

# PROSPECT FOR

# AMERICA

---

The problems and opportunities  
confronting American democracy—in foreign  
policy, in military preparedness,  
in education, in social and economic affairs.

---

THE  
ROCKEFELLER PANEL  
REPORTS

---

toward common conclusions. All this, in itself, was an exercise in democracy. We are indeed proud and grateful to have been associated with the men and women who, intelligently and devotedly, made it this.

Such an undertaking itself marks one of the great distinctions between a free society and one that is enslaved. There is *dialogue* in a democracy—a dialogue not only between great political parties but between the people and their government. In this dialogue, the conversation is mutual and continuing. Both not only speak but also listen. Each deeply affects the other's capacity for thinking and for acting. By contrast, the political conversation in a tyranny is basically a *monologue*: the state talks, the people listen.

This project, then, has been a sustained effort to contribute to the dialogue by which we Americans live—the dialogue in which the voices of alert and concerned citizens may be heard by the leadership of a nation, both within and without the government.

By more and many such efforts, we may hope that the dialogue of American democracy, over the years, will continue to prove itself a thing of vigor and truth.

LAURANCE S. ROCKEFELLER

*President*

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund Trustees

on behalf of

DETLIV W. BRONK

WALLACE K. HARRISON

ABBY ROCKEFELLER MAUZE

ABBY M. O'NEILL

DAVID ROCKEFELLER

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 3RD

MARTHA B. ROCKEFELLER

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER

November 1960

## Introduction

BY THE OVERALL PANEL

### I

We who have taken part in this project have done so in the conviction that the United States has come to a crucial point in its history.

The signs are all around us. Probably never have these signs—of growth and change, of danger and dilemma—so abounded in all spheres of our national life. From the security of our nation to the renewal of our cities, from the education of our young to the well-being of our old, from the facts of military might to the subtle substance of spiritual strength—everything seems touched by challenge.

The number and the depth of the problems we face suggest that the very life of our free society may be at stake.

We are concerned that there has not been enough general understanding of the issues confronting us, not enough sense of urgency throughout our nation about the mortal struggle in which we are engaged. Without this awareness, the challenge to our values and to our society cannot be—and has not yet been—fully met.

### II

What is the essence of this society whose defense and enrichment is our great task? A democracy such as ours—neither monolithic in structure nor dogmatic in creed, but capable of reaching a consensus and acting as a nation—gives no simple or symmetrical answer. Its very diversity is part of the answer. Diversity means a

society of individuals free to be themselves so long as they respect this right in others. It means multiplicity of views and attitudes; it means a pluralism of institutions.

Yet there is an American consensus and what lies at the heart of it is clear. It is our belief in the individual as the supreme fact of life, his spiritual and material well-being as the supreme test of the way a society is working. This is not, of course, a peculiarly American notion, but it has given a special accent to all American history. It comes close to stating the central purpose of American life. And it is based upon age-old religious, moral, and cultural traditions—above all, on the concept of the worth and sanctity of the individual as set forth in the teachings of Judaism and Christianity.

The conflict dividing the world and challenging America is much more than a struggle against communism. It is a struggle for something. It requires us, ultimately, not merely to repel the ambitions, or reject the assertions, of totalitarians. It summons us to proclaim and to apply our own convictions of the worth of the individual, to be true to our own beliefs of justice and law, to attack ignorance, poverty, and misery, and, by so doing, to be of help to all free men.

### III

In this spirit, we have weighed the great matters before the nation. Although the six studies we have made divide evenly between subjects traditionally called "foreign" and "domestic," we doubt that this distinction any longer has much meaning, for nothing that America is or does can fail to affect the world. Whatever America seeks to do in the world, it must first be at home. What the world suffers or feels, America eventually must bear or share.

We look at the state of this world in the first of these reports: *The Mid-Century Challenge to U. S. Foreign Policy*. We find a world seething with change, astir with something more profound than the surface clash of Soviet and American national policies. It is astir, in fact, with the sense of freedom that the American example has done so much to foster. It is equally astir with the demand of underprivileged people for more of the necessary things of life. These people are challenging America to inspire and help

lead the way toward a new world order based on our own concepts of freedom and human dignity.

Something much more than conventional national security or containment of hostile aggression is demanded of us. We must seek—for nothing less will suffice—a world in which nations live at peace, in ways that foster justice, so that all men are free to realize their own development and pursue their own aspirations. We are required, then, to strengthen the conditions of freedom at home and to help build them everywhere in the world. We are required to strive to prevent not only World War III but also conflict between the Western and Eastern worlds, now in closer contact than ever in history. We are required as Americans, in short, to think and act like pioneers in the vast enterprise of building a new political order.

While such a world is in the building, however, we cannot neglect a more immediate order of the day: securing the defenses of our own nation. The revolution in technology that makes this task so urgent also makes it more complex than ever. The speed of invention quickens the rate of obsolescence not only of weapons but of policy and strategies. The new weaponry threatens to give ominous advantage to an aggressor. Security becomes precarious and must constantly be redefined. Hence the dilemmas weighed in the second report: *International Security: The Military Aspect*.

The issues involved here test the democratic process in new ways—in the speed of decision required, in the complexity of the matters for decision, in the exigencies of secrecy and security.

We have yet to solve most of these issues. Nor do we believe that the defenses we have built are wholly sufficient.

While strength alone will not guard or secure our future, strength is essential to assure that there will be a future to defend. This strength—both for America and for all free nations—must be, at base, more than military. Among other things, it must be economic. And it must be a growing strength to match and meet new needs and demands. Economic growth is of vital importance to the realization of the aspirations of people everywhere in the world.

The forces of aspiration, of revolution, and of growth in the economic sphere are surveyed in the third and fourth of our reports: *Foreign Economic Policy for the Twentieth Century* and

*The Challenge to America: Its Economic and Social Aspects.* Across the globe, peoples newly free from colonialism are committed to struggle against an even more ancient enemy—poverty. To aid them in this struggle—and to combat the deceptions in Communist promises—new demands are being made on the resources of all free nations. The need will tax these resources in more than a material sense: it will test the capacity of these nations to plan and work together in a crucial common cause.

The vigor and growth required of the American economy are not—let it be stressed—ends in themselves. They are the means of contributing to the human betterment which is the central purpose of our society.

Economic growth depends essentially on healthy and expanding private enterprise. Social institutions, private philanthropy, and government action, however, are required to complement individual initiative in channeling economic growth toward human well-being.

There are many problems yet to be solved in encouraging and achieving the growth of which we are capable. Agriculture, transportation, and urban congestion are illustrations of these. We examine these problem areas as well as what must still be done to strengthen some of the basic elements of individual and family welfare—good education, equality of opportunity, job security, good health, adequate housing, and expanding cultural horizons.

The abiding concern of our society for the individual, for the fullest and wisest development of his resources, is closely examined in the fifth of our reports: *The Pursuit of Excellence: Education and the Future of America*. If we cannot be content with what we have built to date in the structure of our national defenses, we have even less reason for self-congratulation on the structure of our school system. Nor is the matter simply one of formal education. The challenge is to our whole society. As our society becomes more complex and intricate, it demands ever more urgently not only the development of talent which is skilled and dedicated, but the nurture of free, reasoning, and responsible individuals.

This latter aspect of the challenge is explored further in our final report: *The Power of the Democratic Idea*. The power of the idea rests in the belief that only free men can ever really understand this complex world. Only free men can manage its complex

ity, and only free men can have the opportunity for the spiritual, moral, and intellectual growth that our times require. Only free men can really develop that deep consensus of mind and spirit that gives strength and continuity to the democratic society they create and which in turn serves their purposes.

In our democratic society, the role of the state, and of all our institutions, is to serve the individual. The citizen is not their servant: they are his. But the individual, in his turn, recognizes that he himself, in concert with others, is the servant of the greater ideals and values of human worth.

Our institutions—political, social, economic, cultural—must continuously be examined to determine how well they are serving the individual's real needs, his pressing demands, and his supreme purposes.

## IV

Over the last four years, while these studies have been in progress, the details of life around us have been shifting constantly. But the basic problems to be met and the basic decisions to be made have remained with us. Indeed, the urgency has become greater than ever as time has passed.

The surface signs of change in our lives are as plain as the deeper upheavals. One by one, the great leaders of the World War II era are departing from the scene. More than half the population living today is too young to have been aware of the great events and currents of that time. For them, it is an era past and gone. Now, pressing in upon them, comes a future in which great danger is linked with great opportunity.

The foreground of the world scene seems filled with violence and conflict: new nations catapulting onto the stage, the compelling desire of millions for fuller and better daily lives, the search for a social order within which human hopes can be realized, the surge of nationalist passions, the widening chasm between nations rich and poor—and, in addition to all of this, there is the ever-present menace of imperialist communism.

Within America, prosperous and technically at peace, the problems multiply: the slow progress in solving racial tension, the continuing question of economic growth with stability, the complex agricultural problem, the deterioration of our cities, the financial

difficulties of transportation, the need for more schools, more teachers, and improved quality in education.

At the same time the capacity for human betterment has never been greater. The decades ahead offer an opportunity unparalleled in history for man to realize his aspirations for freedom and dignity.

Peril and possibility, then, make ours a time of momentous decision.

At issue is nothing less than the future of America and the freedom of the world.

LAURANCE S. ROCKEFELLER, president, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.; chairman of the panel.

ADOLF A. BERLE, JR., senior partner, Berle, Berle and Brunner; professor of law, Columbia University; former Ambassador to Brazil; former Assistant Secretary of State.

CHESTER BOWLES, member of Congress; former Ambassador to India; former Governor of Connecticut.

ARTHUR F. BURNS, president, National Bureau of Economic Research; professor of economics, Columbia University.

LUCIUS D. CLAY, general, U. S. Army (ret.); chairman, Continental Can Company, Inc.; former commander-in-chief, U. S. Forces in Europe, and Military Governor, U. S. Zone, Germany.

JOHN COWLES, president, *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*; chairman, *The Des Moines Register and Tribune*.

JUSTIN W. DART, president, Rexall Drug and Chemical Company.

JOHN S. DICKEY, president, Dartmouth College.

JOHN W. GARDNER, president, Carnegie Corporation of New York; president, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

LESTER B. CRANGER, executive director, National Urban League, Inc.

CARYL P. HASKINS, president, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

THEODORE M. HESBURGH, president, University of Notre Dame; commissioner, Civil Rights Commission; member,

National Science Board; permanent delegate of Vatican City to the International Atomic Energy Agency; member, Advisory Committee, United States Committee for the United Nations.

MARGARET HICKEY, public affairs editor, *Ladies' Home Journal*.

OVETA CULP HOBBY, president and editor, *The Houston Post*; former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; former director of the WAACS.

DEVEREUX C. JOSEPHS, former chairman, New York Life Insurance Company; former chairman, President's Committee on Education beyond High School.

MILTON KATZ, director, International Legal Studies, Harvard University Law School; former Ambassador and chief in Europe of the Marshall Plan.

JAMES R. KILLIAN, JR., chairman of the corporation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; former special assistant to the President for science and technology.

HENRY R. LUCE, editor-in-chief, *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*.

THOMAS B. McCABE, president, Scott Paper Company; former special assistant to the Secretary of State and Foreign Liquidation Commissioner.

JAMES MCCORMACK, major general, U. S. Air Force (ret.); vice-president, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; former director of research and development, U. S. Air Force; former director of military applications, Atomic Energy Commission.

RICHARD P. McKEON, Department of Philosophy, University of Chicago; former member, United States delegation to the General Conferences of UNESCO; former member, United States National Commission for UNESCO.

LEE W. MINTON, president, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

CHARLES H. PERCY, president, Bell and Howell Company; trustee, University of Chicago; chairman of the board, Fund for Adult Education, Ford Foundation.

JACOB S. POTOFESKY, general president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

ANNA M. ROSENBERG, public and industrial relations consultant; former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel; former regional director, War Manpower Commission.

XXVI INTRODUCTION

DEAN RUSK, president, The Rockefeller Foundation; former Assistant Secretary of State.

DAVID SARNOFF, chairman of the board, Radio Corporation of America.

CHARLES M. SPOFFORD, partner, Davis Polk Wardwell Sunderland and Kiendl; former permanent representative to NATO.

EDWARD TELLER, professor at large of physics, University of California, Berkeley; associate director, University of California Radiation Laboratories.

FRAZAR B. WILDE, chairman of the board and president, Connecticut General Life Insurance Company; chairman, Commission on Money and Credit.

---

ROBERT B. ANDERSON, resigned from the panel in June 1957 on his appointment as Secretary of the Treasury.

GORDON DEAN, senior vice-president—nuclear energy, General Dynamics Corporation, was a member of the panel until his death, August 16, 1958.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, chairman of the panel until May 26, 1958.

---

HENRY A. KISSINGER, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, served as director of the project until his resignation, June 30, 1958, and thereafter as a consultant.

NANCY HANKS, executive secretary.

PROSPECT FOR AMERICA