

PEACE THROUGH CHANGE: THE RISK AND PROMISE  
FOR MAN'S FUTURE

by Hubert H. Humphrey

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"The only mistake that history does  
not forgive in people is to scorn  
their dreams."

Maurice Schumann  
November 3, 1971

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. The static connotations of peace: agreements among governments, order within the nation, harmony in personal relations are consequences of 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 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 unfolding on a world scale 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

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. And as is now widely recognized, science based technology has destructive as well as constructive implications. At the same time, science provides a growing body of knowledge which may be employed to meet contemporary social requirements, and to deal with conflict directly and constructively.

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.

Common Agenda. The present conception of U.S. national interest is too often expressed in terms of military power and national security. Nearly half of all research and development is devoted to perfecting means of destruction. Worldwide, the research and development devoted to military purposes probably exceeds \$25 billion. Alternative conceptions of our long run interests could lead to a very different pattern of resource allocation. The 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:

1. Population

Throughout the world population growth on 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 states, frustration of the growing masses of the 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?

2. 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:

- 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 to support policies for achieving security and development 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. Environmental 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 developments are expected in the next two decades. An appreciation -- strategic in scope -- of the potential contribution of communications and transportations 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?
- d. Technology Transfer. Technology transfer, whether public or private, constitutes an important source of influence. As technology is diffused among nations,



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. This kind of transfer has an important bearing on the possibilities for peaceful change.

### 3. Health and Education

Better provisions for health and education rank near the top 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.

While the differences are great between our own health and educational requirements and those of other countries, there is a certain mutuality of interest. Sharing the problems helps to solve them and in the process reduces the flash points of tension between nations or regions. More account must be taken of this fact in dealing with these urgent national and international needs.

### 4. Arms Control and Disarmament

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. 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.

### 5. Future International System

Nation States are still the major actors in the international system. 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 the international monetary system, are nevertheless gradually emerging. Multi-national corporations are among the most dynamic institutional elements presently on the scene. In addition, a large array of international non-governmental organizations of lesser scope have grown up. As the trend toward urban living throughout the world unfolds, metropolitan areas share common goals even as they experience common problems.

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? 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.

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?

Each situation of conflict has a particular time and space setting. Each has a unique set of possible participants for whom the situation has varying degrees of impact. 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?

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. 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 definitively 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 doubt whether there is a single solution to providing an adequate institution framework for peace and development. Let me instead suggest a number of complementary approaches which may be valuable.

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 US National Academy of Science. He found that despite their excellence, these institutions did not quite fit the bill. He stressed the need to turn to independent boards of inquiry or research. The AAAS has shown how effective this kind of approach can be. One example among many is the AAAS Herbicide Assessment Commission whose report on herbicide has had such significant impact on Congressional thinking and hopefully, on our own government.

What I have in mind is multiplicity and diversity through 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.

Second, Congress should create a new institutional capacity to provide itself and attentive publics with open national

intelligence estimates. At present, both Congress and the public must depend on fragmentary information derived from personal contacts, committee hearings concerned with particular topics and on selective information "leaked" to the press by the Executive Branch and by other governments. Facilities for open systematic analysis and evaluation exist, but their activities are also fragmentary. 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. 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.

While all governments devote substantial resources to acquiring secret information, this practice poses special problems for a democracy. On balance, the Executive Branch acquires unintended special advantages. The utility of secret information cannot be denied, but there are also major disutilities. 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.

One example among many was project "Camelot" in Latin 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 CIA 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.

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 one hand, 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, 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 decision. 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.

The estimates would focus on particular situations of either a geographic or functional nature involving major questions of public policy. Second, the estimates themselves would not take a position on policy issues but seek to provide concise and authoritative information as a basis for congressional and public discussion. Third, while some estimates might focus on areas of potential crisis, others would seek to give an authoritative assessment of selected long term developments. 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. An example of the latter might be an assessment of the international implications of changes in population numbers and quality over the next decade. In either case, the summary estimate would seek to correlate existing knowledge in relation to a spectrum of policy alternatives.

The information would be stored in computer based systems. The computers would also be capable of providing assistance in visualization and simulation of policy options.

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, and crime, 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 Estimates on social advisors responsible for advising with a relatively small high caliber professional staff who would be responsible for preparing the estimates. One of the initial tasks of the staff would be to develop channels of communication with scientists and research workers 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.

Third, as Congressional sources of information are expanded and modified, so must the institutional nature of the Congressional process mature. 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 Joint Committee on National Security be established to study in an integrated way some of the urgent issues like defense, arms control, foreign development and national priorities which affect what is commonly referred to as our national security. The attempt, here would be to fortify with constitutional separation of powers and joint participation in decision-making. National security, which until now 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 has moved gradually into this area, but never in a clear formalized manner. The Joint Committee would give dependable definition to the kind of reform and policies that our government should be instituting.

Fourth, I can envisage the creation of a series of National Institutes of Peace and Development charged with initiating new domestic and international programs and participating directly in the diplomatic process. 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.

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 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 I am 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 which in time might acquire a teaching function.

**Fifth, Sixth,** I believe a joint commission created by Congress and the Executive Branch may be needed to begin now to identify the incentives for growth vital for the more important peace and development industries. The commission should be broadly 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 document what is possible and to suggest what is preferable. With such an analysis, enterprises and urban centers could more readily appreciate opportunities opening for them. Cities, for example, could begin to plan for their growth based on peace and development industries to contrast with the past when many 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. The U.S. may exercise leadership in the undertaking, but a reciprocal response from others is vital.

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 too often the case at present. 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.

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 enlarge on the challenge posed at the outset. Let us agree to commit our energy and talent:

- To the goal of peace and development
- To arriving at a common agenda for science and politics in support of that goal
- To creation of the institutional capacity essential for the production and utilization of knowledge in the pursuit of that goal
- And finally, by example and design to inducing other nations to establish complementary capabilities.

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