

AFTER VIETNAM: THE DOLLARS AND CENTS OF PEACE

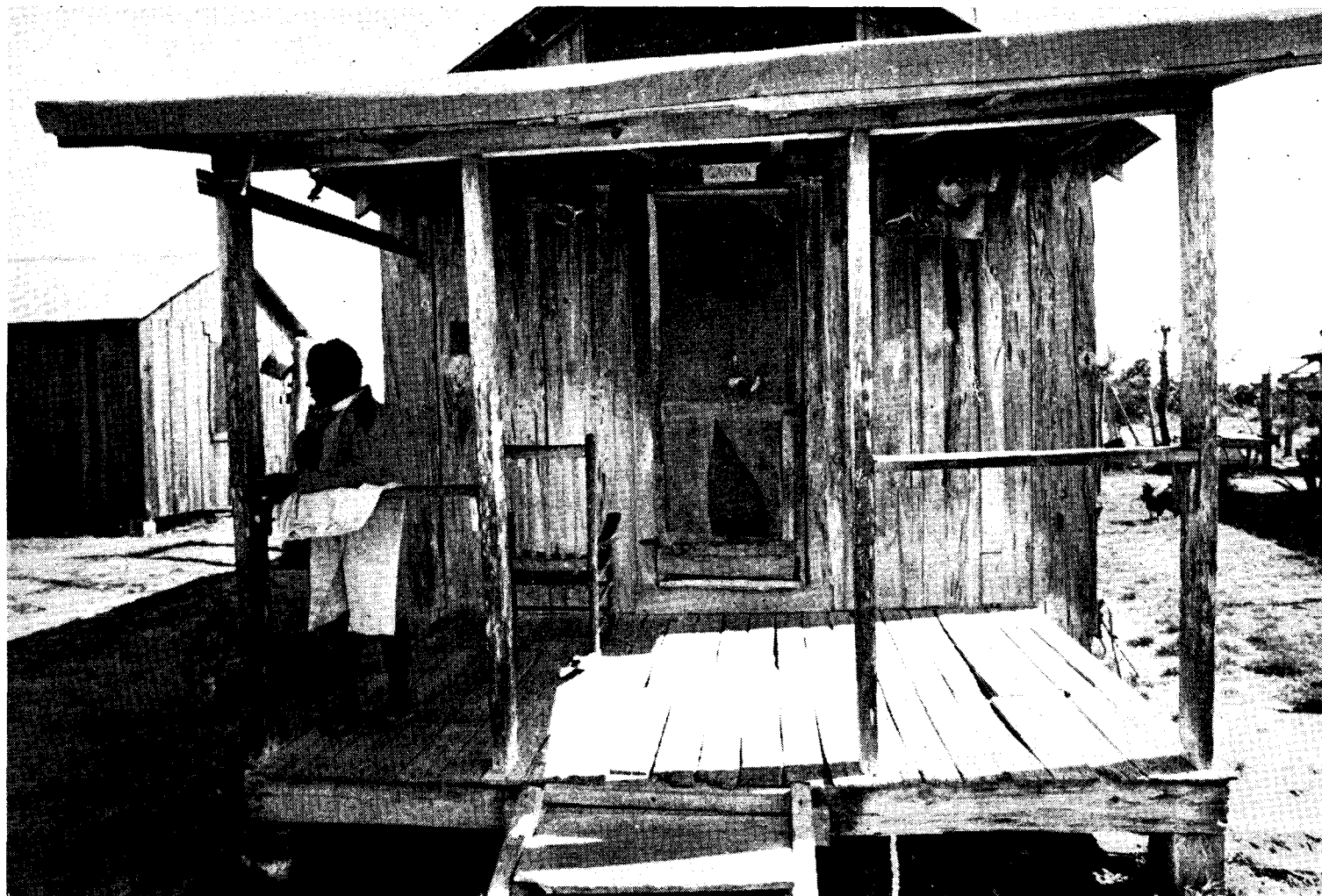
Vietnam now is the longest war in U.S. history, and one of the most costly. Billions of dollars have been expended on explosives—a greater tonnage than was loosed on Nazi Germany in World War II—and on gargantuan logistical support networks. Despite peace negotiations, more than 600,000 Americans still are based in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, our domestic crises have intensified, and hunger, poverty, and disease afflict much of a swiftly multiplying world population.

When peace finally comes to Vietnam—as appears possible soon—what economic challenges and opportunities will we face?

In this week's special issue, prepared with the assistance of former *SR* feature editor Alfred Balk, four distinguished contributors examine this question. U.S. Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, 1968 Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, emphasizes the urgency and priorities of our internal problems in "What Happens When Peace Breaks Out?" Murray L. Weidenbaum, newly appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and chairman of the Washington University economics department, presents a profile of "Our Vietnamized Economy." The third author in this section is John R. Stark, executive director of Congress's Joint Economic Committee, who examines the disposition of fresh resources and manpower at war's end in "How Much Money for Plowshares?" Finally, Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin (USA, Ret.), former U.S. Army chief of research and development, now chairman of Arthur D. Little, Inc., focuses on the private sector in his article "Can Industry Manufacture Social Solutions?"

No society's reservoir of resiliency is inexhaustible; no pool of economic resources unlimited. If the nation is to achieve essential progress after the war ends, it must be rooted in wise economic decisions now.

—THE EDITORS.



—Paul Barton (Black Star).

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What Happens When Peace Breaks Out?

By SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

When I was a young Naval officer waiting for the end of World War II, I often considered what I would do when the war ended. For the most part my dreams and plans related to picking up where I had left off as an aspiring attorney in a small Maine city. There was excitement and comfort in those dreams and plans. They meant new challenges and a return to something I had known.

My dreams were not very different from those of millions of other Americans, in and out of the service. When we had defeated the Axis we would turn to the normal, happy pursuits of family, job, community life, and recreation. The immense productive capacity of our country would be used for our domestic needs. A number of us had a dream for using part of that capacity to build a better world.

Our dreams in 1944 and 1945 were quite different from those of 1969. The war in Vietnam is not a war against the Axis. It does not give us a sense of accomplishment as we try to end it. We cannot forecast a return to a "normal" life when peace breaks out in Southeast Asia.

The war is different, and our country is different. The bright hopes of those who weathered the Depression and survived World War II have been dimmed by the nagging problems of international rivalries and nuclear threats. Our dreams have been undermined by our apparent inability to use our economic and technological resources to solve the age-old problems of ignorance, disease, hunger, and poverty. Those who did not experience either "The Depression" or "The War" are understandably impatient at the gap between promise and performance. The realities of the intercontinental ballistic missile—tipped with a nuclear

warhead (or more)—coupled with the drain of Vietnam, have brought us down from the never, never land of "guns and butter."

What happens when peace breaks out? Not much, if we don't make it happen.

The question of what we need to make happen is wrapped up in what we call the urban crisis. That crisis has been referred to as the top item on the national agenda of unfinished business, and it has been described as the "most explosive of all domestic issues confronting the American people today." Both statements are true.

Events of a few weeks ago brought with them reminders of the seriousness of our current domestic problems and the urgency of getting about the business of doing something about them. While some were making solemn affirmations about the abolition of poverty and racial injustice, troops were being mobilized in Chicago, and a cur-