

General Remarks Re: Short Range Problems

The great need in the United States at this time is not so much education, but rather the exercise of leadership on the part of those who are already educated.-- There are many educated people in the United States, but intellectual leadership is lacking to a degree which is rather alarming. The only voices which penetrate to the great American public are the voices of politicians, generals, ~~and~~ university presidents, ~~columnists~~ ^{columnists}, and radio news-casters. How the situation could be remedied is difficult to say, but any effective remedy ought to be given precedence over long-range problems, such as for instance, improving general education.

Inseparable from the problem of providing intellectual leadership is the problem of providing factual information. Today over vast areas of the country it is impossible to find out from the daily papers what is going on in the world and Time magazine represents the only half-way satisfactory source of information in this respect.

Because it is difficult to find adequate solutions for any of the really important short-range problems, it would seem in general advisable for the Ford Foundation to adopt a "go-as-you-pay" policy, i.e. the Foundation ought to take a problem, decide on a specific line of action, and set up an organization to pursue that line of action. The Foundation ought ~~then~~ to give this organization a lump sum ^{but not} without incurring ^{the} any moral obligation for continued support. This way the Foundation will not be tied in any way to the inadequate attempts which it will probably sponsor during its first years of operation, and it can start out each year with a clean slate, taking up ^{the} problems which in the light of new developments appear to be the most urgent *and the most capable of a solution.*

Specific Proposals to Short-Range Problems

1. The most urgent special problem in "education" is the education of members of Congress, of the national administration, of publishers of magazines, newspaper columnists, and radio commentators. Such education cannot be brought about as a result of an overt act, but must be achieved by ~~interaction~~ ^{indirection} interaction. It is proposed that the Foundation create an ⁹ institution (remotely resembling All Soul's College) located in Washington, D.C., and staffed by borrowing distinguished scholars from various universities for a limited period of time. This institution would have to have facilities for entertaining distinguished visitors and perhaps Dumbarton Oaks could be acquired from Harvard for this purpose. ^{such} If a ^{setting} situation could be established ^{so} that it would be a great honor for a senator to spend a ^{weekend} weekend in the distinguished atmosphere of this American version of All Souls' College, maybe something could be achieved. ^{Statesmen} Statesmen and members of the administration, particularly top desk men of the State Department, could be exposed here not only to scholars, but also to enlightened foreign correspondents and columnists. ^P The top desk men of the State Department might welcome meeting from time to time with outsiders and to try to think through the over-all aspects of our foreign policy of which each one of them deals with only a narrow segment. ^P Senators might enjoy sounding off, and if skillfully handled, might not resent too much to be shown ^{my} cross examination that what they say makes no ^{much} more sense than ^{the above's nonsense} what some other senators ^{has said} say on the same subject. ^{before} Depending on the skillfulness of the ^{social} handling of this enterprise, an important national institution might be created ^{along those lines} on this basis or else the whole attempt ^{may} ~~may~~ fall flat.

2. As a ^{very} short range project ^{it} ~~which~~ might be important to create in America something that might be called "The voice of Europe" in ^{to do here} analogy ~~to the~~ what the Voice of American has been ^{supposed to do in} to Europe. The purpose of this would be to bring to the American public over the radio and perhaps television the voices of those who are truly representative of European opinion, particularly of that segment of opinion which related to European reaction to our foreign policy. It would seem that to

2 - Specific Proposals

make the American public aware of European attitudes toward us as represented by the best thinking in Europe. ~~So~~ could at this juncture be a very important ~~task~~ if ~~it is a manageable one.~~ *achievement.*

General Remarks Re: Long-Range Problems

With respect to short-range problems it may be necessary to improvise. Long range problems, however, will permit and probably also require a more careful intellectual preparation. An intervening world war, which will probably play havoc with any proposed solution of short-range problems, need not stop ~~the~~ work on the intellectual preparation for the solution of long-range problems.

The central problem of our century appears to be the problem of government. Even without the rapid technical development of the last twenty years which makes the establishment of a world government within one or two generations almost certain, we would be faced with a crisis of government. This crisis arises from the fact that government has become important and that no form of democracy has been developed or even devised which can satisfactorily function under modern conditions. As long as the world is as heterogenous as it is today, it might be necessary to develop for purposes of local government, forms of democracy which are different in different regions of the world. Because no other form of democracy but the parliamentary form of democracy has ever been practiced anywhere, political thinking on this subject appears to ~~be~~ ^{have} frozen and remarkably little thought has been forthcoming on the subject since Plato's Republic. Any material progress on this field will have to come from single individuals, but such ~~problems~~ ^{progress} ~~xxxxxx~~ will not be forthcoming unless we can gather groups of men interested in this problem who will discuss this subject with each other and make an attempt to reach consensus. ~~My guess is that~~ ^{may} such consensus ~~will~~ not be reached, but that the attempt to reach it will help the individual ^{may} participating in the effort to clear his own mind and ~~then~~ ^{then} individually to put forward his own idea on the subject.

[The problem of world government is a related problem, but not an identical one; for the function of world government is somewhat different from the function of local government and the central problem of world government ^{is not so much} ~~of~~ how world laws should be made but rather what the world laws should be. Any world constitution in order to function satisfactorily will have to be far more detailed and explicit than the constitutions of any individual country are today ^{and it probably} before one would attempt ~~to~~ ^{to} draft such a

Any new type of democracy that might be devised must be adapted to the particular territory in which it is supposed to function and the first application of such new forms will probably come in backward countries. It is ~~par~~ probably true that no continued progress in any backward country will be possible without solving the problem of what kind of political organization that kind of country should have in order to assure the continuity of its development.

Specific Proposals to Long-Range Problems

1. While scientific research is abundantly supported these days, a certain type of research which has a direct bearing on social progress is almost completely neglected.

Thus, for instance, the yearly expenditure for improving methods of birth control in the United States is about \$200,000, most of which goes to trivial improvements of existing techniques. Hardly any imaginative work is carried out in this field at this time although there are a few very promising remedies which would be pursued.

2. The problem of increasing the food supply of the world might become important in the transition period from the present state of absence of population control to a future state of adequate control of population growth. Whether or not it will be possible to create an abundant food supply by growing micro-organisms in general, and algae in particular, is an undecided question. In the absence of a survey of the basic information which will undoubtedly require further experiment, it is impossible to answer this question with any degree of certainty. The enclosed letter written by Vannevar Bush to Richard L. Meier is rather illuminating, in this connection.

Most of the scientific problems which have immediate and important social applications could come under the heading of research relating to the problems of backward countries.