

P E A C E - N E W S - L E T T E R

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council, No. 59-91

SPC 232

Rev. Alan B. Featody, Editor \$1.00 per year

February 27, 1959

INSTITUTE REGISTRATION The annual February Institute brought a total registration of 175 persons, of which 91 attended all sessions, from communities as widely scattered across New York as Buffalo and Albany, Elmira and Watertown. 40% of the registrants were students from Alfred, Cornell, Harpur, Hartwick, Syracuse, and the University of Rochester. Four young people made a long trek from Montreal for the second successive year.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY DESCRIBED Richard Challener, Professor of History at Princeton University was pinch hitter for Mrs. Caryl Kline who was prevented from participating in the Institute by illness.

Describing the complete shift in American policy in the five or six years following World War II from the FDR concept of Great Power Cooperation in the United Nations to one of wariness as regards the Soviet Union, the speaker set forth four major premises underlying American policy:

1. War results from miscalculation. The United States must clearly announce the positions which it will hold in the world.
2. The Nation must not give the impression that it will give in without a fight under pressure from the other side. It must be willing to go to war if necessary.
3. Russia desires to keep us armed to the teeth and is ready to choose the location of a fight any place on the globe. Thus we must be militarily prepared.
4. The United States maintains a moral position in the world. All the world wants American democracy and we must be prepared to export it.

Current policies follow from those premises but may be made immobile by a lack of a balanced military force. That is, our emphasis on nuclear weapons and strategic bombers may not be the right emphasis for "limited" wars. Further, the greatest weakness of the Dulles policy is in relatively quiet times when the United States tends to be inflexible, to mouth slogans, and fails to come to grips with problems such as German reunification and the disposition of Chinese off-shore islands.

CHINA: A CASE STUDY Derk Bodde, Professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania, traced the development of Chinese civilization through the centuries as essential to a proper understanding of what is occurring there today under the aegis of the Peking regime.

These long term social developments (anti-dating the present Communist regime) led to certain consequences:

1. An age-old acceptance of widespread governmental control.
2. The interest of the government in problems of land ownership and use.
3. The uses of masses of man power for public works.
4. The concept of government by men rather than by law (found in Confucianism).
5. The concept that the ruler rules like a father; i.e., must be benevolent and concerned with the needs of his people.

China has always been ruled by an elite. Today that ruling elite has a wider social base than ever before.

It is a myth that we Americans lost China to the Communists in 1949 because of Communists in the State Department. The Chinese accepted communism because of its nationalistic appeal, i.e., China need no longer be humiliated by other powers; and because under Communism the economy has developed. A staggering industrialization program has been successfully launched, and there have been great strides in increasing agricultural production to meet the needs of $\frac{1}{2}$ of the world's population.

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There is no doubt that there is comprehensive planning and mobilization of man power. But is this slave labor? It is not a matter of physical coercion so much as it is the mobilization of the pressure of public opinion - manipulated by leaders through group activity - which leads to the social acceptance of and participation in gigantic schemes of public works. The pattern of utilizing man power thusly is in China, however, much older than Communism.

No one can say how many people oppose the system. No doubt the great majority accept it just as the great majority of Americans accept our way of life.

What about U. S. policy to China? "We have chosen to support an aging man with an aging army on Taiwan with 10 million people as against 600 million people on the mainland. We have allowed him to lead us to the brink several times. "By refusing to recognize a going concern we have gotten ourselves into a blind alley." Many of the world's problems simply cannot be solved without the participation of China. "Communist China will be around for a long time to come."

A GENERAL LOOKS AT FOREIGN POLICY Hugh Hester, Brigadier General, U. S. Army (Retired) has spent the years of his retirement (since 1951) in intensive study, writing, and speaking in the field of Foreign Policy. He listed the following "Myths of U. S. Foreign Policy":

1. That we are all white and our opponents are all black; that if the capitalist world would destroy communism, then we would have peace.
2. That we will survive if we have a war regardless of what happens to the rest of the world.
3. That our allies are secure and that our system of military alliances are as solid as the rock of Gibraltar.
4. That you can have security in an arms race.
5. That NATO has prevented war. NATO was organized because it was believed that Russia would move across Europe to the English Channel. But for years it was only a paper organization, and would have been ineffective in preventing that move. Yet people are saying that because there was no war, NATO prevented it.
6. That you cannot trust our opponents; they violate treaties. All nations keep their word when it is in their interests to do so, and break their solemn agreements when it is convenient to do so.
7. That we are above and beyond engaging in subversion; that only our opponents engage in subversion. Every nation uses every weapon at its command.
8. That we can buy our security by shipping munitions around the world. (The speaker pointed out how our arms shipped to a government we recognized were used by the other side in Iraq and in China.)

Positive steps recommended by General Hester were:

1. Sincere efforts at negotiation as our only chance. "We must keep the chaps at the top talking."
2. Recognition that in an American economy where 1 out of every 7½ people is engaged in "defense work," a war economy cannot be dismantled without planning.
3. "Trust and faith are essential elements in every human activity." We must open up Russia to human contacts and maximize trade.
4. Universalize and strengthen the United Nations.
5. Recognize that poverty, ignorance and bigotry are the real enemies in our world.

ALTERNATIVES TO BRINKMANSHIP A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, made a brilliant analysis of the results of our policy, and some unusual suggestions for alternatives.

The international political situation is characterized by 1) terrific movement and fluidity in the development of weapons and 2) extreme rigidity in the political realm. Neither major power wants war, but none of the political issues are really being settled.

There seems to be a flight from Reality. Nuclear war is politically irrational and morally indefensible. Not one objective of either side can be advanced by war. The popular concept of deterrent power holds that weapons are being made and stockpiled in a tense situation for the purpose of not being used. "The bigger the danger the greater the safety" was Raymond Graham Swing's characterization of the theory. "If it were the way to get security we would feel it in some way."

"The nature of modern war may lead to the abolition of war provided that men face the fact and do something about it." Ultimately one recourse may be the readiness of one side to take the initiative through unilateral action to bring the arms race to a halt. We have given the Russian Communists the example of Hiroshima. Perhaps the time has come to give them another kind of example.

ANNUAL NYSPC MEETING At the Annual Meeting of the New York State Peace Council, the Rev. Alan B. Peabody of DeRuyter was reelected chairman. Glenn Mallison of Herkimer was elected vice chairman, and Maria Weill of Schenectady was elected Secretary.

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Next month's News-Letter will deal with the final institute discussion, "What Can a Man Do?"

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