

1959

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Recommended Citation

Barnett, Frank (1959) "Factors Producing the Current World Situation," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 12 : No. 9 , Article 2.
Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol12/iss9/2>

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On page 21, line 13, change "conservative" to
"constructive"

The word "constructive" was used in the original speech. An error in transcribing from the manuscript to the printer's copy changed this vital word.

Because Vice Admiral Ingersoll is emphatic that the student be encouraged to put forward constructive criticism, it is particularly unfortunate that this inadvertent word substitution occurred.

The Naval War College requests that each recipient make the correction in his copy.

**NAVAL WAR COLLEGE
REVIEW**

**Issued Monthly
U. S. Naval War College
Newport, R. I.**

FACTORS PRODUCING THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION

An address delivered
at the Naval War College
on 1 June 1969 by
Mr. Frank Barnett

This audience is in the rather unhappy position of the expectant gourmet who orders the rare venison steak printed on the menu, only to be told by the management that there is nothing left but meat loaf. Obviously, the meat loaf itself is honored to be included in this one hundred dollar a plate, intellectual smorgasbord of the Global Strategy Seminar; and I will do my best to repay the honor you have done me by trying to make the rest of your morning as miserable as I possibly can.

As Admiral Ingersoll pointed out, May 27, Khrushchev's deadline date for Berlin, has passed and the world, in spite of Communist attempted 'blackmail, is not at war. Yet, although we meet this morning in the sanctuary of a great military college, this is really a battlefield conference.

The war we are already fighting (and losing) is an unconventional, undeclared war — waged with camouflaged weapons and unorthodox rules. In this twilight war of protracted conflict there is no distinction between front lines, flanks and rear areas. Ours is an age of science that may shortly spawn gun platforms in outer space. Hence civilians can expect to be as close to enemy fire power as soldiers, sailors and airmen. Indeed, with the advent of massive propaganda, economic warfare, subversion and pressure group activity, *civilians* are often in the forward echelon of attack or defense. Conversely, officers on active duty are often barred from action on vital sectors of the protracted war, where politics, public opinion and sheer will power predetermine the outcome of skirmishes on the terrain of non-military combat. Since "the front is everywhere," strategy is no longer confined to the science of logistics or the war games of a general staff. The professional conflict managers of the Sino-Soviet Axis

pervert virtually every form of human activity to the cause of class struggle.

To the Communist mentality, art, trade, education, literature, sports, treaties, cultural exchange — even religion — are weapons. Moscow and Peiping wage total cold war. Hence strategy in the free world necessarily relates to: excellence in the classroom and research laboratory; the reputation and performance of American-style capital both here at home and overseas; the status, salaries and caliber of teachers, civil servants, scientists, and military personnel; the quality and character of citizenship training in American schools, homes and churches; and, perhaps above all, an alert, sophisticated and resolute public opinion in support of adequate national security policy. For all these reasons the enrollment of civilians in a postgraduate seminar of the Naval War College is not a publicity stunt, but rather a deadly serious exercise, with fateful implications for the posture of U. S. defense and perhaps the future of the entire free world.

Perhaps the one thing to criticize about this Global Strategy Seminar is that the discussions are restricted to such a handful of civilians. In a voluntary society such as ours, with limited government depending on the private sector for support and even initiative, at least 100,000 citizens should take some version of this course. In short, the underpinning of all the material components of defense is an intangible called "national will," which, in turn, is based on a mature and well-informed loyalty to the immutable values of American civilization and a clear perception of the objectives, strategems and techniques of world Communism. Deceit, diversion, and peace charades are so effective a part of Soviet tactics that somebody should persuade Washington policymakers to use kinescope, closed circuit TV, tape recordings, and visual aids to "package" some version of the Global Strategy Seminar for the college deans, corporation executives, university presidents, church officials, labor leaders, teachers, and editors who are *not* here this morning, but whose voices, votes and personal influence exert powerful leverage, either for strength or weakness, on the structure of national security.

The notion that "strategy is everybody's business" is relatively new and even radical. The concept has sturdy opponents both in and out of government. Some career officials in Washington (few I think) assume that foreign policy, and therefore survival policy, can only be entrusted to a self-perpetuating and largely anonymous elite who retain power regardless of the election results. Some businessmen, bankers, and educators seem to feel their personal responsibility for meeting the danger of Communist aggression stops when they render unto Caesar the tax money that goes to the Pentagon, Central Intelligence, the FBI, and the Department of State. It seems to me that both those who want to let George do it, and those who want to let no one *but* George do it are hopelessly mired in the thought patterns of Victorian diplomacy and the geopolitics of the Spanish-American War.

There are at least four 20th century phenomena which make it imperative to place the complex problems of Global Strategy on the agenda of American leaders in the private sector. These phenomena include: (1) a book, and the matchless organizational skills of its author; (2) the annulment of time and space; (3) the confluence of social, economic, political and scientific revolutions that threaten world civilization with total transformation, comparable to the earth-shaking tremors that accompanied the falling apart of the Greek world of city states, the disintegration of the Roman empire and the birth pangs of the nation/state system after long centuries of feudal anarchy; and (4) the spread of an American cult of doubt, or national guilt complex, which, in many cases tends to smother the American torch of creative optimism, individuality, and moral force that once burned and beckoned for all mankind. These are at least some of the major factors in the world environment that deserve the attention of participants in a Global Strategy Seminar.

The first item on my list, curiously enough, is a book. Fifty-seven years ago an unemployed lawyer wrote that obscure little book. Its title had no sex appeal. It was called, very simply, "What is to be Done?" What *was* done by the writer and his heirs affects the fortune and future of every American.

When the book was published in 1902 its author was in exile, living in a dingy boarding house. Living frugally on small subsidies from a political underworld, dressed in a cheap suit, and scorning all the values of his middle class heritage, this bald, squat lawyer was the self-appointed leader of a handful of other outcasts. To the property owners, statesmen and generals of the Victorian world, this man and his circle of impractical agitators, were a "rabble." The power elite of the Victorian world ignored his pamphlets and did not read his book; nor for the most part have the property owners, statesmen or generals of mid-century America read the book. Yet the man wrote it and his pauper disciples, exploiting the practical concrete ideas set forth in "What is to be Done?" have seized two continents and set fire to all the others by engineering the most skillfully executed power grab in human history. Today whole libraries, as well as the graves of at least twenty nations and forty million human beings, bear witness to the deadly political science of a movement whose cumulative conquests now exceed the combined empires of Alexander, Hitler and Tamerlane, and whose accelerating capability to lay waste the great globe itself must be the touchstone for determining our national and even our private objectives. The lawyer's name, of course, was Lenin.

Five thousand miles and nearly six decades removed from the publication of "What is to be Done?" Americans who never heard of Vladimir Ulianov confront the consequences of his mind and will and fearful talent. Until Lenin, various forms of socialism were misty sentiments, quack experiments, futile terrorism in the night; but to Lenin Communism was not simply an idea — it was a power technique.

Communism after Lenin was more than a philosophy — it was a triumph of *organization*. Under his tutelage Communists became managers — conflict managers; and the business ethics of these conflict managers were modeled on those of Himmler and the Borgias. They formed a cartel which now controls two fifths the earth; today they are picking up options on another third of mankind. They libel their competition, they suborn the

courts of public opinion, they blackmail and infiltrate parliaments. They almost never keep a contract, and lying is a way of life for their board of trustees. Yet, owing to the most ubiquitous press agency and political gamesmanship the world has ever seen, the firm of Lenin & Company never wants for new customers, never lacks apologists, never fails to find a banker to overlook the fifty frauds and forgeries on the record. And it all started with Lenin who, weary of talk, asked the practical question, "What is to be Done?"

The position of America in 1959, of course, is not all comparable to the plight of Lenin, outcast and alone in 1902; but the odds against this republic are really far heavier than some may suppose. Because no cascading bombs illuminate the dark precinct politics of Communists in Afro-Asia, too many imagine there is still time to refer the conduct of the battle to another research committee. Because our defeats have been chiefly in the underground, ambiguous war of subversion, propaganda and sheer tenacity in trading, no dramatic scoreboard signals the loss of a free world bishop, or the enemy's deceptive gambit to advance the red queen — 15 moves hence — to check and mate. Indeed, for amateurs at chess or geo-politics, each move of an opponent seems to present an isolated crisis. The pattern is concealed; the savage end game not even imagined.

The red game can be predetermined by lead time in logistics and the laboratory. Although Nazi Germany and Japan seemed to sweep the board in 1942, their fate had been unobtrusively influenced in a laboratory in Chicago and on the production lines of Detroit. The Chinese Communist fighter pilots who died not long ago in sky battles over Quemoy were good airmen, but they were *dead* airmen when sidewinder missiles uncoiled from American jets. Technically, those pilots were still alive until the missile actually struck; or were they in a sense "dead" when the release button was pushed, since no skill or courage or wishful thinking on their part could prevent the robot closing in behind? Perhaps civilization, like aircraft and pilots, have a point of no return.

The conflict managers and chess players of Russia have planned on a century of conflict although they seem arrogantly confident we will now not last that long. The Communist conflict elite need not debate their one clear-cut objective, their tactics rather than their policies are flexible, and their economy is geared to the cost accounting of the battlefield. Finally, the Communists have gained a lead time of more than forty years in the arts of non-military warfare and the systematic training of professional cadres for ideological combat, sabotage and subversion.

Behind the iron curtain are more than one hundred academies and institutes in which Communists from all over the world are taught propaganda, guerilla diplomacy, psychological warfare, espionage, street fighting, and the art of engineering coup d'etat. And in the fifth decade of our ever-accelerating retreat before the thrust of the Communist conflict managers, a Bill is now before Congress to establish a West Point of Political Warfare in America. Probably the Bill will not pass, for many policymakers continue to regard their opponents in Moscow and Peiping as a set of unpleasant businessmen driving a hard bargain. We have not comprehended that the conspiratorial elite of the Sino-Soviet empire are not businessmen at all, but rather a fearful combination of theoreticians and thugs, philosophers, practical politicians, combat commanders and professional revolutionaries — men to whom ideological struggle is far more important than cost accounting or a balanced budget. To the American mind, which has experienced no real national tragedy since the Civil War, the normal state of the world is peace. To the Communist mind, "peace" is simply the cloak for the daggers of subversion, economic penetration and the infiltration of Afro-Asian parliaments. Peaceful coexistence, in the Soviet lexicon, means simply "conquest without hardware." Moreover, all of the instruments of what *we* would call peace are orchestrated by the Communists in their symphony of perpetual crisis. Foreign language training in the USSR becomes the key to the precincts of India. Sputnik was not simply the shadow of a weapon-yet-to-come; Sputnik was a symbol of successful Socialism, exploited by Communist sympathizers throughout the

Afro-Asian world as proof that Capitalism is obsolete. Only last week the Soviets converted the international Olympic games into a political tool by maneuvering to bar Formosa as the representative of the free Chinese. It is plain, therefore, that ceaseless protracted conflict, in every dimension, is a factor to be considered by American strategists.

The second item on my list is the annulment of time and space. In the past, America has been isolated from danger by the ramparts of her great oceans and the shield of the British Empire. Suddenly, we are cheek to jowl with the Orient. The Burma Road intersects with Main Street, and Newport is as close to Moscow as Richmond was to Washington at the time of the Civil War. Owing to science, the Atlantic Ocean is about as wide as the Rio Grande, the Pacific is no broader than Lake Michigan, the wastelands of the north can be spanned in a few hours' flight, and the Gulf of Mexico may serve simply as a highway for Soviet submarines armed with missiles and nuclear warheads. We Americans are literally face to face with the heirs of Genghis Khan, with no intervening space and no insulating wad of time to permit us, in time of emergency, to gradually convert our consumer goods production line into the arsenal of democracy. In the past, we could afford to muddle through until a tyrant struck some far corner of the earth and finally prodded us into belated action. Today we must plan ahead, prepare ahead, sacrifice in advance, for the American heartland has become target number one.

The third item on the list of factors in the world environment is the confluence of revolutions. Never in all of human history has a single generation been obliged to encompass in its thinking a thousand years of technical change compressed into one decade. The first industrial revolution, starting about 1800, by 1870 had not only radically altered the economy of England, but its social and political structure as well. Power, which from time immemorial, had lain only with kings and the landed aristocracy, rested briefly with the factory owners of Leeds and Manchester, and then almost before those captains of trade and industry knew what had

happened, slipped from their embrace to the arms of political leaders who appealed to the newly enfranchised workers in England. From the Iron Duke of Wellington, with his artillery for social reformers, to the Labour government of Clement Attlee in just one hundred years; and the face and habits of England changed more profoundly in that same time than in the preceding fifteen centuries since Roman sentries stood down from British walls.

But we are poised on the threshold of the *second* industrial revolution — a revolution which, as one writer put it recently, “may make the turbulent events of the 19th century look like the spray that precedes the tidal wave.” Indeed, our world revolves at the convergence of at least *seven* different revolutions:

1. The technical revolution spurred by automaton, the transistors, the giant calculators, the new chemistry, electronics, and the accelerating curve of invention in scores of fields.

2. The communications revolution, brought on by closed circuit television, inter-continental mass media, jet travel, missiles, international agencies, space satellites that will shortly carry radio, TV and the mail between continents; and, of course, new techniques from the behavioral sciences for influencing opinion through propaganda.

3. The fuel and power revolution which started with the dawn of atomic energy and looks now to solar sources as well.

4. The anti-colonial revolution of the Afro-Asian peoples.

5. The demographic revolution, triggered by the introduction of modern medicine to the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East, resulting in a population explosion whose magnitude in the social and economic fields may equal that of nuclear fission in the realm of weapons. (A story in this morning's NEW YORK TIMES reports that the world is increasing at the rate of 45 million people a year. Every four years the total population of the United States of America is added to the earth).

6. The extra-terrestrial revolution, which means that some of the great grandchildren of some of the men in this

world may not be born on earth, if indeed they are destined to be born at all in our thermo-nuclear age.

7. The Communist revolution craftily exploiting all the others.

The fourth and last item on the list is the growth of an American cult of doubt, which makes it difficult for our people to compete with the missionaries and conquistadors of the Communist church militant. What is happening to the internal sociology and value systems of America is almost as extraordinary as what is implied by science, the human earthquake of the world's non-white races and the latchkey to outer space. Here, too, in the habits, dreams, and myths of our own people, time has compressed the history of a whole civilization into the lifetime of a single man.

There is some evidence that the American economic system is so productive it may kill with kindness a nation which only sixty years ago was still a brawling pioneer giant, not quite finished with the conquest and taming of a new continent. In that time we have substituted the goal of personal security for the adventure of limitless opportunity. Horatio Alger now aspires to be a civil servant, or to work for a mammoth corporation whose pension plan resembles a government bureaucracy. Some junior executives turn down promotions because their wives object to too much overtime and travel. Den mothers with air mattresses and portable barbecues convert boy scout camps into a suburban housewife's cookout; and the growing spirit of togetherness means that father/son outings are limited by the climbing threshold of mother's skirt or little sister's fatigue level.

Two out of five men drafted under selective service are rejected, chiefly on physical grounds. Public schools discourage competition in the classroom, emphasize life adjustment and conformity to the group. Indeed, some schools now offer courses in hair grooming for boys, personality development, how to order from a restaurant menu on a date. One hundred different sex magazines flood the newsstands. 59.9% of U. S. youngsters fail one or more physical tests for muscular strength while only 8.7% European

youngsters fail identical tests, although American youth drinks milk, is taller, and presumably has better bone structure.

In Korea, for the first time in American history, hundreds of youthful U. S. prisoners of war collaborate with the enemy. Americans inform on their own comrades, help Communists prepare propaganda and turn sick fellow countrymen into the snow to die. A team of army psychiatrists, after a long series of interviews of returning prisoners, concludes that American youth has been ill prepared to stand for their ideals by school, home and church. Some churchmen themselves, no longer believing in moral law or absolute truth, lobby for the admission of Peiping to the United Nations, and American politicians who once prepared themselves for high office by a pilgrimage to Valley Forge now establish their credentials as presidential timber by spending a weekend with Khrushchev.

The mind of modern man is thus threatened by the paralysis of indecision in an environment in which all familiar facts, all comfortable signposts and cherished compasses are rendered useless by tomorrow's upheavals in the laboratory and the realm of geopolitics. Amidst pyramiding revolution and crisis that spiral upward in geometrical progression, no wonder leadership is plagued with inner insecurity. No wonder endless committees are commissioned to rationalize policy with the expertise of a dozen different disciplines, and no wonder that escapist solutions grow ever more popular with an anxiety-ridden public.

It was written in ancient times that whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad. That maxim may help to explain some proposals now on the American agenda to strengthen American security. Or perhaps a more accurate critique would be, "Whom the Gods would make mad, they first make irrelevant." Napoleon once said, "It's worse than a crime — it's a blunder." He might have added, "It's worse than a blunder, it simply doesn't apply."

Many national objectives articulated by leaders in Congress — administration, business, labor, and other pressure groups, seem to me at this time not *wrong* necessarily, but irrelevant to this

moment in history. Specifically, the charge of irrelevancy would apply to the achievement of at least some of the following goals at this time: the 4-day week and 3-week vacation; a balanced budget, within the framework of present levels of taxation; further extension of the social welfare state; government guarantees of full employment; the zealous protection of the newest of the "civil rights," the right to conspire to overthrow the republic and to lobby in the service of a foreign power to undercut our military strength.

Two years ago the cry in this country was for full speed ahead in science and mathematics. Last year, under the impact of the "Ugly American," the slogan was better foreign language training for our diplomats. For the past six months we have been warned to look out for Soviet trade and aid. Obviously all of these dangers are real, but we must never allow ourselves to be so hypnotized by the Soviet clamor on one corner of the chessboard that we forget the other squares and all the other possible moves to come. The challenge of Soviet trade, aid, and patronage and manipulation of the world markets, must, of course, be met with effective counteraction. But some political leaders seem now to behave as though Soviet economic warfare were the *only* threat that remains. In both the Senate and House there are powerful blocs which seek to curtail military assistance to allies and shift to "straight economic aid," in many cases for neutral nations. To ignore the still-clenched, Soviet mailed fist, to ignore the fearful capability of Russia and China to export "volunteers" for guerrilla and proxy warfare is to be blind to the definition of strategy.

Strategy connotes perspective — the selection of priorities — relating the parts to the whole. If it is true that our Strategic Air Force cannot, with massive retaliation, prevent Moscow's subtle penetration of Latin American markets, it is equally true that economic aid to India cannot prevent coup d'etat in Iraq. Expanding technical assistance and United States business investments in Africa are vital to our security. It will not, however, avert butchery in Hungary or Tibet. It will not carry the cold war by non-military means into the restless, vulnerable empire of the enemy, where

the people of eastern Europe and Asia groan under Russian carpet baggers and Peiping's cruel version of the yellow man's burden. Economic aid to emerging new nations is important to our own future as a free people, but by itself this assistance will not necessarily obviate the danger of Communism. One does not win a non-military war, whose victories thus far have gone to the enemy, by simply denying that enemy a further series of advances onto free world soil. On the most extravagant assumption that the defense of the poverty-stricken neutralist areas could be 90% successful, we could still be pushed to the grave, ten yards at a time, vainly chasing about the ever-expanding perimeter of the Marxian commonwealth of nations on a time table fixed by strategists in Moscow and Peiping.

Moreover, American aid, whether private or governmental, will not offset the Soviet economic thrust, unless the managers of United States economic activities are themselves sensitive to ideological, political, military, and strategic nuances. Random largess, with no regard to specific goals or priorities, may be humanitarian and should be followed by our private foundations. It has nothing to do with strategy or the science of conflict management. The best selling book, "The Ugly American," amply illustrates how the Communists have applied Gresham's law to international politics — that is to say, bad propaganda drives out good deeds. To be specific, one million dollars worth of Communist agitation properly and skillfully applied can sometimes join with covert activity and blackmail to offset 100 million dollars worth of American economic aid distributed with no strings attached — indeed, not even the string of requiring prudent management and cost accounting. Probably we need to do more in the economic sphere, both through government and private channels, but surely we need also more trained, American conflict managers to disburse and coordinate those sums to insure better returns on our investments for free world survival.

Finally, in any discussion of strategy it is imperative to keep science on the agenda. A nuclear war over Berlin this summer may be improbable, but we dare not delude ourselves with the wishful

cliche that hydrogen bombs have made war "unthinkable." The categories of thought employed by the heirs of Ivan the Terrible and Lenin are not necessarily the categories of thought which prevail in the peace-loving democracies of the west. Stalin cheerfully scorched the Russian earth and sacrificed 25 million of his countrymen to stop the Nazis. Hitler was prepared to let all Germany burn in some mad Wagnerian sacrifice to Thor and Woden. Mao and Chou En-lai will not blink at the loss of 100 million Chinese, upon whose broken bodies in the next decade they intend to rear the heavy industry and nuclear armaments of the sweatshop anthill state. Khrushchev, who helped Stalin starve to death 3 million Ukrainian peasants, is not likely to be more squeamish about liquidating Americans en masse if he ever has the chance.

Let the Russians spend more for basic research — let them shorten the lead time between invention and production — let Moscow develop some as yet unknown, electronic defense against our aircraft and missiles — let Soviet engineers erect that defense system only six weeks before we have a similar capacity to ward off their rocket-launching submarines and ICBMs. In short, let the Kremlin for once enjoy over us the weapons advantage we doubtless still hold, but with ever more precarious grasp, and America will have another demonstration of how Khrushchev defines "peaceful co-existence," a definition closer to home than the corpse-littered gutters of Budapest. In this country not even our military leaders whisper of preventive war, but Cominform journals and Soviet military publications are full of the doctrine of strategic surprise, the importance of deception in the nuclear age, and the advantage of preemptive war.

What is to be done? Lenin's question challenges all of us, military and civilians alike, not only to think but to implement.

Some responses to that question can only be made by government. For example, twenty million dollars for a special political warfare fund to organize intensive, persistent propaganda throughout all Afro-Asia against Chinese machine guns in the monasteries of Tibet, or 200 million dollars, if necessary, to form a NATO

board of economic warfare to make flooding the market bad business for the Kremlin. We must also free our own propaganda from the enemy's categories of debate. The world is still talking about Little Rock; it has forgotten Hungary, although the two events are not even remotely comparable. Why? Because we ignore the principles of *persistence* and *repetition* in our half-hearted propaganda themes. Four months is about as long as the free world can maintain any unity over the murder of a small nation. At the end of that time familiar voices again call for appeasement and trust in the Russians.

In our domestic political warfare games we are not so listless. Democrats campaigned for twenty years on the issue of Herbert Hoover's depression. Republicans are still running against F. D. R. But on the platform of world politics we seem unwilling to provoke the enemies of all mankind by rubbing sandpaper on old scars. "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad."

To wage the war of protracted conflict perhaps America should also create a career service for intelligence and psychological warfare officers. Under our present system, just as a man begins to learn the trade of non-military combat he is sent back to troops and hardware or is retired. New incentives should make it possible for a few men at least to specialize in the techniques of irregular, non-military combat. Retired officers who have served in military intelligence, OSS and CIA might be given part time assignments. Reserve officers with the same qualifications should be used to wage the continuous battles of public opinion. Finally, we need to actively promote free enterprise and the growth of the middle class overseas. We do not wish to *impose* the American system on others, agreed! But some people seem to have such a guilt complex about our business society, they want to lean over backwards to inhibit the growth of free enterprise overseas.

American-style capitalism is as different from the ruthless cartel capitalism known to much of Europe and Asia as it is from the state capitalism of Nazi Germany or Communist Russia. America has actually created the private, voluntary, welfare state with-

out central planning to regiment the entire economy. American business is not only efficient; it is increasingly attentive to social, human, cultural and ethical values. By and large it is doing a good job overseas, training foreign nationals to become managers and technicians, sharing the profits, engaging in all kinds of new community welfare projects. Those efforts should be expanded and encouraged by the American government.

In considering new goals for economic assistance we might ask ourselves first, "What can business and voluntary agencies do if they are given more opportunities, more contracts, more protection against illegal seizure?" Then after we have thoroughly explored the answers to that question we might ask, "What is still left over for government?"

I cannot conclude without referring to America's "secret weapon" for protracted conflict, a weapon largely ignored and misused. I allude to the Reserve Officers, the retired officers, and the National Guard officers of this nation. Here are men forming a natural bridge between the military and civilians. Here is a group of citizen officers who can speak up boldly and resolutely in defense of American ideals against the pressures of Communist propaganda. The Reserve Officer is often a member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Bar Association, the Rotary Club, the local school board. As a civilian the Reserve Officer may be an editor, college professor, a banker, a business leader or the executive secretary of an important trade association. Thus the Reserve Officer is in a key position to help transmit adult education in survival to his civilian friends and professional colleagues. He is a key man in the job of harnessing the vitality of the private sector to national defense. If the Reserve Forces Policy Board would only recognize this new dimension in defense and give official credit to Reserve Officers who serve on the battlefronts of public opinion, in civil defense and economic warfare, this nation would profit from a billion dollars worth of manpower in the war of protracted conflict, and it would not cost the taxpayers a single extra cent. (My sincere congratulations go to the planners of the Global Stra-

tegy Seminar who invite to these sessions senior members of the Naval Reserve).

May I say one word in conclusion? Last week a soldier was buried at Arlington. He did not come from West Point or Annapolis. He wore no uniform. The battlefields on which he served were not the beaches of Normandy, Inchon, Quemoy, or Lebanon. Yet no citizen more deserves the honor to lie down in peace with other warriors of the republic. The war he fought (sometimes it seemed almost alone) blazes now on all fronts: at Geneva, in the back alleys of Berlin and Budapest, in the ravines of Tibet and the jungles of Indo-China, in Iraq and the Formosa Straits, in the precincts of India, the villages of Africa, and the once-gay city of Havana not far from our own mainland. Skirmishes of that same irregular war rage also in America's classrooms, pulpits, newspapers and civic forums.

The soldier in Arlington, of course, is John Foster Dulles. The war he fought, and we must fight, is the war of nerves — the battle of public opinion, of courage in the face of nuclear blackmail, of character against deceit, the war of sheer will to face down tyranny and survive. The former Secretary of State, like his predecessor Dean Acheson, knew that peace in an imperfect world can only be won by the strong and the brave. Good will and hopes for the best do not necessarily prevail against International Murder, Incorporated, whether that syndicate is called Nazi or Communist. Some Americans, whose thinking apparently relies on sentiment instead of facts, feel that "flexibility" is the path to world Utopia. But the Communists, to do them justice, have a purpose, a plan, and a passion: to dominate the planet by the end of this century. In the face of brutal determination and cunning, how will compromise, appeasement or another scrap of paper signed by Khrushchev save America from the fate that overtook France in 1940 — except that the blitzkrieg of tomorrow may be nuclear, the subversion of the Communists more massive than Nazi fifth columns? One of the most persistent criticisms of the U. S. position as formulated by Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles was that they tried to stand up for something ethical. The argu-

ment of those who disagree runs something like this: "There is no place for morals in foreign policy. Let's face it. The tyranny of Red China and Red Russia is a fact. It is here to stay. Why not make the best deal we can?" But a nation expedient in its dealings with others will decay internally, too. Moral force counts for a great deal in human affairs. Once America abandons her ideals in behalf of freedom for all men, she will have nothing left but money and hardware. Neither can buy security if others lose faith in our mission and we no longer believe in ourselves.

What about the argument that Communism is a fact? The bake ovens of Nazi Germany were a fact — the seizure of the Philippines by Imperial Japan was a fact — the might of Prussia under the Kaiser was a fact. The armies of Napoleon that trampled all Europe were a fact. The overwhelming superiority of the British in the winter of Valley Forge was a fact. Those facts were refuted. Free men are always under pressure to make deals, give ground, take the easy way out, face "realities." Some of the most lasting realities are those intangibles of character, courage, and faith in freedom that adhere to the spirit of John Foster Dulles, and to so many other Americans who gave their last full measure of devotion to this country. The men who died at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, the men who left sight or mind at Chateau Thierry and on the Marne, the marines at Tarawa, the sailors in the Coral Sea, the airmen at Ploesti, the doughboys on the road to Rome — none of those fought to barter away the dream that is America to some murderous minion of Stalin or cousin of Genghis Khan. One great soldier was buried last week at Arlington. In the century of total war the front is everywhere. We are all soldiers now, civilians as well as military personnel, and if, when life's burden is done, not every citizen can hope for the honor to sleep in Arlington or Valley Forge, we living can help pick up the check for those who do.