

Philip Raup

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Interview with Philip M. Raup

**Interviewed by Professor Clarke A. Chambers
University of Minnesota**

**Interviewed on August 29, 1984
at the Home of Philip Raup**

Philip Raup - PR
Clarke A. Chambers - CAC

CAC: This is Clarke Chambers. I'm interviewing, this morning, Professor Philip M. Raup of the Department of Agricultural Economics, a person who has been with the university for a long time. I think you came in 1953?

PR: Right.

CAC: We're taping this in his very pleasant home in University Grove near the St. Paul Campus at the university. It is Wednesday morning, August 29, 1984.

Now, that that's on the record, Phil, as I've asked other people, say a few things about where you came from. I know you're a farm boy from Kansas and that must have made some difference in how your career developed. Let's start in Kansas, and then your undergraduate work at the University of Kansas, and we'll just take you through Wisconsin, and get you to Minnesota before too long.

PR: I'm a product of a western Kansas high plains and wheat and cattle ranch, basically. My father broke the sod on the farm, which we still own, in 1911 and conned my mother into coming to Kansas and giving up a very good custom dressmaking business. My own youth was unusual in one sense. I was born in 1914 of parents, in a remote western Kansas rural community, both of whom had college degrees. That was certainly atypical; although, in the first wave of pioneer settlement, it wasn't completely unusual to have a good many people who'd been rather highly educated in the east and had come west, Horace Greeley like, to seek their fortunes.

CAC: Where were they educated?

PR: Mother was a graduate of Pratt Institute in New York City and dad was a certified public accountant [CPA] and graduate of Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio. He had been working as a CPA with Baker Water Auditing Company in Chicago when he quit to go to farm in western Kansas.

CAC: My heavens. He knew nothing about farming?

PR: No, that's not true. He grew up in a family in Springfield, Ohio, that had extensive farm holdings. As a boy, he had done farm work almost of all types, although not dairy farming but beef cattle and grain crops.

CAC: That is unusual . . . and then, to come into farming in the early Twentieth Century in Kansas.

PR: It was a classic illustration of European technology in the famous incongruous environment, that Paul Wallace Gates used to talk about, having translated technology that was suited for the little Miami River Valley in western Ohio directly into high plains at 2500 feet above sea level in western Kansas. The transition was abrupt. A whole new farming technology had to be innovated—and was.

CAC: Was it about that time that technology was being innovated in that area of Kansas? He didn't have to unlearn a lot of things?

PR: In a sense you're right. He didn't have to unlearn a lot of things because some of them he'd never learned very well in the first place; but, at the same time, it was an exceptional circumstance because my great grandfather had been an industrialist who hit it just right at the end of the American Civil War with innovative farm machinery, rather simple tools, mowers, rakes, reapers, and the other types of farm machinery that went with the expansion into the Great Plains as the transcontinental railroads were built. As a result, my father grew up in a family that was constantly inventing things.

CAC: And had some working capital?

PR: And had a little bit of working capital, right.

CAC: Which would be important by that time, I would guess, to start farming.

PR: Very. Delco is Dayton Electric Company and is closely affiliated with Frigidaire which was an early ice box manufacturer. We had an electric ice box on our farm in western Kansas in 1915 long before they were available in urban areas because a relative of my grandfather was active in the Dayton Electric Company and thought it would be appropriate to try out an ice box out on his nephew's farm.

CAC: You're really a third generation person, in one way or another, connected with agriculture technology?

PR: Oh, more than that. We have record of seven farming generations, since 1732.

CAC: That's beautiful.

PR: So, there was a continuous strain of agricultural experimentation and some innovation. That continued right on through my whole childhood. My dad was always taking farm machinery apart and rebuilding it. He, together with one other man in southern Kansas, brought the first two combine harvesters east of the Rocky Mountains from the California and Palouse country. As a result, he had an operating combine in the field in the harvest of 1915.

CAC: Heavens. The homestead was how many acres originally?

PR: This great grandfather who had made some money in the farm machinery business has invested it all in western land. We farmed two square miles, two sections; but, he had other holdings which we didn't farm that were managed by an uncle. The total holding went up and down with the decision to farm or sell; but, it had been in the vicinity of 20,000 acres at one time, and collapsed to 10,000 after the first world war, and then they whittled it off over the years. Our particular two sections had been farmed as a unit continuously from the sod breaking of 1911.

CAC: And you say that it's still in the family?

PR: Oh, yes, my brother and I are still farming it. He's doing the work.

CAC: He's on the farm?

PR: He's on the farm right now.

CAC: You had other brothers and sisters?

PR: A sister who has died but who was very active in the farm.

CAC: The two brothers and the sister who was active really were dirt farmers, so to speak. You learned farming as a boy.

PR: Oh, yes. It was a little more personal than that. I graduated from high school in the depths of the Depression in May 1931. You are an agricultural historian, Clarke Chambers.

CAC: [laughter]

PR: You will remember that the federal farm board quit buying wheat the week after I graduated from high school; and the price of wheat, which had been around sixty five cents a bushel on the day of graduation, fell to about twenty-three cents a bushel by harvest time in July. One of my vivid memories from those days was that my father gave me a check for \$100 as a graduation present from high school, and the price of wheat collapsed before I got the check cashed, and I never did cash it.

CAC: Ahhh.

PR: I held it for years and finally gave it back to him so he could clean up his check book.

CAC: Was that in the drought area?

PR: Oh, yes.. Oh, yes.

CAC: That came later but by 1933, 1936, 1937?

PR: The 1931 crop was very good, a near bumper crop, but sold for the lowest prices in history. The drought hit in 1934 and again in 1936. There were several bad years throughout the 1930s besides these two acutely bad years.

CAC: You had good reason to be interested in agricultural economics.

PR: Exactly.

CAC: And land policy and pricing.

PR: I grew up having been personally prevented from going to college by a collapse of the wheat price; so, this is a great educational experience. You learn to watch price movements. I was out of school for three years. I've told several people this story. I saved money for three years from doing some little farming activities, the kind that the 4-H Club sponsored. I remember in my freshman year in college, which was at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, I financed my full freshman year by the sale of thirty-two pigs and two steers. At that time, thirty-two pigs and two steers would put you through a year at the state university. I calculated recently whether or not you could complete a year of study at the University of Minnesota on the proceeds of thirty-two pigs and two steers. In terms of gross receipts . . . yes, quite comfortably. In fact, you could live a little better than was possible in 1934.

CAC: When you say gross receipts, that's the figure you're using earlier, too?

PR: It was because the thirty-two pigs and the two steers were fed with feed that my father provided free of charge.

CAC: But, you were helping to produce it.

PR: I was . . . deferred labor wage, if you want to look at it that way.

CAC: [laughter] You started at Kansas in the fall of 1934 and knew then that probably agricultural economics would be your . . . ?

PR: No. Actually, I had been urged to go to the state university at Manhattan, Kansas, which was the agricultural college, then called the state college. I chose not to principally because they had compulsory ROTC [Reserve Officers Training Corps] and I didn't like the idea of compulsory military training; so, I chose instead to go to the University of Kansas and registered for ROTC voluntarily. I took two years of ROTC but not because I had to.

CAC: God! that speaks well of character. What kind of a major did you pursue?

PR: When I had to declare a major, my first declaration was of political science. I completed the credit requirements for a major in political science and then decided that that really wasn't getting at what I was most interested in. This involves some retroactive causal interpretation and I'm not quite sure what my reasons were; but, I think I sensed that there were not very many jobs, and they were very keenly competitive jobs, and that the people that were deciding issues in the public policy field that interested me were really under the domination of those who had the analytical ability to discuss their economic consequences. If I was going to be an effective operator in the field of political science, I had better get some economics. That led me to develop what had already been a latent interest in general economics and in my senior year, I switched majors. I had the credits for a major in political science and then went on and got the additional work required to get a bachelor's degree in economics, which was my declared major.

CAC: That's just precociously shrewd for a young undergraduate student.

PR: I think it also reflected some very good advising. In a way, going through colleges in the middle of the Depression was not the worst thing that could happen to a person. Employment markets dried up in the more prestigious universities. As a consequence, we had a quality of faculty available at the University of Kansas in the middle and late 1930s that would have been hard to duplicate and it was certainly the equal of some of the faculties at the much larger and more prestigious universities. I got my anthropology course from Loren Eisely.

CAC: Heavens.

PR: I had my introductory economics course from Ross Robertson, who went on to the Federal Reserve Bank in St. Louis. My first course in accounting was taught by Lloyd Metzler, who went on to become a very famous economist at the University of Chicago.

CAC: You didn't have history from [James] Malin by any chance, did you?

PR: I had a course in history from Malin. My economic stimulus came principally from John Eise, who was, as it turned out, my major professor. The final year, I was a research assistant for John Eise as he was working on the documentation for his book on the National Park System.

CAC: Heavens. I would guess that, Depression or not, no one else would ever have had Malin. He was such a distinguished and cranky individual.

PR: He was. My wife took a course in history from Malin independently of me and before we were courting. I don't think I had much influence on her choice.

CAC: Choice of husband or choice of course? [laughter]

PR: It may have impressed me as choice of life that she was that interested. You're right. Malin had the local reputation of being a cantankerous person; but, he was also a brilliant scholar.

CAC: Did he teach out of the *Prolegomena* book?

PR: Not formally.

CAC: That whole point of view?

PR: Yes. He tended to be a little dry and routine as an instructor.

CAC: People listening to this tape twenty years from now will have to forgive this exchange. James Malin, to most historians, is purely thought of in cranky terms and I just think it's time to rediscover Malin. I think a good historiographic piece on Malin would be really interesting. Maybe you should do it, Phil.

PR: His *Grassland* . . .

CAC: Right, *The Grassland of North America*[: *Prolegomena to its History with Addenda and Postscript*].

PR: . . . is unique.

CAC: It really is. It's a piece of environmental history or ecological history, if you wish.

PR: In a sense, he has a stature in the field of land use planning that would be somewhat like that of [George Perkins] Marsh or John Wesley Powell in that these were men that saw a full generation ahead of the problem what was likely to evolve from the trends they could detect then underway.

CAC: As far as I know, that essay hasn't been written. Philip, I think you should do it. You have other projects, I'm sure; but, that's interesting.

PR: There's an aspect to it that is fascinating in that if we measure the present achievable level in the output of major crops and set that level at the height that could be achieved using present available technology—the jargon is *off the shelf technology*—and then measure the present actual level and note the gap between what could be achieved with off the shelf technology and what is being achieved at the present time, I think it's unquestionably true that that gap is widest with the forage crops. When we go abroad and observe the behavior of developing countries, we note they spend too much time on their export crops; but, we've done essentially the same thing in our own history. Most of the work at the agricultural experiment stations and the state extension services focuses on the cash crops, which could be considered the export crops for the local community, and neglect the bread and butter crops, the hay, and the forages, and the grasses.

CAC: Bread and butter, indeed.

PR: In the first blush of settlement, the grasses of North America were equivalent to the trees of North America and the principal task was to get rid of them.

CAC: [laughter]

PR: You cut the trees and broke the sod.

CAC: Yes.

PR: Grass was the enemy in the sense that it was a tough sod and it took a lot of horse or ox power to break it.

CAC: Oh, the energy.

PR: You couldn't live off of the proceeds of the technology that would convert grass to meat of that day; so, you broke the sod and got it into a grain crop. This is distorted the direction of our agricultural research ever since.

CAC: What we're hinting at is that Malin is an historian, a very idiosyncratic historian, saw that thirty or forty years early.

PR: He saw the importance of grasses. The earliest settlement took place in the guidance of people who understood grasses. I remember doing some work myself with the University of Kansas in the archives and suddenly realized that the earliest investors, who sent their agents out to buy land or to judge the quality of land on which they were being asked to write mortgages, paid particular attention to the quality of the grass. You know from your own historical research that a lot of the investment in the Great Plains came out of the east and especially out of New

York state; so, we had mortgage loan companies headquartered in Ithaca, New York, or in other parts of the east, setting up headquarters in the border regions along the Missouri River to loan money to speculators who were developing land as the railroads went west.

CAC: Both of my grandfathers came to the prairies of southern Minnesota in the 1870s, in part, for that reason. They weren't connected with large loan companies; but, they were in the business.

PR: Lawrence, Kansas, as the seat of the university, owed its principal economic rationale to the fact that it was the headquarter site for some of these mortgage lending companies.

CAC: Were you aware as an undergraduate of these connections? Someone there at Lawrence . . . you must have been picking it up?

PR: At the start of my college career, I was completely unaware of this; but, one of the strokes of good fortune was that I did learn something about it while I was still an undergraduate, while I still had a chance to pick up the threads of this from people who were still alive.

CAC: That puts you a whole decade ahead in your career right there.

PR: I was able to get a feel for some of this.

CAC: Did you study the technological side, agronomy, at Lawrence?

PR: No. My field was strictly the economics and the business side.

CAC: Those courses had been taught over at the Manhattan site?

PR: The technical courses in agriculture were all at the Manhattan site. You have to think back to the structure of universities that existed in the 1930s. It was typical and certainly true at the University of Kansas that the instruction in economics took place in the School of Business. Economics was a part of the business school.

CAC: Sure, as it was in Minnesota.

PR: Until quite recently. There were many good reasons why that was an attractive solution. When economics was separated from the business schools, as occurred toward the end of the 1930s and then especially after the second world war, I'm not sure that that represented progress.

CAC: I hadn't really intended this line at all; but, it is so unusual to find someone who has had this experience. I have the perception from the universities west of the Mississippi—I'm setting aside Texas—that Lawrence, Kansas, always had more of a commitment to the liberal arts and to research in a Land-Grant kind of way from 1910 to 1940, 1950 than the neighboring states,

Arkansas, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Montana, Colorado, the whole bunch. I have in mind the history department . . . they always had a magnificent history department. English . . . the same thing is true. You're kind of underlining that from your own point of view. Why on earth, do you suppose, Lawrence was that lucky or that wise?

PR: First, let me confirm your perception—you're right. It was not an accident. It reflected some sense of the direction and the self-perception on the part of their faculty. Basically, the explanation is that the city of Lawrence was settled by freemen who were financed by the Immigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts and who brought a few people with them directly out of the Harvard womb; and the tie between Lawrence and Harvard was there from the beginning and was always kept alive. For example—I took five years to get through a four-year course as an undergraduate—had I completed my four years at the time I should have completed them, I would have listened to a graduating address by the president of Harvard University. I expect that not many Great Plains universities had their graduating seniors addressed by the president of Harvard. That tie, in other words, was still rather well-developed. As a consequence, you're right about the prestige and the support given to the liberal arts at the University of Kansas. It was very strong. It was reflected in the attitudes of the people in the scientific fields who might, in some other universities, have been thought to have been the enemy of the liberal arts. That was not true. I'm thinking of geology and of some of the fields of technology where you had really good people in their technical discipline who still subscribed to the principle that the basis of a college education was a good degree in the liberal arts.

CAC: Part of the joy of doing these interviews is learning exciting new connections and that certainly is one of them. By the time you were a senior and graduated—you were a good student I would assume—you had made the decision at some time to get a professional, a graduate degree?

PR: [laughter] Yes, I suppose you can say that in retrospect; but, this process of making decisions involves, perhaps, more volition than was present at the time. Specifically what happened was that I was fascinated with the mode of instruction of John Eise. Just as a footnote . . . John Eise himself was a graduate of Harvard and had been one of the main links between the University of Kansas and Harvard in his person and also in some of the people that he sent away for further training. Eise got me interested in the policies with respect to the disposition of the public lands. He had written books on U.S. forest policy and U.S. oil and petroleum policy and was at work on the research for a book on U.S. park policy, which was published after the war. I did the library work going through the Library of Congress records of the materials assembled in connection with congressional acts to create the national parks. That got me interested in land policy. Then, when I had completed my undergraduate degree and had to think about what I wanted to do next, one of the possibilities was going on to graduate school—although, that was not a commitment by any means. John Eise persuaded me to submit applications for research assistantships at several universities and one of them was to the University of Wisconsin, which was accepted. As a consequence, a decision to go on to graduate

school was hardly a decision. It was the consequence of having no other option that looked very interesting at all.

CAC: You could have farmed with your brother?

PR: I could have easily have gone home. In fact, there was some real reason to do so.

CAC: The farm was big enough for two brothers and a father at that time?

PR: It was a little more directly personal than that. I had been able to finish college because my sister, who was two years behind me, had dropped out of high school. I was out of high school three years saving up money for these thirty-two pigs and two steers; and then she dropped out of high school for three years; and worked on the farm, and produced turkeys, which I sold in Kansas City, Missouri. We had a little custom turkey business. I remember selling turkeys to the Hotel Muehlebach and to the Kansas City Club for their Sunday night buffets. We would dress the turkeys on the farm, and put them in barrels ice, and ship them on the Santa Fe Railroad, which at that time made it possible to conduct an overnight delivery and have the turkeys in the Kansas City Club on Saturday morning ready for preparation for their Sunday night [unclear] buffet. That's how I got financed through my junior and senior year. Then, it would have been quite appropriate for me to go home and work on the farm so my sister could come back to college and finish. In fact, she and her husband, and my brother, and I did live together in Lawrence in my senior year in a house we rented and more or less had a little family co-operative. All of us were registered in the University of Kansas. All of us are graduates of the University of Kansas.

CAC: The only family story I remember to match that is so far away. It's of Theofanis Stavrou and his brothers in Cypress who went into Nicosia off the farm and set up a little co-op there.

PR: Remember, we were very poor.

CAC: I understand that.

PR: We were broke. This was a sort of a communal pooling of effort.

CAC: It's a family strategy for survival.

PR: I remember that—postal rates being what they were at the time—we could send our laundry home to mother by post in a fiber board box, and she did the laundry at the farm, and sent it back. She would cook up foods, and pack them, and send them to us so my sister didn't have to do the cooking for club. That way, we got through college. Maybe one more piece of information is important in this connection.

CAC: Please.

PR: I kept careful records of the expenses of going to college. I went from 1934 to 1939. I took longer than four years; so, for five complete years of two semesters each, my total expenses were about \$2400.

CAC: Tuition, board and room?

PR: Books and everything. Total. That included whatever movies I could afford to attend. That meant saving money; but, it didn't mean real poverty. It meant that I didn't live in any dorm. I had to rent a room in a private home from an old couple who would rent me a room for seven dollars a month. I took my meals at a time when you could get a decent meal for twenty five cents and the supper with dessert . . .

[End of Tape 1, Side 1]

[Tape 1, Side 2]

PR: . . . was thirty-five cents. It was quite possible to live on less than a dollar a day for meals. Twenty-four hundred dollars saw me through five years of college.

CAC: I've interviewed a number of people who in the 1930s, your age, depended upon the NYA [National Youth Administration]. That was the thing that got them through.

PR: So did I.

CAC: Oh, you were with the NYA?

PR: Oh, absolutely. I had an NYA job for twenty-five cents an hour. That with the sale of these turkeys was the way I financed . . .

CAC: What did you do for the NYA? Was this as research assistant with Eise?

PR: Part of it was this work with John Eise. My first job with the NYA was in my junior year, I think, when I was in the accounting office making out the payroll. We had a delightful martinet who was secretary of the NYA for the University of Kansas and who was a fanatic for accuracy. This woman taught me the possibilities of fouled up accounts early in my life.

CAC: [laughter]

PR: I've always been grateful to her. She had pride in the fact that she had submitted monthly payrolls for the University of Kansas to the Topeka headquarters without error to the point that when the Topeka headquarters found what they thought was a mistake in one of her payrolls, they went back and checked their own payrolls rather than asking her to check hers.

CAC: That's good discipline.

PR: In that matrix, I learned accuracy in the management of figures.

CAC: Then, you went on to the University of Wisconsin right away in the fall of 1939?

PR: Yes.

CAC: You made application elsewhere. I'm just thinking of chance again. To go to Wisconsin at that time in your field was, again, serendipitous. That was just the right thing to do.

PR: Exactly. I had applied to Harvard at John Eise's urging. I applied to Cornell. I believe I also applied to Yale.

CAC: Cornell would have been good.

PR: I believe there were four or five universities. The only one that offered me anything was Wisconsin; so, I didn't have to make a choice.

CAC: There, you were in land economics, agricultural economics from the beginning?

PR: From the beginning, that's right. The assistantship was in the Department of Agricultural Economics. This was largely upon John Eise's advice. He said, "You're just what they need."

CAC: And vice versa, as it turned out. Did you get your degree before you went into the military service?

PR: No.

CAC: You were in the Navy.

[break in the interview]

PR: I had been offered a job in the summer of 1939 by Professor Giles who was head of the Kansas Legislative Research Council at Topeka, Kansas, an advisory agency for the state legislature, which was a very fortunate interlude for me because Giles had pioneered in the development of legislative research services . . . I believe Kansas had one of the first and, perhaps, *the* first in the United States. The subsequent evolution of the Library of Congress system of specialists to advise the congressional committees was influenced by the work that had been done at Kansas during the 1930s. Kansas had acquired some experience in how you organize research to serve legislative purposes and I had an opportunity to observe that in its very early formative years.

CAC: Wisconsin had done that in the following years.

PR: Wisconsin had done it; so, there was some tie in that having worked for the summer at Topeka, Kansas, for the Kansas Legislative Research Council and then going to Wisconsin in the fall as an incoming graduate student, I ran into people in Wisconsin who were doing the same thing I'd been doing in Topeka and this provided some additional linkage. I entered as a master's candidate in the fall of 1939. At that time, we were under considerable pressure to complete your master's and Ph.D. work and get out.

CAC: What a salutary system.

PR: There was no tolerance of people who drug on, and on, and on. We were made quite aware of the fact that we were going to be given this research assistantship support for two years if we were meritorious; that is, if our grades were maintained. That was it! So, you started right from the beginning to prepare for your master's and prelim activities.

CAC: A good incentive.

PR: As a result, I was prepared to take prelims in the fall of 1941 and did. I was fortunate in that several of my professors at Wisconsin urged that I apply for [unclear] fellowship assistantships in universities that would enable me to go into more detail in my research into land policy. One of the opportunities, of course, was to be around Washington where you could work with the archives or with the records of the Department of Agriculture. I applied several places—among them to the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.—for a research assistantship to enable me to continue a Ph.D. thesis topic in Public Land Management. You can see the thread that grew out of my earlier work with John Eise in the management of the national parks. I was fortunate enough to be awarded a fellowship at the Brookings Institution beginning in the fall of 1941 on the presumption that I would have completed my preliminary examination for the Ph.D.—which I did. There was just one fly in that ointment and that is that the exam for the Ph.D. prelims was completed in October. I reported to Brookings on my fellowship on November 1 and Pearl Harbor occurred on December 7; so, my thesis plan as a fellow at the Brookings Institution was almost immediately aborted. At that moment, it became necessary to rethink my plans for graduate education. It then was apparent that I had better try to salvage something out of my two years. I was not likely to salvage a Ph.D. degree out of it; so, I went back after Pearl Harbor and applied for permission to complete a master's degree, which was given. I submitted a master's thesis and was awarded a master's degree in the summer of 1942, after having finished the Ph.D. prelims, as a kind of insurance policy.

CAC: I understand. Then, you had to come back to Wisconsin after the war?

PR: After seven years, I came back and submitted a Ph.D. thesis. The sequence in which I did my degree work was a little bit mixed up.

CAC: The war was a sandwich there for many of us in that generation. Did you go directly into the United States Navy then, after your master of science . . . ?

PR: The effect of the Pearl Harbor on the Brookings fellows was traumatic because we were all in the same boat. I interrupt here to recall some rather interesting aspects of that immediate post Pearl Harbor period. Among the fellows at that time were Neil Chamberlain, who went on to work in labor economics at Columbia University and Paul Baran, who went on to become a Marxist economist at Stanford, one of the leading Marxists in the United States. It was a rather heady mixture that we had in the fellowship program in Brookings in 1941. I think we were the last group of fellows under that program. I don't think they selected anymore during the war years and I think they shifted away from the fellowship program completely in their post war reincarnation. Brookings Institution, in 1941, was a conservative institution and had been known best throughout the 1930s as the seat of criticism of the Democratic regime under Franklin Roosevelt. It's amusing to me today to see the Brookings Institution referred to as a hotbed of liberalism or as a retirement home for unemployed Democratic office holders, when in my youth and in my career, it was exactly the opposite.

CAC: When, do you suppose, did the conversion to Keynesianism took place in the Brookings Institution?

PR: It was gradual and it was took place after some of the major founding members died or passed on. I would personally identify it with the appointment of Edwin G. Norris as the first chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors.

CAC: He was out of the Brookings Institution?

PR: He was my advisor. For my brief career as a fellow at the Brookings Institution, my advisor was Edwin G. Norris.

CAC: A towering figure.

PR: I was finishing up my work on this hastily assembled master's thesis under his direction; although, the master's degree was going to be awarded at the University of Wisconsin. That was in the period when they were debating what kind of administrative device should be invented to permit the president's circle to have access to better economic advice. There were a number of people in the Brookings Institution—among them Norris—who felt that a new administrative organization was needed, which subsequently came in the form of the act, in the immediate post-war period that set up the Council of Economic Advisors, the Full Employment Act.

CAC: Then, like many of those young fellows, I'm sure, one went into the service and you had a commission in the Navy?

PR: Yes. It wasn't clear what we should do. I was registered as a selective service candidate in my home county in Kansas . . . Rush County, Kansas. My father was chairman of the draft board for Rush County, Kansas. He would have been very happy had his oldest son gone through the full registration and drafting process because he was in the position of having to tell other fathers and other sons that this was a duty and that they should do their duty. He never spoke to me about this; but, I knew that this was an important consideration and I debated seriously whether or not to apply for an officer's commission, which took me out . . .

CAC: Would by-pass him.

PR: . . . and by-passed this local Rush County, Kansas Selective Service Board. But, that's what I did.

CAC: It was a prudent decision.

PR: As I say, he never spoke to me about this before or after; but, I think it was some disappointment to him that I didn't go through the drafting procedure of which he was the local responsible official. So, I applied for a naval commission. That took sometime. In the meantime, I took a job with the War Production Board and had a very fortuitous four or six months of exposure to a world I didn't know anything about.

CAC: Statistics?

PR: And materials balance planning. In war time, it doesn't matter whether you have the money figures correct. You have to have the quantity figures correct. That lesson was taught me very quickly. I went to work for Morris Copeland, whose name means nothing to you. He was a well-known economist at the time and he had a few bright men working with him, among them Robert Nathan and some others; so, we had some stimulating contacts with people who were pulled out of the business and the academic community and given the task of determining how many pounds and tons of specific resources we had available and what we should do with them to prevent their disappearance. It was how to conserve strategic materials in wartime. Then, I was given some quick assignments. I remember most vividly an assignment that was given me to determine whether or not the contracts for the purchase of tanks by the military were excessive and overpriced. We had some fun with some pioneering techniques of making quick tests of contract overpricing. What we did was compute the weight of the tank. We assumed that the tank was principally steel and mechanical motor technology and that it was rather standardized. We assumed that it wasn't much different from a piece of farm equipment.

CAC: [laughter]

PR: We knew that you could buy farm equipment by the pound and it wouldn't be badly priced. In other words, a piece of farm equipment of 2,000 pounds should sell for twice as much as a piece that weighed 1,000; so, we ran the tanks over the scale and got the weights of the tanks

and then figured out the per pound weight and then set up a statistical range above and below that and then looked at all the contracts that were being reviewed and let for the manufacture of tanks to see if they fell outside this statistical boundary around the weight of a tank per pound. In that way, we gave the men who were looking at contracts in the legal offices a sort of a quick test for picking out the contracts that they should look at more carefully first.

CAC: We could use some of that kind of simplistic accounting right now in the Pentagon.

PR: That was the interlude between the Brookings fellowship and my final naval commission, which came through effective about August 15, 1942.

CAC: When you were in the Navy, did they draw on the experience you'd had?

PR: No way.

CAC: You just had miscellaneous naval assignments?

PR: In a broad sense, yes. In a technical sense, no. I was commissioned an ensign in the Naval Reserve after a period of one month intensive training at the Naval Reserve Training School at Noroton Heights in Connecticut. I remember the timing. This was August/September of 1942. We were told that we would be communications officers and were trained to handle emergency communication facilities set up in front lines. In the military, there are certain classes of people that get there first, sappers, engineers, rangers, and oddly enough, the people that protect historic monuments are all in the front wave. If there's some particular church building in this small town that you don't want them to use as a fire control headquarters, you've got to get your instructions in at the beginning or the game is all over. So, the people that were in charge of the monuments and fine arts divisions work in the Army were in the most exposed position. They usually went in with the first wave to try to save these monuments. Similarly, communications officers were, of course, essential and they were first wave types of trained people. We went through this training program in September of 1942 and were told that we were going to be on somebody's coastline or shore telling landing craft where to come in. That was the atmosphere in which we were taught to send Morse Code, and read blinker signals, and type, and run a jack-legged forward communications advice center for the Navy.

CAC: That's what you did then?

PR: That's what I was trained to do.

CAC: Then what happened?

PR: Most of my fellow students who were with me at Noroton Heights, Connecticut, wound up spending the rest of the war on the west coast and the north coast of Africa, having gone in with the first wave of the African Invasion Plan. I was pulled out and assigned instead to the

Potomac River Naval Command office, which was a euphemism for Washington, to run a training program, an educational program for merchant seamen. Now, in this sense . . . you asked me a moment ago if my training had been utilized as an agricultural economist, no, but in the sense that I was a product of an educational institution and knew something about how educational institutions were run, yes. As they put them through the card sort machine of that day, I must have come up with some exposure to the administration of an educational institution.

CAC: So, that was your assignment through the war?

PR: That was my assignment for the first three years.

CAC: How on earth did that get you into the land policy and the occupation of Germany, which I know is the next major . . .

PR: It did indirectly, yes. I was assigned to the office that was created de novo to run a series of training schools for merchant seamen scattered around the perimeter of the United States, from Boston around to Alameda, California. We had about eight or a dozen hastily constructed training centers: Hoffman Island and Sheepshead Bay in New York; St. Petersburg in Florida; Pass Christian in Mississippi; Port [unclear] in Alameda in California; and others. I was in the headquarters office that was administering the management of these training centers, a trade school management center. That required first that I be a naval officer because it was set up in the war shipping administration but with naval personnel administering the program. Then, there was some tension within this training program between those who were connected with the merchant shipping industry and the Navy, the military versus civilian. Specifically, the merchant seamen, who were paid merchant seamen's wages, were put on ships with naval gun crews to protect them and were paid Navy wages . . . and both subject to the same risk; so, you had people that were exposed, whose life was endangered . . . I remind you that in 1942, 1943, the exposure rate for merchant seamen was much more dangerous than the regular military. We lost far more people in the Merchant Marine than we lost in the military until the last months of the war. Consequently, there was a lot of tension between the administration of a civilian training program for merchant seamen and, say, the manager of a boot camp for the military. I was asked to transfer to inactive naval duty and accept a commission in the Maritime Service, which was the service created to manage the Merchant Seamen Training Program—which I did for about nine months.

CAC: How on earth did they ever discover you then for land policy in Germany? I can't imagine there were many Navy people in Germany with the occupation.

PR: A few. Over the winter of 1944, 1945, I was anxious to get some other exposure and get out of Washington. I applied for a transfer. In the meantime, a friend of mine recited some history to me that was not known widely then but has since become very well-known. The United States planned for the occupation of Germany by setting up a series of training schools around the country for military government purposes. I believe there were four of them. I think

Harvard, Wisconsin, Boulder in Colorado, and possibly the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. I believe these were the four centers for the training of people who would administer occupied territory. The focus here was on the restoration of public services of local civil government, of returning this defeated and militarily damaged area as near as possible to peacetime conditions.

CAC: Which ran against the Morgenthau Plan.

PR: There wasn't a Morgenthau Plan at that time. It was simply an extension of what had been learned, they thought, from previous military adventures; that is, the military might succeed and then the war is lost on the civilian front after the military success.

CAC: Maybe we shouldn't explore this on tape; but, in 1944, 1945, Morgenthau has a good deal of influence in the formation of policy which was more punitive than the kind of constructive policy you're talking about. There is some tension there, at least at the highest level.

PR: Yes, but remember that military government as it was conceived when these training centers were set up in 1942 was going to have to occupy France, Italy, maybe the Scandinavian countries. In other words, it wasn't just defeated Germany that military government was supposed to handle.

CAC: Right.

PR: This is the key point; it was local or provincial in focus. Over the winter of 1944, 1945, it suddenly became apparent in Washington that no one had planned for the kind of military government occupation duties that would be necessary if there was a total collapse of central government. So, they had this entire structure with no top command. As a consequence, in a crash program fashion, they began to put together a core of people that could be counterpart, a military occupation staff, to a recreated central government following the total collapse of the central authorities. In other words, they always contemplated that they would be accepting the surrender from somebody who was still in command. It didn't dawn on them that the way the war was going there would be no one to surrender. Consequently, there was no one that would be able to deliver on any promises.

CAC: So, this was a kind of crash program and you got into it because of the Kansas and Wisconsin background on land policy?

PR: Exactly. I applied for duty with the military government unit that was slated to go directly into Berlin.

CAC: Did you have German language at that point?

PR: I'd had a year and a half of college German. It was a foundation but not an operational language. It proved very valuable later because I could build on that grammar. I'm very grateful to the University of Kansas and Professor Thurnell—I still remember him—who taught me German grammar in 1934. I didn't use it for another ten years; but, it was very useful when I did draw upon it.

CAC: That was a long commitment. You were there four years?

PR: I was with the military government in Germany for four years, right. I went in with the second airlift that went to Berlin following the agreement at the Potsdam Conference that the administration of Berlin would be shared among the four powers. We flew in to Tempelhof Airport while they were still clearing the damage and burned out planes off the field. I have some vivid memories from this period. One of the most vivid is that we were assigned a billet right away and there were unburied bodies out in the parking in front of the billet to which I was assigned. To get to my billet, I had to step over unburied bodies.

CAC: How large a staff in land policy was there?

PR: It was small. There were only two or three of us. David Wikens and I were the principal land officers. I was the chief land officer attached to the military office in Berlin, which became General [Lucius] Clay's headquarters. It wasn't at the time I was assigned to it. Then, there were lender offices in Munich for Bavaria and in Stuttgart for Würtemberg.

CAC: You stuck with that job until the job was done or did that kind of work go on after you came back in 1949?

PR: I mentioned I went in with the second airlift of military personnel that were sent to Berlin and I came out in the same week that General Clay came out following the conclusion of the airlift and the siege of Berlin. In other words, I saw the thing from not quite the first blush of the beginning to the very end of the airlift.

CAC: I'm sure that's another whole tape; but, I think we'll reserve it for another time.

PR: There's a lot there, Clarke. I have felt some sense of guilt in that . . .

CAC: You should just put it down.

PR: . . . I haven't written that up because I do have some rather unique materials.

CAC: You really should do that.

PR: Nobody else has them.

CAC: You have one essay on James Malin and then you have another essay now on land policy of occupation.

PR: [laughter] You're very good at giving assignments. You're quite right to stress the importance of preserving some of that historical record. I have pack rat tendencies and pick stuff out of waste baskets that other people throw away.

CAC: What are you going to do with all of those materials?

PR: I still have quite a bit of it here.

CAC: I'm sure you do. Will you deposit it somewhere?

PR: I have thought I should turn them over to the university archives, at the very least; but, I have some stuff that probably . . . maybe should go elsewhere. I don't know.

CAC: Let's talk about that later on.

PR: When they pulled apart the government offices in Berlin, it was a typical crash pull-apart and a lot of stuff was thrown away.

CAC: I'll bet you have materials that are not available anywhere else.

PR: I think so.

CAC: I'm sure you know that there's an archival principal that a person's career should be kept together; so, that if you use the university archives, the German materials probably should be there and then they exchange information so people would know that it was here. I should put you in touch with David Klaassen.

PR: Clarke, we may not have a chance to talk with . . .

[End of Tape 1, Side]

[Tape 2, Side 1]

PR: One of the most challenging jobs I had in military government in Germany was to draft legislation that could be issued by military decree setting aside some of the more obnoxious features of Nazi legislation as it affected land. Perhaps *the* most obnoxious feature of Nazi legislation was the legislation affecting land, saying that you had to be Aryan . . . you couldn't have a Jewish grandmother and be a proper German landowner, and setting up a lot of other

criteria for the transfer of lands from father to son, the so-called Erbhof law or hereditary farm law aimed at the goal of retaining ownership of German lands in—quote—Aryan—unquote—hands.

CAC: Has this story been told elsewhere?

PR: No.

CAC: I don't think we should catch it here . . . maybe at another time or someone who knows the story should converse with you and get it on tape. I know nothing about it. I think that would be a good thing to reserve and very important . . .

PR: A lawyer from Yale University who was himself Jewish who happened to be in the military [unclear] general's office and I sat down and drafted the law that repealed the Nazi hereditary farm law and with it the sections of the Nuremberg laws that affected the ownership of land by people of Jewish decent. That history, I think, has been submerged under other more dramatic aspects of the post-war occupation.

CAC: What would really be useful would be for someone like Kim Munholland to converse with you about this. He would bring to it an information that I would not. It might be a very nice thing to preserve and then from that you could work your own story.

PR: One interesting aspect is that I've been back to Germany a number of times since and, as far as I can judge, that aspect of the restructuring of the legal system of Germany done under military government auspices and by a direct decree from the military government has remained intact. In other words, here was an aspect of law enforced and forced upon a defeated enemy that was retained and incorporated into the subsequent legal structure of the emerging German state as it was reformed after the war.

CAC: There must be many examples of that in Germany and Japan.

PR: In terms of the way legal systems are influenced by military conquest, this should have an interesting chapter in that history and somebody ought to do it.

CAC: All right . . . you've got your second assignment. I do want to bring us closer to home, however. Now, I'm recalling that in 1949 this assignment is completed and you then return to Wisconsin to finish up loose ends but also with an appointment of some sort so you could do that? You've been a long time from graduate work by then.

PR: Physically . . . but I had always in the back of my mind that I did want to complete the degree; so, all the time I was in Germany, I was casting around for some topic that would be a potential thesis topic. Then, after the Berlin airlift was in full swing in the fall of 1944 and it became apparent that there was going to be a resolution of this crisis in one form or another, it was pretty clear that that phase of my post-war experience was coming to an end; so, I'd better

be making some other plans. Among those other plans . . . I was offered a job in the Department of Agriculture as a research associate stationed at the University of Wisconsin. They had such people around the country at different universities. V. Webster Johnson, who was at that time the principal officer in Division of Land Economics in the Department of Agriculture in Washington, knew that I was working in this field and there were people at the University of Wisconsin, specifically Leonard Salter who knew me and knew my work; so, between, Leonard Salter of Wisconsin, and George Wehrwein of Wisconsin—who in the meantime died before the end of the war—and V. Webster Johnson in the Department of Agriculture, they worked up a joint appointment offer to me to come back from Germany and be a co-operative agent of the Department of Agriculture stationed at Madison, Wisconsin, which I did in May of 1949. They, then, were gracious enough to give me two months to finish up a Ph.D. thesis; so, I spent the summer of 1949 frantically writing a Ph.D. thesis, which was submitted in August and a degree was awarded, finally, eight years after I had taken my prelims.

CAC: So, you were there for four or five years then?

PR: I was at Wisconsin for four years.

CAC: But not teaching?

PR: I did some teaching, yes.

CAC: But, it was not a regular academic instructional position?

PR: It was not a tenure appointment, no. I was asked to teach a seminar in agricultural development with Kenneth Parsons, who was a faculty member in the Agricultural Economics Department at that time.

CAC: You put yourself on the market or, perhaps, you knew about a position here at Minnesota and came in the fall of 1953?

PR: As a matter of fact, I didn't know about it. The offer from Minnesota was out of the blue.

CAC: They knew of you?

PR: It was not something I had applied for and under the circumstances, it wasn't even a vacancy I could have known existed because, in the way in which affairs were managed in those days, the department head played his cards very close to his chest. I subsequently learned that he had made me the offer without even consulting with his faculty.

CAC: Who was the head then?

PR: O.B. Jesness.

CAC: Oh, my.

PR: Professor O.B. Jesness.

CAC: I came to Minnesota two years earlier under the same circumstances. The old boy network had some value for some people.

PR: I can see the potential for abuse and I probably am not the person to make an objective evaluation having been a beneficiary of the system.

CAC: Right. [laughter]

PR: At the same time, I'm not sure that worse decisions were made then. He had talked with some of his senior staff about making me this offer. I know certainly that the kind of offer he made was on the spur of the moment.

CAC: I think it was more often, perhaps, done on the St. Paul campus that way than on the Minneapolis campus in the 1950s. Things were beginning to shift toward procedures.

PR: Maybe we should be a little more specific about this so it's not so mealy-mouthed.

CAC: All right.

PR: O.B. Jesness called me up on the phone and said, "Would you be interested in this job? If so, I'm coming through Madison, Wisconsin, next week and would like to talk to about it." I said—I was rather astounded—"Yes, I am interested." So, he came down, I remember, on the Milwaukee road and I had to drive up to Columbus, Wisconsin, to get him from the station since that route doesn't go through Madison, and brought him back to our house on a Sunday morning. He had Sunday lunch with my wife and with me and made me the offer on the way to the railway station as I took him down to Madison to catch the little train that went on into Chicago that night. He offered me a full professorship. I hadn't even had tenure at Wisconsin nor certainly an associate professorship status. In fact, I was a kind of a jack-legged assistant professor; I wasn't even a fully fledged assistant professor.

CAC: So, you came as a full professor then?

PR: I came to the University of Minnesota as a full professor. This was an enormous advantage . . .

CAC: Oh, I should say.

PR: . . . because it meant that from the beginning I could concentrate on my class development and my teaching and didn't have to worry about qualifying for a tenure appointment. I was no spring chicken.

CAC: But, of course, you'd had ten years of experience.

PR: The first class I ever taught that was completely my class, that was not shared jointly with some other professor, began at the University of Minnesota in January 1954 on my fortieth birthday; so, the first course I ever taught was on my fortieth birthday. While it was an initial appointment that involved a certain amount of leapfrogging in the hierarchy, in the academic chain, ladder, I had had a lot of experience and was about at the stage in my age and career that I might have expected an offer of that kind.

CAC: You came into a very distinguished Department of Agricultural Economics, with a tradition here . . . perhaps, not as strong as Wisconsin but certainly a very strong department.

PR: Yes. Measuring departmental strength is hazardous because they do different things.

CAC: Right.

PR: It was a different department and had been identified over the years with a financial and policy orientation, especially credit policy. Minnesota had trained a number of people that went into the agricultural credit system. A disproportionate number of people in the Federal Land Banks, and in the Production Credit Associations, and in, what came later to be, the Farm Credit Administration had training at Minnesota.

CAC: But certainly they had always taught land economics and land use, which is a field you would develop here?

PR: Land use, yes. Land economics . . . that always bothered O.B. Jesness and some of the people at Minnesota, I think, because it had a slightly disreputable air. It was a little bit suspect. It wasn't quite clear that you weren't really a revolutionary in disguise; whereas, land use is [unclear]. It doesn't connote quite the proclivity toward revolution that land economics did to these people. As a consequence, Jesness himself was very much aware of the land policy issue and wrote about it, as you know. Several of the best treatises on land problems in Minnesota were written by or under the direction of O.B. Jesness; so, he was very much aware of this problem.

CAC: Your department, even in the 1950s and then for the next thirty years—I'm making a statement but really it is a question—is a large department but . . .

PR: It wasn't then.

CAC: It grows in the 1960s?

PR: It grew substantially, yes.

CAC: Do I see . . . not a division . . . I don't mean any opposition; but, there is a separation of duties by applied and the more academic or the more theoretical or is that not an accurate perception on my part? It is the Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics.

PR: Yes. That name change, which was introduced in the latter half of the 1960s, was more cosmetic than functional. In other words, it had always been a very applied kind of economics that was taught and manifested in the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Minnesota. The applied aspect was not more prominent after the name change than it was before.

CAC: The applied, in a sense, dominated the department's mission?

PR: Yes, you can say that.

CAC: This wouldn't be true of other departments and that's why I'm trying to . . .

PR: Are you contrasting this with other departments of economics at other universities?

CAC: No, no, no. I was thinking of other departments within the University of Minnesota.

PR: Then, the applied aspect would be very much more prominent and always had been; but, among agricultural economics departments, the University of Minnesota had always been known for having a department that was rather closely attached and involved in the development of economic theory, as well as the applied aspects of economic theory, and had always had access to good economic theory training in the Economics Department of the Minneapolis campus. This proximity to good theory in the Econ Department had been an element of strength in the preparation of students in the Agricultural Economics Department—and still is.

CAC: This is an important thing to clarify.

PR: That thread is longstanding at Minnesota. It goes back into the 1920s, at least, and probably earlier.

CAC: Are there particular persons, 1950 to 1980, in your department, Agricultural Economics, who provide that liaison to the Economics Department? I know you are one in the Minneapolis campus.

PR: Clarke, I have the feeling that this is deteriorating.

CAC: I'm thinking of 1950 to 1980.

PR: I don't think it's as strong now as it was then. I must watch my judgment here because I may be guilty of some kind of distance decay function that leads me to forget the less attractive features of the last thirty years.

CAC: Who would the persons have been in liaison from the two sides while you were here?

PR: Let's start with the head. For example, a small item but a revealing one . . . I told you awhile ago that O.B. Jesness made me an offer more or less over the dinner table of a full professor. I wasn't sure what I was surrendering at Wisconsin since they had never had an opportunity or felt an necessity to make a counter offer or to tell me what was in store for me; so, I felt I should not accept right away. I should find out what the options were. I asked that I be given a chance to talk with the people at Wisconsin and also that I be given an opportunity to come up to Minnesota and interview the staff here. What was I getting into? I did. Marion and I drove up to Minnesota in April 1953. The first thing that O.B. Jesness did was took me to lunch at the Campus Club, which I thought was extremely significant. In my case, it was important because I didn't want to join a department that thought of itself as an enclave removed from and divorced from the mainstream of the general campus of the university. At Wisconsin, I had had a strong introduction to such a department; the Agricultural Economics Department was a part of the university, of the same campus. At Minnesota, I would be joining a university in which the Agricultural Economics Department was three miles distant from the main campus.

CAC: And still thought of as the farm school by many.

PR: And intellectually and administratively more divorced than was the case at Wisconsin.

CAC: Divorced by perception as well as by administrative fact.

PR: I didn't know that at the time. I thought it significant that my first introduction to the University of Minnesota was by a department head on the St. Paul campus that insisted we go to lunch on the Minneapolis campus. In that sense, O.B. Jesness continued this determination to maintain strong ties with the Economics Department. We had staff meetings in common, not formal ones but informal. We would have luncheons occasionally in which staff from the Econ and Ag Econ Departments would join at the Campus Club. For a time in the 1950s and 1960s, we had regular once a month luncheons at which no attendance roll was taken but junior faculty members got the idea that it was a good idea to go to these luncheons.

CAC: Good socialization.

PR: It was leadership by precept.

CAC: Would the persons who would be thought of as more down the applied line be part of this coalition or this joining together?

PR: They were . . . not uniformly. Some of the people, for example, that were in Production Economics, which is explicitly an applied field, were prominent among those that would show up as these luncheons and themselves had very good training. George Pond, who was head of Production Economics, was a widely read and very well-trained man, not in any sense a narrow nuts and bolts, meat and potatoes type of economist. Several others in the department who were prominent at that time were wide-ranging people whose interests went far beyond the field of agriculture, much less the field of agricultural economics.

CAC: The sense of partnership was strong from the Economics, Minneapolis, side as well?

PR: It was.

CAC: Represented by what persons?

PR: Walter Heller. Oz Brownlee. As an interesting little footnote . . . the first two years I was here, Andreas Papandreou from Greece was also on the faculty. He and I had tenures that coincided. In other words, we were here at the same time as newcomers. He was older than I was; but, he was new to the Minnesota faculty. We got drawn into some of the welcome activities of a new faculty member. He was interested in agriculture.

CAC: There's a third retirement thing for you, Phil. You could [unclear].

PR: Walter Heller was very important in this respect because Walter Heller had been principally responsible for suggesting my name to O.B. Jesness.

CAC: And perhaps, because of his Wisconsin connections?

PR: Not so much that as the fact that I had been instrumental in getting him to Germany to work on the currency reform in occupied Germany.

CAC: Very good.

PR: We never really got as well-acquainted in Wisconsin as we got in occupied Germany.

CAC: We're kind of jumping now; but, this is very interesting for the university history. You have these connections with the Minneapolis campus; but, you also had access, which they would not, to the Agricultural Experiment Station, which must have been a source of research funds for persons like yourself?

PR: Exactly.

CAC: I know that you know that so well and people in your department do; but, persons from the outside are [unclear]. Tell me a bit about that. How does that work?

PR: You're quite right to emphasize this, Clarke, because it doesn't appear on the surface and in the sense that we teach in different universities on the Minneapolis and St. Paul campuses, this is the dimension of difference that is most significant. Let's start on the formal side. When I came here and down to my retirement this year, I think not more than 30 percent of my salary was ever justified by teaching. The proportions have two dimensions. One is a formal dimension in the budget and the other would be a functional dimension in how actually I used my time. It's always been true that the bulk of my activities and the justification for the bulk of my salary was supposed to be research; so, the research focus has been foremost—had to be foremost—in my mind and in the minds of my administrators. Most of the support for that research activity came from the Agricultural Experiment Station. That's not uniformly true. In the case of some others, there are outside grants. There are other sources of funding. There are non-federal, governmental contracts of some kind or other or there are private foundation awards. These have increased in significance in recent years; but, in the 1950s, there were very few of those. Practically speaking, all of the research in the agricultural institutions was financed out of research funds made available through the Agricultural Experiment Station.

CAC: And part of the regular expectation and salary so that unlike so many other parts of the university, you did not have constantly to make application to different foundations, public or private?

PR: That's right. This was non-sunset law funds. In other words, they didn't expire automatically each year and have to be renewed.

CAC: You did have to justify the research you did but . . . ?

PR: I'd like to get more specific. This is an important issue in educational policy today, Clarke. I see my colleagues today spending far too much time dreaming up and devising grant applications and research applications, some of which are destined to be disapproved; so, it becomes investment activity. It's very hard to arouse and sustain enthusiasm for this kind of research promotion when you don't get the contract.

CAC: It also invites scholars to whittle and set up programs that they think will receive this kind of external funding.

PR: That's right.

CAC: It distorts in some way.

PR: It dictates the conceptualization of problems. You see problems not in terms of their importance for some affected body or population but in terms of their attractiveness for grant

money; so, you screen automatically. Instinctively, you screen out certain kinds of problems because they're not likely to attract the grant money and you over emphasize others because they are. That type of activity in the Agricultural Experiment Station, until quite recently, was fortunately held to a minimum because your research project statement was, usually, at least for five years. Some of them had been continued for several multiples of five years and you knew that this was likely to be the case. Only—in Maynard Hutchins classy phrase—"rape at high noon on the corner of Main and Broadway in the presence of three unrelated witnesses" would cause you to lose this research grant. Therefore, you could make long-range plans. Now, that had several consequences. One of them was that the research grants could become the basis for sinecures or could degenerate into foundation financing which, because it was known to be available, would be neglected leading those research workers, who had an Experiment Station grant, to neglect the Experiment Station research and go concentrate on the research that would have gotten them some more money in a competitive grant situation. I see that going on now. If you have a certain amount of money for sure, it's certain or nearly so, and other possible income that is questionable and must be fought for, you neglect the certain and concentrate on the competitive grant. That's going on right now.

CAC: Let me interpose just a moment. This is salary support but it's also other kinds of research support . . . travel, research assistance?

PR: Research assistance, yes . . . almost at the lowest common denominator. In other words, as I sense some of the research problems faced by my colleagues on the Minneapolis campus, one of the most important aspects of research assistance that is available to us in the Agricultural Experiment Station is some typing help and some minimum level of computing assistance, not fancy, high level computer access, and the existence of some funds to buy yourself a small calculator to use in your office so you don't have to run out somewhere to do it, and better reproduction equipment, and the opportunity to write for dissemination in a departmental publication, a newsletter, a staff paper for distribution, some money to reproduce staff papers.

CAC: Was travel a part of this, too?

PR: No.

CAC: Where did your travel funds come from then?

PR: I may have jumped too quickly in saying, "No." The travel to meetings in the United States is sometimes paid by the Agricultural Experiment Station, right. Of course, you may be going around the state, inside Minnesota, on state funds for some travel. Most of the travel I have done has been financed outside the state of Minnesota and virtually all of the foreign travel. That's not quite true. I made one European study tour that was financed—at least administered through—the University of Minnesota; but, the money came from outside the university and on the strength of a grant request that I and others had made. The use of Experiment Station money to travel outside the United States is very rare and difficult, not common.

CAC: So, you and your colleagues have to make special application to foundations, at least for that amount?

PR: Yes.

CAC: You've done a great deal of this and I want to pick that up a bit later, perhaps.

PR: The travel aspect has to be mentioned in another dimension. The fact that you were doing some of this research then is the basis for getting people together like you from other universities in some regional committees to discuss what you're doing, to coordinate, to try to reduce duplication. In that sense, there's been quite a bit of travel within the United States and to regional meetings. Throughout my four years at Wisconsin, 1949 to 1953, and my thirty-one years here, 1953 to 1984, I have done repeated travel representing the university at regional conferences. Now, that has been paid through the Experiment Station, yes. Usually, it's federal money but also a substantial amount of state money. In that sense, the opportunity to travel has been an important aspect of the job. That varies and it's largely what the individual makes of it. I'm thinking of people . . .

[End of Tape 2, Side 1]

[Tape 2, Side 2]

PR: . . . that have not been interested in regional research, that have not been interested in getting together with their colleagues from other universities and comparing notes, have stuck to their last, and have stayed at home tending the store, and have done very little travel. The incidence of travel among colleagues in our department would range over a very wide range.

CAC: There's a good deal of elbow room in how these funds are used within your department?

PR: It's influenced very heavily by the personal interest of the individual.

CAC: These things being the case, the instructional expectation of persons like yourself then was . . . you said one-third of the money was presumed for instruction but actually did more or less from year to year?

PR: That's a point that I'm glad you raised, Clarke, because it's one I would like especially to get into this record.

CAC: Very good. This is an invitation.

PR: Among the colleagues that I associated with from the Minneapolis campus, I get the impression from my Minneapolis colleagues and from the statements made about them by the

administrators that the teaching is subsidizing the research. Administrators say so. Colleagues confirm it.

CAC: Oh, I think so.

PR: I don't think there's much doubt it. In my job, in my position, and as I've seen my colleagues in the Department of Agricultural Economics, it's exactly the other way around, very sharply the other way around, not a little bit. In other words, the research has heavily subsidized the teaching, in that there is no way you could measure the allocation of my time in the last thirty-one years that would have confined 30 percent of that time to teaching. It's been more like double that, in the 50 to 60 percent range at least. Now, in teaching, I'm including advising graduate students working on theses . . .

CAC: Oh, sure.

PR: . . . and sitting on graduate committees, and doing work of that kind associated with the degree granting activity.

CAC: This would change as people become more senior or more appealing to students who would work with them?

PR: It may be a very low percentage for junior faculty coming in. In my case, it's been high pretty much from the beginning.

CAC: This means then that with persons like yourself that normally in a given year you would teach primarily graduate seminars and occasional undergraduate . . . ?

PR: [laughter] As we all do at retirement, you think back over your career. What did I do right, and what did I do wrong, and what might I have done differently, and what did I learn from all of this? One of the aspects that has fascinated me is that I ended my career last spring quarter teaching exactly the same courses I was hired to teach in 1953. There had been no change in thirty-one years in the formal designation of what my teaching responsibilities were. Now, what I taught under the heading of those courses has changed unrecognizably. The degree of continuity is pretty high.

CAC: What was the continuity from year to year then? What normally did you teach, knowing that the content and substance was different from year to year?

PR: It was made clear to me when I came here that I would have to teach a course in livestock marketing. That was a requirement of the job because the man . . . Austin A. Dowell held the job I was appointed to fill and was moved to administrative responsibilities in the College of Agriculture, where he became the associate dean for instruction on the St. Paul campus. That took him out of the teaching faculty. He had taught a course in livestock marketing; so, I was

told I came here as a [unclear] economist but I would also have to teach this livestock marketing course because that's what had to be taught. That's what the man who was doing this job before me taught and that was the responsibility that I accepted.

CAC: One hopes they counted turkeys as livestock.

PR: I grew up on a cattle ranch and a wheat farm; so, we had been in the cattle marketing business. My earliest memories are of going with my father to Kansas City on a freight train full of cattle on cattle cars in the 1920s. I had a good functional basis but no formal base for teaching livestock marketing. I had never had a course in marketing much less livestock marketing in my life and started right out teaching one. That went on for four years. I was also given to understand I should teach a course in land economics, which had been taught here for many years. Then, I was given, what was made clear to me was, a hunting license or a sort of free-fire zone in the land economic seminar area where I could do what I wanted to do or what I chose to do. It was made clear the first day I was here that this was not a seminar I should feel compelled to offer every year. It had not been offered every year in the past; but, it was in the books. I began offering a class in land economics in the winter quarter, and a course in world agriculture in the spring quarter, which was also on the books, and a seminar—graduate students only—in land economics and tenure. In the early part of my years at Minnesota, I think we taught it in the winter quarter, and once or twice in the spring quarter, and finally, we settled down on the fall quarter. For about the last fifteen or twenty years, I've taught a fall quarter seminar in land economics and tenure, a winter quarter course in land economics, and a spring quarter course in world agriculture.

CAC: The latter two were open to advanced undergraduates as well as . . . ?

PR: They're 5000 series classes. It was junior, seniors, and [unclear].

CAC: Did you have a lot of undergraduates?

PR: The majority consistently were graduates; but, there was a substantial number of undergraduates.

CAC: And drawn from colleges and departments other than your own?

PR: All across the board.

CAC: This would be true over thirty years that the course attracted persons from Economics, or from Public Affairs, or whatever?

PR: It was not true in the early years. I went back and looked at the record on this just to refresh my memory. My first years, the student body was almost entirely from the College of Agriculture and, principally, the Department of Agricultural Economics majors. These two

courses, the 5000 series courses, in land economics and world agriculture, were all subject matter that goes far beyond the field of agricultural economics, narrowly defined. You can't teach land economics without getting into urban problems and suburban problems. In the very early years, I took the lead in organizing a research project here, subsequently with John Borchert's help in the Geography Department, on the impact of highways on land use in Minnesota. That's about as pervasive a thing as you can choose to study because highways touch every aspect of the economy.

CAC: When you start doing that, then the students came from a broader [unclear]?

PR: Then we began to draw a wider range of students. I had always been interested in the anthropological and sociological aspects of the field. I mentioned earlier in this interview that my introductory course in anthropology was taught by Loren Eisely, who was a superb teacher, who left me with an interest in that field that I have never lost; so, I always wanted to bring in some of these aspects to the classroom and I guess word gets around. For the last two-thirds of my thirty-one years here, the courses in world agriculture and in land economics have always had a very high proportion of graduate students from outside of the College of Agriculture.

CAC: Is there a changing proportion who are students from abroad?

PR: Yes.

CAC: Comment about that. I know that there have been many foreign students, students from abroad, studying in your department.

PR: This has been influenced by countries with whom we had contractual obligations. For example, in the 1950s and early 1960s, you will remember, we had a large contingent of Korean students under an early U.S. aid type contract between the University of Minnesota and, what is now, U.S. AID, to build up an institutional strength in Korean educational institutions. Going back in my class records, I can see a good many Korean names in the 1950s and 1960s. This has not disappeared but has declined.

CAC: They're probably back in Korea teaching those classes there and developing their own programs.

PR: They are.

CAC: That would have been the point of doing it.

PR: We keep in touch with several of them by correspondence at Christmas time each year and that's what they're doing. We had a number of Egyptian students early in the period; but, the consequences of Nasser's revolution and the gradual withdrawal of Egyptian government support

for foreign study has eliminated Egyptians . . . no Egyptians in my classes in recent years. I used to have some Ethiopians. There have been no Ethiopians in recent years.

CAC: Understandably.

PR: I was the advisor for a Libyan student. I haven't had any Libyans lately. We had a steady stream of Iranian students, many . . . no Iranian students, of course, in the last five or six years.

CAC: Latin America?

PR: Up and down. Latin American was more prominent in some sense in the 1950s and the 1960s than it became later. When I first came here, I had several Latin American students, yes. We continue to have Latin American students in Minnesota; but, I think it's true to say that they don't study land tenure problems. I suspect very strongly that the reason is that when they go back home, anyone that went abroad to study land tenure problems is suspect because in their countries, the proponents of any land tenure reform are the extreme left, usually.

CAC: There's a certain irony there because the need for land reform is most acute in these areas [unclear].

PR: Exactly. It's the most disastrously neglected area in most Latin American countries; yet, their students who come here do not study it. They almost consciously avoid it because if they go back home, that's not something they want to be known for.

CAC: Could you comment on the education that always takes place sideways, horizontally. I should think the presence of these students from abroad would have had an impact upon our own Minnesota, American, students.

PR: It certainly does. That impact has both a positive and a negative side.

CAC: My question was assuming that it would be primarily positive; so, that's interesting. Go ahead.

PR: It is positive and very positive; but, without wanting to distort the balance here, let me point out that I chaired our departmental grievance committee for three years and the only cases of grievance that I had in the three years that I was chairman of that committee involved complaints by American students that they were being discriminated against in favor of foreign students in the grading structure and that they had been given grades that they thought were too low or vice versa . . . the foreign students had been given grades they thought were too high. Some of the domestic students think that foreign students get favored treatment.

CAC: In the 1950s and 1960s—I was here then though not in your college—the cynics had a grade that was known as the Chinese *B* . . .

PR: Right.

CAC: . . . meaning that it was probably a *C* but because they were from Taiwan or from wherever, they were entitled to a *B* instead of a *C* because they would be washed out. That's really the phenomenon you're mentioning here, which may be more perceptual than objective . . . I don't know.

PR: That could be. Maybe it's important to get on the record that the complaints were not at the threshold level of the grading structure but at the top level.

CAC: It was the Chinese *A* that they worried about. [laughter]

PR: That's right. It was not those that just barely made it over the threshold. It was those that they felt were at the top of the student body or got the highest grade in the class. Some of the domestic, U.S., students complained that that wasn't fair.

CAC: Was there much intermingling between the . . .

PR: A lot, yes.

CAC: So that actually there was a learning at that graduate student level?

PR: Yes. I emphasize . . . I don't want to distort this grievance issue . . .

CAC: Sure, sure.

PR: . . . by leading you to think that that was the norm—it was not. The norm was a very welcome acceptance of the foreign students involving incorporation into the social life and even the home life of the fellow students.

CAC: Did many of them pick up brides here?

PR: Yes . . . and husbands.

CAC: More brides than husbands, I'm assuming? The students who came from abroad in Ag Econ were more likely to be male.

PR: True; although, we had some females from abroad when we weren't getting any females from at home.

CAC: I see. From particular countries, would this have been the case or across the board?

PR: We had women students from India, what later became Pakistan, Iran . . .

CAC: Women from Iran?

PR: Yes. I'm looking at the list of my advisees from foreign countries who were women and these came from Bolivia, Greece, Germany, Togo . . .

CAC: Mr. Raup is referring to a list that he's written out for preparation or are these old records you kept?

PR: No, no. When you threatened me with this interview . . .

CAC: [laughter] You began doing your homework?

PR: . . . I sat down and tried to recall the names of students I had had . . .

CAC: Good for you.

PR: . . . as advisees, who came from foreign countries. There have been a number of them. Some were women . . . that's the point I'm trying to make.

CAC: I understand.

PR: It was, perhaps, more common in our department, in Ag Economics, to have women graduate student candidates from foreign countries than from the U.S. Only in the last few years have the domestic women begun to outnumber the foreign women. In other words, it was quite respectable for the daughter of a distinguished family in Muslim Pakistan to come here and study agricultural economics. I had a very exciting student who was the daughter of a sheik in Kano, Nigeria. She was her daddy's daughter. I would like to know what happened to that woman because she had what the naval officer's fitness report called *command presence*. Some of the women that came here from foreign countries were outstanding. By definition, they had to be to get here.

CAC: Self-selected in that fashion.

PR: There has always been a sizable number of women in the field of agricultural economics and it continues to be—but not always from the United States.

CAC: This, in turn, really strengthened your commitment to world agricultural policy and that course that you've taught for thirty-one years.

PR: I had been abroad for four years. I had worked in occupied Germany in the military government office. This was a fascinating post-graduate educational experience. I saw a cross section of a defeated country occupied by four powers. We had five governments crossing swords all the time . . . figuratively. That alerted me to a whole host of international problems

I would never have thought about or dreamed about. Berlin, in the 1940s at the end of the war, was a crossroads for international travelers. Everybody who was on a mission or on a junket stopped in Berlin. As a result, we got acquainted with a lot of aspects of world problems and, especially, as they affect the United States and, in my case, as they impinged upon agriculture, that I wouldn't haven't known about. This, then, gave me a running start.

CAC: But, you carried it far beyond western Europe. You're interested in the Soviet agriculture and in Third World agriculture.

PR: Right. That chain of development is unbroken. In other words, the thread that explains that is unbroken in that I wrote my Ph.D. thesis on Soviet agricultural policy in occupied Germany.

CAC: I see.

PR: That, then, introduced me to the policy of the Socialist world; and although the full conversion of Eastern Europe to Socialist government structures occurred later in the 1950s and 1960s, the pilot model was the occupied Soviet zone of East Germany.

CAC: Others of your colleagues have had this world commitment as well. I'm wondering whether this is something that would be true of agricultural economics throughout the nation or whether Minnesota is particularly strong in this regard.

PR: It is true throughout the nation and it is true that Minnesota is particularly strong in this regard. Yes.

CAC: Which of your colleagues in particular, Phil?

PR: If I go back and think of the staff that existed in the 1950s . . .

CAC: Sure. This is history so I want to go back.

PR: Willard Cochrane was very much aware, and interested in these problems, and had done work on international food and agricultural problems, had worked for the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] as a consultant in its earliest days, and had been in Thailand on a mission. He and I were the ones in the department that had hands-on, personal exposure to different economic systems in agriculture. There were several others who were very much interested in this field but hadn't had a chance to work abroad. Then, over the years, into the 1960s, because we did have these contractual obligations with some other countries to provide training, and we got some grants from the Ford Foundation, and from the Rockefeller Foundation and from, what was then, the Hill Family Foundation to pursue these . . . the fact that some money was available attracted other college who developed interests they might not have developed otherwise. To go back in history a moment . . . you will remember that we had an active period of ferment after 1960, 1961, in trying to decided to what degree the university

should involve itself in international activities and in what organizational structure it should form itself to do this. There were several other universities that had set up offices of international programs or something akin to that. Minnesota didn't have one at that time. Vice-President [Malcolm] Willey asked me if I would go around and report to him on the organizational characteristics of the universities that did have international program structures.

I do need to go back one more step. I was here from 1953 to 1958 and made only one foreign trip and that was to an international conference of agricultural economists in Finland in 1955. But, a group of us met informally here, through one of our dining clubs—gown and town—and got quite interested in visiting the Soviet Union. We put together a proposal to do so, which, in its third or fourth version, later included support from Dean E.W. Ziebarth and others and succeeded eventually in attracting a research grant from the Hill Family Foundation to enable twelve of us from the Minnesota faculty to study in the Soviet Union for a month. It was very consciously a multidisciplinary affair. I was the representative from the St. Paul campus in that group; I was the only one from the St. Paul campus. That gave some added exposure. When I came back in 1958, I made a decision then that I wanted to invest more time in the international dimensions of this and when I had an opportunity to take a sabbatical leave in 1960, having been here at that time seven years, I applied for and was given leave to go to the FAO of the U.N. [United Nations] in Rome as a consultant and came back from that year as a consultant to the FAO in the fall of 1961.

Having had the opportunity to go on this study tour in 1958 and then having spent the year as a consultant in the FAO in 1961, my recollection is that about the time I got back from that sabbatical year, we had a university symposium or retreat of some kind at Little Falls, Minnesota, organized by Bob McClure in the Law School and Bob Beck in the College of Education, in which they discussed new directions in education for the University of Minnesota. I was invited to join that group, which was not a whole faculty. I believe it was by invitation only. I think they invited certain people to go; but, it was a rather large group. Are you familiar with this, Clarke?

CAC: Just casually. I haven't picked it up in any of my interviews. I know of it.

PR: We should pick this up . . .

CAC: Yes.

PR: . . . because this casual non-official event was tremendously significant. For one thing, it gave some of the university administration a chance to hear from some of the faculty down the line with whom they would not normally ever come in contact. In my case, specifically, Vice-President Willey, who was at this conference, was fascinated with some of my accounts of what I'd been doing, and of the study tour to the Soviet Union, and this year consulting with the FAO. At about that time, a consortium of universities was putting together an application to the Ford Foundation for a grant of money to support study in Latin America. This was the traditional Ivy

League group of old school tie boys, Harvard, Columbia, and the like. They were under some criticism . . . I guess—this I don't know but one can surmise—that their initial grant application had been turned down on the grounds that they didn't include a wide enough range of universities. Without having taken the initiative to apply for it but I think more or less having it come in from outside, the University of Minnesota was asked, "Do you want to join a consortium of universities to promote further study in Latin America?" I think a request of this nature must have landed on the president's desk and then was routed around someplace. I was finally asked if I wanted to take any responsibility in promoting a study in Latin America. Having just come back from this year in the FAO in Rome, I said, "Yes." I was appointed the university's liaison officer to represent it in this, what became, a six university consortium to promote further contact with Latin American institutions. You will remember, Clarke, that for five years or so, I chaired a committee that tried to attract faculty from all across the university toward a stronger commitment to Latin American Studies.

CAC: As part of that, I see that you were a member of the All University Committee on International Programs at the same time and before that, the CLA [College of Liberal Arts] Committee on International Relations and Area Studies.

PR: Right.

CAC: It's all in the late 1950s and into the late 1960s.

PR: That was partly a function of my own interest; but, it was also partly a function of some initiative that came from outside and, more explicitly, it came from Vice-President Willey, who, I remember very vividly, called me into his office one day and said, "We don't have much money; but, I looked in a bottom drawer and I found a little bit. I wonder if you would consider going around and reporting to me on the universities that have international programs." Over a period of, perhaps, eighteen months—I believe something less than two years—I visited about a dozen different universities . . .

CAC: How interesting.

PR: . . . for more than a casual visit, that is, for two, three . . .

[End of Tape 2, Side 2]

[Tape 3, Side 1]

CAC: We are talking about international programs generally but specifically the Latin American program.

PR: We were given some rather generous financial support enabling people to spend up to a year abroad if they were focusing on Latin America. I had great difficulty in persuading people in many departments to take a look at Latin America. In fact, my surprise was that the problem was to find people who would accept this grant. We didn't have much chance to screen or to choose because there were so few people that would even consider taking a year out of their career to develop a Latin American connection. We virtually had to take all the warm bodies we could get.

CAC: I'm sure, in the obvious places like history and political science, for example, that the focus there had always been on western and northwestern Europe. We had one person out of thirty-five who taught one course occasionally in Latin America and that was it. Finally, he went to Chili.

PR: Right . . . you remember that, Clarke.

CAC: There wasn't a pool of persons to get people to shift their language and their whole background in geography or history . . . it was very difficult.

PR: There's more to it than that. There is much more to it than that. In some universities, but not Minnesota, there had been an active program of area studies. Area studies had been expanded in the period after the second world war and became almost a bandwagon in the 1950s. In contrast, in the key departments that would have been essential to a successful area studies program at Minnesota, there was active opposition to an area studies program. Specifically . . . the Political Science Department and the Economics Department emphatically turned their backs on any area studies focus.

CAC: Except for Harold Quigley.

PR: They turned their back . . . they did and they didn't, in a sense. If there was some money involved, they took a second look; but, the rejection of an applied aspect or of an area focus aspect led, in the case of the Economics Department, to the decision to withdraw from the School of Business and set up as a separate Economics Department outside the School of Business—which they did.

CAC: I see. You're suggesting that was a primary factor . . . not the only one for the divorce?

PR: That's right. It was an ideological or a philosophical reason. Other more explicit questions of money or budget treatment were given promise at the time; but, the basic reason, I'm convinced, is much more deep-seated.

CAC: That's interesting.

PR: In the case of the Political Science Department, it led to the ultimate divorce between the public administration activities and the Department of Political Science and to the eventual creation of the institution that preceded the Humphrey Institute, which once was within the purview of the Department of Political Science.

CAC: By the time of the divorce, in that case, it had come down to one person.

PR: Yes.

CAC: George Warp.

PR: That's right. When I first came to Minnesota in the early 1950s, it was still actively, and administratively, and intellectually a part of the Department of Political Science.

CAC: Right.

PR: That made it difficult to come along with grant money and urge departments to send people to foreign countries in pursuit of what had been, in effect, an area studies program, which they had just rejected philosophically; so, we got almost no participation out of either the Economics Department or the Political Science Department, which would be essential.

CAC: And History, only modestly?

PR: Very little out of History. The problem of developing an international focus at the University of Minnesota was not one of mobilizing a lot of people who were frothing at the mouth and anxious to get going; but rather, it was one of stimulating some activity in departments where the activity had not been very prominent at all, in departments that had been almost exclusively inward looking and domestically oriented. I would say that was true of the Political Science and of the Economics Departments. It was less true of Sociology. There were more people in the Department of Sociology with some experience abroad, or exposure abroad, or interest abroad; so, in digging for candidates, I had a less difficult time in Sociology. In a good many technical fields, you could find an odd person here and there; but, if you looked at the university as a whole, at that time in the late 1950s or the early 1960s, it was unquestionably true that the only people with a substantial interest abroad were on the St. Paul campus and a good many of them were in the Agricultural Economics Department.

CAC: It would be true when the Office of International Programs was set up just a bit later that the leadership and a lot of the funds also focused on the St. Paul campus and on individuals here.

PR: To pick up a thread of the discussion . . . after Vice-President Willey had asked me to report on how other universities organized their international programs, we put together some proposals for the structuring of an international programs office at the University of Minnesota. That was done in the form of a grant proposal. I believe that it was initially prepared for the

Ford Foundation. At about that time, the Ford Foundation had been very generous in giving some grants to support international program development at various universities and Minnesota was one of them. There was some pulling and hauling within the university regarding how this structure should be administered. There's a lot of history here that you should get from people, some of whom are now dead unfortunately. Will Meyers in our Agronomy Department had been designated as the spokesman for the university and there was some supposition that he would be the new head of a university office of international programs, if we had one. The proposal that he prepared and that was sent forward to the Ford Foundation was not accepted. There were some administrative, bureaucratic struggles within the university and the upshot was that Willard Cochrane, my colleague in Agricultural Economics, was appointed head of a newly created Office of International Programs with the title of a dean. That was the outgrowth of some political maneuverings within the structure of the university system. It did reflect this conviction that much of this support for these programs was going to be coming from the Department of Agricultural Economics and from the St. Paul campus. In that sense, to the extent that the University of Minnesota has an Office of International Programs, those of us in the Department of Agricultural Economics have played a prominent role from the beginning or before the beginning. That's reflected in the kind of student body we have and have attracted. Following your suggesting, I made a list of the advisees that I've had from foreign countries for whom I was responsible either for a Ph.D. or a master's degree program. In my thirty-one years at Minnesota, I have advised more foreign students than I have domestic.

CAC: I'm looking at this list that is here in manuscript form and there must be nearly forty such students that you've [unclear].

PR: It's about fifty in total. It was about thirty master's candidates and about twenty Ph.D. candidates.

CAC: When we speak of the world, it really it is a world . . . many, many different . . . Europe, Africa, Cypress, Greece, Indonesia, etcetera.

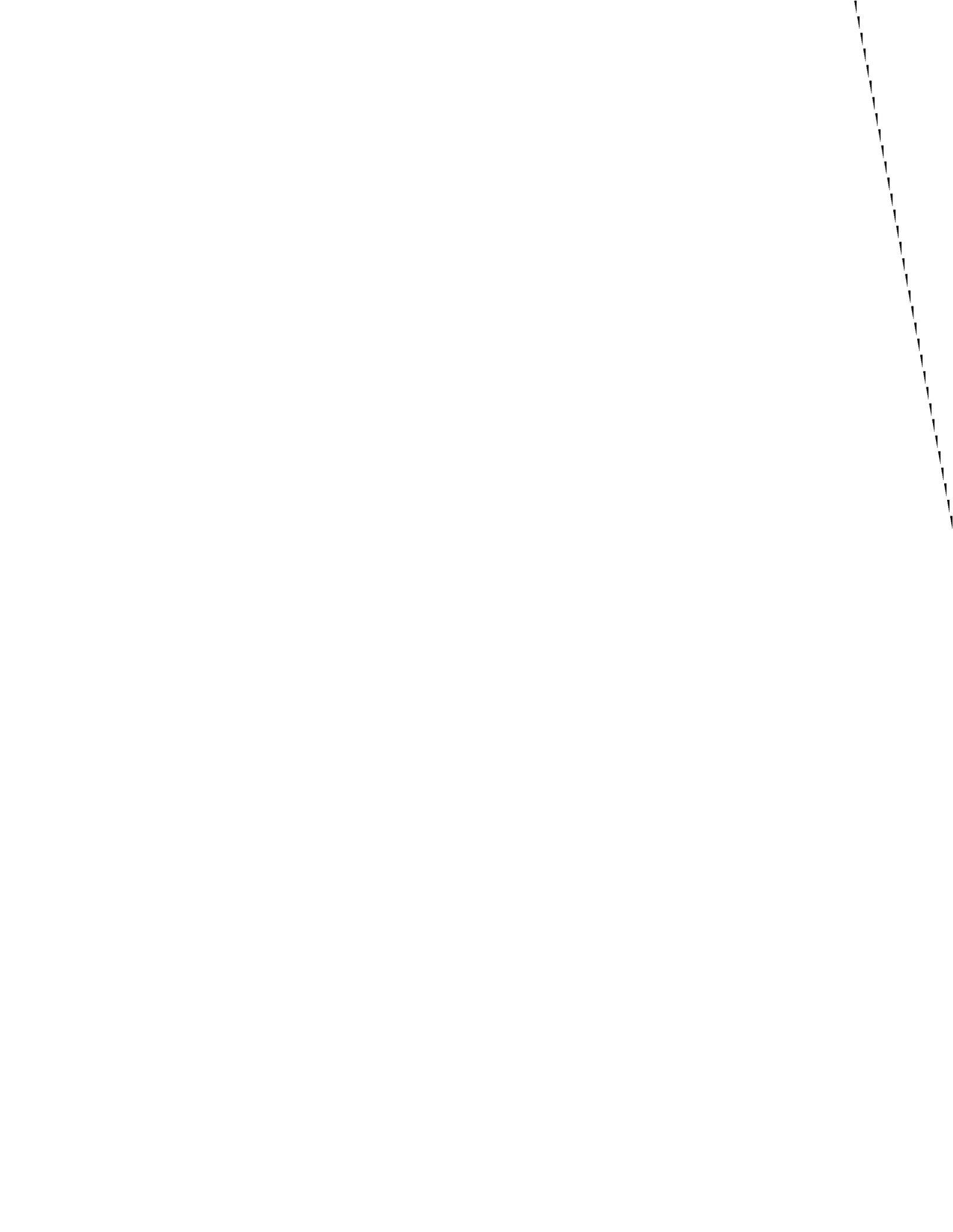
PR: This tends to depend on where your experiences have been and on accident sometimes.

CAC: I would guess that students out there send students of theirs or acquaintances?

PR: That's right. That's already begun to happen. I have had two students recently who were advised to come to Minnesota by students for whom I had served as a Ph.D. advisor twenty years ago.

CAC: Chain migration.

PR: That's right. It's still a prominent feature.



CAC: Right. Another important part of your career here at Minnesota was a citizenship kind of commitment you made over the years not only to the St. Paul campus but to the university. I know that you and I served together in various committees of the American Association of University Professors [AAUP] in the 1960s. Could you comment on why the AAUP for you?

PR: Yes, I'd like to comment on that. We spoke earlier about what seems today from the vantage point of those procedures we follow in 1984 to have been a rather arbitrary way in which I was made an appointment offer in 1953. It couldn't happen today. This was done by O.B. Jesness who was department head and who operated as a head. He consulted with his colleagues; but, he made the decisions. Now, this is the same man that took me to the University Campus Club and made it clear that he expected that we were going to have a role to play beyond the confines of the St. Paul campus. He's also the same man that made it very clear to me, the first year I was here, that he expected that I would register and become a member of the American Association of University Professors, the AAUP.

CAC: Heavens.

PR: That doesn't seem to be in character; but, he was a very strong supporter of the AAUP . . .

CAC: He had a professional commitment.

PR: . . . which I did, not just because it was expected of me but that certainly reinforced it. I anyway had been interested in the same lines of activity at the University of Wisconsin the brief period that I was there in 1949 to 1953; but, Wisconsin didn't have a good active AAUP chapter. Minnesota did. I was active in the latter part of the 1950s and in the early 1960s served in several capacities on committees of the association, including chairman of the Committee on Economic . . . I forget how we described that.

CAC: It meant salary.

PR: It was the salary committee. I then was nominated for vice-president, I believe in 1964, and as president in 1964-1965 or possibly 1965-1966. These will show in the records. That was an instrumental period in the sense that the year I was chairman of the Committee on the Status of the Profession, the salary committee, was the year in which we made recommendations that a certain amount of any faculty salary increase should not be paid out in cash but should be diverted to strengthening the retirement system. That decision created quite a bit of internal tension because the president of the university at that time, Meredith Wilson who was a devout Mormon, made it very clear that he expected that retirement were arrangements that individuals should organize for themselves, and that it was paternalistic, at best, and it was the first steps to something more horrible, at worst, if we were to make the university decide how much people should save for their retirement. In proposing that we should divert some of the salary increase

to strengthening the retirement system, we were, in effect, undermining the moral stature of the university collectively and individually.

CAC: He made this clear to you in your role as chairman of that committee?

PR: Yes, that's right.

CAC: This would have been before 1963?

PR: Yes, [unclear].

CAC: Do you think that he heard this kind of presentation then and changed his mind because he came to be a person to facilitate the improvement of the retirement program in 1963-1964.

PR: I think he did change his mind.

CAC: Mr. Raup is pointing to another document here that suggests that he was chairman of this committee in 1961-1962.

PR: Those were the critical years.

CAC: Met had just come in 1960.

PR: Right. By 1963, the decision had already been made because that's when it was implemented. The critical years were these years when it was being debated. You will have to go to the record to find out exactly when the change first . . .

CAC: The Senate Committee of Faculty Welfare took it up also; so, he must have been getting this from a number of different angles.

PR: It was in the air.

CAC: In the meantime, in the St. Paul . . . getting money from the Experiment Station, did this mean that you were on a retirement system with federal . . . ?

PR: No. No.

CAC: Because that was always so much better . . . the Extension.

PR: That applies only to the Extension appointments. I had never had an Extension appointment. There was a connection here that was important that I hadn't really thought about myself. When Vice-President Willey sent me around to the dozen universities to study how they administered their international programs, which was in 1961, 1962, I also discovered how much

better their retirement systems were than ours at the same time that I was chairman of the AAUP Committee on the Economic Status of the Profession.

CAC: Wonderful.

PR: Undoubtedly, this fed into my conviction that we should be strengthening our retirement system. Others were convinced of that as well. It was any innovation on my part; but, maybe in that position with the AAUP, I was able to give it a little more prominence than it would have had otherwise.

CAC: Can you remember any occasion in which Mr. Wilson indicated that he was accepting and moving in this direction?

PR: No, I don't.

CAC: But, in fact, he did.

PR: The years in which I sat in a meeting with him in the Regents room in Morrill Hall were the years in which this was first being broached. That's when he more or less hit the ceiling and decided that that was morally reprehensible.

CAC: It was also the case with Met—several people have commented on this in other interviews—that he was willing to talk with people as individual members of the faculty and if they represented senate committees which were part of the regular structure; but, he was very uneasy with the AAUP because it represented an outside, as he perceived it, kind of force. Dan Cooperman said, "He would always see me if I said, 'I'm just coming as Dan Cooperman.'" He didn't want to see him as president of the AAUP, which is an interesting part of that.

PR: However, the genesis of that may be determined to have been, it was true that the initiative did not come from the administration. It had to be forced on it from outside. I like to think that the activity in the AAUP led to the chain of events that worked their way through the senate committees and ultimately affected a change in the retirement system. As I suggested here, it started back in 1961-1962, at least, and perhaps earlier. AAUP activity in 1964-1965 and 1965-1966, when I was still involved, in retrospect was rather tame, didn't involve major crises. Those were years, on the whole, in which new jobs were being created, new people were being hired, and while there were financial cutbacks and some stringency, it was not a major period of financial crisis for the university.

CAC: Oh, I should say not. From 1963 to 1971 are pretty fat years, relatively speaking.

PR: The AAUP at the University of Minnesota in the year I was president had principally to do with supporting some activities in some other universities, not at the University of Minnesota. I recall, for example, spending a part of my time—a major part of the time that I devoted to

AAUP business—trying to adjudicate and dampen down a dispute that arose at Concordia College here in St. Paul. That's a Missouri Synod Lutheran School I believe.

CAC: Yes.

PR: It was very arbitrarily administered and several people had been dismissed and several other people had been given to understand that they should teach in a certain way; and they came to the AAUP at the University of Minnesota for some advice. A part of my activities as University of Minnesota AAUP president was to try to mediate a . . .

CAC: You say "try to mediate." Were these things resolved?

PR: I think the main contribution that I could make was to temper some of the initial reaction of these individuals and to try to get them to go back with proposals and work for some evolutionary change rather than try to confront the president head on. I thought there was no chance under their administrative situation that they could win a head-on confrontation. In effect, I was counseling them to try to continue to work within their system. Then, we had some other problems also that didn't happen in 1964-1966 period but a little earlier . . . speaking for the AAUP. I had played a role in trying to tone down the intensity of some of the faculty unrest at North Dakota State University at Fargo. They had had a blowup within their faculty over, essentially, John Birch Society type issues in the late 1950s. The head of their Department of Agricultural Economics had resigned. One of the principal professors had left as well. There was sort of a minor witch hunt atmosphere that had evolved. We tried to counsel some moderation there with not much success, except that it didn't degenerate into a issue that was being resolved in the newspapers; so, we may have had some mild influence on that situation.

CAC: You've had other outreach activities also, some of them superficially, at least on the surface. It would not seem logical you were on the Advisory Committee for Urban Studies. Here you are in Agricultural Economics.

PR: It's very logical because the crucial problem in Urban Studies involves land use and I was teaching the only course at the university at the time that purported to deal with land use issues in their economic dimensions. John Borchert in the Geography Department was teaching a similar course. John Adams subsequently took up some of these lines of approach. Several other people at the Minneapolis campus were involved, directly, including now Dean [Fred] Lukermann and Eugene "Cotton" Mather who taught a course on agricultural geography. When there were proposals to put together a focal center for Urban Studies, the outline of the administrative structure that was proposed was borrowed almost exclusively from the Agricultural Experiment Station. Here is something you want to check on with others whom you interview in this series. I can only give you a part of this story.

CAC: That's true in all cases.

PR: It's an important story in terms of the evolution of the University of Minnesota. I'll have to go back a ways to pick up the key thread here.

CAC: Okay.

PR: The key thread was that with the enactment of the Interstate and Defense Highway Act in 1956, it was apparent that the United States was going to spend more money on highways than it had ever spent on railroads and that this was going to be concentrated in a very short period of time; so, it was going to have enormous impact in ways that couldn't be anticipated. Therefore, I wrote a friend of mine, David Levin, who was in the Bureau of Public Roads and whom I had known in the law school at the University of Wisconsin—which triggers another thought.

CAC: [laughter]

PR: When I returned from my work in the military, I had had three years in the Navy and four years working with the Army and I was entitled to some benefits under the GI Bill of Rights. I took out those benefits after I returned and after I had completed the Ph.D. by enrolling in courses in the law school at the University of Wisconsin and in the soils department.

CAC: For heavens sake.

PR: So, I took a sequence of reading courses in soils, post Ph.D., and a sequence of courses in the law school at the University of Wisconsin, also post Ph. D., where I became acquainted with a number of very valuable and influential people, including Willard Hurst, and Ford Runge, and others . . . professors in the law school. That acquaintance included this man Levin who went on to become the legal council for the Bureau of Public Roads. I wrote him and said, "Here's a wonderful research opportunity. How much money are you spending on research? You should be doing some research while you're building all these roads . . . especially on the economic impact." He was sufficiently supportive to take it up within their administrative structure. The upshot was we got a contract, which at that time was very generous, for about a quarter of a million dollars. In 1955 dollars that was five, or six, or eight times what it would be today. It permitted us to do a study of the economic impact of highways on the economy of the state of Minnesota. Since that went beyond the confines of the Department of Agricultural Economics, I decided to try to get some support from wherever I could find it. The most likely source was in the Geography Department on the Minneapolis campus and, specifically, in the person of Professor John Borchert, whom I had known very casually . . . I think met once before I ever came to Minnesota but who had been a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. Therefore, we had a number of mutual friends in common. He had urged me to get in touch with him as soon as I got to Minnesota, which I did. The upshot was that we submitted an application for support to study the highway impact and then we had to decide where to put the administrative responsibility. It was determined that that would be lodged in the Agricultural Experiment Station on the St. Paul campus because that was the only institution that had the machinery set

up. I remind you again, this was in 1955, 1956, and 1957 when this was being cooked up and that was before universities discovered the gold mine they could tap by insisting on high overhead; so, when we made our application, the overhead allowances that we requested were minimal. I'm not even sure we requested any.

CAC: That all comes in the 1960s.

PR: Consequently, we needed to find a part of the university that had the [unclear] and the mechanics . . .

CAC: And the state outreach, in this case.

PR: . . . and the focus beyond the immediate confines of the university that would permit them to handle the bookkeeping. The grant was made to the Agricultural Experiment Station and the supervisors were Philip M. Raup and John R. Borchert. That forced John R. Borchert to learn something about how administration of the Experiment Station was handled. As a consequence of his experience with this highway impact study, he realized how important this impact was on the urban community and that generated his interest in a similar center for urban affairs that would parallel the kind of support activity that was available for agriculture through the Agricultural Experiment Station. When the early history of the Center of Urban and Regional Affairs is written, it should give great prominence to this pre-investment educational experience that John Borchert had working with me on that highway grant, which was his first exposure to how the Experiment Station system worked.

CAC: I've read some of the documents and not a one mentions anything about this.

PR: You won't find it in the documents.

CAC: That's why oral history is a wonderful tip-off.

PR: This is crucial.

CAC: Yes.

PR: John and I talked about it a lot. We talked about how available this was in the rural parts of the state and how unavailable to the urban parts. I can even remember urging him to something about this . . . that he was in a strategic position. He became the first head of the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs and quite properly so because he was the instrumental agent.

CAC: This leads logically then into the Urban Studies . . .

PR: I retained an interest in that all the way through, Clarke. I must say that it's partly a professional interest and an intellectual interest; but, it was also more than that. It was a very specifically personal interest in that the people involved were the most interesting people. They were fun to be with.

CAC: You bet.

PR: They got good ideas. They could bounce some ideas off of you as well as serving as a backboard for some of your ideas. It was intellectually rewarding to sit in on some of these discussions and to promote a closer focus on urban affairs.

CAC: What is the connecting link with Ancient Studies? I know that you were on that advisory committee, too.

PR: That's another story, yes. There is one point before we leave it that I want to rivet down on this Urban Studies that may be lost. I was tremendously impressed with the spirit at the University of Wisconsin that grew out of the slogan "The boundaries of the university are the boundaries of the state."

[End of Tape 3, Side 1]

[Tape 3, Side 2]

CAC: The old Wisconsin idea, yes.

PR: That pervaded the self-image that people had of themselves and their perception of their job. When I came to Minnesota, I was surprised to find that the two adjacent and quite similar states had quite different attitudes toward this issue and that there was not nearly the participation of people in the activities around the state in Minnesota that I had found to be very comfortable and very appropriate in Wisconsin.

CAC: Perhaps, it's many in the metropolitan area, however? Madison doesn't have that.

PR: Madison was not in the state's biggest city; so, it had a different kind of set of problems. Minneapolis and St. Paul are the state's biggest city and so the opportunity to serve the state was especially in its urban setting. When we were doing this highway study, I was shocked by the fact . . . when I realized that two-thirds or more of all the money spent in Minnesota on interstate highway development was going to be spent in the Twin City metropolitan area; although, the highways were supposed to link the cities with other parts of the state. In other words, the highway program became a gigantic urban development program . . .

CAC: Ah.

PR: . . . strongly supported by real estate speculators and those who hoped to make a fast buck by seeing their land values go up. This was one of the types of problems I urged John Borchert to deal with in setting up a Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. That also led me to be interested in a continuing study of urban affairs as an academic discipline here at Minnesota, apart from its Experiment Station aspect. That's one side of it. I was anxious to encourage the development of a program in urban land economics at Minnesota, which, I found out after several tries in the earlier years, was unacceptable in the Business School or in the Department of Economics where they would have logically been located and at Wisconsin were located. There was an active program in urban land economics in the College of Commerce at the University of Wisconsin. There was no such program at Minnesota; although, they had several people in the Business School who were interested in, what I would call, the fast buck end of real estate financing. They had one man hired to study real estate economics. He resigned to go to work for the Apache Corporation. They had another man hired to take his place, Keith Heller, who resigned to become a real estate speculator on the West Bank.

CAC: [laughter] Right.

PR: The history of encouraging urban land economic studies in either the Business School or the Department of Economics has a very discouraging history.

CAC: That's a wonderful story. It's Ag Econ and Geography, really.

PR: No one today teaches such a course on the Minneapolis campus. In a sense, I have served on the executive committee for the program in urban studies by default.

CAC: This is interesting commentary.

PR: It was an aspect of this rejection of an area studies focus, which implied the rejection of a more explicit focus on applied subjects, which still characterizes several key departments but especially the Department of Economics and the Department of Political Science. Now, they have retained some interest in Urban Studies; but, it's not a leadership role.

CAC: As you speak, it then occurs to me that Cross-Disciplinary Studies and before that General Studies . . . the same thing generally would be true, that Economics, Business were not a vigorous part . . . an occasional individual might. Here you are serving on the advisory committee for Cross-Disciplinary Studies in the 1970s and you suggested some other committee in the 1960s that led to that.

PR: Maybe we ought to touch on that briefly. This early what you might call my own in-house training for this grew out of the fact that Gilbert Wren asked me out of the blue if I would chair a subcommittee of his Senate Committee on Education to produce some statistics on education at the University of Minnesota. Wren was a professor in the College of Education and I believe at that time chairman of the Senate Committee on Education. This goes back into the 1950s.

As a young faculty member, I was flattered to be asked to do this—and agreed. That got me interested in what you could do with research into education. Out of that evolved the proposals to set up a Senate Committee on Institutional Research and that was done. I forget the exact years in which that was first begun. It has personal ties, too. It happened that Professor Robert Beck in the College of Education had attended lectures by my uncle, Robert Raup, who was professor of education at Teacher's College at Columbia University and had known of him before he ever met me; so, when he found out that my name was Raup, he asked if I was any relation to the head of the Teacher's College and I said, "Sure, he's my uncle, Robert Bruce [Raup]." That was an immediate bond with Bob Beck. Consequently, when I was given this job of generating some figures and massaging some statistics on education in Minnesota, I turned to Bob Beck in the College of Education and said, "What should we do here?" Somehow or another, through that connection, I became acquainted with John Stecklein, who was interested in the field as well. The upshot was a committee in which Bob Beck had a kind of godfather relation. Gilbert Wren had started it in motion because he had asked me to chair this subcommittee. That included several people who later became quite influential in the educational field at the university. Among these were John Stecklein and Mary Corcoran who served with me on this senate committee. We cooked up some interesting ideas about what kind of research we could do on education and what figures we should be urging people to collect. I think we had an influence in the early 1960s. It was an innovative idea. I can remember some very good committee meetings in which we pulled together the results of surveys of the faculty, of attitudes. Some of the early work on whether or not the university faculty was happy with their jobs came out of that effort.

CAC: Mary Corcoran and Shirley Clark are still carrying that on the last three years.

PR: Yes.

CAC: They had a four-hour interview with me and with lots of other people about what makes for faculty contributions.

PR: Some of these people were already interested in that.

CAC: Yes, sure.

PR: All we did was provide a vehicle to bring them together.

CAC: What is interesting to me as I listen and study the documents is a gross kind of historical generalization and that is, when there's growth and there's money, it sets loose ideas and the 1960s are just filled with all kinds of innovations and you're commenting on many of them. You look at those dates and they're 1960 to 1970. It was a decade of expansion. That doesn't mean that that context causes innovation; but, certainly it fertilizes it and inspires it.

PR: Going back to Vice-President Willey, the fact that he could look in this bottom drawer of his desk and find a little bit of money was crucial.

CAC: Then, in two years, there would be lots of money.

PR: Yes. Say, it in reverse. When people are fighting for their jobs and some people are losing theirs, this is an inhospitable atmosphere in which to suggest innovative ways to spend more money.

CAC: You bet.

PR: Consequently, it has a dampening influence that's far beyond just the sheer negative fact that you don't have any more money to spend. It leads people to shift their attention to other fields.

Let's go back to another aspect of this senate committee activity that I do want to mention, Clarke, and that is my service on the ROTC Committee at a period that involved the all time low in morale leading up to and following the end of the Vietnam War. The years were I think . . .

CAC: I'm trying to find it here. The years were 1971 to 1975 . . . 1971 and 1972 are really the height of the anti-war activity on this campus.

PR: The Vietnam War ended when . . . in 1974?

CAC: The last troops come out in 1975.

PR: The influence on the morale of the Army, the morale of people that had to instruct in the ROTC system was at its nadir in the years at least that I was on the committee.

CAC: Oh, yes.

PR: One of our jobs was to try to, depending on our convictions, ensure that something solid and worthwhile was salvaged from this experience. That involved trying to beef up the self-image of some of the people who were teaching in the ROTC program. I don't know that we tried consciously to let them know that we loved them; but, maybe we did try consciously to let them know that we didn't particularly hate them.

CAC: Who chaired the committee in those days, Phil?

PR: [unclear] Henderson was on it with me.

CAC: Rodney Loehr?

PR: I think he and I overlapped just a year or so. Yes, he may have chaired it the first year I served on it.

CAC: I just get a sense that that committee attracted persons who if not gung-ho, if not hawks, were at least not unsympathetic with the educational implications of ROTC. Those who were really on the outside would not have been a member of that committee.

PR: The committee did not include any people who were out to terminate ROTC instruction at Minnesota, true. On the other hand, it might be a little bit misleading to say that the committee was made up of hawks. I would not use that terminology. These were not super patriots and convinced that this was the central activity that should dominate military interests of the University of Minnesota. I think many of them, like myself, were appalled at the prospect of a military staff exclusively by people trained in either the private military academies or at West Point, and at Annapolis, and now, later, at Colorado Springs. In other words, those of us who came through the second world war and saw what a professional military can do to a country were convinced that we don't want to be party to a system that would guarantee that a professional military will be the only kind of military you have.

CAC: That's right . . .

PR: The civilian military represented by the selective service system and by officer training at the universities is the only antidote, the only guarantee we have. Otherwise, come the next crisis, all the officers will be drawn out of the autocratic regimes that dominate in places like West Point, and the Citadel, and some other military academies.

CAC: Our generation is fading . . . people representing that point of view are fading.

PR: The younger generation that oppose selective service has talked itself into a frame of mind that not only won't understand this problem, it will refuse to see it.

CAC: Our conversation this morning throws light—I'm catching this in many of the interviews—on the number of persons in the university who engaged themselves, not casually but with real committment, for five to ten years in matters of general citizenship. It is the kind of thing ultimately that makes a good university go. That's not to compliment you uniquely; but, it was an important thing.

PR: I debated whether I should be taking on a committee assignment when I didn't need anymore committee assignments.

CAC: You bet.

PR: But, I felt so strongly about the importance of a civilian military and maintaining a capacity for officer training outside the formal confines of the military academies. I'm sure I had a little missionary attitude toward it.

CAC: Why not? Tell me about Ancient Studies. This would, on the surface again, appear to be more remote but perhaps not.

PR: No, no, not at all because I'm quite interested in the history of land tenure institutions and especially in the history of leases and partial ownership rights, something less than full, fee simple ownership. That involves a study of credit arrangements and a study of lease hold arrangements. In pursuing that, I was fascinated with the early leases that have been translated from some of the oldest documents we have in history. In other words, if you go back to the records of Sumerian culture or you go to the papyri of the oldest Egyptian regime and you see what it is they were talking about, what has been translated out of these first languages, they are land leases and grain treaty arrangements. It turns out that most of them are preserved in the religious institutions of the day, whatever they were, the temples or the mosque later.

CAC: And are well-preserved?

PR: Well-preserved. What we have basically is the knowledge of the past based principally upon records that were kept by the managers of the real estate for the temples, which were the principal sources of their income.

CAC: Let me interpose here just a moment. I remember talking with Tom Jones about this once, who is an expert in his field, as you well know. He said exactly what you're saying and the commercial . . . it's trade and it's land. Those are the records that are saved best and in more detail . . .

PR: That's right.

CAC: . . . and frequently through the temples . . . both of them.

PR: As soon as I started looking at some of this literature and trying to find some of the people that were doing important work, I ran across the staff at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago who were translating some of the old Egyptian papyri. I wrote to one of them there. I guess he doesn't get many letters like that.

CAC: [laughter] I suppose not.

PR: He was fascinated and so he sent me some translations of the papyri and sure enough, these were for temple land leases. The one I use in class is from 556 B.C. and is for the lease of barley land in upper Egypt on a share cropping arrangement in which the rent is one-third to the temple and two-thirds to the tenant. In northwestern Minnesota today, we lease barley land and

the rent is one-third to the landlord and two-thirds to the tenant. That's an unbroken record of rental arrangements going now over 2400 years, nearly 2500 years.

CAC: [laughter] That's pretty good.

PR: In other words, the lease arrangement has been unchanged from the oldest record we have.

CAC: Isn't that something?

PR: This is the sort of thing that led me into an interest in Ancient Studies. Then, I started asking around here. "Is anyone interested?" There was nobody quite in the same thing I was interested in; but, there were enough people interested in other aspects of Ancient Studies that I would go and talk at their meetings occasionally. Then, some students would hear me and so I wind up—a strange phenomenon—the advisor on three Ph.D.s in Ancient Studies, which is pretty far out.

CAC: It works the other way, too. You may know this . . . one of Tom Joneses students in Ancient History who was working on land and real estate taxes in the ancient world when the job market fell apart for academic people took on as a real estate evaluator in the Ramsey County office; so, the flow goes both ways.

PR: You know, Clarke, that I have felt that a good training in history would be excellent background for administrative work in local government and in public affairs. I really am disappointed that I haven't had more history students taking my classes.

CAC: I know.

PR: I've had a few; but, I wish there had been more.

CAC: With the departure of Rodney Loehr, no one in our department is ever interested in agricultural history even—except myself and that was largely for writing and reviewing.

PR: Maybe you ought to get this in the record, too, Clarke. We are in danger of following in a path that we can identify when we go abroad and work with developing countries and see very clearly and we completely overlook when we look at ourselves, in other words [unclear] *myopia*, in acknowledging the fact that we're going through a transition period here in which things agricultural have not become rare enough to be esoteric and fashionable. It becomes so common in the memories of still a major part of the population still alive that it's in, what I would call, the shadow zone of history. It's not old enough to be history and it's too old to be consciously in the calculation framework of the present generation of people making key decisions.

CAC: So many departments have such a strong urban bias. I think of Sociology, Anthropology, History, Economics, Political Science, and so on. In my field of Welfare History, just to

converse for a moment rather than having an interview, when people talk about youth activities, they think of youth services that are largely urban structured and based in cities . . . maybe Boys Scouts and Girl Scouts, too, but the YMCA [Young Men's Christian Association of America] and YWCA [Young Women's Association of America]. I've read hundreds of articles and some books on this subject, generally on welfare from 1880 to 1940, concern with youth. Rarely will they have even a paragraph on the 4-H and yet the 4-H probably reached more people in those years than any other.

PR: And maybe still does because a lot of suburban youth now find the 4-H their principal . . .

CAC: That to me is such a shock. I went to the State Fair yesterday and I'll tell you, it lifts your heart to see those 4-H kids.

PR: This urban focus has been reinforced by another aspect of the last decade or two decades—and this will open a topic that goes beyond our interview boundaries, Clarke; but, I'd like to get it on the record as well—and that is the impact that women's lib[eration] has had on the whole field of land use.

CAC: Oh, please. We can't go a whole hour but go for several minutes. That's a good idea.

PR: If I can take an historical view of this . . . I mentioned we're still renting land in western Minnesota in the same lease arrangements that we find in the earliest papyri from ancient Egypt. The functions of who does what on the farm has changed and certainly the most prominent way in which that would be recognized would be in the role of women. One aspect has to do with women as property owners. Another aspect has to do with . . .

CAC: Often as widows and inheritors?

PR: . . . the fact that the final disposition of the typical farm falls upon the widow.

CAC: Who survives the man.

PR: She's going to live longer than the man and in all probability, the surviving heirs will use the proceeds of the farm to support mother. She may not want to move. They will try to keep her from that disruption as long as they can. If they break up the estate, they don't do it until after she dies, in all probability, with the consequence that the disposition of the farmland from generation to generation is principally influenced by women. I'm not saying that pejoratively. They may do a good job of it.

CAC: You bet.

PR: I'm just saying that while they may not show up in the statistics as the owners of the bulk of the land, they are in a very strategic position to influence the way in which it will be passed on to the next generation. This is an area of research that we just haven't touched; so, I would love to see somebody come on deck now who could follow up with these generational transfers and who could join the skills of an historian with those of an economic [unclear]. It seems to me to be a natural.

CAC: If someone listens to this twenty years from now, this may be the inspiration. It won't happen tomorrow . . . maybe later.

PR: The other thing is that we have all the raw material here now for a detailed study of the way in which we create resources as well as despoil them or desecrate them; so, the antidote for a belief that man is evil and that we have ruined the environment is at hand and we just lack anybody with their research focus to pick up the pieces and put them together. We have been making resources here as vigorously or more vigorously than we have been destroying them. Specifically . . . if we go back in the history books and look at the accounts of the early settlers about where there was forest, and where there was grassland, and what is the land use pattern then and now, it's quite clear that the grasslands of west central Minnesota are in better shape now than they were 100 years ago. There are more forested lands in the Great Plains now than there were when the Custer's Expedition went across Dakota and into the Black Hills.

CAC: It's pretty spectacular when you see a photographs, 1870 to 1970, in that regard.

PR: Exactly. I tried this. I went down to the historical museum here to hunt for pictures of the old railroad river crossings; and since they liked to take pictures of bridges and they were dramatic, there are a lot of pictures of when the Great Northern jumped the Red River and when the Great Northern jumped the Milk River and so forth. You can get pictures of railroad bridges and the impressive thing is no trees. The shorelines of the rivers are virtually bare.

CAC: Not even cottonwoods.

PR: Now, you go into those areas and see lots of timber. This is an area in which the historians and the land economists ought to join forces.

[break in the interview]

CAC: Your own research, Phil, is evidenced in a vita that runs many pages of articles and chapters in books, much of it dealing with agriculture in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

PR: This aspect of the work I've been doing in world agriculture and in land tenure has been a very prominent part, perhaps *the* prominent part, of my work overseas. One of the main efforts that the Soviets used in their East German exposure during the period after the first world war was to carry out a land reform. My Ph.D. thesis was a study of that Soviet land reform effort

in occupied Eastern Germany. That, then, became the model for the subsequent development of their approach to the way to organize agriculture in Czechoslovakia, and in Hungary, and in Romania, and Bulgaria, and in East Germany after the second revolution in the 1950s and 1960s. That has alerted me to the evolutions in Soviet and Socialist agriculture policy. I've tried to keep that investment growing and alive by repeated studies of Soviet Union agricultural policy in the Socialist countries and, specifically, their land policy. As a result, there have been a number of meetings now of people interested in agriculture in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. I have been in, I think, all but two of those meetings for the last twenty years. I have visited all of the countries of Eastern Europe several times—except Albania. I have made, as you know, three extended study tours in the Soviet Union. The result is that in the professional group of people studying Slavic systems or Socialist systems, there are precious few who have any training in agricultural economics. By accident rather than by plan, this has become one of the principal fields in which I'm known among our colleagues around the country and I suppose it's true to say that I'm one of four or five people in the United States still active that has had any exposure to these problems.

CAC: Are you bringing along any young persons in these fields?

PR: This is the problem. No.

CAC: I bet partly it's the language problem?

PR: There's a tremendous language problem. As long as we had some defense language grant money to support instruction in this field, we could [unclear] and we did get some; but, we're living off of that capital right now.

CAC: So, a lot of them are of your generation or a bit younger?

PR: A little younger but we're about to run out of that capital. Some of the men I trained are now retiring.

CAC: I understand.

PR: We're desperately short. I get letters all the time from people in the Department of Agriculture saying, "Whom can you recommend to do this important job of analyzing economic statistics from the Soviet Union?" We don't have anybody.

CAC: Again, it relates to resources and their use. In the 1960s, those resources were there for language study.

PR: What happened was we were spoiled by the fact that we lived off the capital created by the post World War II occupation experiences not only in Germany but in Japan, and Korea, and more recently by the experiences in Vietnam.

CAC: In History, in East Asia, we used to depend upon the sons and daughters of the missionaries. Then, we had a second . . . with the second world war and the occupation of Japan and now both of those sources of capital have been used up.

[End of Tape 3, Side 2]

[Tape 4, Side 1]

CAC: Phil, your comments about the studies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, perhaps, would lead to a few more comments on the consulting work you did apart from the Food and Agricultural Organization in Rome.

PR: There have been several threads to this. One of the most prominent was the work that I have done with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, popularly the World Bank, from the late 1950s, since they first got the idea that they wanted to set up a special program for a focus on agricultural problems. This is not the place to go into a history of the World Bank; but, in its early days, they did not put much stress on agriculture. The World Bank was dominated by heavy industry people and by the people that wanted to sell port improvement equipment and big hydroelectric plants. If they had anything to do with agriculture, it was usually because somebody wanted to build a big dam and sell a lot of electrical generating equipment and they might justify the dam by providing some irrigation water for the farmers.

CAC: To say nothing of the flooding that would take place as well.

PR: That just didn't get considered, as you know so well. In the 1950s, there was a small group in the World Bank that felt that they were neglecting agriculture and putting too much emphasis on industrial resource development projects that involved, principally, big dam building. This led to some proposals for change. The year I was in Rome, 1960-1961, I had an American Ford Falcon station wagon, which we took over on the boat, and this was by far the biggest number of cubic feet of carrying capacity of anybody in the FAO headquarters at that time, most of whom had small Opel or Fiat cars that would hold maybe one suitcase.

CAC: European cars.

PR: It was my pleasant duty during the year to go to the airport to meet all of the distinguished visitors whom they thought they should meet at the airport but whose bags could not be carried in those little Fiats; so, I got a fringe benefit out of my year with the FAO in that I got to pick up [Julian] Huxley just after he came back from his survey of wildlife potentials in the Serengeti Plain in Africa, and I got to pick up [David E.] Lilienthal just after he had come from his survey of the potentials for a dam in Khuzistan Valley in Iran, and the like. The Lilienthal experience was the one that really is vivid in my mind. The man who had pioneered and had been regarded as the father of the Tennessee Valley Authority was here abroad being asked to repeat some of

his good works and leadership for the benefit of other people. I remember how shocked I was, when I got him off the plane just coming back from Khuzistan, to have him say that this was a mistake and he wasn't getting any fun out of this.

CAC: Ohhh.

PR: In effect he said, "When you've built one dam, you've seen them all." What he was saying was, "I'm not convinced at all this is the top priority; but, this is where you can get the money." Talking with some of our friends, that idea was an idea whose time had come in the World Bank and fell on fertile ground; so, you got some people saying, "Maybe we should start something." Again, on this personal level . . . during the war when I was in the Navy stationed in Washington, D.C., a neighbor in the same compound in which we rented an apartment was Albert Waterstan. He went on to become an expert on international development planning and was in the middle 1950s in the World Bank; so, knowing that I had done some work abroad and was interested abroad, Al Waterstan and several people who were about to set up what became an Economic Development Institute within the bank asked several other people and asked me to come in and give lectures. I gave the agricultural lectures in the prototype unit of the World Bank that was later to be formally organized as an Economic Development Institute, before it ever had this formal designation. Later, they hired a director and they hired a man full time to be responsible for their agricultural focus in this, what amounted to, internal, in-service training institute where they would bring people from foreign countries, who were about to get loans, to Washington for short courses, three months, five months, in how to monitor these loans, how to report on progress, what to look for. . . the general bookkeeping, how to keep the books on a development project, and especially what to look for in the agricultural projects. I had a hand in the early, you might say, pre-birth dimensions of this agricultural focus in the World Bank's lending activities. One consequence was that a lot of my graduate students who came out in the 1960s and early 1970s were in the job market at the time that the World Bank was expanding its activities and, as a result, I've got seven former advisees now on the staff of the World Bank in Washington.

CAC: Heavens.

PR: There's sort of a little coterie of Minnesota agricultural economists. That support for agricultural interpretive analysis in the bank has had a strong Minnesota flavor from the beginning. This consulting work was a little more than just consulting in the sense that it involved, what you probably could call today, institution building, not so much giving advice but precept, how to go about organizing some interpretive ability here in the agricultural economics field. As I look back over thirty-one years of training graduate students in agricultural economics, it turns out that the largest single group I've been training is bankers. Now, they're development bankers. If you're going to make a loan, you would like to have somebody that knows what they're talking about tell you whether this is likely to be effective and what impact it will have on agriculture; so, in that sense, we've been training the people that would give the

agriculture background data to the lending authorities that would enable them to evaluate the agricultural significance of these loans.

CAC: We talk in the abstract about the outreach of the university and its professors to the world and to the community. That's a wonderful example of an influence that would go largely unrecognized because you can't trace it out.

PR: No. In the sense that the way you are principally influential is by teaching others to teach others, then this would probably, I would say, have to be recorded as one of the most influential things I've done in thirty-one years.

CAC: Yes.

PR: You would escape it entirely . . .

CAC: No Brownie points or gold stars. You've been also active in the Citizen's League at various times to bring it much closer to home.

PR: Right. That's still a field in which I want to continue to be active. It seems to me to be ideally suited to someone in retired status because you can choose the level of activity you wish to pursue and the intensity and you can either join them in their survey and research on a particular project or choose not to do so. I expect to continue to be active in that field. I've been especially drawn into it because a number of the projects in the 1960s dealt with housing, and with development around the Twin Cities, and with the planning and the interpretive analysis that went into the early days of the formation of the Twin City Metropolitan Council.

CAC: Oh, yes.

PR: There were a whole series of land use studies, backup studies, in that matrix, not least was the subsequent involvement in the Rural Task Force of the Metropolitan Council, which was responsible for drawing up plans for developing the rural areas. You may recall that the first activities of the Twin City Metropolitan Council were very urban in nature and it was an urban institution, in spite of the fact that in the five and then later seven counties that comprise the Twin City metropolitan area, the principal activity is agriculture—not in terms of jobs created but in terms of *impact on local communities and businesses and there's quite a heavy employment, too.* So, the land use pattern, if you're going to study land use, had to be approached from the agricultural side. I was on the committee that developed what later was enacted in the legislature as a Minnesota Farmland Preservation Act. The act was a draft that emerged from a task force committee on which I served some ten or twelve years ago now.

CAC: Did you have your students working on those kinds of projects also?

PR: Yes, in this way . . . students who took my graduate seminar in land tenure and economics would be encouraged to write papers on this topic. That's been the most influential way in which we've had some impact.

CAC: That would be lost, too.

PR: It would be, Clarke. Minnesota has a County Planning Authorization Act. It authorizes counties to engage in land use planning. The draft of that act was written as a seminar report in my seminar over twenty years ago.

CAC: [laughter] Heavens.

PR: Minnesota has an Anti-Corporate Farming Law which says that corporations cannot own farmland unless they are farmer-owned corporations, that is, father, mother, and the kids, family corporations. The draft of that act was Dick Wagner's seminar report paper for me in the early 1960s, which one of the committees of the state legislature got a hold of in about 1965 and which emerged as an act requiring the registration of corporate land holdings in 1967—which then was later amended to restrict corporate ownership of land. The whole evolution of that body of legislation in Minnesota could be traced back to this one graduate student's paper.

CAC: We spoke earlier in my questioning of theoretical and applied . . . I hear this thing straddling there all the way along that your field has that direct application of pure research in a way that most fields do not. That makes it very exciting.

PR: This has been fascinating. This is a fun field. I never lost enthusiasm for it.

CAC: I can tell that. [laughter] Some people didn't have enthusiasm. You told me that there were petitions seeking your dismissal in the 1970s.

PR: [laughter] Yes, this is going to make an important little segment in the university archival records. We had a drought in 1975-1976 and we had severe financial pressure on farmers in 1976-1977. You might say that is the year in which the *Brave New World* [by Aldous Huxley] was shown to be a fake; in that, after the price of grain skyrocketed in the 1972-1973 period following the Russian wheat purchase of 1972 and the price of energy spurted after the formation of OPEC [Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries], people in the fields of natural resources assumed that they faced a world of continuing and probably increasing scarcities, and that anybody who had resources was sitting on a gold mine, and that the only way prices of these products could go was up. So, we got a land boom in farmland, and we got the kind of careless lending on oil exploration that led to the fall of the Continental Illinois Bank just recently, and a whole lot of other great mistakes and, among other things, we got exaggerated ideas of what commodity prices should be for corn and soybeans in west central Minnesota. A lot of land was purchased assuming these prices would continue to go up.

CAC: And land values?

PR: And that land values would follow. In the state of Minnesota, the most exposed and vulnerable area climatically is the west central group of counties centered around Yellow Medicine, Lac Qui Parle, and Pipestone, and the western part of Lyon County, and southern Traverse, and Chippewa, and Swift, and Grant.

CAC: Is this around the University of Minnesota-Morris?

PR: South and west of that. It's the counties that border South and North Dakota from Pipestone north to Breckenridge [Minnesota] and Wahpeton [North Dakota].

CAC: You say they are climatically vulnerable?

PR: Very vulnerable. In other words, that is the part of the state if we have a drought that's where it is droughty. If we have a cyclone or a tornado, that's where it occurs. That's the highest risk hail belt. It's so high in risk that some of the hail insurance companies will not write hail insurance policies in the area or only at an exaggeratedly high rate. That area has traditionally been the source of protest in Minnesota; you know this from your historian's background. That is the area that generated the elder [Ole Edvart] Rølvaag that wrote *Giants in the Earth*.

CAC: You bet.

PR: That is the area that has been the seedbed for every farmer protest movement in the last 100 years. The Farmers' Holiday Movement, the Nonpartisan League, and early support for some of the splinter political groups that grew up in Minnesota after the 1880s all have been centered in this high hazard zone of west central Minnesota. In 1976-1977 following the drought and a collapse of commodity prices, the idea that they were going to be bailed out by the starving millions overseas who would have to come for them for their high-priced food was punctured. As a consequence, the disappointment and the deflation in our expectations was worst in this west central region. As a result, we got the new chapter in the history of protest movements in the form of the creation of the American Agricultural Movement. AAM is this generation's version of the Farmers' Holiday Movement, and the Nonpartisan League, and all of its predecessors—coming out of the same seedbed.

CAC: So to speak.

PR: I spoke at a seminar in Spring Hill at the conference center at which I commented in the lecture that many people overpaid for land and many young couples that had decided not to continue farming reversed their decision and decided to become farmers after 1972-1973 thinking they saw a good thing and wanted to be in the ground floor. Then, I went on to say that many of them had conned their wives into joining them in returning to the land. That was picked up

and given more prominence in the press than it had in the speech. It got a lot of publicity in this area just at the time that they were organizing the American Agricultural Movement. I was denounced. There were meetings protesting against this man speaking in the name of the University of Minnesota. My poor secretary was driven crazy by abusive telephone calls that came in by people who wanted to tell me off in person. Finally, I said, "Why don't you invite me out to talk to you? Why don't you let me come out and you can hear exactly what I have to say."

CAC: [laughter]

PR: I went out to west central Minnesota.

CAC: You did. You were invited. Ooof! The AAM invited you out or was it some other group?

PR: Yes, the AAM organized the meeting; although technically, it was the local banker that was my host. This was dramatic, more dramatic than I thought. I thought it would be a little stressful . . . there would be tension and there might be some name calling; but, I was not prepared to be met by two big burly guards who made it clear that they were my guards, and who took me to dinner at the local cafe, and sat one on each side of me to be sure that I was properly protected, and who then marched me into the local high school auditorium through the basement door, not through the front, not through the side, but came up the steps to the back of the stage. The curtains had been drawn on the stage; so, they parted the curtains so that I could walk out and take my place at a table where I was seated. At the end of my talk, they had me walk back the same way, and they walked me out to the parking lot, and saw to it that I got into the car, and left town right away.

CAC: There was no public outcry during your remarks? Questions? Answers?

PR: Oh, yes, oh yes, there was and some rather vicious name calling. It was a therapeutic example of the value of letting people sound off. It was pretty well orchestrated. The elder Benson was there . . . the old man.

CAC: Heavens . . . of course.

PR: It gave him an opportunity to get up and give a little speech condemning me and the university. Some of his relatives were there and they organized a clack at the back of the room who marched in front of one of these roving microphones that was stationed around the auditorium and had about ten people in line, each one of them denouncing me but in a different way. Then, they wrote a series of letters to the department and there were some articles in the newspapers. I have an assembly of all of these letters and the clippings which I'll turn over to the archives someday.

CAC: But it reached the board of regents, you were suggesting?

PR: It did because they subsequently succeeded in getting, I know of one and maybe more than one, the chambers of commerce out there in that part of the state to petition the board of regents to fire me, that I was damaging the university. The ones that I saw were based on the grounds that I was reporting the decline in land values that was undermining their economy. This was a classic case of shooting the messenger.

CAC: Sure.

PR: They didn't want this reported because it was bad for business. This was a resolution of the chamber of commerce addressed to the board of regents, which was then routed down through the dean and to my department head and shown to me. He said, "What should I tell them?"

CAC: Did you ever have a response from President Magrath?

PR: Never. I don't know what answer was ever given. I will be someday curious to find out. I never saw the correspondence.

CAC: I'll tell you, Philip, that's a high point to end at least this segment of our interview on. That's a good story.

PR: [laughter] Okay.

CAC: It suggests the influence that professors really have if they can lower all those land values, then it has real significance! I thank you very much, Phil. As you have second thoughts and as I go through a number of other interviews, it may be there are things I'll pick up that I want to come back for.

PR: Do.

CAC: I think we've had three and a half very good hours . . . very useful and I thank you very much.

PR: It's always a thrill and an honor to be asked to do something like this, of course. I hope it wasn't too rambling.

CAC: Oh, I think we marched right through an agenda. Stories always go sideways, and jump ahead, and jump back. That's part of the joy of doing this.

PR: Are you going to file that curricula vita with this?

CAC: Yes.

PR: Why don't you add this to it because there's some stuff there that isn't in that one.

CAC: There's lots of useful information and lots of fun. Many of my tapes are just fun to listen to, I'm sure.

PR: I will be interested, in some future year, in knowing what a researcher thinks when he comes to some of this stuff.

CAC: You may be interested in hearing some of the other ones. You can go over to the university archives and play them. Again, thank you.

[End of Tape 4, Side 1]

[End of the Interview]

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