

"IS THE WORLD BIG ENOUGH FOR ALL OF US?"

was the question discussed at the American Friends Service Committee's 1949 New York Institute of International Relations held on the Cornell University campus, Ithaca, July 29 to August 7. In that period, 135 attenders from 15 states and several foreign countries - with the help of an expert faculty - studied the question from the standpoint of physical and ideological conflicts which affect world peace. In general the faculty agreed that the world is big enough to provide a better life for its two billion inhabitants - but some profound changes are necessary.

JOSEPH BARNES (foreign correspondent and editor): "Is the world big enough for communism and western democracy?" Russia is not nearly as strong as we think; it is not in the same league with the U.S., either industrially or militarily. U.S. fear of communism largely is a rationalization of insecurity over our domestic weaknesses. Russia, too, feels insecure in the face of its own tremendous internal problems. Personal talks with Russians reveal no aggressive desires; rather, their thoughts are turned toward their home, their jobs. Russians look east, and not west. In fact, Russia's geographic center of population has moved eastward 500 miles in the past 40 years. Western democracy's only real answer to communism is to give its members strength and freedom, and make the western world really function for human good.

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA (Indian delegate to the UN Social Commission): "Is the world big enough to allow India to work out her own future?" India is determined to control her own domestic life. She believes that the test of any civilization is the kind of individual it produces, and not the quantity of its industrial output. For that reason, village industries are being developed, although large-scale enterprises also are encouraged in order to more quickly improve living conditions. India is determined to stay out of competition for world markets which, in Gandhi's mind, is the cause of world conflict. Though cleaving to Gandhi's non-violence, India is now building up her army for defense purposes, using the soldiers for relief and reconstruction work in peacetime. India's future, and the world's, will depend largely on the use of non-violence in settling differences.

WILFRED WELLOCK (former member of Parliament and economist): "Is the world big enough for expanding industrial markets?" The last war destroyed the old pattern of "backward" countries producing raw materials for manufacture by "modern" countries. Today, the old colonial areas are in revolt and are fast industrializing. No longer can the U.S. and England expect to find vast markets abroad for their industrial output. They either must adjust their domestic economies to achieve better internal balance, or expect severe economic crises.

A companion problem is the regeneration of workers who have been dehumanized by large-scale industry. Mass men with mass minds, responding only to materialistic incentives, these workers have by-passed culture and religion; eventually they will by-pass democracy. Recreation of social and economic life for individual benefit will require decentralization of large cities into small communities and establishment of small-scale industries controlled largely by the workers themselves.

MARIE LOUISE MOLL (Austrian social worker visiting U.S. under auspices of the Society of Friends' World Committee): "Is the world big enough for personal freedom?" In the struggle between authoritarianism and individual liberty, the whole world watches America as the last stronghold of free men. Unfortunately, much of the campaign to control thought and action in the United States today is reminiscent of Germany in the 30's. The future of personal liberty will depend on how much each individual cares for his own freedom and for the freedom of those who have no voice.

GEORGE M. DOCHERTY (minister of North Church, Aberdeen, Scotland): "The biggest problem of man is man." Man is compounded of good and evil; his major task is to overcome himself. Man has become separated from God; he wants to usurp God, indeed to become a God himself.

Modern civilization is satanic. It has the appearance of good, but it is only make-believe. Failure of the church to meet the challenges of the day has created an increasing group of "seculars" who believe in no God; in contrast, pagans - the church's historic concern - believe in some god, even though they are false deities. Demonstrating the value of religion to these "seculars" is the modern minister's biggest problem. In this, the life and teachings of Jesus help make God intelligible and point the way to creative living for all mankind.

BAYARD RUSTIN (youth secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation): "Is the world big enough for continued use of violence in international affairs?" Events of the past forty years clearly reveal that those who live by the sword perish by it. Our present reliance on military might is the result of fear - and fear makes us do idiotic things. Culmination of our get-tough-with-Russia policy is the North Atlantic Pact. To this, Russia has countered by having communists in various countries declare that they will revolt if war starts against Russia.

At this critical impasse, the U.S. must have the courage to disarm and to rely on a policy of good will. This course involves obvious risks - but the risks of continued militarism are even more obvious and certain. There can be no peace while the basic economic, social and political problems of our world are unsolved. But unless the armaments race is ended, there will be no time, energy or resources left to solve these problems.

MAYNARD KRUEGER (University of Chicago economist and Socialist Party candidate for vice-president): "Food, ideals, boundaries and survival." The world's total resources are adequate for its needs but are badly distributed; in this we find the cause of continued conflicts. We either must shift the world's population or give up man-made geographic boundaries and economic barriers. Fundamentally, the United States must stop doing things on a "good business" basis. In the war, goods moved where they were needed, regardless of ability to pay; that principle also underlies a secure peace.

Too many countries measure their economic status in terms of blast furnaces; this is particularly true of former agricultural areas which are rapidly trying to industrialize themselves. In part, this stems from the historical fact that a nation with blast furnaces has always defeated agrarian nations in war. We need the conditions which will allow each part of the world to function within a proper balance of industry and agriculture, imports and exports.

These policies will not be initiated unless people who believe in them make their voices effectively heard - and this means that they must get into politics. A new, dynamic political party is needed in the U.S. - a party supported by the middle classes, by the cooperative movement, and eventually by labor.

WING-TSIT CHAN (professor of Chinese culture at Dartmouth): "China today". The upheaval in China is due to the corruption of the Nationalists and the promises of better life held forth by the communists. When people are hungry, they are interested in food and not ideas.

Success of the communist program in China will depend ultimately on industrialization, through which the standard of living can be improved. This will require huge quantities of machines. For this reason, there is some question about the extent of Russia's involvement in the Chinese communist drive. Russia is having a great deal of trouble providing for its own industrial requirements and cannot meet China's needs at the same time. America can make a friend out of China by furnishing her now with light and heavy industrial equipment.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN (professor of social philosophy, New York School of Social Work): "How can we find the good life on this planet?" Our aim for mankind must be unity and not uniformity. The right to be different is the distinguishing factor in human personality. We have already become totalitarian in economic life. Now, through a verbal religious war, we are moving toward intellectual and spiritual totalitarianism.

Resisting this trend requires discipline. We must live knowing that our world is imperfect, that we cannot have more than a partial realization of our ideals. Further, we must be willing to work gradually for world improvement, choosing the proper means to attain the desired end. These means include institutional correction and social and economic planning.

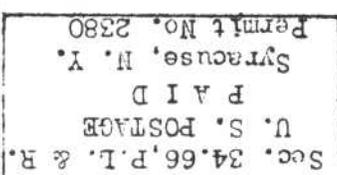
Our answer to communism must be a greater recognition of our responsibilities at home. But if the U.S. must go totalitarian in order to fight it, it would be better not to resist communism at all.

BY-PRODUCTS: Valuable as are the formal lectures and discussions, the worth of an Institute must also be measured in terms of the feelings of community and brotherhood which it engenders. To see a heterogeneous group - people from many national, professional and personal backgrounds - become welded into a closely-bound company in a period of nine days is always an exciting experience.

The fellowship of the worship period helps; so do the picnics and the meal-time chats. One very high point in the Ithaca Institute was the evening spent listening to Bayard Rustin sing spirituals and other folk songs, and tell of his experience in peace and reconciliation work. Even the most matter-of-fact attender must have been lifted to a higher place.

The secret of the Institute is its ability to fuse a desire for better understanding of our world with the feelings of good will which lie in each human - and to produce a newer and richer approach to man's continuing search for peace.

-- George Loft, Special Correspondent to PNL from the Institute.



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