

000676

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ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

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member of the Panel

I WANT TO ADDRESS YOU TODAY AS A PARTICIPANT IN WHAT I LOOK FORWARD TO BEING A MOST INTERESTING SYMPOSIUM. WHAT I PLAN TO DO IS OFFER UP SOME IDEAS FOR US ALL TO PONDER. I WANT TO VOLLEY WITH YOU FOR IDEAS, BUT I ALONE DON'T WANT TO WIN. I WANT US ALL TO BE VICTORIOUS IN A JOINT EFFORT TO ADVANCE SOME PLANS FOR MAN'S FUTURE.

LET ME BEGIN BY DEFINING SOME OF THE TERMS OF OUR DISCUSSION.

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT DEFINED

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY PEACE? FOR ME, IT IS A DYNAMIC PROCESS BY WHICH MEN OBTAIN THEIR OBJECTIVES THROUGH NON-VIOLENT MEANS.

↳ absence of War - yes.
- Ending of war in S. E. Asia
- End of conflict in M.S.
Ending of War in Saudi
Arabia
yes

THE STATIC CONNOTATIONS OF PEACE; AGREEMENTS AMONG GOVERNMENTS,
ORDER WITHIN THE NATION, HARMONY IN PERSONAL RELATIONS ARE
CONSEQUENCES OF ^{THIS} ~~THE~~ PROCESS. THE ESSENCE, RATHER, IS THE PROCESS
ITSELF OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. THERE ARE TWO MAIN ASPECTS TO THE
PROCESS OF PEACEFUL CHANGE: CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT.

CONFLICT ^{or Tension} IN HUMAN AFFAIRS IS EVER PRESENT AND MAY BE ESSENTIAL

FOR PROGRESS. BUT VIOLENCE IS MOSTLY DESTRUCTIVE OF HUMAN VALUES.

THIS DISTINCTION, ONE OF DEGREE AND KIND, BETWEEN CONFLICT AND

VIOLENCE IS IMPORTANT. WHILE SEEKING TO REDUCE THE INCIDENCE

OF VIOLENCE, THE TASK IN HANDLING CONFLICT IS TO DEVISE MORE

ASSURED WAYS TO ACHIEVE CONSTRUCTIVE RATHER THAN DESTRUCTIVE

OUTCOMES.

TO DO SO, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO UNDERSTAND THE CAUSES OF

CONFLICT AND OF VIOLENCE BEYOND THAT, WE NEED TO IMPROVE OUR

ABILITY TO ANTICIPATE CONFLICTS AND MANAGE THEM CONSTRUCTIVELY,

OUR TECHNOLOGICAL CIVILIZATION ~~NOW UNPRECEDENTING ON A WORLD~~

~~WE~~ HAS MADE THE TASK OF DEALING WITH CONFLICT MORE URGENT AND

MORE COMPLEX, ~~THAN IN ANY PAST EPOCH~~ IT IS NO LONGER, IF IT EVER

WAS, AN UNDERTAKING FOR GOVERNMENTS ALONE, IT REQUIRES THE TALENTS

OF A GROWING NUMBER OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS,

CONFLICT RESOLUTION IS ONE PURSUIT WHERE THE CONTROL OF
TECHNOLOGY WILL BE INVALUABLE, DEVELOPMENT IS ANOTHER.?

DEVELOPMENT ESSENTIALLY INVOLVES THE ACHIEVEMENT OF AN

IMPROVED STANDARD ~~LEVEL~~ OF LIVING AND QUALITY OF LIFE.

CONSIDERED IN THE BROADER CONTEXT, IT IS CONCERNED WITH ALL
PARAMOUNT VALUES -- POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IMPLIES AN INCREASING CONTROL OVER THE ENVIRONMENT WHICH MUST
BE TEMPERED BY AN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE. IT ALSO INVOLVES A
CHOICE OF METHODS FOR IDENTIFYING NEEDS AND ALLOCATING RESOURCES.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE ADVANCED NATIONS HAS FALSIFIED THE DIRE
PREDICTIONS OF MARX WITH RESPECT TO CLASS CONFLICT. IN PRACTISE,
HOWEVER, THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS WITHIN EACH NATION IS INCOMPLETE;
AMONG NATIONS VAST INEQUALITIES CONTINUE TO EXIST. A NEW
COMMITMENT IS ESSENTIAL IF THE PROCESS IS TO CONTINUE.

PARTNERSHIP OF SCIENCE AND POLITICS

L IF PEACEFUL CHANGE (~~DOMESTICALLY AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,~~)
IS TO BE ACHIEVED, A NEW RELATIONSHIP WILL BE NEEDED BETWEEN
SCIENCE AND POLITICS,

POLITICS IS AN ANCIENT ART. AS VIEWED BY THE ATHENIANS, IT WAS A PROCESS INVOLVING ALL THE CITIZENS IN A COLLABORATIVE EFFORT TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. IN MODERN DEMOCRACIES WE HAVE ADDED THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION BY WHICH THE MANY ARE REPRESENTED BY THE FEW CHOSEN FROM AMONG THEM. THE VITALITY OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, NO LESS THAN THE DIRECT DEMOCRACY OF THE GREEK CITY STATE OR THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN MEETING, DEPENDS UPON INFORMED AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION BY THE CITIZENS.

PARTICIPATION IS VITAL, ESPECIALLY IN AN ERA OF CHANGE WHEN OLD VALUES ARE FACED WITH THE NEW CONTENT AND APPLICATION. TODAY, FOR EXAMPLE, EXPECTATIONS OF EQUALITY ARE PART OF THE ETHOS OF RACIAL MINORITIES, WOMEN, AND OF YOUTH TO A GREATER DEGREE THAN IN PAST PERIODS.

SIMILARLY, THE GROWING VARIETY OF LIFE STYLES RAISE ISSUES OF LIBERTY IN A FORM STILL STRANGE TO MANY. AND ON A GLOBAL SCALE, FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF STATES DOES NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESS THE MORE PROFOUND QUESTION OF OUR RESPONSE TO THE STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD FOR LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

AT HOME AND ABROAD, THERE IS A PERSISTENT TENSION BETWEEN FUNDAMENTAL VALUES AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY FOR REALIZING THEM. POLITICS CAN BE THE VEHICLE TO TRANSLATE THE TENSION INTO SOCIAL PROGRESS.

AS SOCIETY GROWS MORE COMPLEX THE VITALITY OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS DEPENDS TO AN INCREASING DEGREE ON THE EFFECTIVENESS AND EQUITY OF THE MEASURES DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE ITS BASIC VALUES. MORE VALID AND RELIABLE ANSWERS TO A WHOLE ARRAY OF QUESTIONS BECOME VITAL TO MAINTAINING THE DEGREE OF CONSENSUS ON WHICH PEACEFUL CHANGE DEPENDS. WHAT ARRANGEMENTS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR PRODUCTIVE PARTICIPATION? WHAT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS WILL ACTUALLY PROVIDE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION, IN JOBS AND IN HOUSING? WHAT MEASURES WILL WORK BEST TO IMPROVE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY? WHAT ARE THE MOST PRACTICAL OPTIONS FOR SHOULDERING OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SHARE IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT. AND FINALLY, ARE THERE NEW ALTERNATIVES FOR DEALING WITH CONFLICT SITUATIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD?

TO COPE WITH THESE QUESTIONS RESPONSIBLY, POLITICS REQUIRES
A BROADER BASE OF KNOWLEDGE THAN EVER BEFORE -- KNOWLEDGE ORIENTED
TO THE FUTURE RATHER THAN TO THE PAST.

SCIENCE IS A METHOD FOR ACQUIRING ACCUMULATIVE UNDERSTANDING
OF OUR ENVIRONMENT AND OURSELVES: IT CAN CREATE THE KNOWLEDGE BASE.
THE CONSEQUENCES OF SCIENCE FOR OUR AGE ARE PROFOUND. INCREASINGLY
IT IS THE BASIS OF OUR TECHNOLOGICAL SYSTEMS, THE MOST POWERFUL
MEANS DEvised BY MAN FOR CONTROLLING HIS ENVIRONMENT. NECESSARILY,
THE GROWTH OF SCIENCE HAS BEEN UNEVEN. THE ATOM WAS SPLIT BEFORE
THE MYSTERIES OF THE BRAIN WERE "CRACKED." MORE SEEMS TO BE KNOWN
ABOUT HOW MAN MAY AFFECT THE ENVIRONMENT THAN ABOUT HOW HIS
ENVIRONMENT MAY AFFECT HIM.

From the perspective of society,
Science is not an end onto itself, it is a
means to achieving goals. Science is
Knowledge - Knowledge without commitment
is a luxury; but Commitment without

AND AS IS NOW WIDELY RECOGNIZED, SCIENCE BASED TECHNOLOGY HAS

Knowledge is dangerous, the purpose
DESTRUCTIVE AS WELL AS CONSTRUCTIVE IMPLICATIONS. AT THE SAME

of Knowledge is Action - the Social
TIME, SCIENCE PROVIDES A GROWING BODY OF KNOWLEDGE WHICH MAY

issue, is What kind of action -
BE EMPLOYED TO MEET CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS, AND TO

for What Purpose. therefore,
DEAL WITH CONFLICT DIRECTLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY.

fact

FROM TIME TO TIME BOTH SCIENCE AND POLITICS COME UNDER ATTACK,

AS IS THE CASE TODAY, I AM PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR DEFICIENCIES

BUT WE ALSO MUST RECOGNIZE THEIR INHERENT VALUE TO SOCIETY,

RECOGNIZING THE WEAKNESS AND THE STRENGTHS, WE MUST FACE SQUARELY

WHAT IS OUR COMMON CHALLENGE: How can science and politics,

RECOGNIZING THE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE OF EACH, WORK TOGETHER MORE

EFFECTIVELY TO MEET THE NEEDS AND DEAL WITH THE CONFLICTS OF OUR

OWN PEOPLE AND THOSE OF OTHERS?

A STRONG NEW COMMITMENT WILL BE NECESSARY IF ADEQUATE ANSWERS
ARE TO BE FOUND TO THIS QUESTION, THE SCIENCE COMMUNITY WILL HAVE
TO PROVIDE A MORE SYSTEMATIC KNOWLEDGE BASE, BUT POLITICAL LEADERS
MUST ALSO BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THE ISSUES. LET ME OFFER ONE

APPROACH, WHICH IS NOT INTENDED TO BE EITHER EXHAUSTIVE NOR

DEFINITIVE, BUT RATHER AS A MEANS OF ELICITING YOUR IDEAS, THE

APPROACH HAS THREE MAIN PARTS: (1) A COMMON AGENDA FOR SCIENCE

AND POLITICS, (2) NEW INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRODUCTION

AND UTILIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE, AND (3) PROCEDURES FOR STIMULATING

A SIMILAR COMMITMENT BY OTHER STATES.

Just the
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COMMON AGENDA. THE PRESENT CONCEPTION OF U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST

IS ~~AND~~ OFTEN EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF MILITARY POWER AND NATIONAL SECURITY. *N*EARLY HALF OF ALL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IS DEVOTED TO PERFECTING MEANS OF DESTRUCTION *W*ORLDWIDE, THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT DEVOTED TO MILITARY PURPOSES PROBABLY EXCEEDS \$25 BILLION. *A*LTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF OUR LONG RUN INTERESTS COULD LEAD TO A VERY DIFFERENT PATTERN OF RESOURCE ALLOCATION. *T*HE COUNTER-CONCEPTION MUST BE WORKED OUT IN COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE SCIENCE COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL LEADERS. IN MY VIEW, THE NEW DIRECTIONS WOULD INCLUDE INCREASED ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING AREAS.

First -
POPULATION

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD POPULATION GROWTH ^{of} AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE IS TAKING PLACE, WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CONFLICT

AND FOR DEVELOPMENT? FOR ANY GIVEN LEVEL OF POPULATION, MAY ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT IMPLICATIONS?

SINCE WORLD WAR II, THE LABOR FORCE IN THE UNITED STATES HAS GREATLY INCREASED IN SIZE, AND THE CHARACTER OF ITS KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS HAS UNDERGONE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT SHIFTS IN THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE FROM AGRICULTURE TO MANUFACTURING, AND THE SERVICES EXPANDED.

WHAT ARE THE FUTURE IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE
 MANPOWER TRENDS OF THE PAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY?]

~~IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD, THE BIRTH-RATE REMAINS RELATIVELY
 HIGH WHILE THE STANDARD OF SOCIAL WELFARE STRUGGLES TO KEEP UP~~

~~THE PACE~~ THE ABSOLUTE GAP BETWEEN THE HAVE AND THE HAVE-NOT

NATIONS CONTINUES TO WIDEN WHILE THE WORLD COMMUNITY GROWS

SMALLER, MEANWHILE, IN THE ADVANCED ~~SOCIETIES~~ ^{countries}, FRUSTRATION OF THE

GROWING ~~MASSSES~~ ^{numbers of} EDUCATED YOUNG APPEARS TO RISE. CAN MEANS

BE DEvised WHICH WOULD MORE FULLY MATCH THE NEEDS OF THE FORMER

AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE LATTER? WHAT NEW DIMENSIONS OF

EDUCATION ARE ESSENTIAL TO EQUIP OUR NATION'S MANPOWER TO PLAY

A MORE EFFECTIVE ROLE IN METROPOLITAN AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS?

~~AS WELL AS THOSE OF A NATIONAL CHARACTER?~~

The Second Area is

ENVIRONMENT AND GROWTH

OUR TECHNOLOGICAL CAPACITY TO MODIFY THE ENVIRONMENT HAS MULTIPLIED A THOUSANDFOLD, BUT, A COMPREHENSIVE APPRECIATION OF HOW TO RESHAPE THE COUNTRY'S CAPACITY TO PROVIDE FOR BOTH PEACEFUL CHANGE AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY IS LACKING.

[EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WHAT IS THE POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF TECHNOLOGY TO PEACE AND SECURITY? SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE NON-MILITARY ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH HAS NOT BEEN ATTEMPTED SINCE THE 1940's. A LARGE NUMBER OF EXCELLENT SPECIALIZED STUDIES EXIST, BUT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT A CONCERTED EFFORT TO DERIVE FROM THESE THE NATION'S POTENTIAL INFLUENCE IN MOVING TOWARD ITS GOALS. FOUR ISSUE AREAS ILLUSTRATE THE SCOPE OF THE TASK:

this

A. GENERAL INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY, THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY -- RAW MATERIALS,

MANUFACTURING CAPACITY AND SPECIALIZED MILITARY

PRODUCTION FACILITIES -- ARE NO LONGER A SUFFICIENT

MEASURE OF POTENTIAL POWER AND INFLUENCE. ~~ARE THERE~~

~~ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION AND DEVELOPMENT~~

and of adaptation and source
Are there alternative sources of strength

TO SUPPORT POLICIES FOR ACHIEVING SECURITY AND DEVELOP-

MENT, ~~WHICH CAN BE WORKED OUT IN DETAIL AND TESTED?~~ }

B. ENERGY, ENERGY REQUIREMENTS HAVE MOUNTED IN THE LAST

TWO DECADES AND ARE EXPECTED TO RISE FURTHER, ENVIRON-

MENTAL CONSIDERATIONS CONTINUE TO LOOM EVER LARGER.

WHAT WILL BE THE FUTURE ENERGY NEEDS OF THE UNITED STATES? OF THE WORLD? AS CHOICES ARE MADE, WHAT SHOULD BE THE BALANCE SOUGHT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF NATIONAL STRENGTH? AND HOW ARE THESE CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTED BY THE GROWTH OF ENERGY NEEDS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD AND BY THE GLOBAL PATTERN OF ENERGY RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT? IN WHAT SENSE IS ENERGY A STRATEGIC FACTOR IN SHAPING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT?

- c. COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION, THE POSTWAR WORLD HAS EXPERIENCED A REVOLUTION IN THE MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION. IMPORTANT NEW DEVELOP-MENTS ARE EXPECTED IN THE NEXT TWO DECADES.

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AN APPRECIATION -- STRATEGIC IN SCOPE -- OF THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION TO PEACEFUL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT IS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL.

ARE THERE CREDIBLE TECHNOLOGICAL OPTIONS FOR MEETING THE KNOWLEDGE NEEDS OF INDIVIDUALS IN A MANNER THAT WILL

CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT?

What is the Education and information role of the Communication Satellite

D. TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER: TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, WHETHER

PUBLIC OR PRIVATE, CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF

INFLUENCE. AS TECHNOLOGY IS DIFFUSED AMONG NATIONS,

international

~~THEIR~~ RELATIONSHIPS CHANGE. IN THE CASE OF ADVANCED

STATES THE PROCESS MAY REACH A POINT WHERE INTERDEPENDENCE

IS MAINTAINED BY A SELF-SUSTAINING RECIPROCAL FLOW OF

TECHNOLOGY WHICH SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS,

(a distinct contribution to Peace)

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THIS KIND OF TRANSFER HAS AN IMPORTANT BEARING ON THE
 POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE.]

The third item on my agenda of Science & Politics -
HEALTH AND EDUCATION

~~BETTER PROVISIONS FOR~~ HEALTH AND EDUCATION RANK NEAR THE TOP

^{any} OF PEOPLE'S LIST OF HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS. WHILE RESEARCH HAS

PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR MAJOR ADVANCES IN HEALTH AND LEARNING,

DELIVERY OF SERVICES ~~IN THE U.S.~~ REMAINS UNSATISFACTORY AND

RESOURCES FALL SIGNIFICANTLY SHORT OF REQUIREMENTS. ~~Moreover,~~

~~IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD THE GAP BETWEEN WHAT IS TECHNICALLY~~

~~POSSIBLE AND WHAT IS ACTUALLY AVAILABLE IS IMMENSE AND MAY BE~~

~~WIDENING.~~

Keep

WHILE THE DIFFERENCES ARE GREAT BETWEEN OUR OWN HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND THOSE OF OTHER COUNTRIES, THERE IS

A CERTAIN MUTUALITY OF INTEREST *Search for solution of the* SHARING THE PROBLEMS HELPS TO

SOLVE THEM AND IN THE PROCESS REDUCES THE FLASH POINTS OF TENSION

BETWEEN NATIONS OR REGIONS. *Education - Elementary +* ~~THE ACCOUNT MUST BE TAKEN OF THIS~~

Technical - Information + Skills - are vital ~~FACT IN DEALING WITH THESE URGENT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL~~

ingredients for peace + Development. ~~NEEDS.~~

But How to do it??

4. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT *must be at the very*
heart of same or policies - how to 3 must converge

THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT TALKS ARE NOW IN THEIR

THIRD DECADE. MEANWHILE INVESTMENT IN WEAPONS SYSTEMS HAS CONTINUED

APACE *(* AND IRONICALLY, SURVIVAL HAS COME TO DEPEND ON THE RATIONALITY

OF THE ADVERSARY, EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF A STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE.

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~~NOW IN A WAR OF HOURS RATHER THAN MONTHS, THEIR DESTRUCTIVE CAPACITY~~

~~MAY BE MEASURED IN MEGATONS,~~ NEW AGREEMENTS ARE PROMISED AS A

RESULT OF THE SALT TALKS, AND THESE ARE TO BE WELCOMED. HOWEVER,

NOTHING IS LIKELY TO EMERGE WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCES THE ROLE

OF CIVILIAN POPULATIONS AS HOSTAGES TO THE NUCLEAR AGE. *✓* MORE

FUNDAMENTAL APPROACHES MUST BE FOUND IF THE PERSISTENT THREAT

TO OUR SURVIVAL IS TO BE REMOVED. ~~FOR ONE THING~~ *✓* A FUNDAMENTAL

RETHINKING OF THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE NATION-STATE MAY BE

REQUIRED. *Surely the reexamination of the Charter and the functions of the U. N. is required.*

5. FUTURE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

NATION STATES ARE STILL THE MAJOR ACTORS IN THE INTER-

NATIONAL SYSTEM.

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THEY HAVE DEVELOPED AN ARRAY OF INSTRUMENTS TO

EXERCISE INFLUENCE IN ~~the~~ SYSTEM. [THESE INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE,

DIPLOMATIC SERVICES FOR REPRESENTATION AND NEGOTIATION AND

INFORMATION AGENCIES TO SHAPE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. [PUBLIC OPINION

FEEDS BACK TO THIS SYSTEM BY HAVING SOME WEIGHT, VARYING IN DEGREE

ACCORDING TO THE NATURE OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM, IN THE

DETERMINATION OF PRIORITIES AND OF THE BROAD PARAMETERS WITHIN

WHICH LEADERS MAY ACT.]

SIGNIFICANT FUNCTIONAL INSTITUTIONS, SUCH ~~as~~ ^{as} THE INTERNATIONAL

MONETARY SYSTEM, ARE ~~emerging~~ GRADUALLY EMERGING. [MULTI-

NATIONAL CORPORATIONS ARE AMONG THE MOST DYNAMIC INSTITUTIONAL

ELEMENTS PRESENTLY ON THE SCENE.

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IN ADDITION, A LARGE ARRAY OF INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL

ORGANIZATIONS OF LESSER SCOPE HAVE ~~EMERGED~~ ^{emerged} AS THE TREND TOWARD

URBAN LIVING THROUGHOUT THE WORLD UNFOLDS, METROPOLITAN AREAS

SHARE COMMON GOALS EVEN AS THEY EXPERIENCE COMMON PROBLEMS. 7

FINALLY, THERE EXIST INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL REGIONAL

AND GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS. ONE OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLES

OF A REGIONAL SYSTEM IS THE COMMON MARKET, A POTENTIALLY

SUCCESSFUL SPECIALIZED INSTITUTION COULD BE THE PLANNED U.N.

COMMISSION ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT.

IN WHICH RESPECTS HAS THIS ARRAY OF INSTITUTIONS KEPT PACE

WITH THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF THE POSTWAR PERIOD?

resolving conflict
and achieving peace and development?

AND IN WHICH RESPECTS HAVE THEY LAGGED BEHIND? HOW DOES THEIR PRESENT CONDITION AND THEIR POTENTIAL FOR GROWTH RELATE TO OUR CENTRAL CONCERN FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT?

6. CONFLICT SITUATIONS.

L ATTRIBUTES OF CONFLICT SITUATION VARY WIDELY, BUT

COMMON TO ALL, IS THE NEED FOR KNOWLEDGE SUFFICIENT FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION TO ENABLE PEOPLE TO DEAL MORE PREDICTABLY WITH OTHER PEOPLE.

WHAT THEN MUST BE KNOWN FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION?

L EACH SITUATION OF CONFLICT HAS A PARTICULAR TIME AND SPACE

SETTING. L EACH HAS A UNIQUE SET OF POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS FOR WHOM

THE SITUATION HAS VARYING DEGREE OF IMPACT. L THE TESTIMONY OF

MANY STATESMEN IS THAT THEY RESPOND TO EVENTS.

ARE THERE, THEN, PREFERRED WAYS FOR THEM TO CHOOSE TO WHAT

THEY WILL RESPOND? WHAT CAN BE LEARNED ABOUT SITUATIONS IN WHICH

TAKING THE INITIATIVE IS EFFECTIVE IN REDUCING VIOLENT CONFLICT? 7

[LIKE OTHER LIVING THINGS, MAN IS A RESULT OF THE EXPERIENCE
OF THE SPECIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL. HOWEVER, TO A DEGREE THAT SETS

HIM APART FROM ALL OTHERS, MAN HAS ACQUIRED THE POWER TO CREATE

HIS OWN EXPERIENCE. ^{an} THERE MAY BE MANY VIEWS OF REALITY AS THERE

ARE MEN. ! GIVEN OUR PAROCHIAL PERCEPTION OF REALITY, HOW CAN A

PERSISTENT TENDENCY TO DISREGARD THE VALUES OF THE ADVERSARY

BE REDUCED OR OVERCOME?

NEW INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

AGREEMENT ON A ~~COMMON~~ SCIENCE-POLITICS AGENDA FOR PEACE
AND DEVELOPMENT IS MERELY A FIRST STEP. NEXT, THERE IS NEED TO
PROVIDE THE INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY TO DELINEATE AND IMPLEMENT A
COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM. THE CAPACITY, IF IT IS TO BE EFFECTIVE,
MUST BE CONCERNED NOT ONLY WITH RELIABLE SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE
BUT WITH VALID INFORMATION FOR POLITICAL ACTION. TO ILLUSTRATE,
KNOWLEDGE TO DEAL DEFINITELY WITH THE POPULATION OR THE
ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS MAY BE A LONG TERM UNDERTAKING, BUT THE
"TIME FRAME" OF POLITICAL LEADERS IS RATHER SHORT. ACTIONS ARE TAKEN
YEAR BY YEAR. AN ARRANGEMENT IS NEEDED WHICH IS SUPPORTIVE OF BOTH
"SYSTEMATIC LONG-TERM STUDIES" AND OF SENSIBLE "SHORT TERM ACTIONS".

HERE AN ENLIGHTENED BUREAUCRACY WHICH HAS A SOMEWHAT LONGER PERSPECTIVE THAN THE ELECTED OFFICIAL HAS AN IMPORTANT PART TO PLAY. *i*

Keep I DOUBT WHETHER THERE IS A SINGLE SOLUTION TO PROVIDING AN ADEQUATE INSTITUTION FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT. *Let*

IP ME ~~WE~~ SUGGEST A NUMBER OF COMPLEMENTARY APPROACHES WHICH MAY BE VALUABLE.

L FIRST, FOR A BROAD KNOWLEDGE BASE, WE NEED A BROAD BASE OF SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY. WE HAVE WITNESSED HOW TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPS WITH A MOMENTUM ALL ITS OWN, OFTEN HAVING ONLY A MINIMAL CONTRIBUTIVE EFFECT ON SOCIETY AT LARGE.

← ~~SCIENTISTS AND POLITICIANS, TOGETHER AND SEPARATELY, MUST ASK~~
~~QUESTIONS BEFORE THEY ARRIVE AT ANSWERS. TOO OFTEN OFFICIAL~~
~~RESEARCH PANELS HAVE HAD PARTICIPANTS WHO KNOW THE ANSWER BEFORE~~
~~THEY STUDY THE PROBLEM BECAUSE THEY ALL AGREE. IN MOST INSTANCES~~
~~UNDER GOVERNMENTAL SPONSORSHIP, THE DIVERSITY AND CONFRONTATION~~
~~WHICH EXISTS IN THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE AND AMONG POLITICAL LEADERS~~
~~IS NOT DUPLICATED AT THE SCIENTIFIC LEVEL.]~~

← WHILE MAKING AS MUCH USE AS POSSIBLE OF OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS,
~~OUR~~ GOVERNMENT SHOULD TURN MORE AND MORE TO THE UNENCUMBERED,
INDEPENDENT SCIENTIFIC BODIES (DR. EDWARD DAVID, SCIENCE ADVISOR
TO THE PRESIDENT, DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM WITH RESPECT TO HIS
OWN COMMITTEE, THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION AND THE ~~THE~~
NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.

HE FOUND THAT DESPITE THEIR EXCELLENCE, THESE INSTITUTIONS

need to be complemented by
~~DID NOT QUITE FIT THE BILL. HE STRESSED THE NEED TO TURN TO~~

INDEPENDENT BOARDS OF INQUIRY OR RESEARCH, ~~THE AAAS (CALLED~~

~~THE TRIPLE-A S) HAS SHOWN HOW EFFECTIVE THIS KIND OF APPROACH~~

~~CAN BE.~~

Triple A-S

↳ ONE EXAMPLE, AMONG MANY, IS THE AAAS HERBICIDE ASSESSMENT ~~COMMISSION~~

COMMISSION WHOSE REPORT ON HERBICIDES HAS HAD ~~AN~~ ^a SIGNIFICANT

IMPACT ON CONGRESSIONAL THINKING ^{and action.} ~~AND HOPEFULLY, ON OUR OWN~~

~~GOVERNMENT.~~

↳ WHAT I HAVE IN MIND IS MULTIPLICITY AND DIVERSITY *from*

WHICH CAN COME THE KIND OF BALANCED CONCLUSIONS WE NEED IN OUR

FUTURE-ORIENTED POLICIES.

~~THE JOB IS NOT FOR ONE INSTITUTION, ANY MORE THAN IT IS FOR ONE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT. GUIDELINES FOR OUR KNOWLEDGE REQUIREMENTS FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE SHOULD BE A PRODUCT OF REPRESENTATIVE THINKING.~~

(2)
★

SECOND, CONGRESS SHOULD CREATE A NEW INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY TO PROVIDE ITSELF AND ~~THE~~ ^{the} PUBLIC WITH OPEN NATIONAL

INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES AT PRESENT, BOTH CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC

MUST DEPEND ON FRAGMENTARY INFORMATION DERIVED FROM PERSONAL

CONTACTS, COMMITTEE HEARINGS, ~~CONFERENCES WITH PARTICULAR TOPICS~~

AND ~~ON~~ SELECTIVE INFORMATION "LEAKED" TO THE ~~NEWS~~ ^{media} BY THE

EXECUTIVE BRANCH ~~AND~~ BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS. ~~FACILITIES FOR OPEN~~

~~SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION EXIST, BUT THEIR ACTIVITIES~~

~~ARE ALSO FRAGMENTARY.~~

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⁻³⁰⁻
Some facilities for open systematic analysis and evaluation exist —

AMONG THESE ARE THE LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE BUREAU OF THE LIBRARY

OF CONGRESS, THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES IN THE UNITED

KINGDOM, AND THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN SWEDEN.

But,

IN COMPARISON WITH THE SECRET INTELLIGENCE GATHERING FACILITIES

OF ALL MAJOR GOVERNMENTS, THE OPEN CAPACITIES FOR COLLECTION,

ANALYSIS AND AUTHORITATIVE SYNTHESIS OF POLICY ~~RELEVANT~~ INFORMATION IS

~~VERY LIMITED~~ *negligible.*

L WHILE ALL GOVERNMENTS DEVOTE SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES TO

ACQUIRING SECRET INFORMATION, THIS PRACTICE POSES SPECIAL

PROBLEMS FOR A DEMOCRACY. *L* ON BALANCE, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

AQUIRES ~~RELEVANT~~ SPECIAL ADVANTAGES.

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THE UTILITY OF SECRET INFORMATION CANNOT BE DENIED, BUT, THERE
 ARE ALSO MAJOR draw-backs. draw-backs. draw-backs. UNDERTAKINGS MAY BE INITIATED

WHICH FOR LACK OF FULL DISCUSSION AND PARTICIPATION BY THOSE

WITH A STAKE IN THE OUTCOME, MAY IN THE END DAMAGE THE UNITY

OF THE NATION. - for example, the war in S.E. Asia.

ONE EXAMPLE AMONG MANY WAS PROJECT "CAMELOT" IN LATIN America ^{Sponsored by the U.S. Army}

AMERICA Ostensibly a social science project, THE REAL PURPOSE

OF THE PROGRAM, TO STUDY THE POSSIBILITIES OF REVOLUTION AND THE

TECHNIQUES OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION UNDER U.S. SPONSORSHIP, WAS

ULTIMATELY DISCLOSED. The end result was a general suspicion

OF AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND INCREASED

TENSION IN OUR MUTUAL RELATIONS.

L OPEN TREATMENT OF POLICY RELEVANT INFORMATION WILL NO DOUBT
INTRODUCE SOME CONSTRAINTS ON INDEPENDENT ACTION, BUT IT OFFERS
AT LEAST TWO ADVANTAGES WHICH I THINK HAVE GREAT POTENTIAL. ~~On~~
~~THE OTHER HAND~~, ^{First} AN OPEN SYSTEM WOULD INTRODUCE A BADLY NEEDED
COMPETITIVE ELEMENT INTO THE CRUCIAL PROCESS OF DEFINING WHAT
INFORMATION IS IMPORTANT FOR POLICY PURPOSES. ~~ON THE OTHER HAND~~, ^{Secondly}
THE AVAILABILITY OF AUTHORITATIVE ESTIMATES COULD HELP TO FOCUS
THE ENDEAVORS OF CONGRESS AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR, THUS REDUCING
MISDIRECTED EFFORTS TO A MINIMUM. ~~THOSE OUTSIDE THE EXECUTIVE~~
~~BRANCH WOULD HAVE THE BENEFIT OF MORE INFORMATION THAN THEY ARE~~
~~ABLE TO GATHER AND ASSIMILATE UNDER PRESENT PROCEDURES.~~

CONGRESS WOULD HAVE A BETTER BASIS FOR RESPONDING TO PRESIDENTIAL
 INITIATIVES. COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE WOULD HAVE A BETTER FOUNDATION
 FOR ITS INVESTMENT DECISIONS. THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY WOULD HAVE
 A BETTER BASIS FOR ORIENTING ITS APPLIED RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY
 ASSESSMENT EFFORTS. INTEREST GROUPS WOULD HAVE ACCESS TO A BODY
 OF AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION NOT NOW AVAILABLE TO MANY OF THEM.

^{National}
THE ESTIMATES WOULD FOCUS ON PARTICULAR SITUATIONS OF EITHER
 A GEOGRAPHIC OR FUNCTIONAL NATURE INVOLVING MAJOR QUESTIONS OF
 PUBLIC POLICY. ~~AND~~ THE ESTIMATES THEMSELVES WOULD NOT TAKE A
 POSITION ON POLICY ISSUES BUT SEEK TO PROVIDE CONCISE ^{comprehensive} ~~AND~~

^{and} AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION AS A BASIS FOR CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC
DISCUSSION. ^{and decision.}

~~THIRD,~~ **W** WHILE SOME ESTIMATES MIGHT FOCUS ON AREAS OF
 POTENTIAL CRISIS, OTHERS WOULD SEEK TO GIVE AN AUTHORITATIVE
 ASSESSMENT OF SELECTED LONG TERM DEVELOPMENTS. **L** AN EXAMPLE OF THE
 FORMER WOULD BE AN ESTIMATE OF THE EMERGING SITUATION IN SOUTH
ASIA PREPARED WELL BEFORE THE WAR BROKE UPON AN UNPREPARED WORLD.

L AN EXAMPLE, OF THE LATTER MIGHT BE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE INTER-
NATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGES IN POPULATION NUMBERS AND QUALITY
 OVER THE NEXT DECADE. **L** IN EITHER CASE, THE SUMMARY ESTIMATE WOULD
 SEEK TO CORRELATE EXISTING KNOWLEDGE IN RELATION TO A SPECTRUM OF
 POLICY ALTERNATIVES,

The estimate would be supported by
~~THE INFORMATION WOULD BE STORED IN~~ *computer based*
information systems.

THE COMPUTERS WOULD ALSO BE CAPABLE OF PROVIDING ASSISTANCE IN
VISUALIZATION AND SIMULATION OF POLICY OPTIONS.

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NATIONAL ESTIMATES OUGHT TO CONCERN THEMSELVES WITH
 DOMESTIC AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL SITUATIONS PART OF THE PUBLIC
 CONCERN AND CONFUSION ABOUT SUCH PROBLEMS AS POVERTY, DRUGS, *crime*
~~AND~~ *I am* INCLINED TO BELIEVE, STEMS FROM THE LACK OF REGULAR
 AND AUTHORITATIVE ASSESSMENT INFORMATION AND MISINFORMATION
 ABOUNDS, BUT OBJECTIVE AND AUTHORITATIVE ESTIMATES ARE RARE.
 BY THE WAY OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, I VISUALIZE A
 REPRESENTATIVE BOARD OF ^{National} ESTIMATES ~~SOCIAL ADVISORS~~ RESPONSIBLE
 FOR ~~ADVISING~~ WITH A RELATIVELY SMALL HIGH CALIBER PROFESSIONAL *staff*
~~STAFF WHO SHOULD BE~~ *with the* RESPONSIBLE ^{staff} FOR PREPARING THE ESTIMATES.
 A similar Board of Estimates would
 be required in the international
 area.

ONE OF THE INITIAL TASKS OF THE STAFF WOULD BE TO DEVELOP CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH SCIENTISTS AND RESEARCH ~~WORKERS~~ ^{PERSONS} IN ALL

FIELDS. ANY RESEARCH SCIENTIST, AREA EXPERT OR INDIVIDUAL WHO FELT HE HAD RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO AN ESTIMATE. THERE SHOULD ALSO BE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CRITICISM OF ESTIMATES ONCE THEY ARE ISSUED.

Similarly, THE USERS IN CONGRESS AND AMONG INTERESTED PUBLICS SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROCESS. IF A POLICY MAKER QUESTIONED A FINDING, THE OPPORTUNITY WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO EXAMINE THE MATERIAL FROM WHICH IT DERIVED.

A SYSTEM OF OPEN NATIONAL ESTIMATES COULD MAKE AN ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING THE PRESENTLY FRAYED LINKS BETWEEN PUBLIC PARTICIPATION, POLITICAL ACTION, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES. ATTENTION WOULD BE DIRECTED TO COMMON OBJECTIVES, WHILE LEAVING EACH OF THE VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS IN THE POLICY PROCESS FREE TO MAKE THEIR OWN UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION.

H3
 Keep
 third, so
 change
 ADAPTATION.

CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION ARE EXPANDED AND MODIFIED, SO MUST THE INSTITUTIONAL NATURE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PROCESS. SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY WORK EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER IF THERE IS A PARALLEL AND COMPLEMENTARY STRUCTURAL ADAPTATION.

SCIENCE DOES NOT HAVE THE CORPORATIVE INTEGRATION

THE GOVERNMENT HAS DEVELOPED OVER THE YEARS, BUT A CONSCIOUS

REORDERING OF PRIORITIES IN THAT AREA SHOULD BE THE MAIN FOCUS

OF REFORM. FOR MUCH OF THE REDIRECTION, THE IMPETUS MAY HAVE TO

COME FROM CONGRESS. FOR CONGRESS TO PROVIDE THIS FORCE, IT WILL

NEED TO RESORT TO A REVAMPING OF ITS OWN SYSTEM. }

← CERTAIN CONGRESSIONAL PRACTICES AND FACILITIES NEED TO BE

UPDATED. ← FOR A MORE DETAILED BLUEPRINT OF REFORM, I HAVE PROPOSED

THAT THERE BE ESTABLISHED A CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE TO STUDY CONGRESS,

AT THE SAME TIME I HAVE PROPOSED THAT ~~A~~ the creation of a JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL

SECURITY to provide an integrated and coordinated ~~BE ESTABLISHED TO STUDY IN AN INTEGRATED WAY SOME OF THE~~

approach to issues of National Security - Military Commitments,
~~URGENT ISSUES LIKE DEFENSE, ARMS CONTROL, FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT,~~
Foreign Aid,

Trade, etc. declassification, congressional
~~AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES WHICH AFFECT WHAT IS COMMONLY REFERRED TO~~

monitoring of C.I.A., etc

~~THE ATTEMPT, HERE WOULD BE TO FORTIFY WITH CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS AND JOINT PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING.~~ ?

NATIONAL SECURITY, ~~WHICH~~ HAS BEEN A GRAY ZONE OF AMBIGUITY AND SURRENDER AS FAR AS THE CONGRESS IS CONCERNED, ~~HAS COME LARGELY UNDER THE PURVIEW OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.~~

THE CONGRESS ^{is moving} ~~HAS MOVED~~ GRADUALLY INTO THIS AREA, BUT NEVER IN A CLEAR FORMALIZED MANNER. ^{on Nat. Security} THE JOINT COMMITTEE ¹ WOULD GIVE ~~DEFINITE~~ DEFINITION TO THE KIND OF REFORM AND POLICIES THAT

OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE INSTITUTING.

(R+D for Peace & Develop)

#4 Fourth, also
R+D for Peace

WE CAN ENVISAGE THE CREATION OF A SERIES OF NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT CHARGED WITH

research and development directed toward

^{initiating} DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS ~~AND PARTICIPATING DIRECTLY~~

to deal with such

problem areas as conflict resolution, population, economic development and environment. ~~IN THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS.~~
Transnational processes.

~~AT PRESENT, WE ARE INADEQUATELY EQUIPPED WITH RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
CAPACITY AND COMMITMENT TO DEAL WITH SUCH PROBLEM AREAS AS
CONFLICT RESOLUTION, POPULATION, AND THE ENVIRONMENT WHICH ARE
CANDIDATES FOR OUR COMMON AGENDA.~~

~~THE COMMITMENT CANNOT BE STRESSED ENOUGH.~~

also

PRIVATE CAPACITY TO PROMOTE INITIATIVES IN INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. THIS CONCLUSION FLOWS FROM A
STUDY PROJECT WITH WHICH I WAS ASSOCIATED THAT SURVEYED THE
ACTIVITIES OF 500 ORGANIZATIONS AND CONDUCTED INTERVIEWS WITH
LEADERS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE. PRIVATE DIPLOMACY WHICH IS NOT
BURDENED BY TRADITIONAL INFLEXIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT IS ONE
IMPORTANT AREA FOR NEW INITIATIVES.

IT HAS PLAYED A RELATIVELY IMPORTANT ^{part} ~~AREA~~ IN VIETNAM, BUT
 COULD BE EVEN MORE USEFUL. IT MAY BE ESPECIALLY HELPFUL IN
 ARRANGING PREVENTIVE TALKS WHICH HELP TO KEEP CONFLICT FROM COMING
 TO A HEAD. FROM TIME TO TIME, A SINGLE INDIVIDUAL WHOSE INTEGRITY
 IS RESPECTED, MOVING BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN ADVERSARIES, CAN PLAY
 A CATALYTIC ROLE.

WITH THE BUILDING OF A SYSTEM OF WORLD EDUCATION, THE
 COMMITMENT ^{to peaceful change} ~~TO TALKING ABOUT~~ WOULD BE SELF-PERPETUATING. THIS
 MIGHT TAKE THE FORM OF A MULTI-CENTERED WORLD UNIVERSITY AS
~~ADVOCATED BY HAROLD LASSWELL~~ OR OF A WORLD SYSTEM OF RESEARCH
CENTERS AS SUGGESTED BY CARL KAYSEN, ^{or possibly even} ~~WHICH IN TIME MIGHT ACQUIRE~~
~~A TEACHING FUNCTION~~ more significant a world wide attack
on illiteracy.

Finally, for our own American agenda,

I recommend the creation of a National Commission on Planning

(5)

~~which, I believe a JOINT COMMISSION CREATED BY CONGRESS AND~~

and ~~Herewith, This is essential~~
~~THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH MAY BE NEEDED TO SECURE TO IDENTIFY THE~~

for our own peace Development
~~INCENTIVES FOR GROWTH VITAL FOR THE MORE IMPORTANT PEACE AND~~

~~DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRIES~~ This ~~include~~ COMMISSION SHOULD BE BROADLY

representatives of Governments,

~~REPRESENTATIVE OF BUSINESS, LABOR, SCIENCE AND THE PUBLIC, ITS~~

PRIMARY TASK WOULD BE NOT MERELY TO DETERMINE WHAT THE NATURE AND

PATTERN OF GROWTH IS LIKELY TO BE IN THE YEARS AHEAD, BUT TO define

alternatives and

DOCUMENT WHAT IS POSSIBLE AND TO SUGGEST WHAT IS PREFERABLE WITH

SUCH AN ANALYSIS, Regions, States, rural ENTERPRISES AND URBAN CENTERS COULD MORE

areas and cities READILY APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITIES OPENING FOR CITIES FOR

~~EXAMPLE,~~ COULD BEGIN TO PLAN FOR THEIR GROWTH BASED ON PEACE

AND DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRIES rather than to look TO CONTRAST WITH THE PAST WHEN MANY

Government contracts for

HAVE HAD TO RELY ON WEAPONS PRODUCTION AND MILITARY INSTALLATIONS.

STIMULATING RECIPROCAL ACTION BY OTHER NATIONS

WITHOUT COMPLEMENTARY ACTION BY OTHER NATIONS, THE COMMITMENT OF THE U.S. TO STRENGTHEN ITS CAPACITY FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE

MAY BE ABORTED. *L* THE U.S. ~~SHOULD~~ ^{must} EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN THE UNDERTAKING, BUT A RECIPROCAL RESPONSE FROM OTHERS IS VITAL.

L THE GOAL OF STIMULATING OTHER NATIONS TO COMMIT TALENT AND RESOURCES TO PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE NEED NOT BE LEFT WHOLLY TO CHANCE OR "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM", ~~AS IS THE CASE AT PRESENT~~

~~CASE AT PRESENT~~ *L* WITH THE CREATION OF AN EFFECTIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE CAPACITY FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE, THE SELF-INTEREST OF OTHER NATIONS CAN BE EXPECTED TO LEAD THEM TO RESPOND.

There is a reciprocal relationship.

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However

~~Moreover, IN STRENGTHENING OUR CAPACITY FOR PEACEFUL
CHANGE WE NEED NOT RELY ON THE POWER OF EXAMPLE ALONE.~~

~~IS IT BEYOND THE REALM OF POSSIBILITY THAT SYSTEMATIC
STUDY AND ANALYSIS WOULD NOT DEMONSTRATE THE FEASIBILITY OF
CREATING NEW COMPLEMENTARY CAPABILITIES FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT?~~

IN CONCLUSION, LET ME *emphasize* ~~emphasize~~ THE CHALLENGE POSED AT THE

OUTSET. ~~LET US AGREE~~ TO COMMIT OUR ENERGY AND TALENT:

-- TO THE GOAL OF PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT --

which are complementary

-- TO ARRIVING AT A COMMON AGENDA FOR SCIENCE AND POLITICS

IN SUPPORT OF THAT GOAL.

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-- To ^{the} CREATION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY ESSENTIAL FOR

THE PRODUCTION AND UTILIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE PURSUIT OF

~~THE GOAL~~ *the goal of Peace and Development*

-- AND FINALLY, BY EXAMPLE AND DESIGN TO INDUCE ~~AND~~ OTHER NATIONS

TO ESTABLISH COMPLEMENTARY CAPABILITIES,

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