

Question of Which Decisions Are Urgent Ones Is Discussed

Issues May Get Lost in Oratory Of Election Year

(Editor's note: This is the last in the Great Decisions... 1960 topics which will be discussed by groups throughout the country this week. The material has been prepared and furnished by the Foreign Policy Association. Today's article discusses "Which 'Great Decisions' Are the Urgent Ones?")

Nineteen-sixty is an election year. The symptoms are already unmistakable: the jockeying for partisan advantage in Congress, the hustling about the country of a parade of potential candidates, the endless public opinion polls on the popularity of possible nominees, and the spreading barrage of campaign talk.

In an election year, two things are probable:

First, the American public will be treated to more than its usual share of debate on complex issues of national policy. Candidates and campaigners will explore exhaustively such difficult controversies as national defense, national economic growth, the farm problem, inflation, education and similar issues. Furthermore, a great deal of the talk will center on foreign policy—what this country can or cannot afford to do, and what it must do, to insure its own survival.

Second, as the election-year debate grows more intense, the American public may become more, rather than less, confused. The really urgent issues are always in danger of getting buried in the oratory and heat of the political contest.

How, then, can the individual citizen make private order out of the public chaos of ideas? How can he or she sort out the really important "great decisions" facing the American electorate this year?

The problem, obviously, is not lack of information; the press and airwaves will be more loaded with information than usual. The problem, rather, is to find ways to organize information so that it can be digested and used intelligently.

James Reston, Chief of the New York Times Washington bureau, put it this way in a recent speech:

Develop Philosophy
"We need... to develop a philosophy about our country's place in the world today, a way of looking at these endless scare headlines. Otherwise, I fear, the constant press of events will drive us into a state of indifference, which is a menace to democratic government, or into a condition of constant anxiety, which destroys both a tolerant public opinion and private tranquility."

This last in the series of articles on "Great Decisions... 1960" will attempt to deal with this problem. Following are some of the guidelines suggested by leading American thinkers. Many of these ideas have appeared quite recently in a variety of studies and reports issued by private educational and research organizations, some of them working on contract to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Together these ideas may be treated as a kind of road map—a beginning aid to the individual citizen who is trying to make sense out of the current political debate. And, be-

cause of widespread agreement that national survival is the overriding issue, this summary focuses largely on U.S. foreign policy.

Fundamental Agreement
A battery of America's top foreign affairs specialists has reached fundamental agreement that the basic aim of U.S. foreign policy can no longer be described in such narrow terms as (a) protecting the American people and territory from outside danger, or (b) preserving the existing world order in some kind of balance or status quo.

The first proposition is out of date, they say, for several reasons. Modern technology—especially weapons technology—has shrunk the planet to the size of a single neighborhood. Oceans and the Polar Cap are no longer significant protection. No single nation can any longer insure its own survival.

The global contest is between powerful groups of nations, some free and some totalitarian. Allies are now essential—and not only in the military sense, but also economically. Finally, the global contest will determine whether the world of the future is pluralistic, diverse and tolerant, or whether it is monolithic, dogmatic and totalitarian.

Second Proposition
The second proposition is out of date, according to the experts, simply because the world "order" or "system" is changing with phenomenal rapidity. The old fashioned "balance of power" has virtually collapsed in a bipolar world.

There is no longer a single world economy in which various nations play larger or smaller roles; there are emerging two competing economic systems—one based on private, competitive, interdependent trade and a communist economic system designed to replace the other.

Furthermore, the entire underdeveloped world is in the midst of a basic revolution in which emerging nations hope to accomplish in 10 years what the advanced nations took as much as 100 years to accomplish.

In short, the experts say, the American people must redefine the very basis of this country's foreign policy. They must come up with a philosophy or set of objectives that will deal with the world as it is. What would such a definition include? Here are some of the suggestions:

Broad, Basic Aim
"First and foremost," says a report issued by the Council on Foreign Relations, "the United States must have a broad, basic aim which responds to the deep aspirations of the world's peoples, as well as meets the challenge from the communist bloc. Such an aim is the building, jointly with other free nations, of a new international order."

"The challenge," says the Rockefeller Report on foreign economic policy, "is to build a new structure that will make possible the fulfillment of the basic purposes of humanity... No country—even the United States—can meet the expectations of its people to continue to grow merely by developing and using its own resources alone. The free world must devise the institutions for a world community in which free societies may flourish and free men may have the opportunity to realize their potentialities as human beings."

Still another report, one prepared by the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, puts the challenge to U.S. foreign policy in three parts:

(a) That the basic conflict

(in the world) is between human freedom and welfare on the one hand, and totalitarianism on the other...

Rival Conceptions
"(b) That also at issue are two rival conceptions of world order—one based on pluralism and diversity and the other based on dogmatic totalitarianism..."

"(c) That in the minds of many, the United States appears as satisfied, comfortable, interested primarily in the status quo..."

Thus, some of America's keenest thinkers believe that this nation must, in the years ahead, make bold decisions in each of the following areas:
Domestically. Strengthen and enrich American society, make better and wiser use of our resources, speed the growth of our national economy, pay less attention (if necessary) to gimmicks and gadgets, pay more attention to the things (such as education) that will make us stronger. Doing these things will, of course, cost money and sacrifice.

With other free nations. Accept the interdependence of all free nations, and our common cause in building a new world order in which freedom can survive; work for closer cooperation on economic, political and military matters; set goals and build the kinds of institutions that will contribute to the joint well-being, power and security of free societies. These things, too, will take money, sacrifice and, perhaps, wholly new concepts of the meaning of national sovereignty.

In the underdeveloped world. Accept greater responsibilities for hastening the economic growth and social development of backward societies; in cooperation with other free and wealthy nations, invest in world-wide economic growth—with both increased government aid and increased private investment;

take greater pains to foster the development of free political institutions in these areas—not necessarily on our own pattern, but free in the sense that individual rights and liberties will be guaranteed. All these things will also take planning, effort and money.

In the struggle with communism. Recognizing the critical nature of the conflict, take the firm steps and make the investments of effort and money necessary to insure victory; accept second place in nothing—not in science, technology, education, economic power or military power; negotiate but do not retreat; strive for peace but be equipped for war. To carry out these aims, dedication and a clear free world strategy will be necessary, as well as money.

Globally. Act on the conviction that our positive goal is to create a world environment in which free societies, by peaceful consent, can survive and prosper—and that, in the long run, this is the only course of action which holds out any hope for blunting and eventually modifying communist ambitions for a global, totalitarian order. These actions will also be expensive.

In brief terms, these are the guidelines for the future which some of America's top thinkers propose. The decisions they recommend will cost money—both public and private investment in the future. Concrete plans and programs are also implied; vague "good intentions" will not get these jobs done.

Finally, say the experts, time is a vital factor. Decisions made by the next President, in his first year in office, can determine whether or not America is equipped to face the challenges of 1963 or even 1970.

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250,000 Americans Discuss Problems Of Red China

An estimated 250,000 Americans have completed a week of study and discussion devoted to the problems of United States policy toward Red China, as part of the nationwide, eight-week program "Great Decisions-1960."

An informal summary of opinion of 4,600 of these participants—released by the Foreign Policy Association, the non-profit, non-partisan educational organization which sponsors "Great Decisions"—revealed that 31 per cent of those included in the survey favored continued blocking of Peiping from the United Nations, 22 per cent agreed we should "abstain" from blocking Peiping in the United Nations, and 47 per cent accepted the statement: "Vote for Peiping's entry into UN if Peiping will make important concessions such as renunciation of the use of force."

"Great Decisions" study group members in 22 states were included in the tally which was composed of data measure specific policies and party platforms against these recommendations? On these questions the experts are less precise.

The ultimate criterion is perhaps individual judgment—how urgent is the individual's concern; how much does he want his country to do, and at what sacrifice to himself; how much in other words, is the individual American willing to invest in building a future that only his descendants may enjoy?

continued military support of Nationalist China "only on Taiwan and islands necessary to defense of Taiwan;" 39 per cent agreed with the statement: "continue U.S. military support of Nationalist China and all territories it now controls."

Complex Area
Trading with Red China was another complex area in which attitudes conflicted. Forty-three per cent approved of "relaxing trade restrictions on Red China to match our restrictions on trade with the U.S.S.R.;" 23 per cent thought it best to "continue embargo on all U.S. trade with Red China;" 29 per cent agreed with the statement "relax embargo on trade."

Noting the difficulties of the China issue, the Foreign Policy Association, in its study materials on the subject, has written: "The division in American opinion is deep, perhaps because the issues are equally deep, complicated and related so closely to people's concepts of what is right and wrong, and moral and immoral, realistic and unrealistic."

The Foreign Policy Association summaries of "Great Decisions" group opinion are not "polls" but informal accountings of the attitudes expressed by a minority of "Great Decisions" participants.

CALENDAR PHOTO
Portland-UPA-A 1961 calendar with a national circulation of 10 million will carry a color photograph of Oregon's Crater lake, the Chamber of Commerce said Saturday. A color photograph of the lake has been furnished to the St. Joseph Family Almanac calendar.

With regard to recognition of Communist China, opinion was divided over three propositions. Thirty-two per cent said "continue present non recognition policy;" 27 per cent were for recognizing Peiping "outright;" 41 per cent agreed with the statement, "offer recognition if Peiping will make important concessions such as renunciation of the use of force."

A number of "write-in" comments, however, expressed the view "Do not trust any Communist promise that they will not use force" or "any concessions Peiping would make would be ignored if it suited their plan." Other comments: "price of recognition should include pulling out of Tibet, settling border disputes;" "recognize Red China if it will give up claim to Formosa;" and "conditional recognition—not moral approval."

Continued economic support of Nationalist China (Taiwan) was approved by 54 per cent; 34 per cent advocated

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