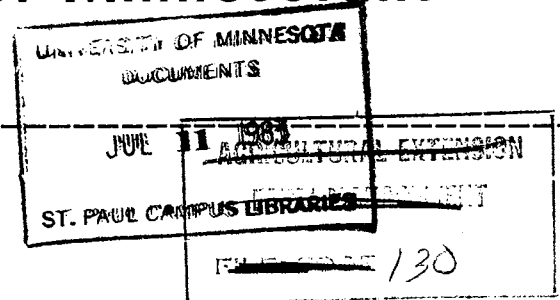


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A GROWING MINNESOTA

Goals For Minnesotans

FACTS FOR THE FUTURE



Why discuss goals?

"Our national problems have become so complex that it is not easy for the individual to see what he can do about them. The tasks facing the frontiersmen two centuries ago may have been grim, but they were obvious. Each man knew what he must do. But what can a man of today do about inflation, about international organization, about the balance of trade? There are answers to these questions but they are not self-evident.

"If America is to flourish as a nation, we must know where we are going and why."—

John W. Gardener.

TWO GREAT STRUGGLES are taking place in the world today. One is the fight against poverty; the other is the struggle for freedom and respect for the rights of the individual. In most areas these struggles are difficult to separate, and the challenges they pose are formidable. America, too, is going through a period of profound and rapid change. In our world today we face vast dangers and unprecedented opportunities.

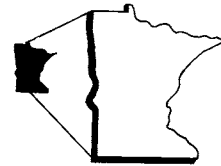
During this time of trial, we must ask ourselves "can American democracy act with the force, resolution, and imagination necessary to see us through." The answer, we hope, will be a strong yes! But this takes more than mere words.

It can only be answered by what we do in our governments, our private organizations, and our daily lives. Let's reflect on our basic goals and our "national purpose." What are the fundamental issues and decisions we face? Have they changed over the years? If so, how and why? What are some of our more specific goals?

This guide will not determine or even identify goals for Minnesotans. It and following pamphlets will provide a background that we hope will encourage you to consider the issues and alternatives, to exchange ideas with your neighbors, and to participate in decision-making and the formulation of goals.

These are the things that will ultimately determine our national purpose and whether we, as a nation, live up to the expectations of the free world and the promise of our heritage.

We will mention some goals to make discussion and reflection easier and call attention to why a clear sense of goals is important. These are only guidelines for thinking about the types of goals important at home and abroad, for economic growth, for agriculture, but most of all, for the individual and his development. They are not inclusive or exclusive.



Why Are Goals Important?

THE VIGOR of civilized societies is preserved by the widespread sense that high aims are worthwhile.¹ A goal is a purpose—purpose is where we are going and why. Without such purpose a people perish.

In our rapidly changing world it is important that we grasp the fundamentals of the "national purpose"; that we understand where we are, where we want to go, and what we want to do and why.

A century ago our national purpose was clear and simple—to conquer the continent, be productive, improve our living standards, build our democratic institutions, and keep free of foreign entanglements but create an example for the world to follow.

Today lots of people, including Walter Lippmann, believe we have outgrown our purpose. The continent has been conquered; frontiers have vanished. Involvements have become international. In many respects our problems are problems of riches as contrasted to poverty.

Lippmann says, "The public mood of the country is defensive, to hold and save, not to push forward and create. We talk about ourselves as if we were a completed society. One which has achieved its purposes and has no further business to transact."

How correct is Lippmann? His statement disturbs many people and will be challenged. Yet, both national leaders and average Americans have expressed

¹Goals for Americans, The American Assembly, Columbia University, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960.

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these same views. If they are right, we have changed as a people. Traditionally, we have been associated with great purpose. We have been the model and inspiration for millions in other areas of the world. And as another observer expressed it, "the United States without purpose or no greater purpose than 'don't rock the boat' may be the United States in decline."

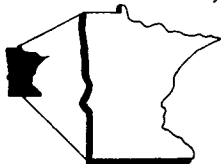
It is easy to discount such expressions. Traditionally such criticism has been characteristic of our society. But is it wise to discount altogether the observations of both lay citizens and experts when they are so similar?

We don't have to resort to hand wringing. In many ways we have never been in a better position for the "pursuit of excellence." As more drudgery work is taken over by machines, and as new knowledge, new inventions, and improved social institutions reduce the time we need to provide our basic needs we will have more time available for other things. What shall these be?

If we are to meet the needs of our times, we will need a blend of talent and motive, of ability fused with zeal. But ability without motivation is lifeless. If these are to be combined, then for what purpose? Certainly few would wish to encourage the man of great ability whose purpose is evil. Not only does high performance take place in a context of values and purpose, but, if it is worth encouraging, the purpose or goals must be worthy of our support.

Many people are uneasy about the present values and goals of many Americans. They say that security, conformity, and comfort are idols of the day. They express a special concern over the attitudes of young people. They point to the difficulty we are having in persuading young people to enter some fields vital to our future. They feel that not enough of our better young minds are entering basic research, teaching, or important overseas assignments activities of our government. Why?

Young people identify themselves with figures they admire in the adult world. They often determine their life goals on this identification. Are there, among our present national heroes, enough models of the gifted scientist, the inspired teacher, or the dedicated foreign service officer? If not, why? Don't such people exist or aren't they being recognized and appreciated?



Goals at Home

IT IS HARD to improve upon the classic goals and purposes of the American society our founding fathers established: to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. But as a people we are not judged by these noble words but rather

by what we do. It is not enough to talk freedom, we must live it. We face the challenge of how adequately democracy and its institutions can serve the American people in the 1960's and beyond.

To "live democracy" and to have the most effective and enduring democracy, we must identify and define our major problems and opportunities. Many feel we do not have a sufficient sense of urgency about the big issues, domestic and foreign; that we need to define more clearly and understand the national purposes; and we as individuals must make a greater effort to develop a framework of concepts and goals on which to base local and national policies and decisions. This is difficult. But if we do not participate in decision-making, others will make the decisions for us, often ones we might not like.

THE INDIVIDUAL

The greatness of a nation may be expressed in many ways—but the source of greatness can only be individuals, present and past. The significant test of a democratic government is the effective liberty it makes available to the individual. This is the criterion that establishes the order of our values and the priority of our goals. The greatest resource of our nation is its people. Then it follows that our first national goal should be to develop each individual to his full-potential.

Ours is the most complex, diverse, and largest political structure using the democratic process to manage its affairs. The success of this endeavor is not only vital to us but to the whole world. At the same time, the job, in many respects, becomes more difficult. If democracy is to endure and be successful, citizens must be better informed. But to be better informed we will have to work at it.

One of the ancient Greeks (Plato) observed that man is a social animal. "Each person has both particular and general interests, individual wants, and social needs. When the general interest is over-accented, freedom declines and may disappear; first controls, then paternalism supervene. On the other hand, if individual interest utterly neglects social needs, anarchy is the end result. The consequence of either extreme is loss of liberty."

But it makes no sense to talk about the worth of the individual unless we are willing to implement this sentiment—with jobs, classrooms, the elimination of discrimination on any grounds—race, sex, or something else. Unless we do, we lay ourselves open to the worst charges of fraud and moral hypocrisy.

Individual fulfillment. Our concern with the realization of individual fulfillment is reflected in our efforts to improve education, eliminate poverty and disease, and correct social injustices. There is still much to be done. "No society has ever fully succeeded in living

up to the stern ideals that a free people sets for itself. But only a free society can even address itself to that demanding task.”²

Unused and undeveloped talents deprive the individual of opportunities, and society of its potential strength.

Inequality. This takes many forms and is found in many places. Racial discrimination is one of the most conspicuous. It is not unique to whites and negroes, nor is it limited to one geographic area.

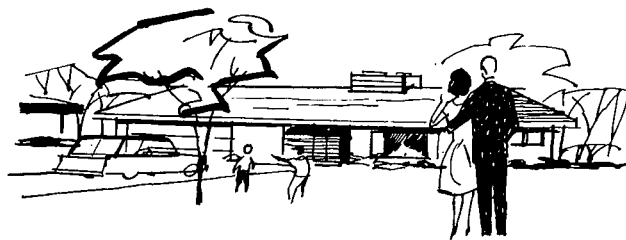
Inferior education, poorer living conditions, and inadequate health care for negroes and some other minority groups in particular, however, add up to a great and needless economic loss. Even more important it denies to them their inalienable rights to pursue happiness and to find for themselves the deeper satisfactions of self-realization. Progress is being made. Is it enough?

Working Women – During the past 50 years women have made great progress toward equal opportunity. They play a great role in our economy and society. They now make up nearly one-third of our regular labor force, and this number will increase substantially during the next decade.

Women will have more opportunities in our labor force with improved technology and less need for physical strength for many jobs. The typical American woman today marries in her late teens or early twenties. Somewhere in her thirties or early forties she may look for work outside the home. But to qualify and compete for available jobs, many will need further education and training. To make best use of their talents and aptitudes we must take another look at attitudes and employment practices. There are relatively few professional fields outside of nursing and teaching in which women participate extensively.

For a variety of reasons, women are generally not as well prepared for careers as men. More and better educational opportunities are needed for women if they are to qualify for professional employment when their child rearing responsibilities have diminished. Some will disagree, of course, with the thought of women working outside the home and point to the role of wife and mother as the most important of all careers.

Education – To develop individual potential, many feel our educational system must be improved. Educational opportunity is essential to develop fully an individual's intellectual, material, and spiritual capacities. We must have universal education of a high order if we are to have a truly democratic society. In some states, less than half of our young people ever complete high school and less than 20 percent enter college. The others represent a great reservoir of untapped and underdeveloped resources.



Some suggestions for remedying this situation include improved teaching techniques, an enlarged plan of building expansion, doubling of graduate school capacity, more adult education, and increased enrollments in professional schools. More scholarship, loan, and research funds are urgently needed.

The quality of our education, especially in some rural areas, is often criticized. Individuals from these areas frequently leave their communities to compete in higher education or for jobs. This competition is becoming more difficult and adequate training more important.

This may or may not be fundamental in the eyes of everyone. Human betterment is achieved in a number of ways. Most people feel that the primary way is through increased individual and family income. A better home, better health care for one's family, and better educational and cultural activities are high on many Americans goals.

Community Services – Others point to “the crisis of the community.” They suggest that there is a steadily widening gap between the “richness of our private lives and the poverty of our public services, between a standard of living inside our homes which is the highest in the world and a standard of living outside of them which in fact is becoming a national disgrace.”

These are strong words. They no doubt apply more to some categories of services than others and more to some communities than others. Many communities are deciding that they need a different environment, not only for themselves but also to attract the kinds of people and industries needed if that community is going to grow and develop and provide more jobs and more income for both private and community needs.

Education – Observers and writers on economic growth agree that individuals and families outside the mainstream of our economic growth must be helped to become more productive and thus participate in the general economic advance of the nation. Increases in human knowledge and skills are important to economic growth and productivity. Such skills and knowledge are a form of capital. Thus education is a productive capital investment rather than a form of consumption.

Our economy must be a growing economy and an effective economy, if individuals are to develop fully

²The Rockefeller Panel Reports, *Prospect for America* (New York, 1961), pp. 341-342.

and if we are to provide for our national security. The way we direct and expand our economy is very closely connected to our ability to triumph over Communism.

Automation poses adjustment problems. Fewer people can produce more goods and services. How can we deal with technological change in such a way that growth and development are speeded, not hampered. Most people encourage technological progress. It can improve our living standards. Even though we are the most productive nation in history, we can't stand still. But, we must strive to achieve maximum benefits of technological change while preserving individual freedom and dignity.

THE DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY

The complexity and the nature of the problems we face in dealing with current economic problems lead to a fundamental question: **How** can we expand our economic system while assuring that it grows in a direction consistent with democratic principles? These principles dictate that public objectives be measured and weighed against individual rights.

Modern technology has brought about many social and cultural changes. We must learn to live with these changes and still preserve our democratic system. Modern technology can and must serve our needs in the areas of individual growth, national defense, international cooperation, increased public services, and excellence in education.

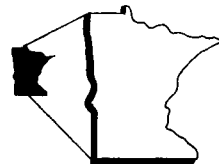
While we strive to achieve these goals, they must be fulfilled within the democratic framework. Some of the goals discussed in the following paragraph have their counterparts in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Our economy cannot, within our social context, be effective unless it is democratic. How can we keep it democratic? Several prominent economists and analysts make these suggestions:

1. Economic decision-making must be spread among as many groups as possible to keep political power in the hands of the people. We must have as many centers of economic power as possible—spread throughout national, state, and local governments—and through a large number of firms. The centers of power in labor-management relations must be approximately equal in strength. Areas of weakness today lie in the unorganized workers and in small employers. Formation of small employers' associations would greatly add to the position of the small employers.

2. Labor and industry, state and industry, state and labor must remain separate from each other to achieve the necessary balance for an active democracy. All government agencies must be designed to serve the public interest—not particular interest. Government controls over individuals and organizations must be procedural controls—not action taken over specific substantive issues.



3. The individual must be as free as possible to avoid stifling conformity in choosing jobs and services and in his relationships with leaders of industries and labor unions. Members of such organizations should not be forced into any prescribed lines of political activity. Both stockholders and union members must retain the power to change their leadership if democratic forms are to be strengthened. Unions must adopt better grievance machinery if they are to serve their members adequately. Do you feel these are appropriate goals? Would you omit any of these? Why? Would you add to the list?



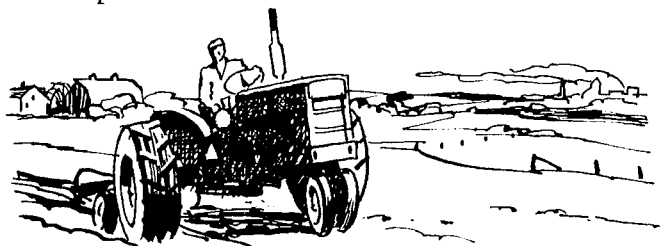
Goals for Agriculture

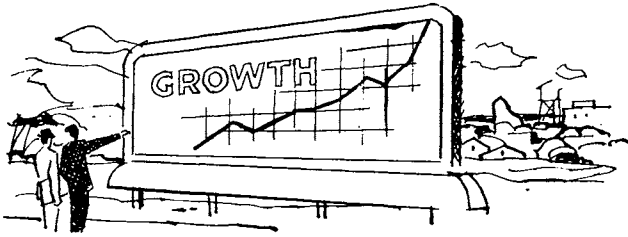
THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY and society have been closely studied during the past few decades. Some of this has been painful. Not all of it has been as enlightening as many would wish.

What has the nation expected of agriculture? What goals have been set and how well has agriculture met them? What should be our goals for agriculture in the future?

Not long ago goals for society were, by and large, goals for agriculture. We were then largely rural; farming was our major industry. Developing new agricultural areas and opening new lands were all a part of our major national policy. Conditions have changed rapidly and drastically.

In 1910, 35 percent of our people lived on farms; today this figure is less than 9 percent. This trend probably will continue for some time. Today a minority, about 2 million farms, produce more than 90 percent of our output in food and fiber. The commercial farmer and his family are more closely integrated into the broader rural community today than in the past.





Existing agricultural policies and programs are generally acknowledged to be inadequate. But farm policies cannot be realistically considered apart from other domestic policies and related foreign policies.

Today the goals of society in large measure have become the goals of agriculture. What does society expect of agriculture and what might agriculture, in turn, expect from society? As in other sectors of the economy, these goals may be competitive or complementary. Some goals, as seen by society, for agriculture are:

1. **Abundant production.** A century ago in the United States this might have been phrased, alleviate starvation. But starvation is hardly a major challenge for us today. It is for some other countries. Using our capacity to produce on a world-wide level is being discussed in many places.

2. **Promotion of economic growth.** During the past century, we have emphasized improved production knowledge and techniques to expand output and lower costs of production. We felt that this would help the consumer through lower food prices and the producer through lower costs and higher income. As efficiency in food production has increased, more and more workers have been freed to produce other things people need and want. With the techniques and knowledge of 50 years ago we would need about 26 million workers to produce the food and fiber now produced by approximately 7 million. Thus in this sense 19 million workers have been made available to produce more consumer goods and more for national defense. In other words, gains in agriculture have contributed to our economic development and can continue to do so. The problem is to adjust to increased productivity, not to slow it down.

3. **Service in emergencies** such as flood, drought, and worst of all, war. Our agriculture has produced vast reserves of grains, cotton, tobacco, and other items. But perhaps the most important is the reserve capacity to produce more when it is needed. The outstanding example of this was World War II. This was achieved by existing farms even in the face of a considerable loss of manpower. Is maintaining this capacity still an important goal?

In spite of the success in meeting these broad goals we find that agriculture has its difficulties. Agricul-

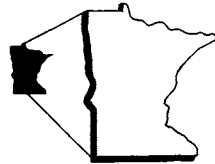
ture is not sharing proportionately the fruits of economic growth. The major difficulties arise from (1) excess capacity and over-production of farm products in relation to demand; and (2) excess people in agriculture. In view of this, the following specific goals for the improvement of agriculture have been suggested for the decade ahead:

1. A serious and determined attack on the problem of farm poverty.

2. Bringing farm capacity to produce into reasonable balance with attainable markets at prices generally considered fair.

3. Raising real net incomes per person of commercial farm families to those of others in the society with similar characteristics of education, skill, hours of work, etc.

What goals would you add to this list? Which ones would you modify or delete?



Goals Abroad

Our ultimate goals in foreign relations are, in large part, an extension of our national goals. We want to see poverty and misery eliminated, individual freedom developed and preserved, independence and self-determination for every nation developed and preserved, and present world tensions lessened.

SOME PROBLEMS WE FACE

Nuclear War — The democratic way of life is faced with many serious and relentless challenges. One is the threat of nuclear war. We are apparently engaged in a race to see which nation can produce the most destructive weapons and the greatest stockpile. Such a situation is made even more dangerous by the great tension between two of the world's great power blocs — the free nations and the Communist nations.

Communism — There are other challenges we must face from the Communist bloc. They wish to expand their system to the whole world if possible. We have to meet Soviet competition on three fronts — the ideological, the scientific and technological, and the military — to protect our own and other free nations' independence and freedom.

Communist ideology pretends to champion the worker. In actual practice, however, Communist countries often severely oppress and poorly reward their workers. Note, for example, the forced collectivization of agriculture first in Russia and later in China, the forced transfers from one job to another, and the lack of consumer items to raise living standards.

The Communists still continue to justify dictatorship, however, by saying the measures they take are

necessary for the well being and safety of the proletariat. Their slogans have a great appeal to persons living in poverty and misery who clutch at any means to better their position.

By championing nationalism, the Communists further appeal to countries living under colonialism. In addition, they can point to the great economic gains made in Soviet Russia under Communism. Together with the use of technical and financial aid to make political gains, Communist tactics of subversion, infiltration, and propaganda are very effective. Can we put forth our democratic ideology as effectively without resort to their tactics?

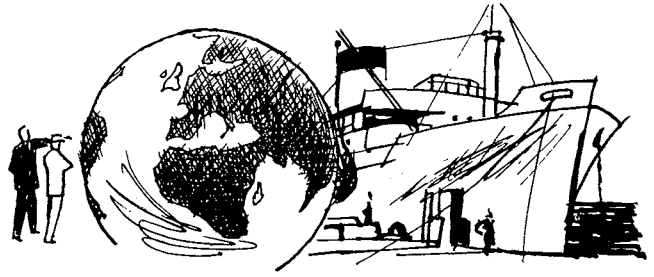
The Soviet Union has made great progress in science and technology in recent years, partially because they are able to neglect consumer desires. Some Soviet achievements in space, for example, have been much more spectacular than ours. They are turning out many more scientists and technicians than we so their technological advances are almost certain to continue at a rapid rate.

Can we compete successfully with the Communist nations in armaments and still supply our consumers with the goods and services they desire? Many experts feel that the Soviet Union can surpass American industrial production within 20 years and can compete successfully in foreign and technical aid in the meantime.

The Communist nations will, in all probability, continue to use the threat of military power. Both the Soviet Union and China have huge conventional armies; the Soviet Union has a large fleet of submarines. They devote vast amounts of their resources to nuclear armaments, long-range rockets, and space exploration. The Communists will make every effort to use their strength as a form of blackmail both on the United States and our allies. They will try to prevent us from installing missile bases in other countries. They may engage in limited nonnuclear operations—we thus will need large conventional forces as well as nuclear forces. Will our policy of deterrence prevent nuclear war? Can we at the same time prevent other types of military action? How important is it for us to maintain a strong military force?

New Nations—The newly emerging nations of the world present us with serious problems—and enlarged opportunities to promote democracy. These nations of Asia and Africa are anxious to catch up in standards of living and economic development. They know they need economic assistance, but often their nationalistic feelings make them appear arrogant and unappreciative of help. The unrest and instability prevalent in the new nations provide a fertile ground for Communist propaganda and subversion. If we are to help them remain free of Communist domination, we must deal with them wisely and patiently.

World Markets—We will face a whole host of problems in foreign trade. Right now we face a deficit in



international payments; i.e. more services and goods are entering the country than are leaving. This problem arises because of the flow of dollars abroad for defense purposes, foreign aid, and for commercial investment. If we want to be able to help the underdeveloped nations and to provide for our own defense while advancing living standards, we must export enough goods to enable us to make up the international payments deficit. We must do this while facing stiffer competition from other economic blocs.

The Soviet Union is becoming an increasingly strong competitor in world markets; often its export policies are formulated with an eye to political objectives. How can we keep the Soviets from economic domination and political penetration of lesser developed nations? How can we cope with their deliberate attempts to disrupt world markets?

No one yet has arrived at definitive policies and procedures for solving the problems we've enumerated. We must become increasingly aware of our international situation; we must be prepared to make sacrifices and help in making the world a better place to live. If we wish to play a leading role in international relations, we must show that we deserve such a position.

SOME SUGGESTED POLICIES

Many foreign policy authorities have expressed opinions as to how some of our national goals can be implemented. These opinions are suggestions—not the absolute and final word.

Nuclear Disarmament—Many are convinced that nuclear disarmament is the best way to maintain world peace. A policy of world nuclear disarmament would involve risks, but the originators of such a plan insist that with an appropriate plan for inspection, the risks could be minimized. To be successful such proposals require consent and support from both sides—a condition lacking today. It would seem, however, that before anything constructive can be done, nations must put aside long-held suspicions, fears, and misunderstandings. Strengthening international law and increasing the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice might be effective in settling international disputes in a peaceful fashion.

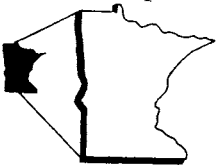
ion. A sign of progress in disarmament would be suspension of nuclear testing.

Meeting the Ideological Challenge—In dealing with the Communist challenge, should not one of our first goals be the strengthening of our own democratic ideals? We must be prepared to cope with both the ideological and economic challenge of the Communist bloc. Can't we publicize the benefits of our own form of government better?

Can we be content with information programs only, however? The uncommitted nations will look for leadership to a nation that can live up to its past record in technological performance. We must demonstrate to these nations that Western methods and techniques for development hold more promise than do Communist tactics and at no cost to freedom. Many are convinced that we must adjust our own economy so that we are in a stronger position to give technical and financial aid to the newly emerging nations.

Increasing our exports merits consideration. To increase exports we must be able to compete effectively and be willing to take imports. This may temporarily disrupt our own economy unless measures are taken to alleviate the problem. Our competition from the European nations, Japan, and the Communist Bloc will probably become stiffer. What will our policy be in this situation?

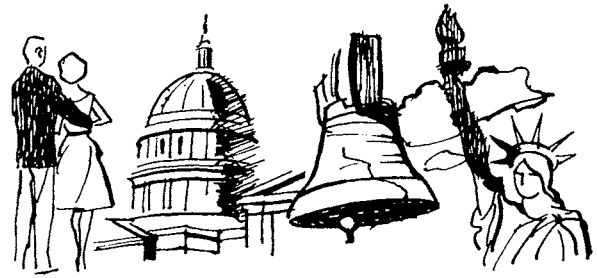
Group Membership—The United States has many defensive alliances with other free nations. We also have membership in the United Nations. Most persons would agree that we should maintain and strengthen our defensive pacts and give our wholehearted support to the United Nations. The United Nations admittedly has many shortcomings, aside from the fact that it provides the Soviets with a propaganda forum, but what alternative instruments do we have to promote world peace and understanding?



Summary

GOVERNMENT BY CONSENT of the governed faces an unprecedented challenge. The pace and scope of economic and social change confront us with more decisions—decisions more complex and different from those of the past. Under our system each decision-making body must establish goals whether it be the individual family, the state, the nation, or the United Nations.

Ordinary men and women have unprecedented opportunities today to educate themselves to foster and to enjoy the privileges of freedom. Past achievements offer no guarantee for the future. If government by consent is to endure, it needs the participation and support of an informed population which exercises an active interest in its affairs.



The ideal citizen of a democracy has enough spirit to question the decisions of his leaders and enough sense of responsibility to support democratic decisions once made. He has enough pride to refuse to be awed by authority and enough humility to recognize that he, too, is limited in knowledge and in the power to be perfectly disinterested. Such qualities are not easy to come by, but they are the secret of a flourishing democracy. Our need is not more voters but more good voters—informed, understanding, and reasonable. To produce more of such men and women should be a major goal of both individual and group decisions and actions.

Just as democracy gives, it demands. Above all, it asks that men exercise their judgment and choose their own beliefs. It requires one to care as much about the rights and liberties of others including the right to have a different opinion and to express it.

We must try to develop some picture of the problems we are apt to encounter in the next decade. Some of these problems may be quite different. Others may become vastly more serious or have novel implications.

But who is prepared to make such prophecies? The fog surrounding the future, always thick, has never been more confusing. The speed of events such as those taking place in the under-developed areas during the past few years has been much greater than most experts ever imagined.

If we may assume no conflict and no drastic departures from the current arrangements of "this war called peace," we can make some general assumptions. The continued threat to the West from the Communist Bloc is likely to continue for decades—and the struggle will not be an easy one. Other nations will not be immune. Among these are India and many of the newer nations as well as countries such as Japan. International tension and the arms burden appear to occupy a prominent place in the foreseeable future.

We should avoid the illusion that all would be well if only the "bad men" of the Kremlin and Peiping would disappear, or at least reform. That threat to our security and our way of life must not be underestimated. But there are other challenges we face that would exist if there had never been a Karl Marx or a Nikita Khrushchev.

One of these is the population explosion and its accompanying political and economic problems. The second is the relationship (and in most cases, the widening gap) between the nations sometimes classified as the "haves and have nots."

At home we face the challenge of living with a rapidly growing population, one that is changing in character, geographic concentration, and increasing in mobility. Some of our communities are growing rapidly. Their problems are many and complex. Others find that they are losing population, absolutely or relatively. Perhaps one of the most challenging problems is learning to live with the chain reaction of an exploding technology and the impact of automation. Automation means loss of present jobs for some, new jobs for others. There are social and political implications as well as economic considerations here.

Many areas in rural Minnesota are primarily farming areas. With farms increasing in size and decreasing in numbers and in the amount of labor used, total population in many rural sectors is declining. With improved transportation it is possible for schools, churches, and shopping centers to consolidate. Changes such as these raise many questions about the appropriate goals for individuals and for communities. They require that we look forward, not backward.

Most of us are still interested in economic growth in goods and services; the equitable sharing of this growth; security and stability of income; freedom of choice in consumption; how we manage our businesses and invest our money; and better opportunities for our children. Most of us would give these goals a high priority.

Time and circumstances change. Formulating and reformulating goals are an important part of the democratic process as is the willingness to open and discuss issues no matter how controversial.

"What ever we do must do as a democracy or perhaps not bother to do it at all." Men who govern themselves must assume responsibility for their courses of action (policies). However, it is not possible for each citizen to know about all decisions or to participate directly in the making of all decisions. The job is too big. There are too many decisions, and they are too complex. Ours is a representative democracy. But there is increasing danger that even our representatives will be completely overwhelmed with the demands being made upon them.

Self-government, however, will not have to give way to a "more efficient form." Quite the contrary. To paraphrase Rossiter again, although we have never been more soberly aware of the faults of democracy, we have also never been more impressed by its strengths. We have no more challenging task ahead of us than to strengthen old ways and create new ones in which men can be encouraged to choose liberty and support the spirit of democracy to insure that it will

prove equal to the hard pull ahead. For what shall it profit a nation, if it shall solve all its social problems and lose the character that made it a nation in the first place? Whatever we do, we must do as a democracy—or perhaps not bother to do it at all.

Dr. Wriston, President Emeritus of Brown University, provides a final thought and some lines from Walt Whitman. "There are many legitimate goals... none of them, literally none, is attainable without the intelligence, courage, and industry of individuals. The central goals, therefore, should be a renewal of faith in the infinite value and the unlimited possibilities of individual development. . . . The pursuit of happiness is an endless quest; in it no one can 'deliver the goods' to the individual—though the environment can be vastly improved. He must seek it for himself."

**"I swear I begin to see the meaning of these things!
It is not the earth, it is not America, who is so great,
It is I who am great, or to be great—it is you up there,
or anyone;
It is to walk rapidly through civilizations, govern-
ments, theories,
Through poems, pageants, shows, to form great indi-
viduals.
"Underneath all, individuals!
I swear nothing is good to me now that ignores indi-
viduals.
The American compact is altogether with individuals,
The only government is that which makes minute of
individuals,
The whole theory of the universe is directed to one
single individual—namely to You."**

REFERENCES

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