real is seller society? How dangerous?

We have become aware of the power the word "public" has through its association with ideologies, in determining not only the quality of education, but also the reliability of information, the accountability of government, and even the success of democratic society itself.

PUBLIC FACTOR AND EFFECT

The action of the word "public" thus constitutes a "public effect" which may be stated as follows:

Whichever interest, public or seller, controls the meaning and application of the word "public" will also control society-at-large. Society, therefore, is either public or seller society.

By this test, seller interests (specifically lobbies and governments) now control the public.

For example, our exhaustive experience with government-school lobbyists establishes their opposition to public hearings for the NPBE's search for public education. We are inclined to agree this opposition illustrates a first law for seller interests: the suppression of public information.

Their grounds for refusal are "questions in the minds of educational leaders on the effects of the [public choice] system on the future of public education."

Obviously, these educational leaders take "public" for granted. We do not.

Their assumption, that they speak for the public, is altogether unacceptable, for it is our principle that each of us be accepted as people—as the public, so far as our persons and children are concerned.

We've found that the lobby system really does work--but only for a powerful (yet short-sighted) minuscule minority who can reach politicians. Lobbyism being sold as professionalism in fact deceives and disservices both the public-at-large and virtually every seller—with catastrophic effect. Lobbyism is seller (rather than public) access to government, and this condition systematically and decisively kills public information on all-important questions.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLING

Public information killed? How else can one interpret easily verified evidence 1) that "government schooling" is granite-hard fact everywhere obscured by claims that it is "public education"; 2) that such claims are extremely unprofessional (being utterly unscientific and, of course, self-serving); 3) that these same claims result in publicwide deception? The effect of such duplicity undoubtedly destroys the hope for public information about public education--and very much more, as we shall see.

The real question here, of course, is whether government schooling is in fact either "public" or "education"?

Our experience with government schooling has helped us see into a more comprehensive and greater question: should seller forces, in either government or nongovernment sectors (or should the public, as the intended beneficiary) finally decide public policy?

PRIVATE GOVERNMENT

Clearly, the real nature of government may be private, and not at all public.

We know that governments are used as fronts by lobbyists, often in direct opposition to interests of the public. We also know governments have their own very special or private interests which must be either sold or forced upon the public.

Doubtless, governments represent the seller, which is to say the business, the special, the private interests of government as well as nongovernment lobbyists. Do these pressures (government-school lobbyists, for example), by presenting themselves as "professional", as "public school educators", also use, deceive, or in any way misgovern the public? Does the lobby system in effect constitute a private theory of public information? Does it display a basic contempt for democracy? Is the regularly overlooked fact of lobbyism a cause of catastrophe for people everywhere?

Apparently, neither public education nor democracy can flourish insofar as government serves as the agent of seller forces.

The problem of private government runs very deep, but it has proved to be the key to our discovery of "seller" and "public" as the two underlying classes constructive of a new public order, of a people consciously building a harmonious and just public society.

SELLER AND PUBLIC CLASSES

Who are the sellers, really?

Since selling is, of itself, honorable, why do sellers sometimes fail to identify themselves?

The seller class includes anyone selling ideas, services, and goods to the public for money or other value. Philosophers (superpoliticians?), politicians, government and nongovernment regulators, professionals, corporate managers and workers are sellers, and of course, selling is a natural and potentially most beneficial human activity.

But what of unprincipled and undisciplined activities? Should not selling deceptively (such as when the seller issues false claims stating he serves, accounts to the public) yield to the public?

How can we cope with the most sophisticated and deceptive of all seller strategies: the illegitimate claim that the seller is the buyer, through the use of the word "public"?

The seller-identification problem is aggravated by sellers denying their true activities, because selling is entirely more difficult when the buyer understands the pitch. Many if not most sellers are also sincerely unaware of their role, because they are part of low-key systems—governments, professions, and assorted organizations—all asserting noble or "public interest" claims. Government, however, goes one step further, it says it is the public.

Possibly the greatest source of misunderstanding camouflaging the seller class in every setting results from the misapplication of the terms "private" and "public". Is not the "private" sector, when buyer, really public? The "public" sector, when seller, really private?

To avoid ambiguity we have adopted "government" and "nongovernment" sectors as the two divisions of the seller class. Although "private" and "seller" are the same in fact, we avoid the term "private" whenever it unfairly focuses on nongovernment interests. The term "seller", in any case, accurately describes the operating principle.

THE SUPERSELLERS

The most effective sellers in the world, dominating the sale of virtually all ideas, services, and goods, are undoubtedly those of capitalism and communism. Both of these systems reveal remarkable similarities which give testimony to a substructural ideology, to a deeper, more certain reality which may be called sellerism or privatism. Each habitually equates "government" with "people's", "popular", "republican", "democratic" or "public".

Each (as special-interest lobbies, in the case of capitalism; as a political party, in the case of communism) sells through euphemization, using highly sophisticated techniques to corrupt language (witness capitalist advertising and communist propaganda)—if not through calculated deception or downright suppression of information.

Neither, directly or satisfactorily, accounts to the public.

It is frightening that both of these supersellers also seriously threaten thermonuclear holocaust and the resultant incineration of modern human civilization to preserve their order. Both, indeed, betoken the seller society.

SOCIETAL FAULTURE

The apparent failure of the present (seller) system is not a secret to best-informed Americans. How else are we to read Dr. Kissinger's and the following statements?

"We are talking to each other in shorthand. We are using meaningless phrases like "detente" and all the while withdrawing farther and farther from reality. The truth of the matter is that there no longer is any place to hide. We must make a major effort to avoid war and not be nervous."

DEAN RUSK
Former Secretary of State
under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson

*"The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese defeated us with superior will...An idea is more powerful than any military force we can bring to Vietnam."**

"What we need in this heterogeneous society is enough of a common purpose to survive."

EDMUND G. BROWN, JR.
Governor of California
(*interviewed by William F. Buckley)

"While preserving the fundamentals of the American Revolution, I call upon you [Stanford freshman] to embark on a revolution just as profound as the one which split the Amer-

ican colonies from Mother England. The preservation of democracy demands no less."

WALTER CRONKITE,
TV news authority
at Stanford University

"Our society is failing dismally, miserably to control the spread of nuclear arms and nuclear materials. We must do so if we are to survive long enough to form a better world."

"In this country, advertisements provide a setting which is often unrelated to the facts, but tempting and seductive—like the detached white-green shutters in which all "Americans" are represented as living."

DR. MARGARET MEAD,
anthropologist-author

"They (Americans) fear that in the pursuit of their organizational goals, the politicians and the businessmen and the unions and the professions have lost sight of any larger obligation to the public and are indifferent or worse to anything that does not benefit--immediately and directly--themselves or their institutions."

DANIEL YANKELOVICH
public opinion analyst

"It is interesting to speculate that both capitalism and communism may collapse together, for directly opposite reasons—the former, because of gross neglect of the public interest, and the latter, because of ruthless suppression of the private need..."

"Political controversies do not reach to the heart of our modern malaise, which is the loss of personal decision. Bigness, complexity, interdependence and impersonalism are the four horsemen of the modern world, running roughshod over all of us alike—left, right, and center."

SYDNEY J. HARRIS,
columnist

"Lacking more coherent philosophies, candidates will not rise above merely competing to purchase the allegiance of private interests... People should be citizens expressing themselves as a people, a community of shared values, rather than as merely a collection of competing private interests inhabiting the same country."

GEORGE F. WILL
columnist

"I'd be astounded if this planet is still going by 50 years from now. I don't think we will reach 2000. It would be a miracle."

ALISTAIR COOKE
journalist-historian

"We desperately need new ideas, great thoughts...Platitude? Great truths often are platitudes."

DR. GOBIND BEHARI LAL,
Pulitzer prize-winning
science reporter

"The academic community has let the nation down. If we want our youngsters to appreciate their heritage, we as parents should demand that the academic system teach the real economic truth of what has made this country as great as it is... One of the objections I encountered in researching this subject comes from academicians who say that if we are to teach the subject of basic economics in our schools we must not just teach about the free-enterprise system, but of all other systems, too, such as communism and socialism. That's great, as long as the teaching is done accurately and objectively."

WILLIAM R. HEARST JR.
Editor-in-chief, The Hearst Newspapers

"More leadership and involvement in public affairs by citizens is needed in the present era of economic and psychological depression."

JULIAN BOND
Georgia State Senator

"As of this moment, the public is rightly skeptical of our practices and our preachings...Integrity is not some impractical notion dreamed up by naive do-gooders. Our integrity is the foundation for, the very basis of, our ability to do business. If the market economy ever goes under, our favorite villains won't be to blame. We will."

"If we're not concerned, then we're just not sensitive to the reality of the problem or today's world."

A. W. CLAUSEN
President, Bank of America

"There is only one basic value, one basic idea, that can form the basis of our American strategy in world affairs and provide an appeal by Americans to all the other peoples of the world: the defense of freedom and the extension of democracy."

GEORGE MEANY
President, AFL-CIO

"It is wrong to suborn government officials through bribes and other illegal activities. It is doubly wrong when corporate funds are involved. It is management, and particularly the chief executive officer, who set the moral and ethical tone for a corporation's decision-making processes. This commitment cannot be legislated or codified, nor can the responsibility be avoided. It comes with the job."

PERRY WILSON,
chairman, Union Carbide Corp.

"Parents, if you don't actively move your public schools from a labor market debate into an organized parent action for educational reform to ensure a better education for every child, you may soon see the end of public education."

DR. HARVEY B. SCRIBNER,
school chancellor,
New York City, 1970-73

"We have the right to go to any school in America but we can't pay the tuition."

REV. JESSE JACKSON,
founder, Operation PUSH
pointing to blatant contradictions within our society

The above cross section of opinion points to our need to embrace a new and distinctive understanding of current problems.

NATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT

We've received a most gratifying early response for our efforts from an entire cross-section of American leadership and citizens. Here are but a few public-spirited Americans who have selflessly given their encouragement:

Bing Crosby: *"I endorse your efforts to inform the American people about public choice in education."*

Congressman Ronald Dellums, offering to assist us: *"in getting information concerning Public Choice out into the community for further discussion."*

Congressman Leo Ryan: *"The only real answer to the educational problems that this country faces is to provide the public with an adequate variety of choices as long as these choices are not designed to create racial or financial segregation."*

Congressman, Civil Rights Leader, Rev. Andrew Young:
"Please accept my best wishes for continued success in your effort."

"BUT WE ARE THE EXPERTS."

Finally, to understand the perspectives of a bureau official who has concern for the public-at-large, we cannot improve upon a courageous letter to the editor of Harper's Magazine (October 1975):

"Peter Schuck's article (Why Regulation Fails, September) is perceptive, thorough, and balanced. It should be required reading for every journalist and politician. My only comment

is on the closing paragraph.

It is my impression that no program actually has a large valid constituency, for the simple reason that it is not feasible to subsidize the many at the expense of the few. (If the few have sufficient resources at their disposal, they are probably able to identify and evade the short end of the stick.) It would be better, I think, to recognize that essentially all large programs subsidize the few at the expense of the many, and that if the nature of the subsidization can be made clear to all the participants, the program will fall of its own weight.

I work for a regulatory agency. We do not, as an institution, find it palatable to express accurately the amount of harm we do. It is difficult to report to Congress that our job is basically impossible, because the people who make the economy run will take further advantage of any new set of rules that can be conceived. This is difficult because we are all human, because we really like to believe we are accomplishing a net good, because Congress would probably give the same job to some less honest group of bureaucrats, and because you get along by going along.

But we are the experts. Whenever an outside skeptic tries to document any of the counter productive effects we have we simply prove that he doesn't have the facts. We can always count on Congress to believe that we are following the original mandate, and to interpret any attack on our results as an attack on our worthy purpose.

Is there a solution? Yes, but not an easy one. It is necessary to dig for all the facts, not just the ones which support the agency. Who really pay for food stamps? What drove the independent gas stations out of business? Who really benefits from price controls on oil and gas? Who really reaps the benefit of added educational funding? Which farmer profits from farm subsidies? While the constituencies for each of these groups is the beneficiary, the small constituency will in every case have a large and vital interest, and resources to match, with the full concurrence and support of the relevant bureaucracy. The issue, in my mind, is whether enlightened analysts, journalists, and politicians can work their way down to the facts.

On a more optimistic note, I do not believe that large numbers of citizens need to vote against their own self-interest. It is sufficient (if only for a start) to perform and publicize some thorough, hard-nosed, independent appraisals of who is really paying for what."

NAME WITHHELD
Kensington, Maryland

Here we have it; an expert who should know attests to the fact that government supports the few at the expense of the many.

PUBLIC VIEWS

How do the American people now view capitalism? Government?

A recent poll by Hart Research Associates found 33 per cent polled *"believe the capitalist system has reached its peak in terms of performance and is now on the decline."*

Neither does government appear to be the solution: 81 per cent said that they think *"It would do more harm than good for the government to own and run major companies."*

PUBLIC SOCIETY

"Thoughts are but dreames till their effects be tried."
—SHAKESPEARE

Definitive analyses of seller society (and the full realization and flowering of publism) must necessarily await publicwide discussion. Nonetheless, the preceding may suffice to establish the fact of seller society.

The moment we discover seller society we free ourselves to a new universe of possibilities in public society. We free ourselves from the complete mercy of domestic lobbies interlocked with totalitarian parties of worldwide scope. Indeed, we are no longer totally dependent upon governments, whether cruel or well-meaning, which are able to destroy mindlessly the promise of humankind.

But so long as the public-at-large is kept uninformed of seller and public realities, all benefits consequent to public society necessarily will remain unrealized. Neither public information, nor public consciousness, nor public society is spontaneous; each requires the development of a formula to release humankind from seller society. Such is the purpose of publism.

PUBLISM

What is publism? How can we understand its full significance? Even now (before publicwide discussion) we can see the major characteristics of publism:

Publism refers to the values of the public.

Publism is an ideologically neutral meeting place for people of every belief and interest.

Publism is a formula rooted in the democratic experience of the American people.

Publism contrasts vividly with the insufficient and obsolete formulae originated in Europe for different conditions and different ages, including the captivating theories of Adam Smith (*The Wealth of Nations*, 1776), and of Karl Marx (*The Communist Manifesto*, 1848), which have brought the world to its present unsafe condition.

Through most of the 19th and 20th centuries the world was created in the images of Smith's or Marx's economic ideas. Their influence overshadowed, and at times derailed the earlier democratizing tradition of separation of powers that had descended from documents such as the Magna Charta (1215), from Locke's Two Treatises of Government (1689), through Montesquieu's The Spirit of Laws (1748), down to the American Founding Fathers and their U. S. Constitution (1789). Of course, today democracies are a minority among the nations of the world.

Publism, then, would revitalize the earlier democratic tradition. Let us remember that we can easily create publism, because as a people we are today heirs to an incomparably greater array of facts than any of the above theorists.

Publism is a framework for the consideration of questions of natural importance to the entire public; a basis for a unified theory of information; a testable standard of knowledge based in nature, and more certainly true than "knowledge" based in seller societies. (Seller society, obviously and inherently, is dependent upon trust and belief in either lobbyist or totalitarian frameworks. In contrast, belief in publism, commitment to publism, is not required.)

Publism is a direct means to dissolve the deleterious effects of capitalism, communism, and other seller systems in a bath of understanding; in effect, publism is a remarkably simple tool which both the haves and have-nots can try without detectable detriment to the hopes of either.

Publism is not a trade-off (sacrificing one beneficial effect for another); if publism doesn't work, we can always go back to our original feuds.

Publism neither endorses nor rejects seller formulae but rather encourages public moderators to mediate the claims of all seller interests. (Public moderators are the self-informing public and their elected public—as distinct from government—representatives.)

Specifically, publism is a system of public principles, studies, institutions and boards, designed to provide people

and accuracy of information. Publism strives to realize levels of human understanding, of harmony, of security, of freedom and of civilization which the present seller society is not looking for and therefore can never achieve.

PUBLIC PRINCIPLES

The basic principles of publism below, of Public Choice in Education (as in the Public Choice Reporter, Vol. 1, No. 1), and of the National Public Board of Education are the same. In spite of tragic ideological distortions wrought by supersellers, the ideals of public interest are generally agreed upon throughout America and the world. In behalf of these principles, then, we seek further and precise definition for each public verity:

Public: "Public" is the overall subject of this report, and, as we've see, it is the sovereign principle of public society.

Who, precisely, is the public?

The public is the consumer, who shope and buys the ideas, services, and goods provided by the seller. Being such, the public is complementary to the seller, evaluating the sellers' claims and ultimately functioning as the employer of the seller. The public is each person in every community regardless of apparent differences of sex, of age, of race, of belief, of standing in the spectrum of political opinion. The public consists of all people joining in a harmonious dedication to human survival and betterment as a goal for all humankind.

In a very real sense, you are the public.

The public comprises a new class—the public class—that is contrasted to the worker-management classes (both of whom obviously sell, and who exhibit characteristics of seller-focused theories). The public class concept opens up a new basis for harmony among people everywhere, and encourages the growth of public institutions: the individual, the family, the community, the public state (see below), and the world public. The discovery of seller and public roles thus points to a need to nourish truly public institutions, that have so far been neglected, and frankly urges a supportive role for seller institutions.

All people have a profound yearning to moor with their public class. The evidence is indisputable and worldwide as can be seen by governments' us of alluring words meaning people ("public", etc.). Also witness in America the robust consumer and public-interest movements. (These movements, however, have yet to mature, for they may lack the clearly defined purposes and values of public society.)

What is most important to consider is that each public institution will naturally seek the fullest value among all seller offerings.

For example—among the people—Who cares which seller makes the sale—so long as real value is found? In the local community, Who really cares whether the employee or the employer is the seller; at state and national levels Who is concerned whether government or nongovernment interests vend authentic value; worldwide, whether capitalism, communism, or other seller systems prove the value of their claims?

Because the public class is neutral to every seller method, the public is uniquely qualified to moderate all public questions and mediate all seller interests.

Information: In our experience, the only way people can check governments and other seller forces is through information. Information is the compass which gives direction to all economic and political power. Information is power (as David Halberstam has found), and public information is public power.

Who controls information? Anyone can observe (as we have) governments and other de facto private organizations, consciously or not, promulgate lobbied, self-serving "information" while unreviewable nongovernment news media respond to government (as distinct from public) priorities. For instance, it is no secret that news media label the fact of government schooling "public education" thereby selling government schooling as well as the news. Other instances of advertising, propaganda or ideology as information may more readily come to mind.

Clearly, the present system of information is inadequate as a general theory of information.

Our point is not to disturb the proper role of either non-government or government media whose business is in fact to sell information and policy as they see fit. To be sure, on a world scale, American media has done a commendably excellent job.

Our point is, rather, to balance seller information with an unimpeachable quality of public information. Information of this quality can illuminate all other principles and therefore be the key to public consciousness and human progress. Such information can also constructively regulate the public, balance the claims of sellers (in order to protect against demagogic and totalitarian governments), clarify public purposes, and significantly qualify the public to regulate the seller.

These programs are ambitions, but as we've seen, they are very possibly imperative to human survival and well-being,

and, as we shall see, they are remarkably feasible for the first time in human history by reason of the availability of unprecedented communications technology.

To underscore our purpose in this matter, we precisely call our overall approach "informational pubлизм". To secure the necessary standard of discussion on public information and on a public society, we are inviting a balanced-as-possible list of 400 public-esteemed Americans (see attached roster) to moderate these questions, and to oversee the development of the National Public Board of Information. In good time, the formation of an International Public Board of Information seems inescapable.

The role of media leaders being critical, we are inviting America's greatest media authorities to assist us in developing an unimpeachable public—not government—information system (to the extent possible, one without conservative, liberal, or whatever political connotations).

Community: Public community is the consummate achievement of humankind which one day can issue from public fellowship in concert with societal harmony.

PUBLIC FELLOWSHIP: The most significant achievement of the NPBE is public fellowship, the voluntary reconciliation of the interests of a full public spectrum.

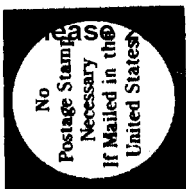
SOCIETAL HARMONY: Also, since we all are at the same time both "public" and "seller", we can naturally achieve societal harmony, the comity of our seller interests to our public purposes.

Because we are all sellers our public perspective can never be anti-seller. While capitalism, communism, and related ideologies press the classic formula for class conflict, between business and worker interests, and even between government and nongovernment sellers, ours is a non-violent, harmonizing formula which permits a natural approach to the still hypothetical classless society.

Democracy: What is democracy really?

Existing conceptions of "democracy" worldwide are largely habituated to the Montesquieuan ideal of governments with separated powers, established in the American Revolution; or to the Marxian working-class ideal, established in the communist and socialist governments (mostly since 1917). Today many nations, including the United States, combine these ideals as the interplay of constitutionalized "checks and balances" and the worker-corporate class struggle in the present lobby system. Seen in this way, the present system amounts to seller-driven democracy (plainly, a contradictory set of terms).

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And yet, the separation-of-powers experiment has served American government very well. Publist democracy therefore would extend throughout society, for the direct benefit of people, this (Montesquieuan) inheritance now limited to government. For example, publism would create three great states in one society: the public state and two private states (government and nongovernment), each with powers suited to its nature, and each checking, balancing, and complementing one another. (In totalitarian societies, publism is a way of realizing two states [public and government states]. And globally, publism sets the foundation for a world public state, one complementary to the United Nations ideal.)

Two hundred years ago, at a time when publicwide information was impossible (or at least unreliable) society naturally placed its confidence in guided (seller) governments rather than in the public.

Today, on the other hand, a veritable public democracy is possible. In fact, in America, the public state can be astonishingly easy to create—no law need be passed or defeated!

What are the mechanics of a public democracy? The extraordinary capability of modern communications technology is available to serve public as well as seller purposes. For example, people now can identify public-esteemed leaders and elect public board members according to refined indices of benefit to the public and to exactingly scientific opinion polls, even on a daily and worldwide basis, whenever necessary or desired.

This means the public can be empowered through a system of informed and responsible choices operating on a continuous basis for the highest number of people, compared to and parallel to the present ratificatory system of voices (votes). Voting at present is exercised by rather few of the voting-age population (by 53.4% in the 1976 presidential election, registering a gradual decline since a high of 62.8% in 1960) and on noticeably few occasions (usually every 2 or 4 years).

Professionalism: True professionalism, as distinct from lobbyism, fearlessly informs, never deceives the public; for such professionalism is really self-confident salesmanship fully committed to public as well as to seller benefit.

In light of human nature, professionalism may always be more of a challenge than a reality. In any case the professional standard can be attained most convincingly in the open forum, not in the obscure lobby.

Because professionalism calls forth the greatness of our nature, the steadfast people in every profession will serve public society greatly.

Science: Science, as distinct from arrogant scientism, has fully proved its value to the people. However, perhaps because science is now a kind of public hero, sellers are able to use science to cloak their salables in a not-to-be-questioned scientific aura.

Ever so little is scientifically known about either public nature or sales to the public. This is the case despite habitual claims of communist historians, white-smock TV commercial actors and of eclectic bureaucrats. Even opinion pollsters can shade statistics into a kind of numerology.

Not only is publism inherently verifiable, but, with publism, other societal formulae are also finally testable. Publism creates entirely more rigorous standards for science, avoiding the rampant scientism of lobbies and of totalitarianism.

Education: Unmistakably, public education, as distinct from government schooling, is impossible unless people have access to basic information on the meaning of "public" and "education".

We have discovered a genuine approach to public education. We have found, for example, that public "choices" in education (based on an average annual outlay, in 1975, of \$2000 per student) are much more valuable and believable to the public than "participation" or "involvement" goals characteristically sought by PTA and other parent networks. These parent groups are systematically coopted by government boards on such basic issues. (That government educators should call upon the public to "participate" in school programs is an astonishing irony—why not ask government to participate in the concerns of the public?)

These have been among our most difficult lessons to learn; having learned them, we can now more realistically and completely inform the beneficiary public how they can choose their own sense of public education.

Economy: The principle of economy requires that the seller not be a welfare recipient who is disguised in the name of the public good. Economy also provides for competition between sellers, and therefore creates reasonable choices for an informed public.

In money terms alone, the public can invest billions beyond comprehension simply by questioning seller doctrine. Limiting our scope to dollars spent for education in the United States, people can shift control of up to \$119 billion annually (1975 Office of Education figures) from seller interests direct to the public as intended beneficiary, without costing a penny beyond the present education spending level!

If our model describes a harmonic public society, as is at

least possible, we shall the sooner understand how total global resources are wasted. Economists can utilize the publicist formula as a fresh means toward the fullest development (education) and employment (jobs) of human capacities.

Can the public afford public information on a public society? It is quite obvious that the public can not afford the incalculably greater cost of deceptive seller "information". Publism, therefore, is an investment without comparison.

Choice: Choice is the catalytic principle which tests publism, and every principle, for coherence and definition. Public choice naturally tests every seller value. Public and choice are inseparable values; without either, neither value has real meaning.

PUBLIC STUDIES

In order to assure an exhaustive study of seller and public society, we are checking seller studies with an orderly formula for public studies:

Publism: In the epistemological sense, publism is public philosophy, complementary to political philosophy. Publism searches for public purpose and sound, realistic approaches to human survival and betterment. As such, publism is an independent yardstick and a balance to seller philosophies, to capitalism and communism, for example.

Publogy: Publogy is public science, a search for objective public nature, complementary to political science which is now subsumed by, and the logical client to, seller society.

Democratic: Democratic is the responsible and skillful practice of public self-government. As such, it is a valid and proper alternative to politics, the skillful practice of government of the public by the seller class.

(For information, courses and forums on publism and related studies, inquire at the Burlingame office of the National Public Board of Education.)

PUBLIC BOARDS AND FELLOWSHIP CLUBS

The public state is composed of a united system of public boards, at subnational, at national and at world levels, and concerns information and other public policies. These boards are designed to moderate public questions, to account to the public-at-large (rather than to government or nongovernment authorities) and to assume complementary rather than adverse relationships to governments and other seller institutions.

Legitimized by refined democratic criteria, these boards provide pub-

lic yardsticks and describe real checks, balances and alternatives to seller systems. As public boards, they can credibly invite all seller interests to forward information of precisely the same value to the public and to public boards as are forwarded to government officials.

Obviously, these boards are instruments of extraordinary capability. They can detect the true effects of détente, nationalism and other issues of greatest national and global consequence. Unified as a public state, they can generate a third great voice in society, recognized as clearly as that of any voice identifiable with seller society—as clearly as any Walter Cronkite, as any president, or as any possible world ruler on questions of direct concern to the well-being of the people.

The National Public Board of Information has the goal of public information on public-policy questions in America. (Since information in America is not controlled by the political process, at least directly, it is not essential that public information boards be developed parallel to government bodies.)

Public fellowship clubs answer a most profound worldwide need for interpersonal (and intergroup) hospitality and conviviality, directly addressed to the highest ideals of public society. These fellowship clubs can serve as harmonizing centers, as points of purpose and hope for our youth, the jobless, the disillusioned, for countless millions bypassed in every society, whose every day can otherwise reduce the world to ashes.

DECLARATION OF PUBLIC INDEPENDENCE

The promise of publism fairly calls for a Declaration of Public Independence. In America the surging mood for public independence may be stronger than that for national independence 200 years ago; worldwide, it is common knowledge that many people look to America and the American people for ideas and leadership.

Hence, we have plans for a magnificent, forward-looking celebration worthy of the highest ideals of the American people—and of people everywhere—after 200 years of national independence. In this spirit, we offer this report as a refinable (by the 400 Public-esteemed Americans) and perfectible (by the public-at-large) Declaration of Public Independence, as a democratic basis for America's Third Century, and as information for people everywhere interested in an harmonious public society.

The cry for public independence is timely; it can rescue an America which now is noticeably dispirited.

THE VERIFICATION OF PUBLIC SOLUTIONS

These are the broad features of publism, of a refined American democracy. Almost certainly, we have not yet told, nor can we see the full

potential of publism. To really understand the possibilities of the program the best we can do at this point is to seek further verification of our findings by submitting them to the unassailable rigor of publicwide review. In this way the public can continuously develop its own amply coherent and useful sense of publism.

In view of statements by the distinguished Americans above regarding the sobering, even terrifying aspects of seller society, the publism formula can have timely value for all. This applies as well to the capitalist and communist supersellers, for they, too, may want desperately to extricate themselves from their addiction to mutual terror, to stupendous waste, to a suicidal struggle. In fact, there is very good reason for capitalist and communist leaders, finding each other's ideology unacceptable, to vie for the support of the conscious public as the unifier, harmonizer and constructor of public society.

To be sure, there are some who will view this perspective as improbably optimistic. This we accept with the awareness that the impossible has regularly throughout history yielded to the obvious. (We recognize that extrapolations from the present seller society give ample reason for pessimism; however, the goal of public society is, we submit, more valid and allows for more positive actions and achievements.)

In any case, the range of opportunities inherent in publism affects the entire scope of society; any number of benefits could dawn upon the world. Why not a veritable public-education system featuring \$2000 choices in education? Why not an independent American public no longer at the complete mercy of unseen lobby forces, no longer totally dependent upon government? Why not a world having public consciousness beyond the divisive habit of nations?

Certainly, we can no longer responsibly withhold information on publism. Publism belongs to the American people.

NATIONAL MODERATORS

But how can we guarantee the public unfailing information on all-important public questions? Without powerfully prestigious moderators heard on a national, and when necessary, international forum, the facts and merits in publism cannot accurately be heard above the deafening roar of seller interests. Ironically, many seller forces may be unable to open their minds to developments which can really be in their own best interests.

We have heard the American leaders (above) urging the American people to take decisive heed of a starkly serious state of affairs. We are encouraged that our leaders understand our plight. Just in this spirit, we invite these American leaders to moderate publism for its potential value for humankind. We also are inviting many others, 400 in all, to balance the experience, including President Ford, Mrs. Martin Luther (Coretta) King, and anyone else who can help forward a faultless discussion of publism and of public society.

Let us understand that we—both the American people and the world pub-

lic—lose nothing by opening our minds to the proven merits of publicism; that we court ignorance, misunderstandings, and possible societal failures should we miss its apparent opportunities.

AMERICA NEED NOT DEFAULT...

There's really no need to allow America to default, to drift onto a foreseeable storm of violence in this country, and multiplying hostilities abroad. Having publicism, we have now a single thought, a single approach reasonably able to unify the interests of every individual and the world public.

We can even take heart in the vision of a little-known American contributor, D. E. Colores: *"If mankind could use its differences the way flowers in a garden do, we'd have a balanced world."*

Eugene A. Haggerty
Superintendent
National Public Board of Education

Eugene A. Haggerty, Superintendent

Marian E. Hampton, Chair
Chair, San Francisco Community Coalition on Education

Eugene E. Bleck, M.D.
Children's Hospital, Stanford University

Fernando Gonzalez
Director, Bay Area Center for Alternative Education

David H. Keyston
Executive Vice President, Anza Pacific Corporation

Gertrude Wilks
President, Mothers for Equal Education;
member, Board of Supervisors, East Palo Alto, California

*Due to the undisputed importance of public information, the NPBE is serving as a provisional National Public Board of Information (NPBI).