PROSPECT FOR AMERICA

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

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swers to these questions in their own way, with a deep continuing concern that spiritual qualities assert themselves over the tide of material things.

The American creed as thus briefly summed up can be fulfilled only under conditions of peace and in a world so organized as to make possible free exchange, free communication, and free movement of people and goods. No one nation and no one geographic area alone is capable of preserving the basic rights of man. It is impossible to conceive enduring prosperity for America when large parts of the world struggle in want or oppression. The American ideal—in both its philosophical and its practical form—connotes a sense of growing freedom and well-being. It is not an ideal that can live a shrinking existence, fenced in and defensive. Freedom is part of the world, or it does not have a valid existence anywhere.

AMERICAN CONCEPTION OF THE IDEAL WORLD

We now come back to the kind of world which forms, as we see it, the ultimate objective of foreign policy.

The American objective is a world at peace, based on separate political entities acting as a community.

Within this community there need not and should not be uniformity: diversity of religion, culture, philosophy, social organization, expression, and ideals is to be expected. It is for each people, in its own way, to discover and work out the form of social organization most satisfactory to it. The international community thus conceived ought to include any state that does not insist on imposing its way of life on others. Any Communist state that is prepared to assume the responsibilities and self-restraints of international life can be an acceptable and constructive member of that group.

Such a community of states must build up institutions and arrangements permitting all its members to function and progress, assisting those that may need help. This is required for many reasons. Among them are increasing population, rising standards of living, heightened expectations, need of greater economic interchange, immediacy of communication, and vastly increased contact between communities and peoples. No substantial area of

the earth's surface can now exist without such contacts, friendly or hostile. Present reality offers a single alternative: struggle or co-operation. In another generation, with population doubled in many areas, co-operation may well be the condition of survival.

Institutions binding on all the diverse nations of the world can arise only as the result of acknowledged needs and be chosen only by free consent. The common denominator between the ninety-odd countries now existing is comparatively low. Effective universal arrangements exist largely in technical fields where nations agree to act together to achieve practical results. This area of common action must be constantly enlarged as new developments and as increasing awareness of the world's underlying unity make it possible. Meanwhile, the United States can well encourage "open end agreements"—agreements on specific points concluded among those nations prepared to adopt them but with the door kept open for other nations to join as they conceive it their interest to do so.

Alongside institutions aimed at action on a world scale, there exist already great regions whose necessities and values require a high content of common action—Western Europe, the Western Hemisphere, and the Middle East are obvious examples. In each of these (as also in some other regions) needs are accompanied by a large factor of common regional experience and knowledge and of clear advantage in joint action. As we see it, any world community will include strong regional organizations. The development of these is already on foot; but the need outruns present measures, which often fail to keep pace with obvious necessity and also with what the peoples concerned are ready to accept.

As technical arrangements, often originated on the regional level, develop to a point where there is world-wide recognition of their need and agreement on their substance, they should be institutionalized at the international level. Changing attitudes and conditions will hasten, perhaps to a far greater degree than can now be thought likely, developments in this direction. Certain activities already affect the health and safety of mankind. Defense against disease epidemics and the attacks of pathogens and pests on basic food crops are examples of the growing range of action by a world community. Wherever possible, universalist attitudes deserve encouragement so that the world may pass from feeling the "interdependence of doom" to interdependence in many other, more hopeful forms, including the conservation of vital resources, improvement of standards of health and economic well-being.

The hoped-for result is peace in a world divided into smaller units, but organized and acting in common effort to permit and assist progress in economic, political, cultural, and spiritual life. Such a community must facilitate the freest and fullest access by everyone to the thinking of everyone. It must allow for the widest diversity of ideas, social structure, and forms of expression compatible with the functioning of the community. It would presumably consist of regional institutions under an international body of growing authority—combined so as to be able to deal with those problems that increasingly the separate nations will not be able to solve alone.

Such, in broadest outline, is the image of the world whose building the United States sees as the grand objective of its foreign policy. It is not only by desire that the United States seeks such a world but by necessity. It is not only by the old standards of "national interest" but because the United States cannot hope to become its fullest self except within an environment where new needs are met by new institutions.

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III. The Growth of Community

The image of an ideal world, sketched in the foregoing pages, is not drawn out of thin air. It has already begun to take shape. The British Commonwealth of Nations forms one of the earliest and most significant of modern groupings; the French Community forms one of the most recent. In two areas in particular we see regional associations vitally related to American policy: these are the Western Hemisphere and the Atlantic community. At the same time, the United Nations provides a vigorous example of a growing institution at the world level. The effectiveness of American policy will be judged in large part by the degree to which it succeeds in helping to keep these existing associations —regional and universal—in sound health and on the path of progress.

There are other areas, such as Africa and Asia, where regional life is taking on new forms. But in these the United States does not have the same degree of responsibility as it does in the American and Atlantic communities. Here the United States is able to exert direct influence; its leadership and active help form important ingredients in the developing situations. Results in these areas will demonstrate to the world what as a people we value and are really seeking.

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

The United States has always been part of the Atlantic world. It was its child and spiritual heir. It survived and grew up within the shadow of Europe's rivalries. Even during the long period of westward expansion and territorial consolidation, when the United States seemed to dwell apart, links of common interest