



From painting by Grant Wood.

"The American Dream is an expanding concept which demands a more prosperous life."

'The Most Powerful Idea in the World'

Our deep faith in the dignity of man is more than a match for the ideology of communism.

By **CHESTER BOWLES**

—the danger of aggression by the Red Army and the Red Air Force. But we are also faced with an idea, the idea of world communism; and planes, battleships and tanks have never yet been able to destroy an idea, even a bad idea. The whole history of mankind demonstrates that an idea can be matched in only one way, and that is by a better idea.

AS we face the threat of attack by the Soviet Union we are thankful that we possess the industrial and economic resources with which to build military defenses sufficient to discourage aggression. As we face the threat of world communism we should also be thankful that inherent in our American democracy is an idea which potentially is the most powerful in the world.

This idea is founded on the belief that every single person is valuable in his own right and for himself. It stems

from a deep-seated faith in the dignity of man, a belief that if we permit each individual to exercise his own capacities to the fullest we will thereby enable him to make a worth-while contribution to his family and to his community.

The democratic ideal did not originate in America. Its roots go deep into the history of Western civilization. But in America it found favorable soil for growth and development. Since the Declaration of Independence our concern for the human individual has passed through several stages. At the time our Constitution was written the most important restraints on men were political. So our Constitution and its Bill of Rights were directed primarily toward eliminating those political restraints with which the founders had had direct first-hand experience. The right of free speech, the free choice and practice of religion, the right of public

assembly, the right to a fair trial, were spelled out in clear and specific terms.

The struggle to establish these political rights took place not only in America but throughout the entire Western World. In England, France, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Italy and South America people fought to increase their liberties and to restrain the power of autocratic government. In France, and later in South America, the struggle burst into violent revolution.

BUT here in America the democratic ideal has always been expressed in broader terms than the right to freedom from oppression. From our earliest days we have been convinced that individual man not only had a right to speak his mind and to worship God in his own way but also to prosper in line with his ability, to rise to whatever heights he was capable, to develop his talents for farming, industry or trade, to own his own land, to enjoy the benefits earned during his lifetime and to pass those benefits on to his children. We have also believed that individual man had the right to live in a society free of class (Continued on Page 29)

A MAJOR part of the industrial power of the United States is now concentrated on military preparation. Our Army, Navy and Air Force will soon total three and one-half million men. Our defense investment during the next two years will exceed the entire cost of our Federal Government during the first two terms of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This military program has grown out of our conviction that the Western World is faced with the very real possibility of a Soviet attack. Today most Americans are agreed that a strong, well-rounded defense force is our best hope of discouraging such aggression.

An adequate defense force is vital to our security and to our future. But let us not mistake it for a foreign policy in itself. Unless our defense effort is made to take its proper place, as part of a broad program for building a stable and peaceful world, we may find ourselves in serious difficulties.

Military power is not enough because it deals with only part of our problem

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lines and arbitrary restrictions; the right to secure a good education and to participate in the life and progress of his community regardless of his race, creed or color.

This expanding concept of human rights, so peculiar in its early stages to America, became accepted as the American Dream, and millions of men and women from the Old World crossed the oceans to enjoy its benefits. For many years it was clear sailing. In the early nineteenth century this American Dream could be readily attained by anyone able and willing to work. Our economy was primarily agricultural. A homestead could be had for the asking. A man's economic status was determined by his skill with hoe and axe.

HOWEVER, as our complex industrial society gradually took shape we began to run into difficulties. When far-away markets dried up, manufacturers were forced to shut down and workers by the millions walked the streets in search of nonexistent jobs. Farmers could not sell their produce, and there was hunger in the midst of plenty. Through bitter experience we came to realize that economic and social forces, clearly beyond the control of any individual, could be as destructive to human freedom and dignity as any autocratic government.

The result, over a period of many years, was the establishment of workmen's compensation, social security, unemployment insurance, minimum wages, monopoly controls, slum clearance, legally protected collective bargaining, and similar concepts designed to give the individual citizen at least a minimum of protection against the impact of economic forces with which he was powerless to contend alone.

From the earliest days this American Dream of human rights, this belief in opportunity and freedom for each individual, has been the subject of bitter controversy. Every political leader who has fought to expand these rights, from Jefferson, through Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, La Follette, Willkie and Franklin Roosevelt, has faced the most bitter opposition from those who have neither cared nor understood what America is all about.

TODAY our democracy is still a long way from perfection. But in spite of our demagogues and our bigots, in spite of our bitter extremists of the Right and the Left, the Dream has grown. It has grown until today its principles are accept-

ed and respected by more people in America than anywhere else on earth. But we must face the fact that the greatest test of all lies immediately ahead. For the first time in history we are physically threatened by a powerful military force, in close alliance with a ruthless, well-organized movement which reaches around the world. There is every reason for us to feel uncertain and insecure.

WE are wholly right in building our Army, Navy and Air Force strong enough to discourage Soviet attack, and to win any war that the Soviet Union may be tempted to start. We are right also in looking to our internal security, and for setting up safeguards against espionage and sabotage. But we will be catastrophically wrong if we assume that we can build a de-



cent world with atom bombs, or that we can secure the peace by trying to force the world into an American mold, or, worse still, that we can defeat the Communist idea by turning our backs on our own dynamic American Dream, and adopting, whole hog, the cynical methods of our Communist opponents.

A REARMED America without ideals or principles is simply a potentially destructive force, feared by its enemies and resented by those who would be its friends. A rearmed America confident of its strength, secure in its convictions, and dedicated to the democratic ideal of expanding human rights and opportunities for all people, can guide this harried world toward a new era of peace and plenty.

But it will take a lot of doing. When we look across the seas we face human problems which are almost overpowering. Two-thirds of all the people of the world will go to bed hungry tonight. More than half of the world cannot read or write. In some countries as

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 many as 75 per cent of the
 people are suffering from pre-
 ventable diseases.

THESE shocking figures are
 a measure of the huge task
 that mankind faces. They are
 also a measure of our own op-
 portunity.

Do we honestly see these
 people as people? Do we see
 them as human beings like
 ourselves, white, brown, black
 and yellow, but impoverished
 through no fault of their own,
 frightened and often oppressed
 by feudal landlords and cor-
 rupt officials? If our belief in
 human rights is something
 more than a Fourth of July
 phrase or an election day
 promise, we have a clear re-
 sponsibility to assist them to
 build a better and freer life.

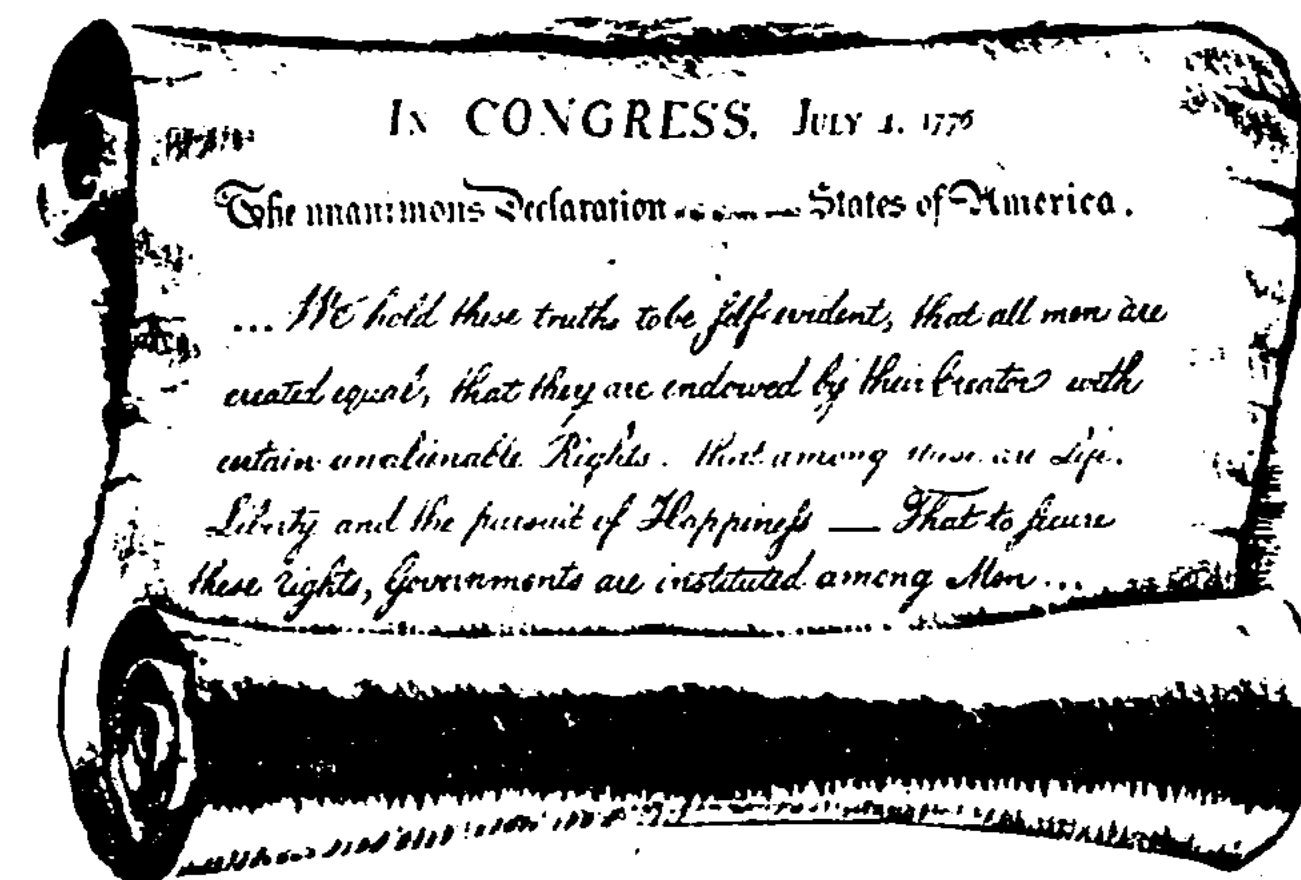
There are no glib or easy
 answers. The poverty of India,
 South America, Africa and
 the other underdeveloped areas
 has been accumulating for
 1,000 years. Colonialism failed
 because it refused to accept
 the basic rights of those hu-
 man individuals who were
 born brown, black or yel-
 low. In the East the Gandhi
 and Sun Yat-sen revolutions
 were designed to restore those
 rights. In China the Sun Yat-
 sen revolution was captured
 by Moscow-trained Commu-
 nists. But India, Pakistan,
 Ceylon, Indonesia and Burma
 are now free and independent
 nations with dynamic hopes
 and plans for creating a more
 prosperous and freer life for
 their people. The Near East is
 seething with new ideas and
 ambitions. Africa is gradually
 awakening to its unlimited fu-
 ture.

BUT the brave new hopes
 of the one billion people of
 these underdeveloped areas
 can never be achieved with-
 out help. Their ability to
 strengthen their economies, es-
 tablish stable governments
 and offer expanding opportu-
 nities for the individual will
 largely depend on our willing-
 ness to provide bold and prac-
 tical assistance.

If we really intend to help
 we must be prepared for some
 rocky experiences. We will
 often be dealing with new na-
 tions, born in revolution and
 inexperienced in self-govern-
 ment, which are faced with far
 greater obstacles than those
 which confronted the young
 American Republic at the end
 of our Revolutionary War. For
 instance, our early ideas of
 political freedom were clearly
 established. But for the vast
 majority in the impoverished
 East, the primary considera-
 tion from day to day is simple
 survival, and we will find that
 people who are constantly
 faced with the brutal facts of
 hunger and disease often view
 our concept of political de-
 mocracy as a remote ideal.

Like America in 1783, most
 of the new Eastern countries
 have recently experienced the
 bitter oppression of colonial
 masters, and they are suspi-
 cious as we were then of for-

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 eign nations. This results in a
 widespread distrust and fear
 of Soviet imperialism and
 would-be Communist "libera-
 tors." But on occasion it also
 results in a certain skepticism
 of our own good intentions,
 which will often try our pa-
 tience.

NO sensible man believes
 that our task will be easy.
 But the sooner we tackle it,
 the more hopeful our world
 will become.

Although the needs go far
 beyond any specific programs
 outlined thus far, they are well
 within our own resources. If
 we will provide an annual ex-
 penditure of only \$1 for every
 \$10 spent on military defense,
 and support that investment
 with broad technical assist-
 ance, we will enable the
 underdeveloped countries to
 move further ahead in the next
 generation than in the last
 500 years.

The opposition, moreover,
 will be varied and powerful.
 The world Communist move-
 ment will bitterly contest a
 genuine, all-out attack on illit-
 eracy, poverty and ill health.
 Communists everywhere will
 fight such a program because
 they understand its appeal to
 hundreds of millions of men
 and women who yearn for
 even a minimum of opportu-
 nity and human dignity.

A program of this kind can
 also expect strong opposition
 here in America. It will be op-
 posed by those isolationists
 who propose that we place our
 sole faith in armaments. It
 will be opposed by the self-
 styled "realists" who point out
 that there are too many people
 in the world anyway, that
 most of them have always
 gone hungry, that mass pov-
 erty and ill health are not of
 our making, and that only
 crack pots are interested in
 such things. This kind of
 cynical, bankrupt thinking
 has already held up two mil-
 lion tons of grain for the fam-
 ine-ridden sections of India.

BUT a positive economic
 program based on simple
 democratic principles will re-
 ceive powerful support from
 the millions who still believe
 that human beings, black,
 brown, yellow or white, are
 important in their own right,
 that the American Dream is
 not just a concept of fuzzy-

minded do-gooders, and that
 with military power must go
 moral responsibility. Instinc-
 tively they know that in our
 dealings with each other and
 with people across the sea
 there must be something more
 than bombs and tanks and
 planes, something dynamic,
 bold and worthy of our Amer-
 ican democratic traditions.

The stakes are no less than
 the future of the democratic
 ideal in America and through-
 out the world. If this ideal is
 to grow and expand, we must
 face up honestly to the weak-
 nesses in our own democracy.
 We must offer vigorous as-
 sistance to other less fortunate
 peoples in the development of
 their economies. We must re-
 ject the isolationist concept of
 military power as an end in
 itself.

IF we fail, the ultimate hopes
 of the free world die with us.
 In the grim cycle of Professor
 Toynbee, America will take its
 place among other once great
 nations which placed their sole
 faith in militarism and mate-
 rialism, and so finally died of
 moral dry rot.

Stephen Vincent Benét ex-
 pressed it eloquently in "Night-
 mare at Noon":

*There are certain words,
 Our own and others, we're
 used to—words we've used,
 Heard, had to recite, forgotten,
 * * **

*Liberty, equality, fraternity.
 * * **

*To none will we sell, refuse or
 deny, right or justice.*

*We hold these truths to be
 self-evident.*

*I am merely saying—what if
 these words pass?*

*What if they pass and are
 gone and are no more,
 * * *?*

*They were bought with belief
 and passion, at great cost.*

*They were bought with the
 bitter and anonymous
 blood*

*Of farmers, teachers, shoe-
 makers and fools*

*Who broke the old rule and
 the pride of kings. * * **

*It took a long time to buy
 these words.*

*It took a long time to buy
 them and much pain.*

These words add up to the
 American Dream. An idea in-
 finitely more powerful than
 the narrow doctrines of Soviet
 communism. We must not de-
 lay much longer in putting it
 to work.