

# U. S. Foreign Policy Has Two Basic Aims

## Preventing War Is Diplomacy as Well As Military Job

(Editor's note: This is another in the series of topics for discussion in the Great Decisions program. Today's topic is "What kind of world is possible?" It concerns American foreign policy regarding prevention of an all-out war and to survive the cold war with American strength and freedom intact.)

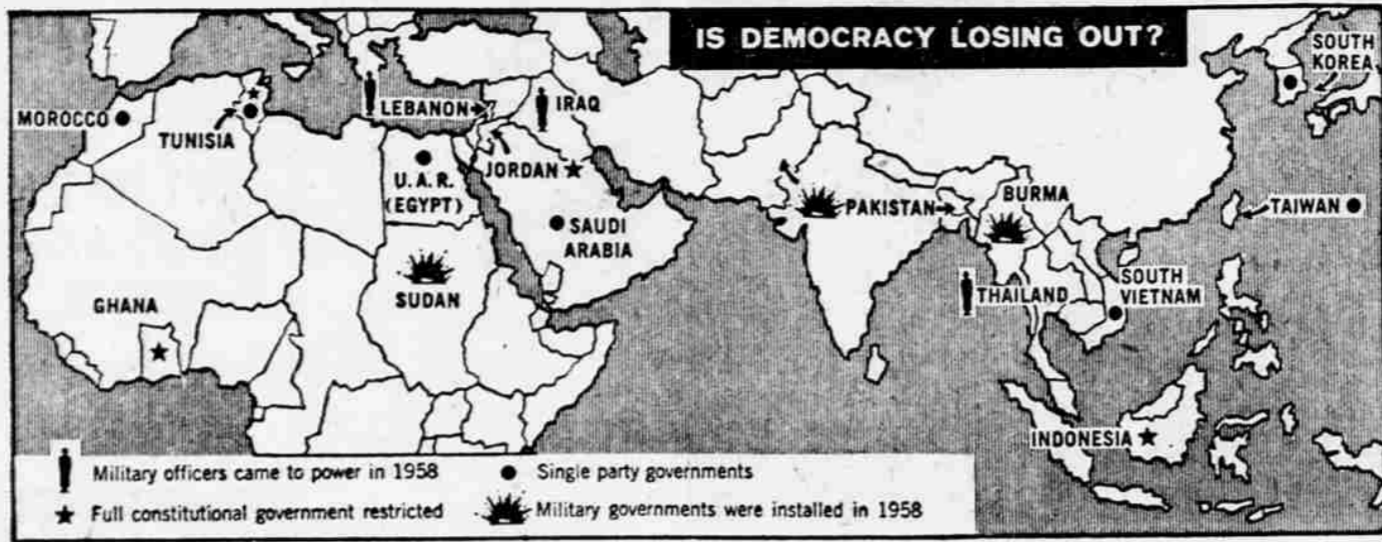
A world burnt to a crisp in nuclear warfare is one possibility for the future; a world perpetually on the brink of annihilation, deadlocked in prolonged cold war, is another possibility.

These two prospects suggest that United States foreign policy has two fundamental aims; first, to prevent an all-out war that would destroy the contenders, and probably the spectators as well; second, to survive a long cold war with American strength and freedom intact.

The first aim, to prevent war, is a diplomatic as well as a military job, most experts agree. It involves creative policies, maneuver, consultation, negotiation, a mixture of firmness and flexibility. It also involves adequate military power to prevent East-West differences from degenerating into total war.

**Involves Policies**  
The second aim, to survive a prolonged cold war, may well be a job for every aspect of American society, domestic as well as foreign policies. It will involve our social and economic policies; education, research and civil rights as well as trade, aid and technical assistance. It will also involve our military policies, including plans for possible limited wars.

There are many disagree-



ments on how the United States can best carry out these two fundamental objectives of foreign policy. Yet certain principles are shared by nearly all the experts. Among these are:

1. The power of the United States and the effectiveness of its policies depend, to some degree, on the unity of power and purpose of the western anti-Communist alliance.

**Intense Nationalism**  
2. The policies of the United States and the Western alliance must take into account, not only the threat of communism, but also the many forces at work in the world which have little to do with communism — among others, intense nationalism of new nations, the pressure of population explosion on world resources, revolutionary change in modern technology, worldwide competition for markets and raw materials, and the universal demand for economic growth.

3. Policies to build the kind of world we want will be effective only if we are realistic about the kind of world that is possible.

According to many critics, postwar U.S. foreign policy has seldom been creative or imaginative. Such imaginative ideas as the Truman administration's Marshall Plan or the Eisenhower administration's "atoms for peace" are rare. We are more apt, these critics say, to plod along until a crisis develops, and then to improvise policies to deal with the crisis.

**Berlin Problem**  
The Berlin problem is a case in point, some observers claim. The crisis was forced on the West by Russia's ultimatum (later softened) demanding the withdrawal of Allied occupation forces from West Berlin by May 27, and the creation of a "free city"

in the Western sector. Since that announcement Moscow has proposed a series of variations on its original proposal, only adding to the uncertainty, in Western capitals, of the Russian intentions.

The White House has full bipartisan support for a firm stand in Berlin, regardless of Russian pressures. But many U.S. and Allied experts believe that the West should have been more imaginative in the past in its handling of the Berlin problem — of the larger, related problems of German reunification and European security.

West Berlin might, for example, have been made the capital of West Germany some years ago. Or the West might have paid more attention to Polish proposals for military "neutralization" of Central Europe, including Germany.

**Flexibility in Crisis**  
The opportunity for flexibility in the present crisis has also been raised. Some experts suggest that the West might temporarily forego all German free elections, for example, and accept a confederation of free West and Communist East Germany. Or that the West confront Russia with some creative new proposal for Berlin, Germany or Central Europe that would allow Western diplomacy to take the initiative.

Whatever policies are adopted for the immediate weeks ahead, responsible opinion is practically unanimous in recognizing that the principal Western Allies — Washington, London, Paris and West Germany — must be firm or flexible together. The United States may be the paramount power in the Western alliance, but it cannot act alone in Berlin or any other major cold war front.

The Berlin crisis is haunted by some other fateful shadows, observers believe. A firm Western stand on Berlin implies a willingness to go to war, if necessary, rather than surrender to the Russian demand. This, in turn, raises the question of whether the West is equipped to wage a limited war over Germany — a war that would not automatically become all-out nuclear war, engulfing the entire world.

President Eisenhower, in his March 11 press conference, seemed to rule out limited war in this case. Thus another question is raised — whether or not the West is capable of waging and surviving total war.

**Alternatives**  
Alternatives of this magnitude make it clear that stark East-West confrontation over Berlin may involve more than a matter of principle and legal rights of the Allied occupation powers. It may be a matter of survival.

Policies to deal with a problem such as Berlin must take into account a host of other possible developments, and the West's capacity to deal with these. Thus "how far are we willing to go?" is translated into "how far are we capable of going?" This would be just as true in the Middle East and the Taiwan Strait as it is in Berlin.

How far we are capable of going reduces itself to such questions as U.S. and Allied economic and military power in relation to Communist power, and Western objectives and commitments in the rest of the non-Communist world is between the industrialized democracies and the underdeveloped lands. By way of contrast, the Communist bloc accounts for only 6 per cent of all world trade.

**Another Aspect**  
Another aspect of Western economic power which disturbs observers is the relatively faster rate of growth of Communist economies. If the Communist powers continue to build their industries at present rates, and if Western economic growth is not speeded up, the West's lead over the East may vanish in the course of a few decades.

On the military side the West pins its strategy on the principle of "deterrence." The administration, for example, has abandoned thoughts of trying to match Communist military strength man for man or missile for missile. Instead the United States depends on its power to destroy the Communist homeland even after we are attacked. As the West is laid in ruins by Russian missiles, Western bombers would be en route to work equal destruction on Communist targets.

This still leaves open to debate two important questions. First, will the United States continue to have absolute retaliatory power without faster development of our own missiles, and quicker transfer from manned bombers to more modern weapons? Second, are we capable of anything but massive retaliation — are we losing, in other words, our capacity to fight limited war with conventional armies and weapons such as we used in Korea?

**Firmness Limited**  
On both the economic and the military side, the flexibility or firmness of Western policies is limited in large measure to Western capabilities. Nor is the present balance of power all there is to the picture. To deal with new crises in the future (and a prolonged cold war will surely produce new crises) the West must lay the foundations now for the power it

will some day need. This, experts say, applies to future economic power and future military power.

Finally, observers point out that developments throughout the non-Communist world will also affect the future power and effectiveness of the Western alliance. Economic dependence of the industrialized democracies on the underdeveloped areas is part of the problem. Another part is the race between growing economic needs of the newly developing nations and their rapid population growth. Many commentators also feel that the ideological contest between East and West is vitally important.

According to this view it is essential that the emerging new nations of Africa and Asia, and the struggling republics of Latin America, find their future in the free, Western-type democratic practices. Otherwise the whole ideological cause of the Western powers loses its meaning. If the vast majority of the world's peoples turn to militarism or to communism in the years ahead, the United States may find itself in a kind of world where survival of our way of life is improbable, if not impossible.

## Hawaii Teamsters Union Imports Barred as Pickets

Seattle — (UPI) — Two pickets flown from Hawaii by the Teamsters union were barred by a court order from picketing a van and storage firm here Friday. Another firm was still being picketed.

A Superior Court restraining order barred the picketing of the Smyth Van and Storage Co. was granted on Thursday. A one-man picket line is still in effect at the Martin Van lines establishment here.

The pickets were imported from Hawaii Local 996 of the Teamsters union. A strike in Hawaii has closed the South Hawaiian Van Lines and the Martin Overseas Van Lines since last Friday.

A show-cause hearing has been scheduled in Superior Court here Tuesday on the Smyth firm's petition to halt the picketing.

Martin Van Lines has filed unfair labor practice charges with the national labor relations board, contending the picketing is a secondary boycott.

Members of Teamster Local 174 of Seattle have respected the picket lines of the Hawaiian local although there is no dispute between Local 174 and the two firms.

## Junior RC Make Table Decorations

Members of the Junior Red Cross council made Easter table decorations for members of the Camp White domiciliary at a meeting March 17 at the chapter house.

Schools represented included Howard, Hedrick Junior High, Washington, Jefferson, Roosevelt, West Side, Jackson, Lincoln, McLoughlin and Medford High.

Mrs. Myers Jones, Mrs. Reese M. Alexander and Mrs. Paul Lea were senior advisors attending.

Maj. Gen. J. H. Hicks will discuss Civil Defense at the next meeting April 21.

## HONEYMOON ENDS

Montgomery, Ala. — (UPI) — Alcide De Sartain, 22, ended a week-long honeymoon Friday and surrendered himself to Alabama authorities to finish a 20-year armed robbery charge. Sartain escaped from Kilby Prison last summer and went to California, where he found a job and a wife. Sartain said he wanted to finish his prison sentence so he could start a new life.

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**Bill Gives Governor Moderate Authority**  
Salem — (UPI) — The House State and Federal Affairs committee Friday approved a bill giving authority to reorganize state government.

The bill originally was tabled because the committee believed it gave the governor too much power without providing enough controls for the Legislature.

Rep. George Layman (R-Newberg) re-drafted the measure. The plan for reorganization would be presented at the start of a legislative session. The House must act on it in 45 days and then the Senate must act in the same period. As originally drafted the plan would go into effect if the Legislature failed to take action.

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