

President Harrington — Students — Faculty

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"Future of the Midwest"
PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE
U. of Wisconsin

Reference to trip to Moscow
(10/10/63)

In the wake of the test-ban treaty, the U.S. should take the initiative to create a constructive climate which could lead to a serious discussion between the U.S. and the Soviet Union of the basic political issues of the Cold War. I do not expect that the stubborn problems of Berlin, Central Europe and Cuba will be solved overnight. It is pure illusion to believe that the political problems that have persisted for decades can fade away with the vanishing Indian Summer.

Take initiative

Stubborn

"Peace is a Process"

Speaking to a group of U.S. Senators in Moscow in August of this year, Premier Khrushchev compared the problems of the Cold War to a mighty Oak. One does not chop down an oak with one whack, he told us. One must chip away repeatedly. One

does not solve the fundamental problems of the Cold War in one step, with one test-ban treaty.

One must chip away at them over a long period of time.

Soviet Problems & why Test Ban

At this time consideration should be focused on six areas offering some possibility of progress:

Reason these funts

First. The area of financial support for the United Nations and its peacekeeping functions.

Second. The field of outer space.

Third. The field of lunar exploration.

Fourth. The field of educational, cultural, scientific, and economic exchange.

Fifth. The field of health.

Sixth. The field of East-West trade.

If progress can be made toward achieving greater cooperation in these functional areas,

- (1) U.S. Power
- (2) Cuba
- (3) Concern over Nuclear War
- (4) China
- (5) Soviet economic Troubles
- (6) Soviet Political troubles, Restless allies
- (7) Food shortage consumer Problems

the chances will be improved for successfully tackling the more delicate political questions later.

In the wake of the test-ban treaty, our U.S. delegation to the United Nations should prod the Soviet Union to show a greater willingness to share in the financial burdens imposed upon the United Nations: specifically it can take measures to pay up its regular United Nations assessments and can contribute its proper share to the United Nations peacekeeping operations in the Congo and the Near East. The Soviet Union should cease harassing the United Nations, and, instead, should strengthen its role as a peacemaker by strengthening its financial position.

There have recently been indications that the Soviet Union's attitude on the United Nations

is changing. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's address at the opening of the U.N. General Assembly last month was the most conciliatory in years.

On September 18 the Soviet Government newspaper, IZVESTIA devoted a full page to the sympathetic article on the U.N., in which Secretary General, U Thant, described the hopes and problems of the U.N. A Soviet sculptor's statue is described, showing a sword being beaten into a ploughshare, linking this to Chairman Khrushchev's disarmament proposals.

This is a hopeful sign.

2nd We should make clear our willingness to cooperate with the Soviet Union and with other nations in the field of outer space. The whole

question of exploration of outer space and of the law that will govern outer space are ripe for further discussion and bold new actions.

I am encouraged by recent statements by Soviet officials on outer space policy. In a statement in the United Nations Committee on Outer Space, Dr. Nikolai Federenko indicated that progress could be made in drafting a declaration of legal principles to govern space activity, and acceded to the Western view that space exploration could be undertaken by private companies as well as by States. Given the previous Soviet insistence on applying Socialist principles to outer space law, this represents a significant modification. This would seem to indicate that the Soviet Union is willing to

compromise on the most important disputed areas in the outer space field.

In my view it would be advisable for the United Nations to focus considerable attention during this session on problems of outer space.

Much of the credit for the progress that has been made in outer space law up to the present time belongs to the United Nations. A General Assembly resolution has affirmed that international law applied to outer space and that celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation. This resolution has laid the cornerstone for the greatest area of agreement among nations on the subject of outer space law. ^{yes} It is indeed a step forward that a consensus has been reached on this important

principle.

We must also realize that the future uses of outer space will belong not only to the United States and the Soviet Union, but to all the nations of the world. Any two-power agreement would have to take into account the future uses of space by many nations who are now devoting most of their resources to the development of their own internal economies. Any effective outer space law would have to apply to these countries as well.

↳ No state has any national claim on any celestial body or on any sector of outer space, nor will any such claims be permitted according to the existing consensus on outer space law. In the light of this fact, it

seems quite proper to expect that the United Nations, the body which engineered the existing consensus, will play an important role in any future deliberations.

#3 L The third area where we should take the initiative is in regard to the lunar probe, which is of course closely related to the question of control of outer space. The NEW YORK TIMES of September 18 indicated that the Soviet Union has recently become more willing to cooperate in this field too. A prominent member of the Soviet Academy of Science, Dr. Anatoly A. Blagonravov, has suggested that it might be advisable to discuss the possibility of cooperating between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the assault

on the moon. Despite the technical problems that might be involved in such a cooperative venture, it is my view that such proposals on the part of Soviet officials should not be ~~hostilely~~ rejected. Rather they should be given careful consideration.

~~Thus~~ ^{we} should not confine our efforts to achieving cooperation on the lunar probe to the Soviet Union alone, but extend it to our allies. Their interests are also involved -- and for that reason they should be invited to share in the cost of the lunar probe as well as to share in the benefits that may eventually be realized from it.

our allies!

#4 L Fourth, we should take the initiative in expanding our cultural, educational, economic,

and scientific exchange programs with the Soviet Union. ^{and the Eastern European States} This is the time to push for more

exchange in the fields of art, music, agriculture, industry and science.

↳ The development of modern societies in the Soviet bloc has required the training of a technological and professional elite. This elite whether in Russia, Poland or Hungary chafes under the harsh restrictions of the Stalin era and presses continually for expanding areas of freedom and diversity in society. Although this has not resulted in a defection of significant numbers from the Marxist orthodoxy of the Soviet bloc, it could, if combined over a period of ^{years} ~~decades~~ with skillful wooing of Soviet bloc elites by the West, lead toward greater tolerance

of diversity and of non-Soviet ideas and institutions. The experience of the past two decades indicates that isolation perpetuates Marxist-Leninist illusions. There is no better way of encouraging this diversity and tolerance ~~of~~ encouraging a greater appreciation of Western values and institutions of which I have spoken, than by exposing the Soviet bloc people to free ideas, institutions and traditions of Western democratic societies. For our part, our understanding of the Soviet bloc and of ourselves will be enhanced by first-hand knowledge of the bloc and its people.

One of the most important things to be learned through first-hand contact with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

Bloc
Countries
Restless -
+
Diverse

is the diversity that already exists within
the Soviet bloc. Despite decades of Marxist-
Leninist indoctrination, national traditions
and national characteristics survive -- and national

? interest flourish. If we are to encourage
the development of distinctive national
cultures, we must cast aside our tendency to
think of the Soviet bloc in monolithic terms.

It is our
thinking
which is
monolithic

In the field of culture, we can build
upon past success. Music, dance, the visual
arts -- painting and sculpture -- speak a
universal language. "Da," ^{not} ~~and~~ "nyet" is most
likely when we send our best performers to
Russia.

In the past, American performers have been
greeted literally with rapture in the Soviet

Union. In turn, the Bolshoi Ballet and great
Soviet ~~soloists~~ ^{Musicians and Artists} have been received with almost
unanimous enthusiasm in this country. There is
every reason to expand these cultural contacts
five or ten fold.

↳ We should take the initiative by raising
the present low "ceiling" on U. S. financial
support of cultural exchanges abroad.

High
Priority

↳ Every major city in the U.S.S.R. should
see in person some famous American artists, some
symphony, ballet troupe, stage play, pianist --
the very best we can send.

#5 ↳ Fifth. The field of health offers probably the
most universally approved -- ~~that is,~~ ^{the} least
controversial -- of all areas for expanded
U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

We need to build "bridges of health" between Moscow and Madison, between Warsaw and Waukesha, between Bucharest and Beloit. Only a handful of American M.D.'s have ever worked in Soviet research hospitals or Soviet doctors in American laboratories and clinics. We should establish Joint Medical Rersearch Centers at central locations which would prove mutually agreeable. I refer to centers on Cancer, Heart Disease and other scourges.

also
Polish
Czech
etc

You of Wisconsin with your great tradition of interest in "Polish-American affairs" know that, right now, we are approaching completion of a pioneering institution in Bland -- the American Research Hospital for Children in Krakow. It is being built under what is known as the Zablocki-Humphrey Law with American-owned counterpart funds. These currencies have accumulated from

Research
Hospital

our previous sale of U.S. farm products to

Poland.

To the Krakow hospital, we should send some of our greatest pediatricians, so should Poland, the Soviet Union, and other East Bloc Countries. Together, we should battle against leukemia and other killers -- or crippers -- of children.

(6) Sixth, we must initiate a bold review of our restrictive trade policy. The Canadian wheat agreement announced last month and the U.S. agreement now being negotiated indicate that there are very definite possibilities for extending East-West trade in nonstrategic products. The Soviet bloc does have available hard currency for certain nonstrategic products

Trade

which we desire to sell.

I have been for the wheat sale. I have prodded the President on this and am of course delighted with the decision announced yesterday. I do not see why our businessmen should be denied sales when all of our allies are making them. It makes no sense for U.S. to refuse to sell ~~wheat~~, only to learn later that Germany has sold flour made from American wheat to Russia for hard cash. It makes no sense for America to refuse to sell ~~wheat~~ to the Soviet bloc, if the Russians can turn around and buy wheat from Canadians who finance the sale with credit from New York banks. The truth is that our allies have long since parted company with us in trade policy toward Eastern Europe. In 1962 all U.S. exports

to all Eastern Europe amounted to only \$125 million dollars. Western Europe in 1962 exported to the same market merchandise worth \$2.1 billions. This is at a rate of 16 to 1.

↳ We have lost the economic advantages of trade in a growing market. Our businessmen have been precluded from making money and our balance of payments deficit is affected.

↳ Our unilateral embargo, and that is all it is, has not had the intended effect on either the Soviet economic or military position. As long as the very goods for which we deny export licenses can be legally sold and shipped to Eastern Europe by manufacturers in Western Europe, we have gained nothing.

It is high time to conduct a general
review of U.S. trade laws. Most of our laws,
the Johnson Act, the Battle Act, were passed
at a time when ~~our~~ problems confronting us
were quite different. ~~I intend to undertake~~
~~such a review in the Senate.~~ #

The extent of possible East-West trade is
unknown, since our out-dated trade restrictions
have discouraged any genuine exploration of the
potential for expanded trade with the Soviet
bloc. The time for a review of U.S. trade
restrictions is overdue. The time for exploring
the possibility of increased East-West trade has
arrived. #

If the efforts to reach a consensus with
the Soviet Union in these six functional areas

of U.N. finance, outer space, the lunar probe, educational, cultural, and scientific exchange, health and trade are productive, then we might be in a position to test Soviet intentions on more delicate political questions. With the deepening of the Sino-Soviet rift it may soon be a propitious time to explore the Soviet intentions in the Far East. Surely it would be in the interest of U.S. foreign policy to know the Soviet Union's true intentions in Southeast Asia. If the Soviet Union's policy were to evolve in the direction of containing Chinese imperialism and restoring peace to Southeast Asia, that would indeed represent a significant step toward improving East-West relations.

L These six approaches I have outlined will, I believe, ~~often~~ prove more productive in achieving international harmony than formal treaties or grandiose diplomatic conferences. Conferences and treaties are necessary. When they are the result of careful preparation and a mutual desire for serious negotiation, they can be of major importance. The recently signed test-ban treaty represents an example of a treaty that promises solid achievements. If we make progress in these six functional areas, it is more likely that diplomatic conferences will be successful, that conditions for successful negotiation of other treaties will arise.

Finally, Foreign Aid - Now is the time to keep
on the pressure - Not Europe, but
in Lat. Africa, Asia - Don't falter!
How!

As the German Foreign Minister, Gerhard Schroeder, said last month, we should take the initiative in proposing solutions to the major international problems. The test-ban treaty represents a successful Western initiative. Its successful negotiation could well be a prelude to the negotiation of other outstanding world issues if we can combine ~~the~~ *the* imagination, foresight and resoluteness of purpose that made the test-ban treaty possible. Now is the time to begin.



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