LINDENWOOD COLLEGE, ST. CHARLES, MISSOURI JULY 10-12, 1950

The Lindenwood Conference on International Relations

A REPORT ON AN EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING FOR CLASSROOM TEACHERS

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION · COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Lindenwood Conference

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THE LINDENWOOD CONFERENCE ON

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A Report on an Experiment in International
Understanding for Classroom Teachers

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
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FOREWORD

In 1948, the Committee on International Relations of the National Education Association of the United States published a full report on the role that American schools could, and should, play in the maintenance of peace. In this study, entitled Education For International Understanding in American Schools, the Committee declared:

> "As citizens, teachers must try to give children and youth a chance of survival; as teachers, they must equip children and youth to make use of that chance."

This volume is a report on a Conference held under the direction of the Committee, in cooperation with the Association's Department of Classroom Teachers, for the purpose of helping teachers to discharge both responsibilities. The Conference met for three days in July, 1950 at Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Missouri.

It was early recognized in planning this Conference that the essential problem was not to illuminate the "why" but to inform as to the "what" and the "how." Few classroom teachers need to be convinced that education can help to build peace. All, however, would benefit from a wider knowledge of relevant facts and issues and a better acquaintance with teaching practices and materials. As Warren Austin has said, "a clear and accurate understanding of the world as it really exists is a pre-condition of peace." Without this understanding citizens can hardly participate "in the delicate processes of negotiation for peaceful settlement of differences." Attention was accordingly directed to the preparation of a program which would afford access to the substantive facts of international relations as well as to effective methods for presenting such facts in the classroom.

It was not supposed that teachers could be transformed into specialists in international relations through the medium of a three-day Conference. The

objective was simply to give some concept of the breadth and range of the field, some fundamental facts to aid thoughtful reflection, and finally some inspiration or provocation to greater interest and study. Foreign affairs, nevertheless, are complex even in outline. Care had to be taken to avoid giving false emphasis to matters of little consequence. The areas chosen were believed to be of primary importance. They were as follows:

United States Foreign Policy
International Organizations
Nuclear Energy
Food and People
Human Rights
The Teaching of International Understanding

Each of these topics was the subject of an address by a prominent speaker who outlined to the Conference as a whole the nature of the issues involved. These six areas were further subdivided into fifty-nine separate topics (see the Conference program as outlined on pp. 1-19) for purposes of more detailed consideration by small discussion groups. Over twenty private and governmental organizations provided members of their staffs as specialized consultants for these sessions. Teachers thus received the benefit of informed advice and first-hand assistance in their deliberations. At the same time the specialists in international relations gained a better understanding of the problems faced by the teacher in the classroom.

A substantial effort was also made to remedy what has long been a major deterrent to education for world understanding--namely, lack of contact on the part of teacher and student with useful low-cost materials on subjects of international affairs. To that end, as well as for the purpose of providing succinct background information and guidance to each discussion section, discussion guides were prepared for each of the sub-topics. Questions were added to focus attention on the important issues involved and a brief bibliography

was included for those interested in further study. In addition, the current low-cost publications of major American (and some foreign) organizations, including inter-governmental bodies and departments of the federal government concerned with this field, were examined with reference to their suitability for teacher and student use. Those deemed most pertinent were freely provided, through the cooperation of the organizations concerned, to the Conference participants. Approximately twenty-five thousand individual items--pamphlets, reports, charts, maps, posters, and other teaching materials--thus came into the hands of practicing members of the teaching profession. Audio-visual aids received special attention--one evening being devoted to an analysis of selected films, film strips, and recordings covering the major subjects of the Conference.*

Procedure in each of the discussion sections followed the same general pattern. Prior to the Conference, all participants had been afforded the opportunity of selecting which groups they wished to attend and each group had been provided with a chairman and recording secretary drawn from the teachers in attendance. Each section meeting began with an examination of the discussion guides. Consultants and other participants commented briefly. Revisions as to facts and emphasis were suggested where appropriate. Attention was then directed to the series of questions at the end of each guide; particular regard being given to the topic's place in the school program and associated curriculum problems. The bibliography also received notice and additions to it were invited. Shortly before adjournment the consultant was asked to review the salient points covered in the discussion. These were subsequently embodied in reports prepared by each of the recording secretaries in cooperation with the consultants and the chairman. These reports appear in this volume in summary form, grouped under the six topical divisions.

*These materials can be found listed at the end of each supplementary bibliography.

Workshops of this nature sometimes develop into exercises seemingly devoid of contact with reality. In this case, however, members of the Conference included, besides some four hundred classroom teachers from all parts of the United States, twenty-eight other educators from seventeen foreign countries. Their presence was enabled by the Overseas Teacher Fund of the National Education Association. Their active participation did much to personalize individual interest in the problems at hand.

In conclusion, in spite of the broad scope and brief duration of the enterprise, participants gained some understanding of the problems of international society. No field of human knowledge is susceptible to mastery in three days, but few, even in such a brief period, are impervious to fruitful examination. Regarded in this light, the Conference is believed to have been a success. The modest hope persists that it will contribute to the betterment of international understanding and to the teaching of international relations.

THE LINDENWOOD CONFERENCE PROGRAM

MONDAY, JULY 10

9:00 A.M. - Opening General Session
Presiding: Philip Wardner, President, NEA Department of Classroom Teachers, 1949-1950.

Introduction of the Three-Day International Relations Theme: William G. Carr, Secretary, Educational Policies Commission of the NEA.

Address: "The Foreign Policy of the United States," Dorothy Fosdick, Member of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State.

10:30-12:00 A.M. - Section Meetings on United States Foreign Policy

Areas Affecting Foreign Policy

1. The Occupied Areas: Germany and Austria
Chairman: Joseph E. Thiriot, Las Vegas, Nevada
Recorder: Rees E. Bench, Provo, Utah
Consultant: Harold E. Snyder, Director, Commission on Occupied Areas, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

2. The Occupied Areas: Japan and Okinawa
Chairman: Sula DeHaven, Martinsburg, W. Va.
Recorder: Norma Richardson, Houston, Texas
Consultant: Leeds Gulick, General Counsel, Students Exchange Program, Department of the Army.

3. Latin America
Chairman: Nell Wilcoxen, Phoenix, Arizona
Recorder: Margaret Johnson, Harrisburg, Pa.
Consultant: Marie Abreu, Teacher, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

4. Western Europe
Chairman: Sarah C. Caldwell, Akron, Ohio
Recorder: Katherine Roudebush, Milford, Ohio
Consultants: W.B.J. Ledwidge, H.B.M. Consul, British Consulate, St. Louis, Missouri.

5. The Far East
Chairman: Elizabeth A. Yank, Marysville, California
Recorder: Maud W. Harrington, Forest City, Mo.
Consultant: M.S. Kotiswaran, General Secretary, All India Federation of Educational Associations, Secunderabad, Deccan, India.

6. The Near East
Chairman: Hester Medlen, Conway, South Carolina
Recorder: Robert F. Johnson, Crestwood, Kentucky
Consultant: Admiral Charles J. Moore, USN Ret., Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

7. The Soviet Union
Chairman: Martha A. Shull
Recorder: Lillian S. Wren, Savannah, Georgia
Consultant: Ruth Russell, Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Factors Influencing Foreign Policy

8. Public Opinion
Chairman: John M. Hollowell, Jacksonville, Illinois
Recorder: C. Ronald Gaitskell, Burbank, California
Consultant: Margaret R.T. Carter, Chief, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

9. Americans of Various National Origins
Chairman: Mrs. J. F. Cole, El Dorado, Arkansas
Recorder: Elizabeth Daniel, Whitewater, Wisconsin
Consultants: Marlow A. Markert, Jennings High School, St. Louis, Missouri.
Alvin H. Proctor, Chairman, Social Science Department, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kansas.

10. The Congress and Political Parties
Chairman: Coral Stephens, Ottumwa, Iowa
Recorder: Hazel B. Defenbaugh, Vancouver, Washington
Consultant: Wilbur F. Murra, Assistant Secretary, Educational Policies Commission of the NEA.

11. Economic Interests
Chairman: Thelma Elson, Peoria, Illinois
Recorder: Ora Alice Newman, San Angelo, Texas
Consultant: John H. B. Pierson, Economic Adviser, Economic Cooperation Administration, Washington, D.C.

2:00 P.M. - General Session-International Organizations

Address: "International Organizations and the Promotion of Peace," William Agar, Chief, Headquarters Section, Special Services Division, United Nations, Lake Success, New York.

3:30-5:00 P.M. - Section Meetings on International Organizations

United Nations

12. Accomplishments
Chairman: Sallye V. Graves, Dallas, Texas
Recorder: C. Amanda Quill, Brookings, South Dakota

Consultant: William Agar, Chief, Headquarters Section, Special Services Division, United Nations, Lake Success, New York.

13. Difficulties
Chairman: Margaret Perry, Hillsboro, Oregon
Recorder: Martha B. Ward, Mexico, Mo.
Consultants: Frederick Rope, Educational Liaison Officer, U. S. Mission to the UN, Lake Success, N.Y.
Robert H. Reid, Executive Assistant, NEA Committee on International Relations.

14. Programs for Improvement
Chairman: E. R. Arndt, Belen, New Mexico
Recorder: Beulah Buswell, Winona, Minnesota
Consultants: Dr. Charles A. Lee, Head. Dept. of Education, Washington Univ., St. Louis.
Ruth Russell, Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Unesco

15. Reconstruction
Chairman: Vera Stephenson, Orland, California
Recorder: Kathryn Kelly, Joliet, Ill.
Consultants: Clifford W. Patton, Reconstruction Liaison Officer, Unesco, New York, New York
Harold E. Snyder, Director, Commission on the Occupied Areas, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

16. Fundamental Education
Chairman: J. H. Flathers, Amarillo, Texas
Recorder: Nora Looney, Memphis, Tennessee
Consultant: Edgar Dale, Research Associate and Head of Division of University Curriculum, Bureau of Education Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

17. Teacher Exchange
Chairman: Dorothy Behrens, St. Louis, Missouri
Recorder: Ruth Carsten, Cleveland, Ohio
Consultants: Mildred E. Adams, Head, Professors and Lecturers Division, Institute of International Education, New York, New York.
Leeds Gulick, General Counsel, Students Exchange Program, Department of the Army.

18. Education for International Understanding
Chairman: R. Minnie Garff, Salt Lake City, Utah
Recorder: Edith K. Peterson, Hastings, Nebraska
Consultants: Arch Troelstrup, Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri.
Carleton Washburne, Director, Division of Graduate Students, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York.

Other Types of International Organizations

19. Non-Governmental (World Organization of the Teaching Profession)
Chairman: Farline Bennett, Sweetwater, Texas
Recorder: Blanche Adams, Hastings, Nebraska
Consultant: Margaret Boyd, President, Ohio Education Association and NEA Committee on International Relations

20. Regional (Organization of American States)
Chairman: Margaret F. Hill, Santa Barbara, Calif.
Recorder: Louise G. Kraft, Billings, Montana
Consultants: Admiral Charles J. Moore, USN Ret., Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

21. Economic (International Labor Organization
Chairman: T. Robert Ruston, Laurel, Delaware
Recorder: Jane S. Fitzgerald, Cleveland Heights, Ohio
Consultant: W. Ellison Chalmers, Director, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

22. Welfare (International Children's Emergency Fund)
Chairman: Alma Therese Lenk, Oshkosh, Wisconsin
Recorder: Florence Smith, Kansas City, Missouri
Consultant: Arthur Robinson, Commodity Control Officer UNICEF, New York, N. Y.

7:30 P.M. - Informal Reception
Cobbs Recreation Room

8:30 P.M. - An Audio-Visual Presentation
"The Problem of Communication," presented by Herbert R. Jensen, Acting Executive Secretary, Division of Audio-Visual Instruction, National Education Association

TUESDAY, JULY 11

9:00 A.M. - General Session-Nuclear Energy
Presiding: Lois Carter, Vicepresident, NEA Department of Classroom Teachers, 1949-1950.

Address: "Nuclear Energy and the Problem of Peace," R. Will Burnett, Professor of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

10:30-12:00 A.M. - Section Meetings on Nuclear Energy

23. Scientific Background
Chairman: Jane D. Self, Jacksonville, Alabama.
Recorder: Freda L. Clements, Phoenix, Arizona
Consultants: Alexander Calandra, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.
Agvald Gjelsvik, Headmaster, Gudbransdal Landsgymnas, Vinstra, Norway

24. Atomic Energy in Medicine
Chairman: Lester L. Lausch, Rockford, Illinois
Recorder: Margaret Shidler, Casper, Wyoming
Consultant: Austin M. Brues, Argonne National Laboratory, Chicago, Illinois

Atomic Energy and Power Production
Chairman: Paul Jennings, Evansville, Indiana
Recorder: Dorcas D. Wolf, Pontiac, Michigan

National Control of Atomic Energy
Chairman: Walter F. Martin, Los Angeles, Calif.
Recorder: Mary Ruth Holleman, Birmingham, Ala.
Consultant: George L. Glasheen, Assistant Director for Educational Services, United States Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C.

(These three discussion groups meet in combined session)

25. International Control of Atomic Energy
Chairman: Alice Latta, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho
Recorder: Faith Kessell, Dunbar, W. Va.
Consultant: Admiral Charles J. Moore, USN Ret., Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.
Margaret R. T. Carter, Chief, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

26. Ethical Implications
Chairman: Lois Carter, Spartanburg, S. C.
Recorder: Sally B. Loving, Arlington, Virginia
Consultant: George Walton, School Affiliation Service, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.

27. Social and Economic Implications
Chairman: Eleanor Bly, Muncie, Indiana
Recorder: Alice M. Armstrong, Portsmouth, Va.
Consultant: R. Will Burnett, Professor of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Vocational Opportunities
Chairman: Nora L. Pearson, South Pasadena, Calif.
Recorder: Willie Lou Dooley, Sweetwater, Texas.
Consultant: Philip N. Powers, Advisor on Scientific Personnel, United States Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C.

(These two discussion groups met in combined session)

2:00 P.M. - General Session-Food and People

Address: "Food and People," Florence Reynolds, Chief, Information Section, Food and Agriculture Organization, Washington, D. C.

3:30-5:00 P.M. - Section Meetings on Food and People

28. Nutrition and Health (World Health Organization)
Chairman: W. L. Clements, Phoenix, Arizona
Recorder: Gladys Robinson, Lancaster, South Carolina
Consultant: Arthur Robinson, Commodity Control Officer,

U.N.I.C.E.F., New York, N. Y.,
Mrs. Minnie Mae Mills, Jr. Red Cross, Mid-Western Area, St. Louis, Mo.

29. The Problem of Food and Peace (Food and Agriculture Organization)
Chairman: Nella Piccinati, Denver, Colo.
Recorder: Pearle Hewitt, Portland, Oregon
Consultant: Florence Reynolds, Chief, Information Section, Food and Agriculture Organization, Washington, D. C.

30. Point Four and the Technical Assistance Program
Chairman: Florence M. Mercer, Longview, Texas
Recorder: Dorothy Childs, Webster Grove, Mo.
Consultants: Ruth Russell, Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.
Rowena Rommel, Assistant to the Chief, Technical Cooperation Projects Staff, Department of State.

31. Population and Resources
Chairman: John P. Hindman, Casa Grande, Arizona
Recorder: Dora Valentine, Mount Airy, N. C.
Consultant: Charles E. Rogers, Educational Relations Officer, Food and Agriculture Organization, Washington, D. C.

32. Increasing Food Production
Chairman: Effie Park, North Little Rock, Arkansas
Recorder: Katherine B. Dickey, Lexington, Kentucky
Consultant: Mary D. Mack, Information Officer, Unesco Relations Staff, Department of State.

33. International Trade in Food
Chairman: W. M. Schaal, Brecksville, Ohio
Recorder: Leona Thomas, Carlsbad, New Mexico
Consultant: Margaret R. T. Carter, Chief, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

7:30 P.M. - Audio-Visual Materials for International Understanding.

Foreign Policy: Thomas Clemens, Director of Audio-Visual Education, St. Louis County, Missouri

International Organizations: Robert H. Reid, Executive Assistant, NEA Committee on International Relations.

Nuclear Energy: Herbert R. Jensen, Acting Executive Secretary, NEA Department of Audio-Visual Instruction.

Food and People: Charles E. Rogers, Educational Relations Officer, Food and Agriculture Organization, Washington, D. C.

Human Rights: Edgar Dale, Research Associate and Head of Division of University Curriculum, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12

9:00 A.M. - General Session-Human Rights

Presiding: Sarah C. Caldwell, Director Ex Officio, NEA Department of Classroom Teachers, 1949-1950.

Address: "International Aspects of Human Rights," Everett R. Clinchy, President, National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York.

10:30-12:00 A.M. - Section Meetings on Human Rights

34. Human Rights: Historical Background to 1945.
Chairman: Helen K. Ryan, Springfield, Illinois
Recorder: Leila Rawes, Albuquerque, New Mexico
Consultant: Robert B. Ellis, Materials Consultant, NEA Committee on International Relations.

35. Human Rights: United Nations Activities
Chairman: Florence Davis, Springfield, Illinois
Recorder: Mildred Daniels, Santa Fe, New Mexico
Consultant: Frederick Rope, Educational Liaison Officer, U.S. Mission to the UN, Lake Success, N. Y.

36. Individual Rights in the Declaration (Articles 1-17) and Genocide
Chairman: Gertrude Dinkel, Terre Haute, Ind.
Recorder: Flo Reed, Elko, Nevada
Consultant: Ruth Russell, Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

37. Public Liberties (Articles 18-21)
Chairman: Mary Van Horn, Newburgh, Indiana
Recorder: Marguerite Jenkins, Meridian, Mississippi
Consultant: Benjamin Roth, Executive Committee, St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, St. Louis, Missouri

38. Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (Articles 22-27)
Chairman: Ben Elkins, Munhall, Pennsylvania
Recorder: Mary Odin Haas, Biloxi, Missippi
Consultant: Charles E. Rogers, Educational Relations Officer, Food and Agriculture Organization, Washington, D. C.

39. Human Rights in the United States
Chairman: Rachel R. Knutson, Seattle, Washington
Recorder: Dorothy P. Montgomery, Burlington, Iowa

Consultants: Kenneth M. Gould, Editor Scholastic Magazines, New York, N. Y.
Robert H. Reid, Executive Assistant, NEA Committee on International Relations.

40. The Draft Covenant on Human Rights
Chairman: Maurine Bullock, San Angelo, Texas
Recorder: Lillian Frischknecht, Keokuk, Iowa
Consultant: Carleton Washburne, Director, Division of Graduate Students, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Problems of Implementation
Chairman: Ruth A. Cordner, Bismarck, North Dakota
Recorder: Ellen D. Lloyd, Terre Haute, Indiana

(These two discussion groups met in combined session)

41. Rights of Women
Chairman: Teresa N. Hoffman, Effingham, Illinois
Recorder: B. Leota Speer, Springfield, Illinois
Consultant: Sarah C. Caldwell, Director Ex Officio, NEA Department of Classroom Teachers.

42. Freedom of Information and of the Press
Chairman: Harry P. Shedd, Sioux City, Iowa
Recorder: Ralph L. Ragsdale, Rockford, Illinois
Consultants: Mary D. Mack, Information Officer, Unesco Relations Staff, Department of State.
Leeds Gulick, General Counsel, Students Exchange Program, Department of the Army.

2:00 P.M. - Summary Program: "The Teaching of International Understanding"

Address: "The Young American Citizen: His Rights and Duties in a World Community," Edgar Dale, Research Associate and Head, Division of University Curriculum, Bureau of Education Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

3:30-5:00 P.M. - Section Meetings on the Teaching of International Understanding

43. The Primary Grades
Chairman: Zona Livengood, Raleigh, North Carolina
Recorder: Inez Gieseking, Springfield, Illinois
Consultants: Mrs. Ragnhild Sohr, Oslo, Norway.
Susan Ryan, Principal, Hempstead School, St. Louis, Missouri.

44. Intermediate Grades
Chairman: Ruth E. Hamilton, New York, New York
Recorder: Josephine L. Compton, East St. Louis, Ill.
Consultant: Esther Aschemeyer, St. Louis Public Schools.

45. Junior High School
Chairman: Dorothea M. Lennon, Stamford, Conn.
Recorder: Martha A. Lutes, Lewiston, Idaho
Consultants: D. E. Hussong, Hanley Junior High School, University City, Missouri.
Lochie E. Sperry, Principal, Harry P. Study School, Springfield, Missouri.

46. Senior High School
Chairman: Lillian A. Comar, Three Rivers, Mich.
Recorder: Margaret O. Seay, Gainesville, Florida
Consultants: Howard Cummings, Instructional Problems, Secondary, Government and Economics, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.
Robert H. Reid, Executive Assistant, NEA Committee on International Relations.
Wilbur F. Murra, Assistant Secretary, NEA Educational Policies Commission.

47. College
Chairman: Thelma Flavin, Montello, Nevada
Recorder: Olive M. Donegan, Los Angeles, Calif.
Consultants: Arch Troelstrup, Stephens College Columbia, Missouri

48. Teacher Education
Chairman: Marva Banks Lindsay, Salt Lake City, Utah
Recorder: Gussie M. Eubank, West Helena, Arkansas
Consultants: Carleton Washburne, Director, Division of Graduate Students, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Leeds Gulick, General Counsel, Students Exchange Program, Department of the Army.

49. Adult Education
Chairman: Ila M. Nixon, North Little Rock, Arkansas
Recorder: Sara Pritchett, Birmingham, Alabama
Consultant: Margaret R. T. Carter, Chief, Division of Public Liaison, Department of State.

7:00 P.M. Summarizing Remarks

8:00 P.M. - International Night Program

Margaret Boyd, Presiding
Ragnhild Sohr, Mistress of Ceremonies

I. UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

"The United States is the leader of the free world; we must act responsibly."

"THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES"*

Dorothy Fosdick

Dorothy Fosdick was born in New Jersey. She received the degree of B.A. from Smith College and of Ph.D. from Columbia University. For five years (1937-42) she was a member of the faculty of Smith College in the Department of Sociology and Government. Entering the Department of State in 1942, she has served as assistant on International Organization, assistant to the Director in the Office of European Affairs, and as technical adviser to United States delegations at many international conferences. At present she is a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State.

Teachers can help young people understand our foreign policy. This country is now in an inescapable position of world leadership. Teachers must develop certain attitudes among our young people which will make it possible for this country to carry out the responsibilities that have been thrust upon it. Keep seven points in mind when teaching international relations:

1. Nourish the student's faith in democracy, and in the fruits of freedom...so they can be confident of the direction our foreign policy should take, and have a cause to work for.
2. Discourage any tendency to narrow the circle of our concern to any one part of the world; encourage concern for the entire world, keeping open the channels of cooperation with all countries.
3. Help students not to expect final answers or final solutions from our foreign policy, but to approach it as the pragmatic

* The partial text of an address delivered before the Lindenwood Conference Assembly.

and experimental business that it is, requiring above all, patience and the "long look."

4. Help students appreciate the need of not only believing in international cooperation, but of carrying through to do what is necessary, to make it effective.
5. Develop a more adequate humility among young people about our own institutions, so that we can acquire the habit of learning from other nations.
6. Prepare young people in accordance with the principles and practices of democracy, to accept limitations upon our own freedom of action as a nation....the great adventure of the United Nations.
7. Prepare our young people not to run from the adversities of international relations, but to face them and to meet them.

THE OCCUPIED AREAS: GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Background

A. Basic problems: The long-range problem with regard to Germany is to reorganize it from a political, economic, and territorial standpoint in order to prevent the recrudescence of German aggression, and at the same time to fit the nation into the European pattern as a whole. The short-range problem is to establish a working arrangement between East and West Germany and to achieve satisfactory relations between the Allied High Commission and the West German authorities.

B. Review of post-war history: The Potsdam Conference of 1945 laid down the basic Allied policy toward Germany. It was agreed that Germany would be disarmed and demilitarized and that her industrial war potential would be eliminated. Naziism would be crushed and political decentralization encouraged, but during the period of occupation Germany would be treated as an economic unit. Reparations would leave enough resources so that Germany would not require external assistance.

It soon became apparent, however, that the U.S.S.R. would thwart any settlement which did not concede Soviet control over German economic and political life. Germany remained in a state of administrative and economic chaos, yet over-all European recovery was dependent on a revived German economy. The Western powers accordingly decided, in 1948, to proceed unilaterally toward the reconstruction of Western Germany, until such time as an over-all settlement could be achieved. The Western zones were merged and began to participate fully in the Marshall Plan. An International Authority for the Ruhr was organized to regulate production in that region. The Germans were authorized to establish a provisional government under a new constitution, with the occupying authorities retaining only their power over disarmament, the Ruhr, reparations and decartelization, foreign trade, D.P.'s and the security of Allied forces.

The improvement of the Western position led to the abortive Berlin blockade and a complete split between Western and Eastern zones. Upon the eventual lifting of the blockade, four-power discussions were resumed but again no agreement was reached, although some arrangements were made for trade between East and West.

C. Existing conditions: (1) Economic: There are three primary economic difficulties: (a) the refugee problem (9 million German and 400 thousand foreign refugees are in Western Germany); (b) the disruption of economic unity (pre-war German trade was about 20% interzonal--there was extensive economic interlocking, all of which has ended); (c) the necessity of maintaining Berlin (unemployment has reached 33% and economic aid has totaled $266 million).

(2) Re-education: German education is moving slowly forward subjected to both negative and positive pressures. Negative pressures are the destruction of classrooms, denazification, a tremendous shortage of teachers, past indoctrination and existing spiritual depression, and the disparity in

educational approach among the occupying authorities. Positive pressures are the missions of educational experts which have re-evaluated the educational system of Germany, relief in the way of food, clothing, and shelter, the rebuilding of schools and homes, the reorganization of primary and secondary schools along democratic lines, and the institution of re-education programs in all the schools and teacher-training institutions.

D. Austria: Austria was to have been treated as a "liberated" country and its "freedom and independence" restored. However, four-power occupation continues with no immediate prospect of a treaty being achieved. A coalition government was elected and has held considerable authority since 1946. While the Soviet government has obstructed economic unity, has removed much so-called "war booty," and has seized extensive properties as "German assets," the Western powers have granted much economic assistance, have admitted Austria to many international organizations, and have attempted to aid her reconstruction. Partial agreement on issues separating the Big Four was achieved at Paris in 1949, but a treaty has yet to be signed. Stumbling blocks have been Soviet demands for a share in the Austrian oil industry, properties of the Danubian shipping company, a large cash payment, and the enforced repatriation of refugees.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should Western Germany be encouraged to reenter the economic and political life of Europe on a plane of considerable equality?
2. Will re-armament of Western Germany be necessary under the present strategic plan for the defense of the West?
3. What are feasible objectives for our government's program of educational and cultural exchange in Germany and Austria and what are feasible objectives for our own private efforts?
4. Should we seek more actively to solve East-West differences over Germany?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 2

THE OCCUPIED AREAS: JAPAN

Background

A. United States policy: Japan surrendered on the basis of the Potsdam Declaration and when General MacArthur was designated Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), the comprehensive initial directive to him, entitled "United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan," was based on this proclamation. It stated that the broad objectives of the U.S. were to prevent a resurgent Japan from being a menace to world peace and to establish a peaceful and democratic Japanese government. Japanese sovereignty would be limited, Japan would be disarmed and demilitarized, war criminals would face trial, and the development of democracy would be encouraged.

B. The Far Eastern Commission: The Far Eastern Commission was established as a result of the Moscow Agreement of December, 1945. It is composed of 11 nations, namely: China, the U.S.S.R., the U.K., Australia, the Philippines, Canada, France, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the U.S. Its function is to formulate and review policies relating to the fulfillment of the obligations of Japan under the terms of surrender. The United States, however, has the right to issue interim directives to SCAP on matters of urgency.

C. Occupation problems: (1) Attitude of the Japanese: Generally, the Japanese have exhibited an unusually friendly attitude toward the occupation. Many Japanese explain it on the grounds that the Japanese did not blame the Allies but their own militarists for the hardships which war brought, and by the manner in which the occupation has been conducted. Yet they criticize certain policies, particularly the detailed interference of SCAP in legislation, economic reform, and education, illogical and stringent censorship, and the widespread political and economic purges.

(2) Economic reconstruction: Japan's economic situation is not encouraging. The basic economic problems requiring solution are: (a) increase in raw materials to allow the normal development of peacetime industries; (b) availability of expanded credit resources, domestic and foreign; (c) revival of foreign trade which has long been essential to Japanese economic well-being.

(3) Democratic developments: Under the new Constitution of May 3, 1947, sovereign power was placed in the people and the Emperor's powers were reduced to those of a normal constitutional monarch. Governmental decentralization has been encouraged and there has been considerable purging of war criminals, leading war-time politicians, and leaders of ultra nationalistic and aggressive thought. Political parties are flourishing and women have been allowed for the first time to take an active role in elections and public life. A powerful and conservative bureaucracy has been a major obstacle but civil service reform is under way.

(4) Educational reform: It is generally agreed that only through education will the Japanese understand democracy. Much has been accomplished by the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP in the fields of

information, education, religion, culture, fine arts, public opinion, and sociological research. The Fundamental Law of Education, passed in 1947, established democratic goals for education. The discriminatory education ladder was abolished as well as the totalitarian pattern of the national school system. Textbooks and teachers' manuals have been revised and teacher training institutes encouraged. A recent educational mission from the U.S. has reported on the possibility of arranging for greatly increased teacher and student exchange between Japan and the United States and for programs enabling Japanese leaders to travel to the U.S. for purposes of reorientation.

(5) Japanese peace treaty: The basic problem for the U.S. in Japan is to make a peace settlement which will establish stable conditions in the Far East so as to permit the withdrawal of occupation forces. Withdrawal rests on three conditions: (a) the insurance of Japanese disarmament; (b) the development of Japanese democracy; (c) a Japan which is self-supporting. However, a more immediate issue has been the stumbling block of procedure to be followed at any future peace conference. The U.S.S.R. wishes only China, the U.K., the U.S., and itself to be represented. The other members of the Far Eastern Commission wish all members of the F.E.C. to take part in the conference.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can the United States ever afford to withdraw from Japan in the face of Russian power in the Far East?
2. Have we been overly autocratic in our dealings with other members of the Far Eastern Commission respecting occupation policies in Japan?
3. Are there any signs that Japan will improve its economic position and lessen the enormous drain on our economy?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

LATIN AMERICA

Background

A. Introduction; The foreign policy of the U.S. has by tradition been especially concerned with Latin America, a region that includes 21 independent states and the colonies and territorial dependencies of four European nations. The community of states comprising this region is not homogeneous, but its people are bound together by a common faith in the ideals of political liberty and by a common history of national independence achieved from European colonialism. These bonds became the basis of the oldest regional grouping in the world, the inter-American system. In recent years the United States has been active in promoting the reorganization and strengthening of this system as a vital element in this country's defense and in the maintenance of world peace and security.

B. Policies and tendencies in Latin America: The republics differ not only in size, but also in wealth, culture, race, and population. They are in different stages of political, economic, and social evolution. Each is increasingly conscious of its own separate identity, and though their former isolation from each other, imposed by nature, is now less acute, their historical development has accentuated great distinctions and disparities between them. Nevertheless, in the last half-century certain broad tendencies can be discerned to a greater or lesser extent among all.

(1) Economic change: At one time Latin America was the perfect example of a "colonial" economy. Its prosperity depended on the exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods. Land was the source of wealth. A landed minority ruled; a landless illiterate majority obeyed. But the war of 1914-1918 and the Great Depression wrought such havoc with Hemisphere trade and created such economic insecurity, that attempts were initiated to escape from dependence on overseas markets and sources of supply by developing domestic industries and diversifying agriculture. Growing economic nationalism encouraged hostility toward foreign interests and acts such as the expropriation of the oil concessions in Mexico occurred. World War II only intensified these trends, for European markets and supplies were cut off and national production had been intensified on behalf of the war effort.

(2) Social change: The social structure of the Latin American countries is in a state of flux. It is evidenced by the drift from country to city and by the rise of the industrial, commercial, and middle classes, an artisan class, and organized labor (viz. Argentina's population in 1870 was 70% rural, but in 1938 was 70% urban).

(3) Political change: The 20th Century has seen a progressive liberalization of political institutions and the growth of a new sense of political and social responsibility in Latin America. Yet the appeal of the individual is still stronger than the appeal of the program and democracy in many areas remains an aspiration and not a fact. Growing nationalism and economic centralization present new dangers.

C. Attitude of the United States: Since the United States' adoption of a "Good Neighbor" policy early in this century, three major objectives have been followed with respect to Latin America: (1) to insure the security of our nation and the hemisphere; (2) to encourage democratic representative institutions; (3) to cooperate in the economic field in order to help attain the first two objectives.

The first is the primary aim and it is founded on the belief that the security of this hemisphere is indivisible. The inter-American system is the outgrowth of this view. Under the Rio de Janeiro treaty of 1947, aggression against one is aggression against all. As for encouragement of democracy, our "recognition" policy is to "recognize" if a government is really in control and living up to its international obligations. It does not necessarily mean approval of policies. Since economic well-being is important to democratic development, much assistance has been given. Through our Institute of Inter-American Affairs, our Export-Import Bank, and the activities of many private and governmental agencies, enormous quantities of technical and financial aid have been furnished, and still further increases are likely.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is there any threat of Communism in the countries of Latin America?
2. Why have the Latin American nations and certain European states—notably Italy and Spain—experienced much the same difficulties in their political evolution?
3. Is the Monroe Doctrine threatened by imperialism from within?
4. Do you agree with our policy of non-intervention?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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Discussion Guide No. 4

WESTERN EUROPE

Background

A. Introduction: The policy of the United States toward Europe, influenced by two world wars, rests on the conviction that control of Europe by a single unfriendly power threatens our national security. The possibility of a united and unfriendly Europe had long been a cardinal concern of British foreign policy. Consequently, Britain for centuries played the role of balancer in the power struggle for mastery of the continent. With Britain's strength no longer equal to this task, however, and with the advanced technology of modern war ending our geographical security the United States has been obliged to concern itself with European affairs. For control of Western Europe has meant, and still means today, control over an area second only to the U. S. in industrial capacity.

B. United States policy: As a consequence of this vital interest in the fate of Western Europe, the U. S. aim has been to achieve what Ambassador Douglas called, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, "a redressing of the unbalance of power in Europe caused by the last war." Western Europe had been ravaged more than ever before by war, with the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe emerging predominant and hostile. To prevent a further unbalance, made vivid by the disappearance of the Czechoslovak democracy, the United States embarked on several programs of aid and political unification.

(1) The European Recovery Program, began in 1948. Recipient nations joined in an Organization for European Economic Cooperation through which their programs were submitted and reviewed, and then presented for final decision to the Economic Cooperation Administration. The economic policy of the ERP was to restore European production and thereby to revive a healthy international trade. Eighteen countries, with a total population of 250 million, participated. The cost to each American has been 32 dollars a year. The present program ends in 1952. By 1950, production in Europe was 18 percent above 1938, while agricultural output had almost reached its pre-war level. Through continued efforts, it is hoped that Europe's dollar earnings will roughly balance her expenditures to us.

(2) The North Atlantic Pact, signed in 1949, had its beginnings in 1948 in the "Vandenberg Resolution" (S.R. 239) recommending U. S. participation with countries outside the Western Hemisphere in collective security arrangements. The Americas had already joined in the Pact of Rio de Janeiro, September 1947, in a binding defensive alliance. The U. S. was now to combine with 11 other nations (Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, and Portugal) in a similar compact. Other countries could be admitted upon agreement of all the signatories. An attack upon one in the North Atlantic area was to be considered an attack upon all, and all were to consult upon counter-measures.

(3) Military Assistance to the cooperating nations was naturally an element in the effort to achieve strength. It was early feared that Greece and Turkey, areas of strategic importance, might lose their independence.

Under the "Truman Doctrine" aid was begun in 1947 to such nations in critical danger. The Brussels Pact nations shortly thereafter created a unified military defense structure and made requests for arms and material assistance. Under the broader concept of the North Atlantic Pact, it became apparent that a unification of military aid would be wise. Accordingly, the Mutual Defense Assistance Pact of 1949 coordinated military aid programs, authorizing the President to extend $1,314,010,000 in military assistance to the North Atlantic Pact states and to Greece, Turkey, Iran, Korea, the Philippines, and China.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should the U.S. support greater unification of the Atlantic community? What should be the extent of U.S. participation?
2. Has the Marshall Plan seriously weakened our economy? Has it succeeded in Europe?
3. Should we give aid, or extend alliances to dictatorial states?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suitable for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 5

THE FAR EAST

Background

A. Diversities and similarities: In the subcontinent of India and Pakistan, lie various states and provinces roughly comparable in size to the nations of Europe, yet with differences of race, language, religion, and culture even more profound. Japan and Indonesia are complete opposites in complexities of industrial civilization and resource development. Yet Asians have in common two attitudes of particular importance: (1) A revulsion against the acceptance of misery and poverty as a normal condition of life; (2) A revulsion against foreign domination. The symbol of these concepts has become nationalism. Since the end of the war in Asia, 500 million people have gained their independence and over seven new nations have come into existence: the Philippines with 20 million citizens; Pakistan, India, Ceylon, and Burma 400 million; Korea 20 million; and, recently, the United States of Indonesia with 75 million.

B. United States Policy: (1) Historical attitude: For 100 years the United States has had ties with the Far East as a result of missionary evangelism, educational activity, philanthropic aid, and trade. Economic interests, however, were never greatly developed and the trade was only a very small part of American interest in trade. Politically, the American view wqs to support the doctrine of the Open Door in China and the independence of all Asia. Non-interference was a fundamental principle.

(2) Review of recent U.S.-China relations: With U.S. entrance into World War II, unity of Chinese leadership became of paramount interest in the struggle against Japan. The traditional policy of non-interference was abandoned. Military and economic aid was increased. Observers were sent to attempt to create accord between the warring factions--General Hurley form 1944-1945, General Marshall from 1945-1947, General Wedemeyer in 1947. All failed and all reported that popular support in the Kuomintang government was rapidly diminishing. Assistance to the National Government was, nevertheless, continued from 1945-1949 and the hope was maintained that reforms would be made and a more representative government created. With the collapse of the Kuomintang military power, as a result of inner schisms and Communist pressure, American policy was forced to undergo extensive revision.

(3) Present Far Eastern policy: (1) The U.S. does not merely wish to stop Communism--it wishes to give the peoples of the Orient national and individual independence and aid for their own development. (2) With regard to China it opposes any immediate involvement; returning to its pre-war policy of noninterference in the hope that Soviet detachment of the northern areas of China and Chinese Communism will eventually incur popular wrath. (3) With regard to the military security of the Pacific area, the policy has been to defend Japan as long as is required by whatever feasible means, and to hold firm on the defensive perimeter running along the Aleutians to Japan, the Ryukyus, and the Philippine Islands. Recent developments in Korea, however, have apparently forced a revision of this perimeter to

include South Korea, Formosa, and the various weak nations bordering on China. (4) Finally, our government believes that assistance to any Pacific area can only be effective when the will, the determination, and the loyalty are already present—when assistance is the missing component in a situation which might otherwise be solved.

C. Problems of certain nations: (1) Japan: Three factors are faced: a. The matter of security; b. Economic questions- Japan's prewar trade has been difficult to restore and currency problems also exist; c. Political issues- progress is being made toward non-militaristic institutions. (2) Philippines: The Philippines are now independent. The U.S. has given $1 billion in veteran's benefits and other payments. Much of it has not been used wisely and economic difficulties are increasing. (3) Burma: Five different factions have disrupted the immediate government. (4) Indo-China: France is slowly granting local self-government as a result of increasing pressure. (5) Indonesia: The Dutch granted independence, a new government has been formed, and relations with the Netherlands are good. (6) India and Pakistan: Grave conflict exists over the future control of Kashmir: also economic difficulties growing out of devaluation differences, settlement of monetary plans, etc.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you believe that there can be no really satisfactory American policy for dealing with China under present conditions?

2. To what do you attribute the victory of the Chinese Communists?

3. Do you believe that the idea of an "Asian policy" is initially misleading because of the diversity of problems encountered?

4. Will aid to the French in Indo-China react against our interests because of the unfinished struggle for independence?

5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

THE NEAR EAST

Background

A. Reasons for United States interest:

(1) This area includes Greece, Turkey, Egypt and the Sudan, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Aden, and Oman. It is of vital stragetic value, being a crossroads of sea and air communications. Control of the Suez means control of sea transport. (In 1947, 2813 U.S. vessels passed through the Canal).

(2) The Near East contains approximately 50 percent of the potential oil supply of the world, and oil is vital for war. This resource is being developed by interests predominately American and British.

(3) The region is the center of the Moslem religion: of paramount interest to the millions of Moslems there and elsewhere.

B. Reasons for increased concern:

(1) Soviet activities: (a) a rebellion was provoked in Iranian Azerbaijan (1945-46), being eventually quelled by U.S. hostility and U.N. action: (b) Communist interference in Greece, aided by war time devastation, and encouraged by military and propaganda activities; (c) pressure upon Turkey—denunciation of their Treaty of Friendship, demands for joint control of the Dardanelles and annexation of areas of eastern Turkey; (d) general propaganda and agitation in all nations of the area.

(2) Decline of British power in the Near East

(3) United States assumption of primary economic and military responsibility in the struggle between East and West.

C. Problems and attitudes of the nations involved: Two problems are universal, - backward economic and social systems, and the conflict of races, nationalities, and religions. (1) Greece has faced the added problems of war-time destruction and a costly new struggle against external and internal forces. (2) Turkey, for 6 years, has been forced by Soviet pressure to maintain a large military establishment at a cost of 50% of her national budget; seriously disrupting an economy which under normal conditions is basically stable. (3) Iran's problem, like Turkey's is mainly to advance from economic and social backwardness, and to survive the Russian threat. Since her ruler's visit to the U.S., a Seven-Year Plan has been launched. (4) Iraq is torn between political groups. One, presently in power, is for cooperation with Britain, possible union with Syria and Jordan, and dislike of Egyptian or Saudi Arabian leadership. The other fiercely opposes Britain, is Pan-Arabic, and looks to Egypt for leadership and aid. (5) Jordan, headed by King Abdullah, seeks a unified policy with Iraq versus Syria and Egypt. Her talks with Israel apparently are progressing. (6) Egyptian-British relations have been disturbed by conflict over re-

vision of the treaty of alliance involving British occupation of the Suez and Sudan. Egypt seeks Arab leadership versus all foreign intervention. (7) Israel is beset by the issue of frontiers, the disposition of Arab Palestine, solution of the refugee problem, and the future status of Jerusalem.

D. United States actions: Threats to Greece and Turkey in 1947 prompted active aid. By 1949 that aid had totaled approximately 500 million dollars. Iran has been allowed to purchase surplus military equipment, and under the Mutual Defense Assistance Pact of 1949 is to receive military assistance. The other nations have been aided mainly by technical advice and cultural assistance. The future holds the prospect of more comprehensive aid through the Point Four Program.

Questions for Discussion

1. Are we over-extending our commitments?
2. Is there any justice in the Soviet desire to share in the control of the warm water outlet through the Dardanelles? How does this desire compare to our claim to control the Panama Canal?
3. Have we unjustly supported Israel against Arab rights and interests?
4. Have we a greater interest in oil concessions and their control, than in the independence and economic advancement of the Near East?
5. Can we be justly accused of supporting reactionary governments in Greece and Turkey?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suitable for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 7

THE SOVIET UNION

Background

A. Influence of World War II: The end of World War II marked the close of an era in international relations by ushering in two major political developments: (1) the emergence of the Soviet Union to a position of world power equalled only by the United States; (2) the gravitation of all states toward one or the other of these two centers of power. It, likewise, signified an end to a period of cooperation which had been based upon an identity of interest (viz. the defeat of Nazi Germany), for important issues were being raised as to the future status of those nations, which, lying in what foreign offices term "inter-zonal areas", were experiencing economic and political turmoil. The political complexion of their governments as well as the allies which they chose, whether through compulsion or desire, were of the utmost importance to the security of their giant neighbors. Power, rather than law, was, as always, the determining factor in international politics, and the rivalry for supremacy resumed its familiar pattern.

B. Major issues: The first serious differences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. developed over incompatible interpretations of the Yalta Agreement: a decisive question being who was to control Eastern Europe. Subsequently, the conflict spread to all phases of international relations affecting the balance of power, with disagreements arising over: (1) the status of Iranian Azerbaijan; (2) the problem of atomic control; (3) the future of Germany and Austria; (4) the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey; (5) the government of Korea; (6) occupation policy in Japan; (7) European economic recovery; (8) recognition of the Chinese Communists.

C. American foreign policy: With regard to the Soviet Union, the U.S. has had as its short-term objective the containment of that state for the purpose of maintaining the territorial status quo. Its main expressions have been the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. The long-term objective of this foreign policy is a settlement (necessarily on some compromise basis, yet consistent with U.S. security interests) of such decisive questions as a peace treaty for Germany and the international control of atomic weapons.

D. Communism--in theory and practice: In the forecasting of Soviet foreign policy, a basic problem for American planners has been to estimate the influence which Marxist theory has on practical policy decisions undertaken by the Soviet leaders. It is of considerable significance that most studies have concluded that where Communist theory has seemed of dubious benefit to Soviet interests, its obligations have been ignored or reinterpreted to fit the needs of the moment. Thus the theory of a general proletarian revolution to follow the Bolshevist revolution was early abandoned and with it a theoretician, Trotsky. Instead, internal development and collective security were preached to accord with the need for a peaceful period of industrialization. Later in the thirties, coexistence with "decadent" capitalism was proven to be not only possible but capable of being brought to a point of actual alliance--viz. the Nazi-Soviet Pact.

Evaluated in retrospect, the action appears to have been undertaken in order to gain time for much-needed defensive preparations. (Note also that the shift in policy was again marked by the removal of a dissident figure--Litvinov, apostle of friendship with the West). With the eventual disruption of the Pact, however, practical expediency once again drove the Russian leaders to extend the hand of friendship to their erstwhile Western enemies. Since that time we have witnessed a rise and fall in emphasis in the reconcilability of Communism and Capitalism. Compatibility is preached at the moment, though the political struggle is unrelaxed. (A more recent example of domestic theory versus practice appears in a statement of Stalin to the effect that the state has not "withered away" because of the critical nature of international politics today).

In summary, one need not assume an intransigent Soviet foreign policy based upon the political ideology of Marx. Consequently some hope may be maintained that a peaceful compromise of our international disagreements may yet be achieved.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is the time appropriate for further efforts to solve our fundamental controversies with the Soviet Union?
2. Does the Soviet Union aim at world domination or merely the attainment of security?
3. Should we recognize Soviet security interests in Eastern Europe and in return seek agreement on the German and Austrian questions?
4. What of the McMahon proposal for a world-wide Marshall plan, to include even the Soviets? Can it be justly attacked as an attempt to buy peace?
5. Is it time for some such dramatic action, or can success be best achieved by our present policy of stern total diplomacy?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suitable for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 8

PUBLIC OPINION

Background

A. Public opinion and foreign policy: Foreign policy in a democracy must, in the nature of things, ultimately express the public will. Faithful reflection, however, on short--term issues is difficult to achieve because of the peculiarities of the American governmental process. It is a moot question whether the presidential system, with its recurring clashes between the executive and the legislature and its inelastic system of elections is well adapted either to the promotion of competence in the conduct of foreign relations or to democratic control. In any case, such characteristics of the democratic process still cause the direction of foreign policy to remain largely out of the direct control of a majority of the people.

B. The Department of State and public opinion: Education of the public, and gauging the temper of its opinions, are functions of the Department of State which are being increasingly emphasized. The task is made difficult by the fact that the Department of State has no well-defined or organized "constituency," as do the departments of Labor, Argiculture, and Commerce. This explains why the Department often seems remote and exclusive, and this encourages irate members of Congress to launch attacks upon its policies with little fear of alienating an organized public group. Yet past experience has indicated the worth of encouraging public interest and cooperation, and it has led to the creation of the Office of Public Affairs and in particular the Division of Public Liaison.

(1) Office of Public Affairs: The task of maintaining close and regular contact with the public is performed by the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. One of the divisions under that officer, the Division of Public Liaison, assists and welcomes views and ideas on foreign policy from a wide variety of groups interested in foreign affairs. It also supplies representatives of the press, radio, television, and motion pictures with background material on current problems. Another, the Division of Public Studies, endeavors to discover public attitudes on important foreign policy problems, and to evaluate them for the use of Departmental officers. A third group, the Publications Division, is responsible for the Department of State Bulletin and hundreds of other publications on topics of current interest.

(2) Foreign activities of the Department, devoted to influencing public opinion abroad are even more comprehensive. They include the "Voice of America" and the activities of the United States Information Service-viz, libraries, institutes, press services, and exchange of persons. Foreign offices of the latter are each headed by a Public Affairs Officer. Close contact is kept with leaders of opinion in foreign countries, newspaper and radio agencies, and teacher and student groups.

C. The role of the President: The President takes the lead in presenting the position of the Government to the people, and he exercises this

leadership in a variety of ways. Presidential addresses before Congress are one method of capturing widespread public attention, but are reserved for the most important occasions. Regularly held press conferences are another. Radio addresses on important issues are now customary.

D. Problems: Public opinion is generally expressed during the interim between elections through the media of well organized and highly vocal pressure groups. Their opinions are effective at nearly every stage of congressional deliberations. The Government often feels obliged to respond to urgent and widespread public demands at such hearings. Yet, because of the multiple divisions of the public will, which are in turn weighed against official sources of information, policy is frequently over-cautious and simultaneously unpopular with much of the public. Strong executive leadership has appeared to be the only effective remedy.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is the problem of accurate reflection of popular views on foreign policy in any way separable from the problem of reflecting public sentiment in all fields of policy?

2. Is it wise, particularly in the field of foreign relations, to have programs face the electorate at long rather than short-term intervals.

3. What should be the role of those responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs? Should they seek to reflect, or to guide public opinion?

4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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AMERICANS OF VARIOUS NATIONAL ORIGINS

Background

A. The role of pressure groups: The great complexity of modern politics rests upon the diversification of interests: regional differences, conflicts arising from economic specialization, and cleavages which exist between racial and nationalistic groups. Due more perhaps to the multiplicity of interests rather than to any other factor, the method of pressure groups has been chiefly one of exerting influence on parties and legislators. For the history of third parties has demonstrated the futility of any more direct approach.

The power and influence which pressure groups exert has been undeniably strong. Yet this is not to be wholly deplored, for in the increasing diversification of society they have performed an important function of representation. At the same time the disunity evident in other political systems has been avoided. The reasons for this last are, perhaps, two: first, the peculiar accommodating process of the American two-party system; second, the fact that every citizen has many conflicting interests which divide his allegiance.

B. National groups in America: It is impossible to estimate with exactness the comparative strength of various national groups. One writer asserts that the Germans make up over 25% of our present white population. Similar claims have been made for the Irish, but intermarriage has made precise apportionment impossible.

In 1940, of 131 million Americans, 11½ million were foreign born and over 23 million had one or both parents born in another country. English was the mother tongue to 93 million, or 78.6% of the population. Similarly it was German to 4.2%, Italian to 3.2%, Polish to 2%, Spanish to 1.6%. Yiddish to 1.5%, French to 1.2%, Swedish to .7%, Norwegian to .6%, and Russian to .5%.

C. Influence of national groups on foreign policy: Specific issues of domestic policy affecting a minority as a group, only occasionally arise. Political tradition has generally been to avoid legislation for or against native or alien groups. In the sphere of foreign policy, however, minorities are likely to be aroused in times of international crisis. In the period preceding the First World War, the German-American Alliance agitated and petitioned against policies of the Wilson administration that they deemed favorable to England and unfavorable to Germany. When these efforts failed to affect the course of foreign policy, this group strove to swing the vote to Hughes in the election of 1916. In the 1940 campaign the Steuben Society supported Wilkie and political commentators expressed the opinion that the German vote went for Wilkie in protest against Democratic foreign policy. Earlier the Irish, with memories of oppression at home, prodded the American government to twist the Lion's tail. During the Jewish struggle for Palestine, the official attitude of the administration was largely conditioned by the influence of this

group in American political affairs. (Strategic interests in the Middle East, however, prompted a middle-of-the-road policy). The Polish-American vote was likewise respected in considerations of policy with regard to the post-war status of Poland.

Today, minority groups and foreign policy are interrelated in still another sense. The treatment accorded racial minorities has been given added importance because of the ideological struggle. Acts of injustice at home are seen to have a direct bearing on the success of American foreign policy. The U.S., in its role as champion of human rights can hardly afford to ignore the righteous demands of these citizens.

As for the individual legislators, it is those who represent areas of concentrated minority groupings, that are most pliable when policy questions are considered. A congressman from Illinois, for example, can hardly ignore the fact that Chicago has more Poles than any other city of the world save Warsaw.

But despite the evident influence of national minorities, none, alone or in combination, have ever been strong enough to control the main course of American foreign policy. Aside from the two reasons mentioned above, there is the fact that minority groups themselves are not always united in supporting policies of the homeland. Moreover, discreet leaders are well aware of the dangers for the group if it appears to place the native land ahead of the new one.

Questions for Discussion

1. Have divergencies developed negative or "do-nothing" policies?
2. Would you say that economic success is one of the great solvents of the unity of minority groups?
3. Have the cultural patterns of the foreign family influenced international relations?
4. Should our governmental machinery be altered to provide more formal representation of interest groups?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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Discussion Guide No. 10

THE CONGRESS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Background

There are three bases for the participation of Congress in the conduct of foreign relations: (1) the "executive powers" of the Senate; (2) the general legislative function of the Congress as a whole; (3) the right to conduct investigations.

A. Executive powers of the Senate: The Constitution grants two particular powers to the Senate which have a great effect on foreign policy formation. (1) Appointments: "Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls" are to be appointed by the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Senate approval of other high appointments is also required, Thus the Senate by withholding its consent can and does indirectly influence policies pursued by the President. (Significantly, the President frequently consults with Senate leaders before making formal nominations.) (2) Treaties and Agreements: The Constitution requires a 2/3 Senate approval of treaties. This treaty-making process has become divided into two stages; policy formation and negotiation by the executive branch; ratification by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, (The President, also, may refuse to ratify despite Senate approval). Senate approval is only infrequently withheld, but fear of the 2/3 rule has led to other constitutional processes, particularly executive agreements, which avoid this requirement. There are 4 types of executive agreements: (a) Where the President acts solely on his own Constitutional authority as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, or through his extensive powers in the field of foreign policy in general--no Senate approval being required; (b) Where an executive agreement is made under a general treaty authorization; (c) Where an agreement is concluded and is either subsequently approved by the Congress or ratified by implication through passage of implementing legislation (viz. the destroyer-base agreement); (d) Where an agreement is negotiated under the authorization of a specific act of Congress (viz. the reciprocal trade agreements). However, where implementing legislation is required, Congress may affect even executive agreements.

B. General legislative powers: Two kinds affect foreign relations: (1) Enumerated powers--to declare war, to maintain a navy, to lay and collect taxes, to make appropriations. (2) Other powers--to provide for the general welfare and to make all laws necessary for the execution of enumerated powers. As foreign and domestic policies become more interrelated, the impact of congressional legislative power on foreign relations increases (viz. domestic farm relief policies may encourage the dumping of surpluses abroad).

C. Power to investigate: This power has not been extensively used, but it can have a telling effect (viz. the Nye Munitions Investigation strongly influenced neutrality legislation). At present there is the Joint Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation which investigates economic assistance programs as well as other important committees.

D. Influence of congressional committees: The power of congressionl committees is of enormous importance. They influence House action and may completely rewrite or pigeon-hole requested legislation. Frequently they delay administration programs through jurisdictional disputes and over-concern with policy. Committee chairmen wield great authority and are often at odds with administration leaders.

E. Political parties: The undisciplined character of American political parties adds to the complexities of developing and maintaining a particular foreign policy. Moreover the President is sometimes confronted by an opposition Congress: a situation unknown to parliamentary systems. Thus, there has developed in recent years what is termed "bipartisan foreign policy." Under this approach, party discipline is weakened further, but majority support for administration foreign policy is usually attained.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you believe that executive agreements subvert popular control of foreign policy? Are they justified by the modern complexity of international relations?
2. Does the bipartisan approach to foreign policy weaken constructive criticism?
3. What remedies might be suggested which would enable closer cooperation between Congress and administration leaders in foreign policy formation?
4. Is there any justification for the two-thirds rule, or is it a mere relic of earlier fears over foreign entanglements?
5. How can the individual citizen influence Congressional action in the field of foreign policy?
6. How can local candidates for Congress be made to clarify their views on foreign policy?
7. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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Discussion Guide No. 11

ECONOMIC INTERESTS

Background

A. Economic pressure groups in general: Pressure groups seek either legislation or the prevention of legislative action adversely affecting their interest. Theirs is a politics of principle and not partisanship for a party. Every pressure group of any importance has its allies in the legislative body itself, and pressure groups are always represented before legislative committees when hearings open to interested parties are held on legislative proposals. Equally important are their continuous relationships with the administrative agencies of the government. With legislative bodies tending more and more to delegate authority to administrative agencies, pressure groups have inevitably sought to increase their activities at the point where decisions are made. At the same time administrators have become increasingly cognizant of the need for maintaining close and regular contact with interested public groups. Advisory committees, made up sometimes of experts and sometimes of representatives of one or more interest groups, have become a common device for facilitating such contact.

B. Economic pressure groups--their impact on foreign policy: Foreign and domestic policies, here as in all countries, have become increasingly interrelated. The result has been a widening concern on the part of business, farm, and labor groups with international relations. This is not to say, however, that there have not been many instances in the past of strong pressure being exerted by economic interests in the shaping of U.S. foreign policy. The power of such groups has in fact been felt from the beginnings of America. Charles A. Beard has argued that the powerful money and commercial interests, well organized along the seaboard, were perhaps instrumental in the separation of the colonies from England and in the adoption of the Constitution. During the period following the Civil War, when the United States began to move from the status of a debtor nation to that of a creditor, manufacturing industries were anxious to obtain tariff favors and for the most part were able to write their own tariff acts. Some observers have even gone so far as to find the cause of wars in the machinations of economic interests. While this is unquestionably an exaggeration, there is no doubt that there have been instances of military intervention which have been strongly encouraged by groups with large financial investments at stake. (viz. the Spanish-American war and "big stick" diplomacy in Latin-America.)

In general it may be said that top national organizations tend to be less particularistic and more statesmenlike in dealing with economic policy questions than their constituent local or industrial sub-groups. That they are not entirely innocent, however, of attempting to influence foreign policy for their own particular gain, is indicated by the comparatively recent testimony (1947) of Sumner Welles. Pressures on Congress, he declared, had resulted in the Sugar Act of 1946 which gave Cuba a quota less than half the amount Cuba had sold us in recent years. In his opinion, it would be regarded by Latin America as an indication that foreign economic policy in Washington was "once more being made by the same privileged interests that wrote the Hawley-Smoot Act." Wool producers

were also indicted by Mr. Welles for their attempts to impose an import tax, in addition to the existing duty, on wool produced in Australia and New Zealand. Had it not been for a Presidential veto, "the blow to the economics of both countries, already strained by the war and by post-war difficulties, would have been shattering." But the greatest threat to our foreign policy, said Mr. Welles, lay in attempts to amend the Trade Agreements Act so as to permit Congress to nullify future trade agreement concessions made by the executive.

The pros and cons of those observations are not of consequence here. What is of interest, is the ever-present example of economic pressure groups seeking and sometimes achieving control of foreign policy.

Questions for Discussion

1. Would you say that the various economic interests seeking to influence foreign policy have objectives that are generally alike?
2. Should pressure groups be regulated to assure (a) that their memberships and sources of funds be made public, and (b) that the views on proposed legislation expressed by their officers really reflect the views of their members? Are there ways of increasing the social respossibility of pressure groups other than by regulation?
3. In what way is the present farm program related to economic policy abroad?
4. What does national policy owe to special economic interests and where does the obligation stop?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

Certain features of United States foreign policy toward the occupied areas (Germany and Japan) and the associated problems received considerable attention and clarification. With regard to both areas it was emphasized that United States policy must express patience, understanding and consistency. It should not vacillate from an attitude of severity and authoritarian guidance to one of laissez faire in politics and largesse in economics. Democracy can neither be imposed from above, nor under the circumstances, nurtured wholly from within.

One teacher pointed out that many older Germans are not yet certain that a democratic form of government can respond to that desire for security which so often characterizes the outlook of a defeated people. Moreover those in the age group 20-40 were victims of Hitlerian indoctrination. While the present youth, it was said, willingly accept democracy when properly oriented, their elders for the most part will require the expenditure of greater time and effort. Thus, in the case of both Germany and Japan, the problem of re-education is complicated by many disturbing factors (not the least of which is the present state of international affairs) which emphasize the need for a carefully balanced, judicious occupation policy.

The government's program of sending educational missions and arranging for Germans and Japanese to visit the United States and other democratic nations, was highly commended. The assistance given in this work by private organizations such as the N. E. A., the Junior Red Cross, and others was felt to be a significant contribution; one which should continue to supplement governmental subsidy, important as the government's role has

Been, and one which should most certainly be enlarged.

Discussion of other aspects of American foreign policy, as determined by internal and external factors, stressed the danger to international relations generally of popular ignorance about existing facts and conditions. Most Latin Americans, it was pointed out, know more about us than we about them. Our geography is studied for three months in their grade schools as well as at the college level. The Monroe Doctrine is given considerable attention and, according to one teacher representing our Southern neighbors, a greater familiarity with the historical evolution of the United States and her sister republics has placed this nation in a more favorable light.

In Europe, much of the suspicion and mistrust of American aims was felt to be directly traceable to ignorance of economic facts. Many Europeans have attributed Marshall Plan aid to overproduction by the United States which has necessitated our dumping surplus goods abroad. No less mistaken have been those short-sighted Americans who have viewed the program as mere charity and of no real benefit to this country.

Others have overlooked the profound changes which have been taking place within the nations of the Far East. Rising nationalisms in that area, both political and economic, are demanding corresponding changes of attitude on the part of the Western powers. The latter are accepting these developments with some reluctance.

In summary, it was concluded, teachers must strive to overcome existing apathy with reference to knowledge about other nations, their problems and aspirations. Towards this end, students should be made aware of the interdependence of cultures. Humility is a requisite for the development of an international outlook.

Attention was also directed to the growing tendency on the part of many citizens to withdraw from the political process and to avoid their obligations as citizens. After investigating the facts, and having arrived

at a fair basis for one's convictions, the citizen should express these convictions where they will have the greatest effect. One method is to write directly to the Department of State. Every agency and official of the government, including the President himself, has been giving increased attention to gauging the temper of public opinion. Public apathy rather than official disinterest is responsible for much of the gap which exists between the government and the electorate.

Teachers are peculiarly obligated in this respect. They are responsible for developing among youth a realization of their potential contributions to society and the importance of their individual opinions. Children should be encouraged to show initiative and make decisions, to develop the habit of participation in the democratic process in both domestic and international relations.

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

II. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

"The United Nations is our best hope for peace; we must support it loyally."

"INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PROMOTION OF PEACE" *

William Agar

[William Agar was born in New York City. He received the degree of B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. from Princeton University. He has been a geologist for the Anaconda Copper Company, a senior geologist of the U.S. Geological Survey, and has taught at Yale and Columbia universities. For five years he served as Headmaster and Trustee of the Newman School, Lakewood, N.J. At present he is Chairman of the Board of Freedom House, and Senior Fellow of the Department of Public Information of the United Nations. He is the author of Catholicism and the Progress of Science (1940), The Dilemma of Science (1942), and numerous textbooks.]

The United Nations is one of the most remarkable political organizations in the international field that man has yet devised....Teachers play a vital role in developing understanding of the United Nations among the growing generation of young people. Without understanding and without public backing, the United Nations cannot succeed.

The United Nations, up to the time of the present situation, has managed to alleviate tense political situations in Palestine, Indonesia, and Kashmir, despite the absence of a military force under its control. The force of public opinion is more important in controlling the actions of nations than anyone thought possible.

The main work of the United Nations under the Charter is that of peaceful settlement of disputes. Only as a last resort was it to employ either sanctions or force. Having no force, it has been obliged to develop the means of conciliation and arbitration and all possible means of peaceful settlement to a greater degree than has ever been done before.

The political rift between the Soviet and the Western powers has

*The partial text of an address delivered before the Lindenwood Conference.

prevented the United Nations from limiting armaments, from allocating armed contingents to be at the core of the Security Council, and from achieving international control of atomic energy. The same differences between the two powers has kept a number of nations out of the United Nations. But outside of those two areas, the United Nations has succeeded in accomplishing what it set out to do--even when blocked by the veto of the Security Council. The Corfu Channel case, the Balkan situation and the present action taken in Korea are examples of the effectiveness of the United Nations. With regard to the Korean affair, one must note that the Charter w-s not fully implemented. If it had been, the Security Council could have called directly on the nations to furnish contingents. Since that was not possible, it had to act under Article 39 of the Charter and recommend that the nations give all assistance possible.

Teachers should take advantage of the materials produced by the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, Every source and method possible should be utilized to bring about greater understanding of the United Nations.

Discussion Guide No. 12

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Background

A. In the Political Field: (1) The Security Council was instrumental in inducing the Soviet Union to withdraw troops from Iran. (2) British and French troops evacuated Lebanon and Syria because of Security Council pressure. (3) The United Nations has played a decisive role in compromising the conflict between the Dutch and Indonesians, seeking peaceful transition toward Indonesian independence. (4) A United Nations Commission observed elections in southern Korea, which resulted in an independent Korean government. (5) Through United Nations mediation the war in Palestine was ended and peaceful solutions to many remaining problems are being evolved. (6) Through its investigating Commission in Greece, world attention was drawn to a finding of outside intervention, thus restraining attempts to destroy Greek independence. (7) The United Nations fostered the contacts which eventually ended the Berlin blockade crisis. (8) The United Nations obtained a cease-fire in the Kashmir dispute and is making progress towards a plebiscite. (9) It is taking a bold stand versus aggression in Korea, making clear the multilateral character of its military action.

B. In Economic and Social Fields: (1) War-created Problems: (a) Creation of the International Refugee Organization, which has taken care of 875,000 refugees, arranging for their resettlement as well as for programs of education, employment, vocational and language training, and health care. (b) Creation of the International Children's Emergency Fund, which has provided over 4,500,000 daily supplementary meals to children and nursing and pregnant mothers all over the world. Also emergency relief for Arab and Jewish children, and development of extensive programs for combatting tuberculosis, endemic diseases, and syphilis. (c) Aiding reconstruction through regional commissions concerned with such problems as transport, heavy industry, and housing.

(2) Action on Longer-range Problems: (a) The United Nations has worked through the many Specialized Agencies toward solution of worldwide economic and social problems. Its Economic and Social Council has been operating through its various Commissions on statistics, transport and communications, minorities, status of women, narcotic drugs, population, etc. Regional Commissions consider the economic problems of Europe, the Far East, Latin America, and the Middle East. A Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been approved, as well as a convention outlawing genocide.

C. Psychological Advantages: (1) The United Nations provides a common meeting ground for all nations genuinely seeking peaceful solutions. (2) By the continuity of its operations it strengthens the habit of working together. (3) It offers the contending forces a public forum and requires them to justify their actions to the world in terms of the purposes and provisions of the Charter.

Questions for Discussion

1. Has too much emphasis been placed on the failures of the United Nations?
2. Is there a growing cynicism about the United Nations? If so, how may it be combatted?
3. What is the real strength of the United Nations?
4. What mistakes made by the League of Nations can the United Nations avoid?
5. Are newspapers and other mass media doing an acceptable job in telling about the United Nations?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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4. U. S. Department of State. The United Nations at Work. International Organization and Conference Series III, 33. Publication No. 3618. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. 6 p. 5¢.

*5. United Nations. The United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1948. 47 p. 50¢.

*6. United Nations. The United Nations: Its First Four Years. Lake Success, N. Y.: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1949. 28 p. 10¢.

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* Starred items are especially suitable for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 13

DIFFICULTIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Background

A. Conflicts of will: (1) Primary assumptions: The framers of the United Nations Charter, as General Marshall pointed out in 1948, assumed that three conditions would develop following the war: (1) that the major powers would agree on peace settlements promptly and effectively; (2) that critical economic and political post-war conditions would be speedily erased; (3) that the pledge of great power cooperation would be adhered to. None of these conditions has materialized, and as a result the United Nations has experienced far greater difficulties than was originally anticipated; for the United Nations was designed neither to replace the existing network of international relations nor to provide machinery for the solution of all international problems.

(2) Political disputes: Disharmony within the United Nations system has extended even into fields of social and economic interest, but the most serious disputes have been of a political nature: (a) international control of atomic energy; (b) regulation and reduction of armaments; (c) establishment of an international military force capable of enforcing Security Council decisions; (d) pacific settlement of issues involving Greece, Iran, Palastine, Germany, Austria, Trieste, Japan, Korea, India and Pakistan, Indonesia and China; (e) admission of various applicants to membership in the United Nations. The frequent use of the veto power in the Security Council gives further evidence of the deep-seated political antagonisms with which the United Nations has had to deal.

B. Conflicts unavoidable by reason of fact or long tradition: Besides such self-imposed conflicts of will, member states of the United Nations have had to combat age-old barriers to international cooperation resting on unavoidable fact or long historical tradition. (1) Preeminent among such barriers has been national sovereignty. But beyond the disunity of political mechanism, there has existed: (2) a diversity of outlook--social, economic, religious, and political. To this may be added; (3) the background of historical disputes; (4) racial antagonisms; (5) misunderstanding and mistrust based on barriers such as distance and language. The modern conflict in Palestine between Jew and Arab--centuries old in origin--is indicative of the difficulties which the United Nations has had to face. Indeed in this particular instance both disputants rested their arguments on historical events almost 2,000 years past. Moslem-Hindu antagonisms have been similarly deep-seated; impossible of easy solution.

C. Receipt of the "impossible" cases: The United Nations was originally envisaged as a court of last resort in cases of political dispute to which no solution had been found, and this has been a major cause of its publicized weakness. To it have come the hopeless dilemnas of foreign officies: those situations of international tension, which through intransigence of states have proved impossible of solution. Where the old methods have failed, the U.N. has had a try, and has experienced both successes and failures.

Questions for Discussion

1. Are the difficulties which the United Nations has experienced traceable to faults in the machinery of its organization?
2. Would it have been more advisable to grant greater authority to the smaller world powers?
3. Can we expect the United Nations to develop an attitude of increasing cooperation, or does it serve only as a convenient platform for the expression of national propaganda?
4. Is "open diplomacy" wise? Does it operate in labor-management discussions?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. U. S. Department of State. Questions and Answers About the United Nations. International Organization and Conference Series III, 45. Publication 3712. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950. 28 p. Free.

2. Jessup, Philip C. The Foreign Policy of a Free Democracy. U. S. Department of State. General Foreign Policy Series 17. Pub. 3630. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949. 5 p. Free.

3. Jessup, Philip C. and Austin, Warren R. The United Nations and the North Atlantic Pact. U. S. Department of State, International Organization and Conference Series III, 30. Pub. 3463. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949. 4 p. 5¢.

4. Marshall, George C. Strengthening the United Nations. U. S. Department of State. International Organization and Conference Series III, 6. Pub. 3159. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948. 10 p. 10¢.

5. Hyde, James N. Technique for Peace: The United Nations and Pacific Settlement. U. S. Department of State. International Organization and Conference Series III, 34. Pub. 3621. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949. 12 p. 5¢.

*6. United Nations. Building for Peace. U. N. Department of Public Information. Lake Success, 1949. 36 p. 25¢.

* - Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 14

THE UNITED NATIONS: PROGRAMS FOR REFORM

Background

Major groups advocating new programs are United World Federalists, the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, Federal Union, World Movement for World Federal Government, Campaign for World Government, and Citizens Committee for United Nations Reform. Lesser changes are asked by American Association for the United Nations, and Atlantic Union Committee.

A. Aims: Excepting AAUN, all believe that regional or world government in some form must be established immediately. Plans range from a federation limited to those means necessary to prevent war, aggression, and rearmanment (CCUNR), to an extensively detailed program such as that advocated by CFWC, whose sponsors have even made provision for the representation of occupational groups and the mediation of labor disputes.

B. Basic approaches are of three types: (1) the AAUN would provide just those executive and/or judicial powers necessary to prevent war and aggression; (2) the UWF, proposes in addition, a legislative organ with authority to legislate for those changes vital to pacific settlement of disputes that would arise; (3) others would delegate powers with regard to economic, social, and cultural activities not necessarily concerned directly with the preservation of peace. (CWG, CFWC, WMWFG, and FU).

C. Methods: Most of the organizations advocating world government are agreed that the United Nations should be the basis for any new global federation. On the other hand the CWG, CFWC, and FU demand an entirely new institution, though the first two would initiate action for reform through the United Nations.

D. Membership: FU is for growth to world union from a nucleus of democratically-minded states, adding others as they prove acceptable. The CWG and the CFWC are for immediate universal union arguing that a limited approach would formalize an already divided world. Other groups would prefer universality of membership but would accept and work for less, provided opportunity to join was freely extended to all nations.

E. Department of State view: The foreign policy of the U. S. government at present appears to oppose such drastic reforms. The reform argument is generally that the veto power renders the United Nations powerless, that the General Assembly has been reduced to a debating society, that the International Court of Justice is highly ineffective, and that the lack of a world police force makes U.N. decisions meaningless. The U. S. policy, however, replies that: (1) no major amendments can presently be secured; (2) unsuccessful attempts would have an unfavorable effect on the United Nations, and would probably destroy what strength it now has; (3) additional

machinery would not affect the basic political situation; that what is necessary is a fundamental adjustment between East and West. It is the view of the United States, accordingly, that to strengthen the United Nations necessitates strengthening the democratic members thereof so that the aims of the organization will be upheld. This line of thought leads to the Marshall Plan, Military Assistance, our own military preparedness, and close cooperation with potential allies through regional associations such as the Atlantic Pact group and the Organization of American States.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should our government begin to press for some form of world government?
2. Should our government seek major reforms of United Nations authority; such as changes in the veto power or the formation of an international police force?
3. Should citizens accept or criticize the present policy of our government with reference to U.N. reform?
4. Do the plans submitted for U.N. reform tend to remove our eyes from reality and to obscure the slow hard road of achievement required by unavoidable circumstances? Or do we need an inspired effort in a new direction?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. Eichelberger, Clark. A Letter to the Chapters on World Government. American Association for the United Nations. No. G21. New York. free.

*2. Town Hall, Inc. Do We Need a New Approach to Peace? Vol. 14, No. 41. New York. 10¢.

3. Dworkis, Martin B. The United Nations: Suggested Reforms. National Education Association. Washington, D. C. 1949. 10 p. 10¢.

4. Marshall, George C. Strengthening the United Nations. U. S. Department of State. International Organization and Conference Series III, 6. Publication No. 3159. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 10 p. 10¢.

5. Rusk, Dean. Universal, Regional, and Bilateral Patterns of International Organization. U. S. Department of State. International Organization and Conference Series I, 11. Publication No. 3828. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1950. 4 p. free.

*6. United World Federalists. From Interest to Action. New York. 14 p. 25¢. (Manual on organization of UWF chapters, activities etc.)

* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 15

UNESCO: RECONSTRUCTION

Background

A. UNESCO in general: UNESCO is a specialized agency of the United Nations which seeks better understanding among the peoples of the world through education, science, and culture. Its course is set by a General Conference of 46 member states, which meets annually. Interim decisions are made by an Executive Board of 18 members, elected for 3-year terms. Administration is in the hands of a Secretariat, headed by a Director General, with headquarters in Paris. In 1949 it operated on a budget of $7,800,000. This budget is used only for emergency needs. To effect its world program, UNESCO works through National Commissions or cooperating bodies set up in member states. Their obligation is to carry out the objectives UNESCO is set up to serve. The degree of cooperation received from individuals and national organizations is the measure of success of UNESCO's program. It also works with the United Nations and other specialized agencies, calls commissions of experts to exchange information and techniques, makes intensive studies of social and scientific problems, and fosters national and international conferences to examine activities related to UNESCO's work. In summary, UNESCO's role, for reason of its limited human and material resources, is one of planning, guidance, encouragement, and coordination.

B. Reconstruction in Education: The task of reviving the educational, scientific, and cultural life of the war-shattered nations of Europe and Asia has been foremost in UNESCO's program. The needs were colossal. It was estimated, for example, that the children of Europe required, among other things, 150 million pencils, 70 million notebooks, 10 million pens, and 140 million sheets of paper, to enable them to start school again.

UNESCO's own resources were too limited to cope with such reconstruction, so it brought together more than 50 voluntary organizations working in this field and coordinated their efforts by establishing TICER (Temporary International Council for Educational Reconstruction). Working together UNESCO and TICER have raised over $100,000,000 in money and gifts. American organizations were at first grouped in the Commission for International Educational Reconstruction. Since May 1, 1949, however, these functions have been assumed by a Committee on Educational Reconstruction appointed by the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO.

C. The Program of CER: The Committee has adopted a program encompassing: (1) Fellowships and study grants; (2) Books and periodicals; (3) Specific needs in specialized fields--scientific laboratory equipment, vocational training equipment, audio-visual aids, cultural materials and tools, recreation equipment, expendable school supplies, aid to war-handicapped children; (4) Money contributions.

D. Individual and group cooperation: UNESCO officers and the Committee help select projects, secure up-to-date information on needs, furnish materials, speakers, and exhibits for large meetings, and establish liaison with transportation and distribution agencies. Administration is provided for projects requiring specialized knowledge. Individuals may choose a project

and make gifts either through agencies specializing in that kind of project or through UNESCO. They may also plan for group action and make full use of the Committee's advice and aid in order to insure that international misunderstanding will not result from well-intentioned, yet faulty, planning.

Questions for Discussion

1. Has educational reconstruction been given the emphasis it deserves?
2. Are any efforts being made by local or national groups in your community to further educational reconstruction?
3. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

* 1. National Film Board of Canada. Brandon Films Inc. Hungry Minds. (10 mins.) New York, 1948. (A film: 16 mm., sound).

* 2. U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. Educational Reconstruction: A Work Kit for Organizations and Communities. Washington, 1950. Free in limited quantities.

* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 16

UNESCO: FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

Background

A. Fundamental education--its meaning and purpose: One of UNESCO's urgent concerns has been the vast and long-term problem of fundamental education. Fundamental education means more than the conquering of illiteracy. In underdeveloped areas of the world educational and social services generally exist in an undifferentiated form, and the term fundamental education may be taken as inclusive of them all. Its scope becomes narrower as agencies and services, such as vocational and primary schools, come into being to fulfill specific needs. It is community education broadly conceived, concerned with adults and adolescents as much as with children. To the educationist it implies the basic minimum of a program needed to enable the members of a given community at a given time to live healthy active lives.

B. UNESCO's program: UNESCO began with a recommendation to member states: "that they provide fundamental education for all their people. . . including the establishment as soon as possible of universal free and compulsory primary education, and also education for adults." It promised its full support, with priority being given to less developed regions and underpriviledged groups. The program recommends further: (a) that emphasis be placed on the development of individual intelligence and not merely economic betterment; (b) that the needs and resources of the local community be the basis of the program; (c) that no attempt be made to establish a universal minimum standard of education; (d) that the more highly developed states be leaders in the movement; (e) that full use be made of the resources of all governmental and private agencies.

C. Activities: UNESCO carries on the functions of a clearing-house as one of its most essential activities in the field of fundamental education. The Clearing House ascertains the most pressing needs of Member States and discovers what significant contributions and methods are developed. UNESCO also sponsors seminars and conferences on fundamental education, and has built up an international "Who's Who" in the shape of a card-index register of specialists and organizations engaged in fundamental education. In four countries (Haiti, China, Peru, and British East Africa) it has begun "pilot projects." The purpose is to discover the chief problems and to find solutions by experiments. (In Haiti, for example, it has been found that there are three problems interrelated with illiteracy; over-population, soil erosion, and disease.)

Operating on such a budget as $7,800,000 in 1949, UNESCO, naturally, can not provide the material resources necessary to combat the enormous need. Until it attracts greater support from member governments it must restrict itself to over-all planning and guidance, encouraging private and governmental agencies to cooperate in an enlarged effort. (It is interesting to note, for example, that the U. S. Office of Education alone operates on a budget greater than that provided UNESCO).

Questions for Discussion

1. Does agreement exist on the proper methods to be used in the education of illiterates?
2. Has the United States progressed beyond the need for programs in fundamental education?
3. Is the Laubach method of teaching reading effective? Is it wise educational procedure?
4. How much of a barrier are the local languages themselves?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers

1. UNESCO. Fundamental Education: Description and Programme. Paris, 1949. 85 p. 25¢.

2. Fundamental Education Clearing House, UNESCO. Quarterly Bulletin of Fundamental Education. Paris. Single issues 20¢.

3. Fundamental Education Clearing House, UNESCO. Fundamental Education Abstracts. Paris. Monthly. Free.

4. Laubach, Frank C. Teaching the World to Read. Foreign Missions Conference of North America. New York, 1947. 246 p. $2.50.

UNESCO: EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

Background

In the realm of international education, UNESCO promotes the interchange of educational opportunities in four ways: (1) Through UNESCO-financed fellowships, for which UNESCO assumes basic administrative responsibility; (2) Through promotion of fellowships in fields related to specific projects in the UNESCO program; (3) Through promotional activities and advisory services to agencies planning fellowship programs; (4) Through the publication of Study Abroad, International Handbook of Fellowships, Scholarships and Educational Exchange—a volume listing all available opportunities furnished by nations, the U. N. and specialized organizations, and private, national, and international organizations.

1. UNESCO fellowships: The purpose of UNESCO-financed fellowships is to associate mature scholars, experts, technicians, administrators and educators with various aspects of the UNESCO program. Some 73 fellowships have been awarded to nationals of 20 countries in such fields as Educational Administration, Librarianship, and Educational Problems of War-affected Children.

2. Fellowships related to UNESCO's program: Certain other fellowships have been developed by UNESCO with the same purpose in mind and concerned with the same fields of study, but the financing and administration, except for general planning and advice by UNESCO, is the responsibility of the countries concerned.

3. Promotional and advisory activities: UNESCO often takes responsibility, not only for planning, but also for basic administration, including screening of candidates, for fellowships donated by accredited governmental or non-governmental agencies.

4. UNESCO—educational information: UNESCO collects and releases information on all types of international educational exchange projects. A great many are in existence. In the United States, for example, the Office of Education has been operating a teacher exchange program with French and English teachers. One hundred and twenty teachers were exchanged with the United Kingdom during the year 1948-1949. There is also the Fulbright Act (1946), which authorizes that foreign funds obtained from the sale of war surplus materials be available for financing Americans wishing to study or teach abroad, or foreign nationals desiring to study or teach in the United States. In addition, there is the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Smith-Mundt Act), which authorizes the Secretary of State to provide for interchanges of students, teachers, and leaders in fields of specialized knowledge on a reciprocal basis with other countries. Finally, with reference again to the U. S. alone, there are many educational, scientific and occupational groups, such as the N.E.A. financing and operating exchange and foreign study programs.

Questions for Discussion

1. Are the young people in your community adequately informed as to the educational opportunities furnished by private, national and international organizations?
2. What is your view with regard to existing programs in the field of international education? Do you feel there are deficiencies or particular areas of need for which no provisions have been made?
3. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

* 1. U. S. National Commission for UNESCO. Interchange of Persons; A Work Kit for Organizations and Communities. U. S. Department of State. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1950. Free.

* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 18

UNESCO: EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Background

The declared purpose of UNESCO is "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for human rights and fundamental freedoms . . ." Thus while the specific activities of UNESCO are many and varied, the promotion of better understanding among the peoples of the world is the thread which runs through all of UNESCO's work.

It is a moot question which projects contribute most effectively to the attainment of this general objective. It might be argued, for example, that the rebuilding of war-shattered schools and similar reconstruction efforts will do more to encourage international cooperation and goodwill than will the revision of biased textbooks. Nevertheless, certain projects are directly aimed at furthering an international outlook. They are encompassed by the two most important means through which UNESCO can bring its efforts to bear on the betterment of human relations--education and mass information.

A. Education: A major activity of UNESCO concerns the improvement of textbooks as aids to international understanding. A model plan for the analysis and improvement of textbooks and teaching materials has been prepared. Proposals have been made for a critical evaluation by individual countries of their own textbooks, and for a model bilateral textbook agreement. A model history textbook is also being prepared which lays particular emphasis on inter-cultural borrowing. Other publications of UNESCO include a series of pamphlets for teachers on teaching about the U. N. and its specialized agencies, and a selected bibliography on education for international understanding. These incorporate the findings of a UNESCO-sponsored seminar on the training of teachers. Future seminars will consider the improvement of history textbooks and the teaching of geography.

Another approach has been to send advisory missions to such areas as the Philippines, Thailand, and Afghanistan with the aim of improving educational systems by bringing a wealth of experience to bear on particular problems.

B. Information: A substantial part of UNESCO's activities is devoted to the problem of mass communications in the realization of the influence which the radio, newspapers, films and books have as educative forces. In 1947 it launched a series of investigations into the state of these media in 45 countries. Its findings have been published under the title of Press, Radio, Films, and it is hoped that this will aid in the removal of obstacles to the free flow of information. It has also opened for signature an international agreement to facilitate the international circulation of visual and auditory materials of an educational, scientific, and cultural character and has proposed drafts of other agreements in this field. UNESCO press and radio materials are being used in over 50 countries throughout the world, and the number of its own works and pamphlets is steadily increasing.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should programs of study as well as textbooks and teaching materials be analyzed? What kinds of textbooks should receive particular attention?

2. What guiding principles or evaluative criteria should be applied in textbook analysis?

3. What could be done to improve the training of teachers in international understanding?

4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

*1. United Nations. The Will to Cooperate: A Discussion Guide on the General Assembly. (From a series on Teaching about the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies). Lake Success, 1949. 29 p. 15¢.

*2. United Nations. How the United Nations Began. (From a series on Teaching about the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies). Lake Success, 1949. 28 p. 15¢.

3. United Nations. Toward World Understanding. Publication No. 242. Lake Success, 1949. 10¢.

4. National Education Association. Education for International Understanding in American Schools. Washington, 1948. 241 p. $1.00.

5. National Education Association. American Education and International Tensions. Washington, 1949. 54 p. 25¢.

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 19

WORLD ORGANIZATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Background

A. Historical summary: In August 1946 the National Education Association was instrumental in bringing together accredited delegates from 38 national education associations and observers from 9 professional and intergovernmental organizations to consider means of achieving greater unity among teachers in order to elevate the status of the teaching profession and improve educational services. This conference, held at Endicott, New York, drafted and unanimously approved a constitution for a world organization of teachers.

Since the ratification of the constitution of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession by the requisite number of teachers' organizations, a Delegate Assembly has been held each summer. At Glasgow, Scotland, in 1947 the Bylaws were adopted, offices of the Organization established, officers elected and a budget approved for the following year. In London, England, 1948, five major topics were considered: international exchange of pupils and teachers, extension of literacy, international language, teaching of social studies and current affairs, health education. In Berne, Switzerland, 1949, the problem of education for international understanding was discussed, and national teachers' organizations reported on salary, tenure and retirement provisions for their members.

B. Organization: At the time of the Delegate Assembly in 1947, there were 15 member organizations. By 1950, membership included twenty-three national teachers organizations and about 1000 individual teachers interested in receiving the Proceedings of the Delegate Assembly and occasional newsletters or other material sent out by the Organization. Members in Czechoslovakia and Poland withdrew from the Organization in 1947-48. Two member-associations in China may also have to withdraw. New members to be approved by the 1950 Delegate Assembly represent teachers in Ceylon, Norway, Turkey, as well as the American Teachers Association of the U.S.A. It is estimated that over two million individual teachers in all parts of the world are thus represented through member organizations of WOTP.

The delegates who planned the establishment of WOTP had no intention of creating a new organization to compete with existing ones. Perhaps because of the need indicated at Endicott for international unity among teachers, organizations which had represented a relatively limited area in Europe and had been dormant for years were suddenly revived. As a result, several associations have been unwilling to become affiliated with WOTP. Other organizations have become members of two or three of the "international" groups and have been active in developing a new proposal for an all-inclusive World Confederation of the Teaching Profession. A constitution has been drafted, to be considered this summer by the WOTP Delegate Assembly and by the European international organizations of primary and secondary teachers.

C. Objectives: Immediate objectives are concerned with raising the professional status of teachers -- through improved recruitment, training and certification, general working conditions, community prestige -- to increase the effectiveness of the present education system and to increase the influence of teachers in accomplishing long-range objectives of a peaceful world where opportunities for individual development through the finest possible educational programs are fully available.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the main functions of an international teachers organization? Should practical and idealistic considerations be more or less evenly balanced?
2. What are the major difficulties in achieving unity among teachers organizations?
3. With what types of questions should an international teachers organization concern itself?
4. What is the real strength of an international organization of teachers?

References for Teachers

1. WOTP. Proceedings, World Conference of the Teaching Profession, 1946.

2. WOTP. Proceedings of the Second Delegate Assembly, 1948. 50¢.

3. WOTP. Proceedings of the Third Delegate Assembly, 1949. 50¢.

REGIONAL (ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES)

Background

A. Steps leading to the O.A.S.: The present Organization of American States is the product of a long evolutionary process of inter-American cooperative action which began over 100 years ago. A league of Latin American states had been the aim of Simon Bolivar in convoking the first inter-American conference at Panama in 1826. Other conferences followed, but it was not until 1890 that an association was formally established as the International Union of American Republics. Attention was concentrated primarily on the promotion of trade relationships. It was not a political union as the name given to its informal secretariat indicated (viz. Commercial Bureau of American Republics). At the Fourth International Conference of American States (1910) the name of the association was changed to the Union of American Republics and the name of the Bureau to Pan American Union.

From 1944 to 1945 consideration was given to the problem of revising and systematizing the inter-American system and to coordinating activities with the new United Nations. Despite a long history of successful cooperation, no charter had ever been formulated designating the purposes of the organization. Accordingly on April 30, 1948 in Bogota, Colombia, a formal charter was considered and approved, and the Union was given the new title--Organization of American States.

B. Organization of the O.A.S.: (1) Introduction: The O.A.S. accomplishes its purpose through 6 organs established by the Charter: (a) the Inter-American Conference; (b) the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs; (c) the Council; (d) the Pan American Union; (e) the Specialized Conferences; (f) the Specialized Organizations.

(2) The Inter-American Conference, meeting every 5 years in one of the capitals of the 21 member states, is the supreme body of the O.A.S., determining general policy and the structure and functions of its various agencies.

(3) The Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs is called in cases of an emergency nature, and in the event of threats or aggression against an American state it acts as "organ of consultation" to determine measures to be taken.

(4) The Council is the permanent executive organ of the O.A.S., meeting regularly at the Pan American Union building in Washington. It has 3 auxiliary organs: (a) the Inter-American Economic and Social Council; (b) the Inter-American Council of Jurists; (c) the Inter-American Cultural Council.

(5) The Pan American Union is the central permanent organ of the O.A.S., and acts as a General Secretariat for the various organizations. Through its technical and information offices it promotes economic, social, juridical and cultural relations among the member states.

(6) Specialized Conferences are called to deal with specific aspects of inter-American cooperation (viz. science, health, libraries) when so decided by the Conference, Meeting of Consultation, or the Council.

(7) The Specialized Organizations are intergovernmental bodies having specific functions with respect to technical matters of common interest. While independent of the O.A.S. they are required to take into account recommendations of the Council and to make regular reports to the Council of their activities. The oldest is the Pan American Sanitary Bureau (1902), engaged in public health programs. Others relate to such fields as law, geography, postal communications, defense, highways, etc.

C. Purpose and activities of the O.A.S.: (1) The general purpose of the O.A.S. is to promote political peace and human welfare through encouraging unity and cooperative action among the American states. Its major principle is that international law shall govern their relations. Thus political intervention is forbidden, all states have juridical equality, and controversies are to be settled by peaceful means. An act of aggression against one is considered an act of aggression against all (Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, 1948).

(2) Activities of the O.A.S. are manifold. With respect to political matters it has, for example, pacifically ended a Costa Rica-Nicaragua dispute. It has encouraged cooperation and given much technical aid and advice in economic and social fields. It promotes educational, scientific and cultural exchange. Finally it cooperates actively in all matters with the United Nations (which gives Charter recognition and approval of such regional arrangements) and other international organizations.

Questions for Discussion

1. To what would you attribute the success of the Organization of American States as compared with the United Nations?
2. Is it respect for commitments under the O.A.S. Charter or respect for U. S. political and economic power that has kept the peace in the Western Hemisphere?
3. Is there general public appreciation and understanding of the work of the O.A.S.?
4. What prevents the Organization from achieving greater success in the economic field?
5. Should this topic be included in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

*1. Pan American Union. Organization of American States: A Handbook for Use in Schools, Colleges, and Adult Study Groups. Washington, 1949. 66 p. 25¢.

2. Pan American Union. The Organization of American States in Action. Washington, 6 p. Free.

*3. Pan American Union. Pan American Union. Washington. A flyer. Free.

4. Sanders, William. Sovereignty and Interdependence in the New World: Comments on the Inter-American System. U. S. Department of State. Inter-American Series 35. Pub. 3054. 30 p. Free.

* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

ECONOMICS (INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION)

Background

A. Origin and structure: The ILO was established on April 11, 1919 as an autonomous organization associated with the League of Nations. Its first director was Albert Thomas, famous French statesman and Cabinet member. ILO continued to work throughout the second world war. In 1946, it revised its constitution and became a specialized agency of the United Nations.

The ILO is based on a threefold organization plan unique in international practice. There is (a) the annual International Labor Conference. This is composed of two delegates from each member government, and one delegate each from representative labor and management organizations in each nation. This body drafts international treaties on subjects relating to labor standards: these are embodied in Conventions and Recommendations requiring a two-thirds majority of Conference delegates. Member governments are not compelled to ratify, but national legislation is nevertheless strongly influenced. (b) A 32-member Governing Body, made up of 16 government, 8 worker and 8 employer representatives, prepares agendas for the Conferences and the budget, and supervising the work of (c) the International Labor Office which is the secretariat, information and research center for the organization. Regional meetings consider local problems; industrial committees study problems peculiar to certain industries; missions are sent to advise governments upon request; programs of technical aid are provided.

B. The general purpose of the organization is international peace through social and economic justice. Its motto is: "If you wish for peace, work for justice." Thus it seeks through intergovernmental action to improve labor conditions, raise living standards, and to promote economic and social stability. Its program is one of a long-range character rather than one of responding to every temporary and immediate demand.

C. Membership, while including most of the members of the United Nations, does not include the U.S.S.R. Some other states, not members of the United Nations are represented; e.g., Austria, Switzerland, Ireland, and Bulgaria.

D. Activities include: (1) Labor legislation which has produced 98 conventions and 87 recommendations of which 56 conventions have been ratified by member governments (some of the conditions called for, are an 8-hour day and 48-hour week, holidays with pay, freedom of association, the right to organize, sickness and old-age insurance; others forbid forced labor, child labor under 15 years, and employment of women in mines); (2) Manpower utilization programs to help governments make the most effective use of their labor force (regional offices are being established to help organize employment services, vocational and technical training, etc. in Asia, Latin America, and Europe); (3) Technical assistance to governments on such problems as worker migration and worker welfare (special missions have been sent to Turkey, Venezuela, Iran, Portugal, and elsewhere); (4) Industrial

safety--a Model Code of Safety Regulations for Underground Work in Coal Mines has been framed by the ILO; (5) Maritime employment conditions have been investigated and conventions drafted on minimum standards; (6) Problems of specific industries have been attacked by eight industrial committees to consider textiles, coal mining, construction, iron and steel production, the metal trades, inland transport, petroleum production and refining, and chemicals.

Questions for Discussion

1. Could it be supposed that through greater international publicity of its activities, the ILO might become an effective counter-weapon against the International Comintern? Is it rather a question of the realism of its activities and the participation of the groups which make it up?
2. Why should the United States have an interest in the working conditions for boatmen on the Rhine river.
3. With some nations turning towards socialism, will ILO recommendations reflect this economic point of view, with consequent pressure for change being exerted on our economic system?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

WELFARE (UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND)

Background

A. Origin and structure: The termination of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, in 1946, did not end the needs of destitute children. Ill-clad, homeless, hungry and often maimed, uneducated and unloved, vast numbers would have surely died or caused untold sorrow to succeeding generations. Accordingly the General Assembly established UNICEF, to meet the pressing need. On December 11, 1946, by unanimous resolution, it was made a part of the United Nations. The Fund is administered by an executive board made up of 26 nations, elected by the General Assembly, and responsible to the Economic and Social Council.

B. Finances: Needs have been met by both governmental and private contributions, as well as through the residual assets of UNRRA. Government contributions are voluntary; 36 nations have so far made donations. All such are matched by the nations in receipt of aid. (The United States has given $2.57 for every $1.00 contributed by other governments.) Private donations have been encouraged by the United Nations Appeal for Children (UNAC). Through this campaign, the peoples of over 45 nations and 30 territories have responded with more than 33 million dollars; 11 million of which was available to UNICEF, the rest for such purposes as child welfare institutions. Contributions from governments total 98 million dollars. Largest contributor in proportion to population, has been Iceland, which in addition to a government contribution of 60 cents a person, gave a per capita equivalent of $4.00.

C. Accomplishments: Distribution of aid is on the basis of need with all supplies being carefully checked to insure against misappropriation. No account is taken of race, creed, nationality, or political affiliations. School lunch programs have been encouraged in local communities, an anti-tuberculosis vaccination program has been launched, and various training programs are developing specialists and health workers to carry future responsibilities. The major efforts of UNICEF, however, have been directed toward emergencies. Daily supplemental meals emphasizing the protective foods have been provided for from 4 to 6 million children, nursing and pregnant women, in 12 countries of Europe. Raw materials are also furnished to be made into clothing and institutional supplies, all distribution being free. In Asia efforts have concentrated on activities from which permanent benefit will be derived by the greatest possible number. Thus UNICEF workers give demonstrations of proper nutrition, malaria control, and combating the ravages of yaws--a disfiguring and maiming disease which can usually be eliminated by 20 cents worth of penicillin. Work in Latin America has been of a similar nature. In the Middle East, however, the emphasis has been on emergency relief for a half-million refugee mothers and children. In all countries the children are reached through organized centers such as schools, orphanages, refugee camps, day nurseries, etc. On June 3, 1950, 38 countries were receiving aid of which 4 are within the communist orbit.

D. Need remaining: Two examples suggest the scope of the need and suffering of which few are aware: Poland has a quarter of a million children crippled and blinded by the war. Italy has two hundred thousand orphans of war in its institutions.

Questions for Discussion

1. In the last quarter of 1949, of 11 nations receiving UNICEF aid, 7 were within the Communist orbit, with 2,687,000 of their children receiving relief. Should political considerations extend to the area of children? Should something be required in turn; e.g., a democratic education?
2. Is food and clothing enough? Would it be possible to have a great program launched in the field of child education? Is combating illiteracy enough?
3. How can schools illuminate the need of suffering children and teach the truth in the lines of John Donne--"Never send to ask for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Summary of the Recorders' Reports

Discussion of the United Nations--its record of accomplishments, its defects, and the various proposals for its reform--led to a recognition of dangerous errors in appraising the worth of the organization. Admittedly the United Nations is not perfect. But it was felt that its failures have been over-emphasized mainly through a lack of realization of its true function. We have exhibited too great an impatience and have expected far too much despite the evidence of events which have forced the United Nations to play a vastly different role from that which was originally anticipated. Confronted by an unexpected schism of the great powers, the organization has been forced to seek solutions to the most fundamental political problems. Conflict and delay have been unavoidable.

Moreover, it was agreed that the United Nations is a distinct improvement over its predecessor, the League of Nations. Simplifications of voting procedure have encouraged a direct approach to even the most difficult international issues. Responsibility, whether discharged or not, has been made commensurate with power. Obligations are clear. The transgressor is easily ascertained. Realities are not evaded by a series of "Munichs," yet the forum for pacific settlement remains open to all.

From the standpoint of world government, the United Nations is deficient. However, the real issues are whether the world is ready for federation, and if so whether the fundamental political conflict would be in any way altered or its seriousness diminished if federation were achieved. It was argued on the one hand that world federalism is the natural step forward--the rational progression from existing international anarchy; that the step may be compared to that taken by the thirteen American states, that it is feasible, and that without it war is inevitable.

In opposition, the views were presented that world federation is impossible at the present time (as witnessed by the intransigence of the Soviet Union on the international control of atomic energy), that regional federation alone would offer little hope that our major ills would diminish, that it would merely result in closer bonds between those already allied, that it would destroy the United Nations and with it an established forum for peaceful discussion, and that it would greatly lessen the possibility for peaceful adjustment and compromise.

All agreed that political unity is to be desired. The dispute was solely over the issue of what is politically wise and feasible.

Reference was also made to the attitude of the United States government. It was noted that the State Department, while opposing drastic changes in the structure of the present international organization, has nevertheless launched various efforts to achieve less ambitious reforms within the existing framework of the United Nations. Even these modest attempts, however, have aroused some opposition.

With respect to the specialized organizations, the times make clear the need for practical action and the need to work through coordinating agencies. UNESCO's numerous activities were given consideration and a better understanding was gained of the role which education, science, and culture can play in developing international cooperation.

In connection with the training of teachers in international understanding, three areas of learning were indicated; knowledge, attitudes, and skills. Through the area of knowledge one learns the fact of man's growing interdependence; the importance of working together in the United Nations and other specialized organizations; the way of life of other peoples and nations. Desirable attitudes are formed by eliminating prejudices; by creating a feeling

of sympathetic understanding; by accepting appreciation of differences. Skills are attained through willingness to work with others; by utilizing our differences; by finding the unifying factors. All three must be combined in order to achieve intelligent cooperative action among the members of international society.

Those who considered the World Organization of the Teaching Profession were impressed by the conferences where teachers of many countries pool their experience in tenure, salaries, and retirement, and seek to promote world understanding and to direct education to world peace. The elaborate structure of the National Education Association, its conventions, departments, and publications, was contrasted with WOTP's struggling office, its single general meeting and periodic news sheet. With added support, it was believed that in fruition WOTP might be an instrument of great power, equipped to do world wide research, enjoying representation at United Nations headquarters, and channeling materials to the teachers of the world. Much interest was expressed in raising funds for WOTP representation at Lake Success; in having WOTP study instructional methods, curricula, and child character training; in seeking agreement on spiritual values to be taught; in building respect, through the profession, for the cultures of various lands.

Other organizations, such as the International Labor Organization and the Organization of American States were judged to be deserving of far greater attention in the schools of the United States. The former could be included indirectly in the lower grades and directly in the senior high school, when dealing with Labor and Industrial Relations. At any level of education, its essential theme, namely that peace and security can never achieve permanence without the establishment of an adequate standard of living for all peoples, is capable of effective presentation. Similarly an enlarged study

of the background and existing problems of inter-American cooperation will serve to strengthen hemispheric understanding and solidarity. In many schools this is already commanding considerable attention. Others must emulate these efforts if the New World is to present to the Old a constantly improving example of international cooperation.

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

III. NUCLEAR ENERGY

"Nuclear energy unlocks the door to a new world; we must enter it boldly"

"NUCLEAR ENERGY AND THE PROBLEM OF PEACE"*

R. Will Burnett

[R. Will Burnett was born in Iowa. He received the degree of B.A. from the University of Kansas and the degrees of M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. He has taught at Stanford University and San Francisco College. At present he is Professor of Science and Education at the University of Illinois, Educational Consultant to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and the member of many professional organizations including the National Committee on Science Teaching, the National Education Association, and the American Council of Science Teachers. He is the author of Atomic Energy--Double Edged Sword of Science (1948) and many other publications and articles.]

There is a tendency on the part of the American people to cower in their mental cages and refuse to think. It is time for teachers to take the leadership both in their classes and in their communities, in exploring the various proposals now before the American people, designed to promote the peace. This country works on the principle that the people help to determine policy. My concern is that policy of the greatest consequences is being formed without the informed participation of the American people.

Nuclear energy can be compared to other scientific discoveries which can be powerful instruments for good or evil. Decisions regarding nuclear energy are now being made which can mean an era of the highest freedom the world has ever known, or the end of civilization as we know it. A third world war is not inevitable. But the road to peace is not simple and obvious. Wars are man-made, and peace must be man-made. The teacher's job is quite clear. Learn the facts, and then encourage both students and adults to come out of their lethargy, and

*The partial text of an address delivered before the Lindenwood Conference Assembly.

think. Teach your students not to buy any individual's viewpoint, but to start working toward a better understanding of the whole problem of nuclear energy.

Discussion Guide No. 23

SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND

Background

A. Brief review of definitions: (1) Atoms are "solar systems" forming molecules and are made up of one or more negatively charged particles (electrons) revolving around a positively charged heavier central nucleus. (2) Neutrons are neutral particles which along with protons (positively charged) make up the nucleus of any atom. Being neutral they can penetrate other nuclei quite readily. (3) Isotopes are atoms of a similar nature (differing only in weight)--in combination forming most elements. (4) Cyclotrons, synchrotrons and other machines speed up electrified particles enabling them to enter the nucleus of an atom, changing not only the mass but also the electrical charge, thus producing a different element. (5) Uranium is an element found in many minerals, but only two--pitchblende and carnotite--possess it to any great extent. (6) Plutonium is a new man-made element resulting from U-235 fission. Its production is emphasized because it is more easily fissionable than uranium. Other elements are fissionable but pose great technical difficulties.

B. Early scientific work: The energy of an atomic nucleus was first released by Sir Ernest Rutherford in 1919, by bombarding nitrogen with helium nuclei (alpha particles). He found that a nitrogen nucleus was transformed into an oxygen nucleus with the omission of a proton of high kinetic energy. In 1932 Cockroft and Walton bombarded lithium with high speed protons occasionally producing two energetic alpha particles. Similar work was done with other elements.

C. Uranium: The real stimulus to obtaining useful energy from atomic nuclei came in 1939 and 1940 with the discovery of uranium fission. Uranium is the heaviest known stable element. It exists in the form of 3 isotopes: U-234, U-235, and U-238, all containing the same number of protons (92) but varying numbers of neutrons. All three are present in normal uranium to the extent of .006%, 0.7%, and 99.3% respectively.

D. Uranium fission: It was discovered that a U-235 atom when struck by a low-speed neutron would split into two parts differing in weight and that the fission liberated some 200 million electron volts of energy. But particularly striking was the fact that the products of the fission were also unstable and emitted additional neutrons. It was realized that if these additional neutrons could be used to cause fission of still additional uranium nuclei, the whole project would be self-sustaining and a tremendous amount of energy would be released in a very short time. Hence, the term, "chain reaction."

E. Some difficulties encountered: There were four possible fates for fission-released neutrons: (1) the neutron could escape entirely where the mass of material was small; (2) the neutron might be captured without producing fission (viz. U-238 has a large probability of becoming U-239 upon capture of the neutron); (3) the neutron could be captured by impurities; (4) the neutron could be captured by U-235 to produce fission.

F. The atomic pile: With the knowledge that the U-235 nucleus could be split into atoms like krypton and barium and several neutrons, the U. S. government began to attack the problem of producing U-235 in quantity, and in 1946 the first self-sustaining chain reaction was attempted. An atomic pile (also called a "reactor") was constructed at the University of Chicago, consisting of a large amount of uranium and neutron-slowing-down materials (graphite which, like heavy water used by the Germans, reduces the speed of the neutrons in order that capture by the nucleus is likely, and cadmium in the forms of rods, a neutron-absorbing material, which when gradually removed increases the rate of fission). On December 2, the experiment was successfully concluded.

G. The bomb: The technique of forming and exploding the bomb continues to be secret. However, it can be deduced that the bomb was a product of pure calculation on the part of theoretical physicists for the explosion necessitates a large amount of fissionable material. The explosive point is reached at a critical weight. The Smyth report, published shortly after Hiroshima, indicated that, to postpone the explosion, the bomb was divided into two or more separate parts. Some sort of gun barrel shot one section of the mass at the other, the gun being fired by a time fuse which went into action when the bomb was dropped.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is it worthwhile for the layman to attempt to understand the scientific basis of atomic energy? Can he ever truly understand?
2. Was scientific freedom essential to the development of nuclear energy?
3. Is there an adequate public information program in existence, explaining the bomb as well as related matters of civilian defense and self-protection?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 24

NATIONAL CONTROL AND PEACETIME APPLICATIONS

Background

A. Early history: The use of the atomic bomb raised issues, fundamental to a democracy, as to the future employment and control of atomic energy. While policy began to be framed on international aspects of the problem through the Acheson-Lillienthal Report and the Baruch Proposals, domestic concern was manifested through the medium of two Congressional bills. One, the May-Johnson Bill, with the weapon as its theme, would have placed control largely in the hands of the military, The other, the McMahon Bill, proposed civilian control. After exhaustive debate, the civilian principle was accepted, with a few provisions made for legitmate military interests. The bill became law on August 1, 1946 under the title--Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

B. Organization under the Act: National control is effected through the following pattern of organization: (1) The Atomic Energy Commission consisting of 5 members including its Chairman; (2) A General Manager acting as chief executive officer; (3) Four statutory divisions (Research, Production, Reactor Development, and Military Application); (4) The usual administrative divisions (Budget, Personnel, etc.) and a Division of Security; (5) Five Regional Managers; (6) Contractors, both industrial and institutional, and many subcontractors; (7) Three advisory committees, including a General Advisory Committee made up of 9 prominent scientists, a Military Liaison Committee, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

C. Aspects of national control: (1) Power production: On the outcome of the development of nuclear reactors rests the future of atomic power. These machines, causing nuclear fission, release energy at a controlled rate so that it can be made to serve men's purposes. Four new reactors are presently contemplated. One, a materials tester reactor, is designed primarily to ascertain what happens to various substances when subjected to high temperatures. Another, a "breeder reactor", will attempt to produce plutonium faster than U-235 is consumed: great quantities of atomic fuel being vital to any development of atomic power. A third, a land-based naval reactor, will seek to conquer the problem of ship propulsion. The fourth, an intermediate reactor will operate with neutrons of intermediate energy in attempting to generate electrical energy and will also test the possibility of "breeding". Aircraft propulsion through nuclear energy has likewise received considerable attention.

(2) Medicine and agriculture: The biologist and medical scientist think of atomic energy in terms of the ionizing radiations produced, and of the effect they have on living and inorganic matter. Atomic energy's greatest gift to their field of interest has been quantities of low-priced radioactive isotopes of the common elements that are important in the life processes of plants, animals, and men. However, it now seems probable that the principal value of the application of atomic energy to medical and biological problems will not lie in the beneficial effects of properly administered ionizing radiations, but rather in the investigation of the pro-

cesses of living organisms. This is accomplished by means of tracer research (a process which involves injecting a small amount of radioactive material into the body and following its movements by means of a Geiger counter) and many important discoveries have been made. The use of radio-phosphorus, for example, has enabled measurement of blood volume, total body water, and total body sodium, all of importance in connection with the causes of blood clots, apoplexy and leukemia. In the field of plant life, studies are being made of the effect of radioactive fertilizer on plant growth. Tracers have been used to examine the action of fungicides and herbicides, and experiments are beginning on radioisotopes as therapeutics in plant disease.

(3) Dissemination of scientific knowledge: The problem has been how much and what kind of information. The Joint Committee expressed the wish not to know the production rates and quantity of atomic weapons. Security limitations make sound appraisal of the program difficult and endanger scientific advancement. While the attempt is being made to minimize governmental control, the dividing line between weaponeering and peacetime research is as yet unclear. The entire question requires much intelligent public discussion.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should atomic energy have been placed under the military?
2. With regard to a pattern for control and secrecy, can a parallel be drawn between the airplane (as both a destructive and constructive invention) and atomic energy?
3. Would you say that in a country like England an atomic plant would revolutionize their power? In a country like Palestine?
4. What are the possibilities of atomic energy with respect to food production?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program. If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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Discussion Guide No. 25

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF ATOMIC WEAPONS

Background

A. The U. N. Atomic Energy Commission: At the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in January 1946, a resolution was adopted authorizing the establishment of a Commission on Atomic Energy. It was composed of the five permanent members of the Security Council, the six non-permanent members, and Canada. Its purpose was to study and recommend measures for international control of atomic energy. It was not authorized to compel acceptance of its decisions.

B. The Acheson-Lillienthal Report: In January 1946, the U. S. initiated a comprehensive inquiry into the problem of international atomic safeguards under the guidance of a committee appointed by Secretary of State Byrnes and a Board of Consultants. The Acheson-Lillienthal Report, as it came to be known, was prepared as a basis for discussion, not as a final plan. It proposed, in essence, that an International Atomic Development Authority be created which would have a monopoly of dangerous production activites in the field of atomic energy, leaving to individual nations a productive field of operation in the realm of "safe" activities. This Authority would have, in particular, the power to control, inspect and license all other atomic activities, the duty of fostering beneficial uses of atomic energy, and the responsibility of keeping in the forefront of atomic development so as to be able to detect the misuse of atomic energy by individual nations. To put it into effect, the U. S. would cease its manufacture of bombs, dispose of them according to the terms of the agreement, and release all its available information on atomic energy.

C. The Baruch Proposals: This general report was translated by the U. S. Representative to the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, into the following specific suggestions: (1) that the International Authority set up a thorough plan of control through forms of ownership, licenses, operation, research, inspection and management by competent personnel; (2) that complete information and control of world supplies of uranium and thorium be obtained by the Authority; (3) that it operate all primary production plants, be given sole control over research in Atomic explosives, and strategically distribute its activities and materials throughout the world; (4) that it should promote peacetime benefits of atomic energy and define dangerous and non-dangerous activities; (5) that its personnel be allowed to enter and leave all countries freely; (6) that the plan of control come into effect in successive stages; (7) that the U. S. disclose the information necessary, and that the extent of control by national bodies be clearly outlined; (8) that the "veto power" be ended with respect to violations of the atomic agreement and that penalties be prescribed for violations.

D. The United Nations plan of control: General principles for an effective plan of control were laid down in the First Report of the Commission to the Security Council on December 31, 1946, and the detailed functions of

the proposed international Authority were defined in the Second Report of September 11, 1947. Both reports were approved by all the delegations, with the exception of Poland and the U.S.S.R. In general both followed the Acheson-Lillienthal Report and the Baruch proposals. The Third Report of May 17, 1948, announced that an impasse had been reached in the work of the Commission.

On November 4, 1948 the General Assembly overwhelmingly approved the majority plan of control. It expressed its regret that great power disagreement existed and requested that efforts to resolve the basic differences be continued both within and outside the Atomic Energy Commission.

E. The Soviet Proposals: In February 1947 the Soviet Union submitted amendments and additions to the First Report. In June 1947 it submitted control proposals of its own, of which the following is a brief summary: (1) that as a condition preceding any control system, the production, possession, and use of atomic weapons be prohibited; (2) that nations continue to own, operate and manage atomic energy facilities within their territories; (3) that an international agency be established which would make periodic inspections of activities which nations chose to declare, would "observe the fulfilment of rules of technological exploitation", and would make recommendations to national governments and/or the Security Council. The rule of unanimity would prevail.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why does the majority UN plan demand more than "periodic inspections"?
2. Is there any apparent element of the majority position that might be compromised?
3. Is the military value of atomic weapons to the U. S. so great under existing circumstances that it should not seek international control?
4. Is there any hope that the Soviet views will change with regard to this issue.
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Background

A. Moral issues: "In some crude sense, which no vulgarity, no humor, no overstatement can quite extinguish, the /atom/ physicists have known sin; and this is a knowledge which they cannot lose." The man who wrote these words was not a theologian or professional moralist, but Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, a world-famous physicist.

Since the day atomic weapons were added to the arsenal of war, a fundamental moral issue has confronted mankind. The discussion has taken many forms, but apparently one basic question is inevitable: Can those who profess morality and human decency support the development or use of a weapon of total annihilation?

From this, questions such as the following develop: (a) If future wars are to be largely atomic wars, making the random mass destruction of noncombatants not lamentably incidental but actually essential to military operations, does non-resistance become a moral necessity? (b) Have the ordinary weapons of modern war reached such fiendish efficiency that their very use tips the scales on the side of injustice, all other considerations aside? (c) If you grant the right and even the duty of legitimate self-defense, is it possible at the same time to support the principle that means which are evil can never be justified by righteous ends? (d) Are the A-bombs we have been stockpiling since Hiroshima to be rejected as "evil means," whose use could never be justified, whatever the provocation?

B. Views of two religious bodies: (a) Catholic: The Vatican's official newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano, has expressed the view with regard to the morality of President Truman's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb, that no other course is practicable. It has fully endorsed his action.

(b) Protestants: Leaders of Protestant denominations cannot agree on the issue. The same cleavage exists as on the question of war itself. A statement issued by the Federal Council of Churches' Executive Committee indicates this division: "Some of us feel deeply that the hydrogen bomb does not present a new and different moral issue but sheds light on the wickedness of war itself. Some of us oppose the construction of hydrogen bombs, which could be used only for the mass destruction of populations. Some of us on the other hand, believing that our people and the other free societies should not be left without the means of defense through the threat of retaliation, support the attempt to construct a new weapon. . . /all of us agree that/ the main hope of peace in this period lies /in the/ constructive power of spiritually active resources."

C. An amoral issue of importance: While the view has generally governed that it would be better to lose lives than to be deprived of cherished values, a question which now requires consideration is whether liberties and human values could survive an atomic war.

Questions for Discussion

1. Besides those issues raise above, consider the following: Are the means which we utilize to achieve morally defensible ends, ever wholly moral? If not, then does the fundamental question raised above assume importance only because of the degree of immorality entailed?

2. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help if any is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers

1. Smith, T. V. Atomic Power and Moral Faith. Claremont College, Claremont, California. 1946. 56 p. $2.00.

2. Church Assembly of Great Britain. The Church and the Atom. London, 1948. 130 p. Free from British Information Service, N. Y.

3. Film Forum Foundation. The Church in the Atomic Age (19 mins). Spokane, Washington, 1948. (A film: 16 mm., sound).

4. Cf. Christian Century. (numerous issues have dealt with the ethical implications of nuclear energy from the Protestant viewpoint).

Discussion Guide No. 27

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

Background

A. Assumptions: Any estimation of the social and economic implications of atomic energy is dependent primarily upon what is assumed with regard to man's willingness and ability to control that which he has created. The gap between scientific achievment and the advancement of the humanities has never been more clearly illustrated nor fraught with such danger than it is today. Particularly appalling is the failure to achieve international agreement on atomic weapons, and only upon an assumption of its solution can any optimistic forecast be based.

B. Science and change: Modern life is urban, interdependent, impersonal, and institutional, with personal insecurity. Life prior to the Industrial Revolution, on the other hand, was rural, self-sufficient, highly personal and marked by political and religious autocracy. The predominant factor in this change has generally been viewed as scientific advancement and its effect on the technology of production. Atomic energy development may bring equal economic and social changes, and if so the following specific effects may reasonably be anticipated.

C. Possible economic change: (1) International trade: In an age of abundance, consumption, not production, will be the problem. Philip Morrison, writing in the New Republic (March 24, 1947) believes that the more industrially advanced nations would cooperate in developing unpopulated areas, as in Alaska, Latin America, Australia, and the Middle East. Colonial peoples will be sought as consumers, rather than exploited, and could become so self-sufficient as to reduce the volume of foreign trade to exchange items emphasized by national industrial processes and traditions. Thus the United States might concentrate on heavy machinery, England on cotton and woolen fabrics, France on wines and laces, etc.

(2) National economic patterns: With the possibility of almost unlimited production, the service and distributive trades would take on new importance. With economic security, competition would be over improvement of services, products, and techniques for the general welfare. There might also be a shift in the occupational pattern. Sources of fuel, coal and oil might lose their commanding positions as extractive industries, and the building trades and electrical appliances might absorb many workers. Industrial processes could locate themselves near large centers of distribution and consumption without dependence upon the location of natural power resources. Thus freight and storage costs could be greatly cut, reducing commodity prices.

D. Possible social effects: Urban and suburban planning would necessarily be extended. Large population centers might break up into cores surrounded by residential areas. The good life might be increasingly evaluated in terms of social welfare. With fewer people needed to produce goods, the greatly extended periods of leisure time would carry weighty implications. Education might become a major leisure-time pursuit. Cultural facilities would blossom with more and cheaper books, community theaters, family recreation and sport facilities.

E. Vocational opportunities: As of the moment, only three fields have been greatly affected by atomic energy development: the physical sciences, medicine, and biology. Including administrative and other "unscientific" employees, there are about 70,000 persons engaged on the atomic energy program, though only about 5,000 of these are direct employees of the federal government. To meet the continuing demand for well-trained scientists, the Atomic Energy Commission established a fellowship program in January, 1948. The National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences undertook its administration--selecting fellows, approving research projects, evaluating the fellows' progress and their findings. During the operation of the program there have been nearly 500 participants. Most of these fellowships are available only to graduate students and to postdoctoral fellows but the opportunities are expected to widen at an enormous rate.

Turning to the demand question, the issue is not one of simple needs; the problem now is what kinds. There are imbalances among the various fields of specialization--viz. the demand for chemists has fallen off considerably, while skill requirements such as teaching, editing, management, etc., are in great demand. Obviously the unlimited areas of occupational growth which atomic energy will surely sponsor, behooves the continuing improvement of vocational guidance in order that students may better plan for the needs of tomorrow.

Questions for Discussion

1. What might be the social and economic implications for the future, other than the possibility of war, if international control of atomic energy is not achieved?
2. Do you believe that material abundance would lessen social strife?
3. Will the gap between the physical and the social sciences ever be eliminated?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers

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Discussion Groups Nos. 23-27

NUCLEAR ENERGY

Summary of the Recorders' Reports

One aspect of atomic energy, namely the problem of teaching the scientific principles involved, aroused considerable comment which eventually crystallized into the form of certain general conclusions and suggestions. First, it was felt that the basic scientific knowledge could be taught to and understood by young people. Questions were asked of the consultant which teachers as well as students have wanted answered, and from this a teaching approach was suggested. The technique was demonstrated by the consultant in such a fashion as to place the subject within the range of comprehension even of young children.

From a teacher's viewpoint, however, two pressing needs continue to exist. One is for adequate material giving this basic information in a simple form. Most materials and films now available on the subject were deemed too difficult. St. Louis, it was noted, is giving one teacher a year's leave of absence for the purpose of gathering materials on the reading levels of the various grades. Second, teacher-training courses are required in order that the average teacher will feel capable of dealing with such an important and timely subject. Toward this end the following resolution was submitted: "Resolved: Thatthe N.E.A. sponsor in-service training courses in science for elementary and high school teachers which are specifically oriented to the teaching needs of the school, and that the committee consist of an elementary teacher, a high school teacher, and a science teacher."

On the subject of the national control of atomic energy and possible peacetime applications, it was felt that the rapid development of atomic power will in the foreseeable future pose sharp political and economic

problems of ownership and control; that many decisions of far-reaching importance will follow technical advances in atomic energy--decisions which may well affect all classes of humanity; that it has become of ever-increased importance that serious efforts be made to see that the lay public, as well as the scientific technicians, have a voice in the decisions that must necessarily be made. In light of the position which atomic energy is rapidly assuming, democracy itself may rest on the answers which are given.

It was evident to all that what had once been the intellectual concern of the scientist and then the trump card of the military has become the intimate companion of every citizen. Moreover, in a larger sense, it is now the peculiar responsibility of educators, in that the burden has been cast upon them to acquaint youth with the essential facts and implications of expanding science. With the consequences so broad and the complexity and range of atomic knowledge so great, teachers must remain continually alert to the difficult task of selecting proper materials and keeping abreast of new developments. Beyond this, it seemed that educators must, on the basis of their own specialized interests, develop instruction in areas appropriate to their particular fields and grade levels. Further, and perhaps most important, teaching should strive to inspire an attitude of mind among students that the use of atomic energy as a weapon is only a small part of its potentialities; that its use for peaceful living, for improving the resources of the less privileged, for example, is of great consequence.

A suggestion was also offered that care be taken to insure that outside influences will not nullify what is being done in the classroom. Some schools are successful in this regard by forming a community council composed of representatives from the high school, police department, court, and the churches. Membership on the council is considered an honor.

Common problems are analyzed and acceptable patterns of solution evolved.

In summary, the obligation of the teacher appeared to be threefold: to teach the fundamentals of the science, to indicate its future implications, to inform as to its present applications. So long as the future of atomic energy remains uncertain, the problem is felt to be primarily one of working toward lessening the dangers in the process. No final surrender should be made because of present difficulties, for it is to be anticipated that the critical international situation will continue. Only through keeping informed can we remain capable of dealing intelligently with such new social problems as may arise and only thus can we insure that the necessary evils of the moment will not harden into established patterns when existing problems have been overcome.

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

IV. FOOD AND PEOPLE

"Half the world is hungry: we must share generously."

"FOOD AND PEOPLE"*

Florence Reynolds

/Florence Reynolds was Coordinator of Food Use Programs for the U.S. Department of Agriculture throughout the war years. Following the war she joined the U.S. Department of State in the Division of Public Liaison. While in the Department of Agriculture and in the Department of State, she was in charge of information work in the United States for the Food and Agriculture Organization. At present she is Chief of the Public Information Branch of the Food and Agriculture Organization and in charge of liaison with the United Nations and other Special-Agencies with regard to information programs7.

Food and the lack of it constitute the most urgent problem in the world today. Two-thirds of the world's people do not have enough food for health and growth and full production. Yet two thirds of the world's people are farmers. There are more people engaged in the business of raising food than there are in all the other industries of the world combined. Farming or agriculture is the world's biggest industry, and yet this biggest industry which employs two-thirds of the world's people does not feed adequately more than one-third of the world.

This situation is the reason why the first meeting ever to be held by the United Nations on any subject, exbept the strategy of winning a war, was the Food Conference in Hot Springs, Virginia in 1943. There the nations considered the problems of hunger throughout the world and asked themselves whether it is possible to feed the people of the world. There the food and agricultural scientists assembled from all over the world replied that it is possible to feed the world's people. Yet with

*The partial text of an address delivered before the Lindenwood Conference Assembly.

all the knowledge of modern science which we now possess, the question is not whether we can but whether we will.

The nations decided to form an organization dedicated to putting the knowledge of modern agriculture to work to produce the food needed for the health and well-being of the people. This organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) was the first of the new United Nations organizations to be established.

The work of the nations with food, the most fundamental need of man, can offer the springboard from which educators can move to build future citizens able to accept the responsibilities which will be thrust upon them in a world community. Starting with food, the teacher begins with something close to the interest of every child. International trade, economics, geography, history, international relations, and a host of other subjects can flow easily out of the topic of food. The child who is well versed in the way the fabric of our society has been woven around food, its production, transport, sale, processing, and consumption, is in a much better position as an adult to understand the big campaign issues placed before him in the conduct of his country's foreign affairs (Marshall Plan, Point Four, etc.).

Food is the one subject on which everyone is in agreement....everyone wants food. It is as true here in this country as it is in the rest of the world. Build the school program around food....Out of that program would stem a real understanding of the basic issues of the whole economic system as well as democratic citizenship. When it is time to set up a "Point Four" program, the group which has studied, currency, trade problems, starvation and the effect of hunger on government and social stability, will know what it is all about, and why we have to have it.

They will have the background information necessary to make the decisions....

Food offers the best opportunity for beginning....

Instead of shooting campaigns into schools....

Instead of concentrating on things which divide people....

concentrate on the one thing which they have in common--food.

Discussion Guide No. 28

NUTRITION AND HEALTH (WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION)

Background

A. Structure of the World Health Organization: WHO began with an International Health Conference, sponsored by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in the summer of 1948. Plans were made for a World Health Organization and a constitution was adopted. Until states approved the organization, an Interim Commission of 18 U. N. member nations was established to lay the groundwork for the future operations of WHO. In 1948 the required number of ratifications had been received and WHO began its operations. It now has almost 70 members. Organs are: (a) the World Health Assembly--an annual congress of the delegations of member states which determines broad policies and programs. (b) the Executive Board--18 member states which meet at least twice a year to execute decisions of the Assembly, prepare agendas, and undertake emergency measures when necessary; (c) the Secretariat, under a Director-General, which carries on the technical and administrative tasks at headquarters in Geneva and in the field. Regional organizations will be set up in various areas of the world. Work is also done by committees of specialists assembled for advice and assistance.

B. The aims of WHO are: Generally, to promote and protect the health of all peoples. More specifically, this includes social and mental well-being, equality of development in promotion of health in all nations, and exchange of informed opinion through active international cooperation. The quarantine psychology is being replaced by cooperative onslaughts on health problems wherever they may exist. This attitude is reflected in WHO principles which are that health is a fundamental right, a governmental responsibility, and a prime requisite of peace.

C. Outline of WHO activities: The problem of health being closely related to agricultural development, industrial production, international trade and numerous other fields of endeavor, activities of WHO are widespread. Particular emphasis, however, has naturally been placed on (1) scientific exchange and standardization, and on (2) combating world health deficiencies: leaving to other organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Trade Organization, major responsibility for efforts in related fields.

(1) Scientific exchange and standardization: (a) Unification of pharmacopoeias: National pharmacopoeias have long listed all drugs used by a country's medical profession, their standards of purity, method of preparation, strength, etc. But inconsistencies exist between nations and therefore WHO is preparing a book which will give standard information on more than 180 drugs. (b) Biological standardization: a WHO committee is directing efforts towards establishing international standards for vaccines and sera. (c) Promotion of health services: WHO instigates exchanges of medical and public health consultants, initiates technical studies in such fields as , sanitation and parsitic disease, operates a fellowship program for international study, and aids in development of local health services.

(2) Combating world health deficiencies: (a) Demonstration teams are sent out to far flung areas to raise, by expert advice and example, local health standards. (b) Campaigns against communicable and other diseases are constantly undertaken. Malaria has been given highest priority. Around Bombay, India, alone, five million people have been freed from the disease. Tuberculosis is being combatted through the new vaccine "BCG". Over nine million children have been vaccinated. Campaigns against venereal diseases, plagues, cholera, smallpox, typhus, yellow fever, and yaws are being undertaken.

D. Some examples of the need: 18,030,437 deaths from malaria in India in 1944; 20-100 million syphilis cases throughout the world; 10,000 deaths from cholera in Egypt in 1947; 12 out of 20 million Egyptians have schistosomiasis; in some areas all the natives have or have had yaws, a crippling, disfiguring disease.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should attention and large-scale effort be directed first toward solution of regional economic and social problems, or toward solution of regional health problems?
2. Is adequate use being made of new drugs and insecticides?
3. Should the emphasis be on teaching health practices and measures, or on combatting particular diseases?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 29

THE PROBLEM OF FOOD AND PEACE
(FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION)

Background

A. Structure of the Food and Agriculture Organization: FAO was the first of the specialized agencies of the United Nations to be created. Early discussions were held in 1943 at Hot Springs, Arkansas, on the problem of the production and distribution of food. Continuing international concern, expressed by the slogan --"freedom from want"--led to the formal organization of FAO at Quebec, Canada in 1945. Structurally it consists of: (a) a Conference, composed of 63 member states, meeting annually to determine broad policy; (b) a World Food Council, meeting at least twice a year, composed of 18 member states with the duties of performing executive and emergency tasks between sessions of the Conference; (c) a Secretariat under a Director-General made up of technical subdivisions; e.g., Forestry, Fisheries, Economics and Statistics, etc; (d) various missions composed of specialists to study regional and technical problems.

B. Aims: The aim of FAO is to raise the world standard of living through improvement of nutrition, betterment of the lot of rural peoples, widening opportunity for productive work, reclamation and development of land, and increased efficiency of farming, fisheries, and forestry methods.

C. Activities and accomplishments: (a) Statistical surveys and exchange of information: FAO has made reports on the world food supply, on the distribution and control of animal and plant diseases and insect pests, on world land and water resources, and on the productive state of fisheries and forests; as well as studies of urgent technical problems in such fields as conservation and international commodity exchange. Such research is needed if any major program such as Point Four is to bring permanent benefit through the application of modern science and technology.

(b) Assistance to governments: Technical missions have been sent upon request to Greece, Poland, Siam, and Venezuela where surveys and recommendations have been made with regard to entire economic programs or with respect to particular areas of the national economic life. Nutrition workers of the Near East have been trained in Cairo, agricultural specialists in Europe and statisticians in South-East-Asia. Consultative services have been established in the field of cooperatives. (c) General promotion of private and governmental activity toward solution of long-range problems: Through international and regional conferences, FAO has focussed attention on such problems as agricultural production in underdeveloped countries, imbalances in international trade, and food surpluses and shortages.

D. Major problems faced by FAO: (1) While world food supplies in terms of calories have risen 1 percent, population has risen 8 percent; (2) Increased food production has been mainly in areas such as the United States where the need is small; (3) Population gains are proportionately highest in underdeveloped areas; (4) Population increases are encouraged by advancement of medical services; (5) Dietary customs differ widely throughout the world; (6) Inequalities of purchasing power result in the anomaly

of food surpluses and shortages; (7) Less than half of the world's land surface is capable of cultivation; one-tenth of that total is cultivated; (8) Existing famine conditions--40,000,000 Chinese face starvation.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should FAO place greater emphasis on direct, practical assistance to governments through demonstrations and extension services, and less emphasis on formal meetings and technical publications?
2. Do you agree with the theory that food production can never keep up with the population increase?
3. Will the Point Four program, if instituted, be able to overcome or alleviate the problems outlined above, or is it another expression of American over-optimism?
4. Have we been successful in balancing food and people in our own country?
5. Is there such a thing as "optimum population"?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suitable for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 30

POINT FOUR AND THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Background

A. An over-all view: Technical assistance programs to other countries have been in operation for a number of years under the sponsorship of many U. S. Government agencies, as well as private and international organizations. In his inaugural address on January 20, 1949, President Truman, however, as a fourth point in a plan for dealing with international problems, envisioned a greatly expanded effort on the part of the United States. This, in turn, stimulated the U. N. General Assembly to adopt a complementary Technical Assistance Program on a coordinated and enlarged scale.

B. Objectives: Generally, to enlarge cooperative international action for economic development in the belief that economic advancement of all is conducive to a lasting peace. This expansion of productive resources involves assistance in the following areas: (1) Natural resources (soil conservation, water control, mining and fuels, plant and animal husbandry, management of forests and fisheries); (2) Human resources (health and welfare, education, manpower training and utilization); (3) Capital resources (industrial technology, organization of business and finance, housing, transportation, marketing and distribution). Emergency aid is not logically included in the program.

C. Method: (1) The United States and technical assistance: On June 24, 1949, the President recommended enactment of two measures. One, to be known as the International Technical Cooperation Act, would authorize expenditures of funds for "technical cooperation programs," and would provide for the participation of the United Nations, the Organization of American States and their related organizations. It would establish an Institute of International Technical Cooperation in the Department of State. The Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, the International Aviation Facilities Act of 1948, as well as activities under the Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, would, however, all be excluded, financially as well as administratively. The second measure recommended would give the Export-Import Bank authority to guarantee U. S. private capital invested in productive enterprises abroad which would contribute to the economic development of backward countries. (Congress has recently acted on these proposals and has affirmed their essential principles. The amount of funds appropriated, however, is of course a primary factor in the future success of the program).

(2) The role of the United Nations: The U. S. will undertake both bilateral and multilateral projects. Generally, international agencies will be used wherever practicable. Toward this end the United Nations Economic and Social Council, in 1949, studied the coordination of its specialized agencies with each other and with the United Nations. A Technical Assistance Board was established, composed of executive heads of the U.N. and specialized agencies. Proposals for an expanded program of technical assistance were formulated. Approval was formally given by the General Assembly in November 1949. The next step is a technical assistance conference in 1950 to obtain pledges of funds from member states. The U. S., as the largest

single contributor, will naturally have considerable influence in determining the nature of the projects. However, much of the force of the program will derive from its international character, and control by the U. S. is not anticipated or desired.

D. Problems. The central problem is one of planning--i.e. studies by recipient nations, as well as by the U. S. and the U. N., of the required types and amounts of technical assistance. Individual technical cooperation projects will be undertaken only in response to requests, and then only if in compliance with the general objectives of the program. Other difficult issues include the adjustment of the program to U. S. security requirements, the extent of U. S. aid through the U. N., the amount of financial participation to be required of the recipient state, and the method of administration in colonial areas.

Questions for Discussion

1. What do you think about the general objectives of Point Four?
2. Are we over-extending our economic strength?
3. What effect might such a program have on future international trade?
4. Can we overcome suspicion of ulterior motives?
5. Should aid be given to states within the Soviet sphere?
6. What part can atomic energy play in such a program?
7. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 31

POPULATION AND RESOURCES

Background

A. An historical view: Until the 19th century, all countries experienced shortages and famines. Concern with the problem of population vis-a-vis resources led to the exposition, in 1798, of the theory of Malthus which has strongly affected subsequent thought on the problem.

(1) The Malthusian theory: Malthus' original basic idea was that population growth increased indefinitely by geometric ratio, while the increase of food was limited. Accordingly he reasoned that an equilibrium could only be maintained through famines, wars, and epidemics. Later, however, he recognized other factors such as late marriage, birth control, etc.

(2) Neo-Malthusianism: Many economists elaborated on this doctrine and attempted to discover what "optimum population" could be maintained in a country coincident with the maximum standard of living. The theory that population increase is an evil in itself was sometimes advanced.

(3) Later developments: Such speculations were weakened by events. The Industrial Revolution brought increased production and food resources multiplied. Population also increased, but was followed by a decline in some advanced countries even to the point of creating a fear of depopulation. In contrast, other nations continued to be menaced by food scarcity. The problem was further complicated by the growth of nationalism, which on the one hand encouraged population growth for purposes of power, and on the other hand led to the belief that wars were caused by population pressures.

B. The problem today: (1) Present views of population scientists: (a) The Malthusian theory of a regular and lawbound relation between "population" and "means of subsistence" is dismissed. It is argued that the relationships are far more complex, and evidence to disprove the Malthusians is shown by the increase in means of subsistence (more rapid than they assumed), the decline in the birth and death rates, and the rise in the standard of living. (b) The possibilities of radical changes in customs and of great technological progress are now given greater importance. (c) The theory of the "optimum population" is regarded as scientifically useless; it being argued that besides being simply a question of values, an equilibrium will always be disrupted by new discoveries and developments. (d) The terms "overpopulation" and "underpopulation" do not necessarily mean that migrations of peoples are called for. The causes of difficulty may be primitive production techniques or a feudal social structure. (e) The argument that wars are caused by population pressures is denied; proof being furnished by the whole history of colonization and by the fact that "overpopulated" states have not always used their colonies for settlement.

(2) Facts and continuing uncertainty: (a) Since the eighteenth century the population of Europe has trebled, the population of Asia has increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, the Americas have grown to a figure five times as large, and the African population has increased about 75%. (b) Very large areas are not completely populated. (c) Much disagreement exists on the

capabilities of certain nations to support present or increased numbers of people; however, it is generally believed that no country has reached the maximum population warranted by existing production techniques. (d) It has been found that industrialization of a backward area generally brings a succession of changes: the death rate drops, the birth rate then rises and exceeds the death rate for a long period, and eventually the birth-rate begins to decline, sometimes to a point below that necessary to renew the population. (e) Most of the European countries have completed this cycle. Studies indicate that their actual population as distinct from the birth rate, will continue to increase for a while. However, these increases can be absorbed. Asia, on the other hand, if it embarks on the above cycle, might experience a great population increase. What the immediate effect would be is not clearly foreseen. Population science is still in its infancy and its variable factors are almost infinite.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do more people mean less food or do more people mean more producers?
2. Is there a danger that industrialization or improvement of health facilities in India would aggravate the shortage of food that exists in that area?
3. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help if any is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 32

INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION: SCIENTIFIC FARMING

Background

Scientific advancement in agriculture has created the possibility for the world to feed itself. However, this does not mean it can in terms of practical social operations, or that it will.

A. Facts with regard to soil: (1) Soils are classified according to type. With accurate soil maps, predictions can be made with regard to individual fields anywhere in the world. (2) Soil is a renewable resource, but has differing qualities of fertility. Erosion of arable land shows maladjustment between the soil and the farming system. Basic causes such as overcrowding on land, ignorance, poverty, disease, and war underlie the immediate symptoms.

B. Requirements for increased agricultural production: (1) Modern techniques: This means more than mere programs for soil conservation. It includes reduction of farm costs, widening the range of crops so as to broaden the choice of enterprises for the farm family, modern plant breeding, development of electric power and important industrial products (fertilizers, insecticides, fencing), and coordination of agricultural research, educational, and development programs in terms of sustained production. (2) Economic stability and improvement of living standards: Tenancy farming often makes excessive demands of the farmer, thus preventing improvement of the farm. Without security of tenure the farmer has little incentive for careful husbandry. Farms are no longer self sufficient, so that drastic price variations prevent necessary management practices, Without good living standards and education, farmers may fail as managers.

C. Estimates of arable soil: No estimate can be accurate because applied science changes the potentialities of land, but estimates vary around the figure of 10% of the world's land surface. Under conditions of full use, crop land in the United States could be increased from its present 370 million acres to 500 million acres. Probably 20% of unused soils in Africa, South America, and the large tropical islands, such as Madagascar and Borneo, could be cultivated. With this land, most of the world food needs could be met. But these acres lie in continental interiors, far from good transportation. Medical facilities, local industry, and electric power would therefore have to accompany such agricultural development. On the other hand, soil already in use could be farmed more efficiently. In the U. S. great increases were made during the war. Experts say that a 20% increase would be possible, - this in a country of already advanced agricultural methods.

D. Agriculture and industry: Without the tools produced by industry, agriculture remains inefficient. The two are interrelated, for industry likewise needs food and raw materials. Both must expand together. Soil depletion and exploitation can often be based on payment of high interest rates to city people and domination of markets by cities. The eventual result has been degradation of cities themselves.

E. The remedies: (1) Local cooperation, planning, and understanding; (2) Fundamental education of rural peoples - a prerequisite of efficient agriculture; (3) Demonstration of agricultural techniques through (a) the whole-farm approach (i.e. where coordinated changes in the farm are necessary) and (b) the single-technique approach (i.e. where specific information will correct specific deficiencies); (c) pilot research farms (i.e. where a team of workers coordinates individual techniques to create an efficient unit, rather than segmented field plots); (d) advisory management service; (4) Expansion of fertilizer manufacture; (5) Distribution of seeds and stocks; (6) Irrigation and hydroelectric power; (7) Control of diseases and insects; (8) Production and distribution of modern farm tools.

Questions for Discussion

1. Can the problem of improving world food production be separated from the problem of over-all economic advancement?
2. What role can educators play to help the farmers of the world?
3. What is your evaluation of the work of agricultural experiment stations, extension services, etc., that attempt to aid the farmer in your state? Can you suggest improvements?
4. Should efforts be concentrated upon better management of lands already under cultivation, or upon development of virgin areas?
5. What problems may arise from improved agricultural methods; from migration to cities and all its attendant consequences?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 33

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN FOOD

Background

A. Causes of trade in food: International trade in food has developed for two main reasons: (1) Industrial specialization and development, which restricted self-sufficiency in food and necessitated national dependence on others (viz. England, which imports 70% of her food--5% of her population engaging in agriculture); (2) Desire for special products of others (viz. coffee, bananas, coconuts, etc., which cannot be grown in temperate zones.)

The quantity of international trade depends upon (among other things): (1) Good or bad harvests - particularly where the production methods are primitive (dependence upon natural conditions being greater); (2) The purchasing power of the people of both importing and exporting countries (as real income of a people rises their pattern of food consumption changes - the poor desire grain, the wealthy desire meat and fruits); (3) The advancement of transportation and storage (development of refrigeration makes possible transportation of perishables).

B. Food trade before World II: Until 1870, "the terms of trade" between food-importing countries (primarily Europe) and countries importing industrial products moved in favor of the latter. However, from 1870-1939, the food importing countries profited, to such a degree that 60% of what they sold in 1939 would buy all the food and raw materials they had imported in 1870. Western Europe took 70% of the world's food imports.

World War I brought significant changes. Belligerent countries lost overseas markets. Recovery was impeded by competition from the United States and by the development of new industries in the countries themselves. Extensive efforts were made to foster home agriculture. The depression intensified these trends. Surpluses accumulated in some areas while others were afflicted by famine. Farmers became fearful of increased production and avoided farming improvements. Others, appalled at the inequality of food stocks, sought means of expanding the purchasing power of low-income countries.

C. Varying developments during World War II: (1) Physical destruction of agriculture was extremely serious; (2) Food control systems were instituted, radically changing the demand structure (price ceased to be a decisive factor - supplies being adjusted to physiological needs of various working groups); (3) New nutritional discoveries and techniques emerged, expanding food production; (4) Large numbers of people were fed at higher levels - raising demand for better food stuffs; (5) World population increased by approximately 200 million; (6) Attainment of political independence, particularly in the Far East, placed new governments under strong pressure to increase the food supply for their peoples (thus claims on the world's total food supply increased); (7) U. S. production and export of food expanded enormously. (viz. U. S. pre-war bread-grain exports were only 3% of world trade in such commodities, but now constitute 50%).

D. The post-war effects: (1) Excess of demand for food over supply has resulted in high prices; (2) Western Europe, having experienced much physical destruction and the loss of foreign investments, and confronting foreign industrialization, has had to import more food despite a diminished source of earnings; consequently payment difficulties have become very serious; (3) The U. S. with enormously increased production in all fields, imports less; giving rise to the difficult problem of financing the U. S. exportable surplus, so incongruous in a needy world.

E. Efforts to organize the international market: The problem of surpluses and shortages has led to various attempts at solution: (1) An F.A.O. proposal, in 1946, for a World Food Board to develop consumption and production of basic food stuffs on a world-wide scale. (Fear of a great economic authority led to non-acceptance). (2) A suggestion that International Commodity Agreements be negotiated. (One in wheat has been adopted, whereby the exporters undertake to supply a certain quantity within a certain price range and the importers agree to buy that amount. However, the agreement covers only ½ of the amount of world trade in wheat). (3) Certain non-governmental agreements which have been concluded among producers. (4) The plan of the prospective International Trade Organization, envisioning, in contrast to the F.A.O. proposal, certain procedures for restricting supply in case of a drop in demand, instead of dealing with the problem of raising demand to a higher level. (5) Bi-lateral long-term contracts, such as those concluded by England for a large part of its food imports.

Questions for Discussion

1. How can high production be continuously encouraged and surplus food be kept moving to places of need?
2. Would free trade solve the evil of surpluses and shortages, or do certain commodities need "protection"?
3. Why have efforts to organize the international market been defeated?
4. Will the inequities of the world food situation ever be solved in a multi-nation and multi-currency world?
5. Is self-sufficiency a wise policy for nations experiencing shortages?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

FOOD AND PEOPLE

Summary of the Recorders' Reports

The importance of food and health to international peace and security needed little discussion or clarification. Whether the effect be direct or indirect, substandard conditions in either have had a profound influence on the course of state relations. As has been increasingly recognized since the last war's end, political tyrannies are often preceded by hunger and disease, and no nation in the end can remain unaffected by the resulting economic and political strife.

Neither was it necessary to attempt to determine which should receive precedence. Food, to be sure, is the primary concern of the underprivileged. But disease defeats the effort to produce, and poverty in turn invites disease. The interrelation is close; a limited approach is unavailing. Indeed, the initial step seemed simply to comprehend the enormity of need; to appreciate the fact that two-thirds of the world's population are underfed and undernourished. This was something that teacher and student alike have too long noted in passing but have accepted as inescapable. Only recently have we begun to realize that the burden is to a large extent ours and that failure to join forces against these conditions may have a profound effect on our future well-being and security.

With respect to the school program it was clear that many errors have been made in connection with the teaching of nutrition and health. Certainly if our concern is to be better international citizens we must also become better consumer citizens. A Danish teacher, for example, referred to evidences of our excessive waste and suggested that because of our high standard of living we have little understanding of its extent. A teacher from Germany

contrasted the clear waters of European rivers with the muddy streams of the United States as an indication of a failure to protect much of our wealth in the soil. Others noted that in our health programs a negative approach has been followed. The emphasis has been on "don'ts," with the result that a barrier has been placed in the way of positive action.

Moreover, teaching the elementary rules is hardly enough. A desire to use good nutritional and other health habits must in some way be motivated. The program should begin with the very youngest child. The school should act through intelligently planned curricula in home economics, social studies, science, etc. Clean-plate clubs and similar programs against waste should not be restricted to periods of war-time emergency.

Yet, while it was also pointed out that malnutrition, substandard economic conditions, surpluses and shortages all continue to exist in the United States, it served only to remind one of the enormity of the failure elsewhere; a situation which only a major program could possibly encompass. Thus Point Four seemed deserving of unquestioned support. It was not felt to be a one-sided program. A dollar invested would in the long run return in the form of a revived trade in goods, as well as in decreased military expenditures. As for method, it was noted that technical assistance takes many forms. It will include the sending of scientists and engineers to countries seeking assistance. Fellowships will be granted to citizens of other lands for training in specialized fields such as public health and conservation. Much printed material will be distributed; some of it of a specialized nature, some of it of value for fundamental education. Bold efforts will be launched to control the ravages of disease and to construct great power and irrigation projects for the welfare of all the people.

Mention too was made of the possibilities of atomic energy in such a long-range program; the importance of investing private capital abroad; the problem of securing qualified people for technical assistance projects; the difficulties entailed in overcoming prejudices, political, cultural, and religious differences. In particular it was argued that though the technical assistance program is the result of political agreements among nations, a strong effort should be made to see that politics does not interfere with the fundamental objectives of the venture.

International trade, of course, has a profound bearing on all these issues, and attention was drawn to the following facts with regard to the world trade picture. The United States, a debtor nation prior to 1914, has since become a creditor nation. As a consequence, other states have found it increasingly difficult to earn the funds with which to buy foodstuffs and other goods from us. Tariff increases by the United States during the twenties resulted in similar measures being undertaken by other countries (the economic doctrine being national self-sufficiency), and reciprocal trade agreements initiated by the Roosevelt administration were only partly successful in encouraging a return to the doctrine of free trade. War and its requirements served merely to exaggerate such conditions. It became more acutely necessary that production in other countries be increased and that trade be freed of unnecessary restrictions. To that end various measurers were suggested. One such is an International Trade Organization which would attempt to resolve some of the outstanding economic issues and would promote fair practices in international commerce.

Appraising these developments, all generally agreed that there is an unfortunate public disregard of the importance of a constructive international

trade policy. Consumers, in particular, have failed to express their interests. Citizens should give their support to such moves as United States membership in the International Trade Organization, while the schools should strive to indicate the nature and effect of economic interdependence.

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

V. HUMAN RIGHTS

"Diversity rather than uniformity is the source of our strength; we must work together fraternally."

"HUMAN RIGHTS IN TODAY'S WORLD"

Everett R. Clinchy

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From countless individuals within the last six months in Europe and America, I have heard hopeless conclusions about the fix in which we find our civilization today. Their conclusions would drive a teacher to wonder whether it is worthwhile to teach human rights, or anything else. These prophets of doom say that we live in an anxious, uncertain, and grim time. The spreading tyranny of the Kremlin ominously portends the possible introduction of a dark age. The outbreak in Korea indicates the pattern. Fundamentally, they say, things are worse than superficial indications reveal. Kremlin Communism essentially is resuming the Nihilistic Counterrevolution of fascism and Nazism, designing to get Party power by washing out human rights, human dignity, human morals, and human virtues. The world is their goal. Admittedly, a very pessimistic case can be made along that line.

This is not all.

They say our own western world's science and technology threaten to destroy us. Some natural scientists who are materialists treat science and machines as ends in themselves. That will lead us to technocracy which will govern persons as though they were robots. If not that, they say, wait and you will see a prevalent scientific secularism flout the moral law, laugh-off the spiritual interpretation of the universe, and live to illustrate the basically evil nature of man which uses liberty to destroy values. Here, again, there is some evidence in support of a woeful thesis.

This paper has to do with human rights. These critics say that the rights of man, the idea of permanence for a free democratic society, and the whole system of 20th Century Liberalism are illusions. International peace, brotherhood amohg race groups, and cooperation among men of goodwill who conscientiously differ in religion, are vain hopes. War, tyranny, human exploitation, and cultural enmity are the products of evil nature about which, in this world, man can do nothing. Well, a German living in the East Sector of Berlin might argue this case, pretty convincingly.

But I do not weep with these plaintiffs. There are other factors which change the picture. Nor are you convinced by their positions, otherwise you teachers from across America and 15 other countries, would find no point in devoting your energies to this Conference.

Let us list reasons for optimism about the future of mankind - optimism about human dignity and worth, rights and duties, human potentialities for brotherhood and cooperation in creating a free earth on which free people may flourish. Here are 6 items:

1. You and I are living and teaching in the most privileged time in history. Imagine a yardstick representing the 25,000 years historians and anthropologists agree the human species has travelled the long,

upward trail of civilization. It took the space of 21 inches before wandering tribes settled to domestic agriculture. At the 30 inch point the Ten Commandments dawned in the Fertile Crescent, and awareness of universal moral principles emerged in China and Africa. It was not until the 34.5 inch mark that the Divine Rights of Kings and the assumed "natural" dictatorships of economic lords was questioned. At 35.2 the scientific method was evolved in the study of nature and application of this knowledge for technological uses. The political notion that every person is endowed by his Creator with unalienable rights to life, liberty, and property was put into practice at the 35.7 measure by Locke, Paine, Jefferson, Madison and others they could convince. About this point Europeans struggled for "liberte, egalite, fraternite. Now, precisely at the 36 inch edge, the United Nations Charter of Human Rights has been put on paper. Ours is the first generation privileged to work out a universal application of the freedom, dignity and worth of every human creature. Only now are the full implications of what human beings can be and do together actually beginning to dawn!

This is a privileged time, too, because in competition and challenge, a culture gains a new lease on life. We need not feel impotently depressed by the current Communist thrust. Many fanatically aroused cultures in the yardstick of history have attempted to sweep the earth with an imposed cultural uniformity. They were always stopped at a line by the counter-forces their threats aroused. Moorish conquests, Christian armies (both Catholic and Protestant) in earlier centuries, and Italian Fascists and German Nazis in our own time, are illustrations. The Kremlin's will to universal domination must and shall be checked, too.

2. We may believe that the grave problems posed today, with the resultant excited alertness, offer the greatest learning opportunities educators, scientists, politicians, religious workers, social engineers,

artists, and simple men and women generally, ever had to give shape and substance to an on-going righteous, just enlightened, and prosperous society, world-wide.

Teachers must take advantage of this fluid, mobile state of society. Teachers can guide the prevailing expectancy for vast social change. The ideology of the free world thus can become a weapon in the struggle with our competitors. To compete with Communism, secular materialism, and fascist dictatorships, we of the free countries in the United Nations must make our ideology do three things:

a) It must supply dynamism; b) It must be forward-looking and provide goals: c) It must provide interest for the economically lowest brackets, the educationally retarded peoples of the Earth, and the discriminated peoples.

The Communists sing their ideology to the poor, and to those in misery and oppression.

"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!"

So begins the Marxist Internationale anthem. The Red flag has an appeal to neighborhoods with hungry children, to those among the two-thirds of the human family who are Negroid or Mongoloid, to those families who have felt the heel of anti-semitism, if they become convinced that their problems cannot be solved except by Communism. Fortunately, a sufficiently large proportion of the free world's peoples agree that Point Four as stated by President Truman makes sense, and they want wrongs corrected, standards lifted, and the causes of discontent dealt with. While this disposition for human development prevails the teaching profession is vital to the statesmanship and engineering processes necessary to bring about the social changes. Classroom teachers now can have a hand in creating tomorrow's world.

3. We may believe that with freedom and human rights, science and

technics in the natural studies, coupled with knowledge and its application in the social sciences, can and will produce not only more plentiful food, clothing, housing, and drudgery-saving devices, but also more and better schools, libraries, museums, transportation, information devices, interesting vocations, avocations, and growth in everybody toward their full stature.

Torres Bodet of UNESCO says that this is a task for all institutions: educational organizations, religious organizations, community voluntary organizations, industrial organizations of labor, management, and government, and mediums of press, radio, T-V, films and stage.[1] School teachers and college professors can be mainstays in getting this task done.

4. We may believe that educators will pay attention to developing increasingly a maturity of intellect, emotions, and faith that will enable people to comprehend peace in dynamic terms. This means that mature minds need not shy away from competition in ideas, rivalry in cultural differences, tensions, friendly contests and even warm conflicts. These are all part of a dynamic peace. If properly controlled they are part of social growth.

When people gain this point of view, they will work to make human rights universal, because they will welcome differences. Cultural differences provide novelty, and novelty stimulates growth. Differences enrich, as Irwin Edman and John Dewey have pointed out. Teachers in the class room can awaken curiosity and encourage every individual to start a life-long habit of finding out about "different" people, and learning to understand them. One of the

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1/ These are the "trunk-lines", or the "main arteries" of society. They are also the five standing Commissions of World Brotherhood formed in Paris, June 1950, as a privately operated and financed organization concentrating on intergroup relations. World Brotherhood will cooperate with UNESCO, United Nations, and NEA.

tragedies of Russian Communists is that after winning the fight against the early revolutionists, the Communists imitated the tyranny of the Czars they hated.[2] In their fanaticism they ruled out tolerance, competition of different ideas, and all human freedom. Spain is another example of a culture which is a century or two behind mankind's development in the appreciation of the values of cultural diversity.

This summer, Europe's First Statesman, Paul-Henri Spaak, President of the Consultative Assembly of United Europe, presented a glorious definition of tolerance: "I am speaking of the spirit of tolerance. This is, certainly, one of the finest and most difficult conquests of humanity, one of the most difficult to maintain, and one of those which is the most constantly questioned. Tolerance has nothing to do with scepticism or eclecticism. Tolerance does not require renouncing any convictions, it does not deny the hope of convincing, it does not make a contact with evil, but it does allow others to think and believe other things than I do, without my liking them or esteeming them any more or less. Tolerance is the absence of a sense of superiority due to the doctrines or the ideas that I profess, it is the measure of respect that I have for man, it is the touchstone of the value that I attach to the principle of human dignity. It is one of highest virtues of civilized individuals, the sacred inheritance for which there were martyrs, and for which there will always be martyrs. It is the steadiness of Socrates before his judges and his respect before the laws. It requires as much as it accords, and it is as determined to defend itself as it is to provide protection. It will never be possible to praise it enough. It is tolerance that prevents violence and coercion from being methods of persuasion. It is tolerance that can make man master of himself as of the universe. It opposes to the disquieting certitude of all the fanaticisms the conquering gentleness of strong convictions. Yes, it is to this gentleness that the world belongs. 'Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth'. Tolerance is the royal road of brotherhood that you are following. It is tolerance, its difficulties well understood, that must be practiced and encouraged. It is tolerance, in short, that can lead us to a healthy mutual understanding.

"I have said that this disposition of the soul, that is like the magnanimity of intelligence, was one of the highest virtues of the civilized individual. Few human beings come by it naturally. (Teachers, especially, note, Ed.) It is necessary to lead them to it as one climbs a summit. It is necessary to prepare the atmosphere where it is cultivated and where it develops (the class room, Ed). It is necessary to show that its fruits are worth the trouble taken to produce them. Thus, education is of primary importance."

2/ As, curiously, they are avidly imitating today the Nazis who were their enemies yesterday!

Police social tensions? Yes. The current United Nations police action in Korea may, if handled within the limits of a police department's quelling of violence, go down in history as the beginning of the end of war. Such criminal outbreaks may be expected in the future, for groups will always have the urge to do evil, just as some individuals must always be policed when those individuals fail to master their inner conflicts, and go haywire about sex or money or power or greed. Mind you, no Utopia lies ahead. Policing will be necessary.

5. We as teachers may be full of hope again, because we may believe that mankind is only at the beginning of great discoveries about human nature itself - the nature of individuals and the nature of groups. One teacher has said: "Human nature is today the least understood and the least tamed area of all nature." It is not true that war, race enmity, religious animosities, economic exploitation and political corruption are unalterable traits of human nature. It is true that there are, and always will be, forces within our nature which would tend to lead us to suffering, cruelty, injustice, and other forms of evil. But as James B. Conant suggests, a person can be taught that he or she will be measured by the way the inner conflicting urges for good or evil are handled by the human soul.

Not much is known about the parts psychology and religious education can play in moderating the forces of evil and directing the forces for good in a human personality. Physicist Arthur H. Compton asks for more knowledge as to how in the struggle for the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God, every person can be aided in developing "full stature." Social scientist Petrim Sorokin wishes more could be learned baout the most powerful force on earth, human love, - the conditions which generate it, and those which block it.

Perhaps "Centers of Human Relations" on all university campuses can be developed which will match in personal and intergroup relations the work done

by Medical Centers for "abundant physical health." The social scientists should take the steps of the natural scientists and coordinate efforts with educators and religious teachers in terms of (a)diagnosis and research, (b) therapy and preventive medicine, (c) training of practitioners, both professionals in intergroup relations and simple people like those of us who are parents. The classroom can become a splendid laboratory, as well as a teaching influence related to intergroup relations centers.

6. There is at least one more reason why you and I may teach with confidence in these times. Our free world is developing dynamism. Paralysis of fear and despair is passing. Convictions like these are making headway: a) The best defense of democracy is a better practice of democracy. b) The best defense of freedom is a better practice of freedom.

Professor Kurt Lewin, the brilliant European social scientist, taught in Iowa and Massachusetts before his recent death. The work of this creative immigrant Jew illustrates the value of incoming "different" people to a land. Incidentally, the Nazis drove him out of Germany because he was a Jew. Among other contributions Lewin made was the test of what three kinds of teaching did to children. Here is the story as reported by his colleague Professor Charles Hendry:

Three groups of boys were formed into small clubs. They were equated, so far as possible so that the groups were comparable in essential characteristics. They made paper mache masks, model aeroplances and did the things that boys of their age do in a play club.

Three adult leaders were related to the clubs. In one club the leader deliberately adopted and employed an autocratic role. He made all decisions, ordered the boys around, and acted as a kind of policeman. In a second club the adult person followed a strictly laissez-faire pattern. He guided no thought, defined no problems, he helped make no decisions. Physically he was present in the group. Psychologically he was not a part of the group. He contributed nothing positive. The youngsters' classes followed the absurd

rule that they had to do as their chaotic inner urges prompted, whether they enjoyed it or not! In the third club the adult person sought to be a genuine member of the group and to encourage everyone to share responsibly in planning, in making decisions, and in carrying through on assignments agreed upon. In other words he followed what we would call a democratic procedure, experience blending with youthful study, work, and struggle.

Careful observations were kept by a battery of recorders and a concealed motion picture camera with a telescopic lens supplemented the research recording.

What happened? Where the autocratic or laissez-faire approach was used the behavior of the group of boys took on an aggressive character. The aggression however, was not directed at the adult, but showed itself in disturbed relations among the members of the group itself. This was particularly noticeable when the adult left the room, a step deliberately arranged, in each case, as part of the experiment. Under both autocracy and laissez-faire, when the teacher left the club room, the boys stopped what they were doing and began to horse-play. Under laissez-faire the disorganizati apparent even with the adult person present, became complete. One finding which is of great importance is that under autocracy the hostility generated by the adult autocrat frequently catalyzed and concentrated itself on one member of the group, usually the smallest or the weakest. A definite scape-goat phenomenon occured. In the third club, conducted on a genuinely cooperativ basis, with an adult who was a partner, and who sought to share planning, decision-making, the doing of the job and its evaluation at every point along the way, the amount of aggression recorded was conspicuous by its relative absence and at no time did scape-goating appear. When the leader who developed this kind of relationship within the group left the club room the work went on without interruption and the same friendly, warm, happy, informal cooperative pattern of relationships observed with adult-leader present

continued unaffected by his temporary absence.

Clearly, the best insurance for freedom and democracy is in their classroom practice.

c) Another conviction that I see gaining credance is a belief in the fact that the only way you (or your national group, ethnic, or race or religious group) can keep human rights, is to see that the same rights are secure for individuals in every other group too.

This is a sound definition of social brotherhood. "Give to others the rights and respect you value for yourself." It is a new concept. Tribes, families, religions and nations, Norman Thomas points out, kept their groups together with this definition of brotherhood. But they restricted the rule pretty much to people "of our own kind." Now a One World can be held together only if brotherhood is applied across all group lines.

It is a case of stretching in practice our slogan "one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," to "One world indivisible with liberty and justice for all mankind." This is an enormous task for every classroom.

You teachers in the classroom must not become discouraged about the state of the world. You are helping to build a free earth. You cannot measure the continuous impact of your soul and mind on the youth in whom you are cultivating competencies for freedom. You are creative leaders of young people in building dignity, responsibility, liberty and rights into human character. You say with Goethe, -

"I would like to see a free Earth with free People.

I could then say to the passing moment,

'Stay, you are so beautiful!"

Discussion Guide No. 34

HUMAN RIGHTS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Background

A. Man versus society: The conflict between individual rights and freedom and the necessity for social cohesion and order has perplexed the greatest philosophers and statesmen. Men of every age and every land have sensed the existence of some higher law, some law higher than the state. It has been defined at times as a "law of nature" both anterior and superior to the "positive law" of the realm. Churchmen have phrased it as the law of God and many have attempted to express its fundamental precepts. Jurists and others have developed a "jus gentium," or international law, common to all nations. All, by whatever method of philosophical reasoning, posit the existence and development of a superior legal obligation-- some ethic or right of which no man may be deprived or forced to violate. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is only its most recent expression. It inherits an historical tradition from whcih the following few examples have been taken.

B. Significant statements: (1) The Bible: "Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor. . ."

(2) Aristotle;"The basis of a democratic state is liberty; which, according to the common opinion of men, can only be enjoyed in such a state."

(3) Cicero: "Liberty the sweetest of all blessings, and which if it is not equal for all is not liberty."

(4) Locke: "Men being. . . by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate, and subjected to the political powers of another, without his own consent."

(5) Voltaire: "May all men remember that they are brethern. May they like abhor that tyranny which seeks to subject the freedom of the will. . . I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

(6) Burke: "The rights of men--that is to say, the natural rights of mankind--are indeed sacred things."

(7) Rousseau: "To renounce our liberty is to renounce our quality of man, and with it all the rights and duties of humanity. . . Such a renunciation is incompatible with man's nature; for to take away all freedom from his will is to take away morality from his actions."

C. Significant documents: Magna Carta: ". . . The English Church shall be free. . . To none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice."

(2) Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certan unalienable rights. . ."

(3) French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen: "The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression."

(4) Nuremberg Charter: The Nuremberg trials signified a marked expansion of the principles of international law. Though Grotius, centuries earlier, had distinguished between "just" and "unjust" wars, his ideas bore little fruit. Now the Nuremberg concept of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and crimes against peace, recognized once again that human rights know no national boundaries. The law of international society, it proclaims, must begin to reflect the conscience of mankind.

Questions for Discussion

1. Are the "rights" of man certain and capable of precise definition, or are they relative to time and place?

2. Can an enduring dividing line ever be drawn, by constitutions or otherwise, between the rights of human beings and their obligations to society?

3. Have the democracies placed too much emphasis on political and religious rights and too little emphasis on economic rights?

4. Would you agree that in dogmatic assertions of discovered "truth" lie the seeds of authoritarian rule?

5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. American Journal of International Law. Vol. 43. April, 1949. pp. 316-323.

2. U.S. Department of State. Human Rights: Unfolding of the American Tradition. A Selection of Documents and Statements. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949. 86 p.

*3. Bureau of Current Affairs. Human Rights: How We Got Our Freedom. Current Affairs Outline, No. 94. London, 1949. 4 p.

4. United Nations. Yearbook on Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information. (An annual publication). Lake Success, 1946-1949.

* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 35

HUMAN RIGHTS: HISTORY OF UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITY

Background

A. First proposals: At the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the great powers agreed that UN should "promote respect for human rights, and fundamental freedoms." At San Francisco, the Charter of the United Nations was made to include references to human rights. The Preamble declares: "we the people of the United Nations, determined....to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights...." Article 55 states one of the purposes of the United Nations to be the promotion of "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights....", similar references to human rights can be found in other Charter articles. However, despite some pressure at San Francisco, no machinery was embodied in the Charter for protection of human rights, nor was any attempt made to define these rights. It was provided only that the Economic and Social Council should set up a commission on human rights.

B. Working machinery: ECOSOC set up a Nuclear Commission on Human Rights to do preparatory work in April, 1946. The full Commission on Human Rights was organized by ECOSOC in October, 1946. Members were (and are) 13 states elected by ECOSOC. It was empowered to submit recommendations and to set up subcommissions on freedom of information and of the press, on protection of minorities, and on prevention of discrimination. (Earlier the ECOSOC had established a Commission on the Status of Women). The first meeting of the Human Rights Commission was held in January 1947. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected (and remains) chairman. Meanwhile the Secretariat of the United Nations established a Division of Human Rights in its Department of Social Affairs to aid the work of the Commission. Provisions were also made for the specialized agencies such as the ILO and UNESCO, as well as private organizations, to contribute their knowledge and effort.

C. The Declaration: (1) Work of the Commission: The drafting of a declaration of human rights was a main objective of the Commission. It began by studying drafts prepared by the Secretariat, as well as by Panama, Chile, Cuba, the United States, and certain nongovernmental organizations. At this point it was decided to distinguish between a Declaration and a Convention. In December 1947 the full text of the Declaration was drafted by the Commission. It was then referred for comment to member governments, to the various subcommissions, to the Commission on the Status of Women, and to private organizations. During its third session, May-June, 1948 the Commission discussed the revised draft for the last time, achieving final agreement on June 18th. No opposing votes were cast. However, the U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia abstained on grounds that: (a) the text did not provide effective measures to fight fascism and nazism; (b) it failed to mention concrete obligations on the part of the individual towards the state; (c) it ignored several proposals and amendments submitted

by their delegations. (2) Work of the General Assembly: The Draft declaration was then transmitted to the General Assembly. The General Assembly committee devoted 85 meetings to the Declaration, more time than any organ of the parent body had spent on any subject, agreement being reached on December 10, 1948. Three days later the Declaration was finally adopted by the General Assembly, with 48 countries in favor, none against, 2 absent, and 8 abstaining.

D. The Covenant: The form which this international Bill of Rights should take was given early consideration. Proposals were that it should be an Assembly resolution, an appendix to the Charter, a convention between member states or some other type of document. The decision crystallized on the drafting of two texts, a declaration to be implemented voluntarily by nations, and a mutilateral treaty binding upon states after ratification. Intensive effort on the latter, however, was delayed until Assembly acceptance of the Declaration. Early in 1949 a draft of the Covenant was completed and sent to member governments for study and comment. It is not expected to reach the General Assembly before its fifth session in the fall of 1950.

Questions for Discussion

1. What was the reason for delay in drafting the Declaration?
2. Why was a bill of rights omitted from the Charter of the United Nations?
3. On what particular points of the Charter did the Communist nations differ from the others?
4. Is there an adequate public understanding of United Nations activity with regard to human rights?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. United Nations. For Fundamental Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information. Lake Success, 1948. 126 p.

*2. United Nations. Of Human Rights (22 mins.) United Nations Film Division. Lake Success, 1950. (A film: 16 mm., sound).

*3. United Nations. Our Rights as Human Beings. A Discussion Guide on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information. Lake Success, N. Y., 1949. 32 p. 10¢.

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 36

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN THE DECLARATION (ARTICLES 1-17) AND GENOCIDE

Background

A. Individual rights: The first 17 articles of the Declaration of Human Rights concern individual rights, and debate within the Third Committee of the General Assembly was particularly spirited over certain of those rights, as the following short summary of the argument reveals.

Article 7: "All are equal before the law:" The majority of comment centered upon South Africa's attitude toward its colored population. Its delegate proposed that the second sentence in this article--"All are entitled. . . "--be omitted from the final text. This suggestion was, however, defeated and the article remained unchanged.

Article 10: "Fair and public hearing:" Many amendments were suggested to this important article: that of the U.S.S.R. dealing with the independence of judges, the necessity for public hearings, and equality before the law. These were objected to on the ground that they constituted regulations to govern public administration. All changes were rejected except Cuba's to insert "and public" between "fair" and "hearing".

Article 11: "Right to be presumed innocent": Attention was directed to the Nuremberg Trials--whether they violated this article. The U.S.S.R. wished to add to part one--" and which must be public except in cases involving considerations of public morality or national security." This was defeated, but an amendment to add the last sentence of the article was approved.

Article 13: "Right to freedom of movement": This article was viewed as merely an ideal to be striven for. The words "and to return to his country" were added to the original draft. A Soviet desire to have the phrase "in accordance with the laws of the state" follow part one was defeated.

Article 15: "Right to a nationality": Part one was added to the original text. Questions raised were: (a) whether everyone has the right to a nationality; (b) whether one may be deprived of a nationality under certain circumstances; (c) whether the U. N. could grant nationality to stateless persons.

B. Genocide: A related issue of the greatest importance in the minds of delegates to the United Nations has been the problem of genocide. A resolution was adopted by the General Assembly recommending a convention on the subject, and work was begun by an ad hoc Committee on Genocide of the Economic and Social Council in 1948. Following reviewal by the ECOSOC and the Legal Committee of the Assembly, the Assembly, on December 9, 1948, unanimously adopted the draft convention on genocide.

(1) General purpose of the Convention: The basic aim is to prevent the destruction of a human group as such. It is peculiarly of international concern because it not only threatens civilization itself, but places enormous burdens, such as the care of refugees, on other countries.

(2) Conflict of opinion: The U. K. doubts that the convention will materially lessen popular fears, dissuade nations from genocidal acts, or facilitate punishment. Genocide, it has declared, can only be punished by war. Others have deprecated this view as a "kind of defeatism". Yugoslavia has emphasized the primary duty of prevention. The U. S. argues: (a) that genocide was not outlawed at Nurenberg, for that trial concerned only acts committed during or in connection with war; (b) that it is essential to give genocide a precise definition and to make provisions outlawing it; (c) that early adoption of the convention is necessary before the memory of past acts fade from the minds of men.

(3) Other resolutions on genocide: Two resolutions also passed on December 9, 1948, suggested: (a) that the International Law Commission study the problem of establishing an international tribunal to handle matters of genocide; (b) that parties to the Convention who administer dependent territories extend to these areas the provisions of the Convention.

Questions for Discussion

1. What of the argument set forth by Saudi Arabia, that the Declaration of Human Rights is based largely on Western concepts?
2. Does the Declaration omit sufficient mention of the duties of citizens to each other and to their state (a Soviet view)?
3. Do you believe that the Convention on Genocide will accomplish little in the way of dissuasion or punishment? Should it have been adopted?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. United Nations. United Nations Bulletin. Issues of November 1 and 15, 1948, and December 1, and 15, 1948. Lake Success, 1948.

2. U.S. Department of State. Human Rights and Genocide. International Organization and Conference Series III, 30. Pub. 3643. Washington, 1949. 71 p. 20¢.

*3. United Nations. International Convention on the Crime of Genocide. United Nations Film Division. Lake Success. (A filmstrip-63 frames, photographs).

* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 37

PUBLIC LIBERTIES (Articles 18-21)

Background

The following is a summarization of the debate which took place with regard to each article in the committee of the General Assembly which considered the problem of human rights.

Article 18: Freedom of thought, conscience, and religion: (1) The U.S.S.R. asked that everyone be guaranteed freedom of thought and freedom to perform religious services "in accordance with the laws of the country concerned and the requirements of public morality." (2) Saudi Arabia condemned past political interventions of missionaries. (3) Greece feared unfair practices of proselytizing, while the Philippines counter-argued that without "freedom to manifest his religion or belief" the status quo would be maintained and a common world philosophy would never be achieved. (4) France feared that freedom to change beliefs would lower respect for religion. (5) Uruguay claimed that freedom of conscience was not a concept which could be legislated. All amendments were defeated.

Article 19: Freedom of opinion and expression regardless of frontiers: The U.S.S.R. proposed two amendments: "(1). . . Everyone must be legally guaranteed the right to express his opinions and in particular, freedom of speech and the press and also freedom of artistic expression. Freedom of speech and the press shall not be used for purposes of propagating fascism, aggression, and for provoking hatred as between nations. . . .The state will assist and cooperate in making available the material resources (premises, printing presses, papers, etc.) necessary for the publication of democratic organs of the press. (2) Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and its expression, wherein is included freedom of conviction and freedom of access to sources of information and means of communication for the transmission of information in the territory of his own country and also in other countries, within limits corresponding to the interests of national security". Asked to define "fascism," the U.S.S.R. delegate answered that it was "the bloody dictatorship of the most reactionary section of capitalism and monopolies." Both amendments were defeated.

Article 20: Freedom of assembly and association: This article as drafted by the Commission on Human Rights reads: "Everyone has the right to freedom of assembly and association." The Soviet Union proposed amendments to forbid anti-democratic gatherings. Uruguay desired that the word "peaceful" be inserted and that the text affirm the right not to belong to an association. Other amendments were suggested, but only the Uruguyan proposals were adopted.

Article 21: Right to public service and to a government responsible to the electorate: This article as approved by the Commission had read for part one "...his freely chosen representative;" for part two "...right of access to public employment. . ."; and for part three simply "everyone has the right to a government which conforms to the will of the people." Sweden noted that the wording did not explain how popular will would find expression. Costa Rica argued that the right of opposition and legal revolution was

important. The Soviet Union objected to this last, pointing out the danger of fascists achieving power by such means. Others objected to the word "everyone" which would include aliens and lunatics. These problems led to joint preparation of a new text which resulted in the present form of the article.

Questions for Discussion

1. Was the Soviet proposal with regard to Article 18 similar to what was later approved in Article 29, section 2? Who determines "the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare..."?
2. Is there merit in the Soviet-offered amendments to Article 19?
3. Does freedom logically require and include freedom for forces which aim to destroy freedom? Can a way be found to avoid this danger?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. United Nations. Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Final Authorized Text. United Nations Department of Public Information, Lake Success, New York, 1949. 8 p.

*2. United Nations. Of Human Rights (22 mins) United Nations Film Division. Lake Success, New York, 1950. (A film: 16 mm., sound).

3. United Nations Bulletin. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Vol. 5, No. 12. December 15, 1948. pp. 1003-1008.

*4. United Nations. Our Rights as Human Beings: A Discussion Guide on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information, Lake Success, New York, 1949. 32 p. 10 cents.

5. U. S. Department of State. Human Rights and Genocide: Selected Statements, United Nations Resolutions, Declaration, and Conventions. International Organization and Conference Series III, 39. Publication No. 3643. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949. 71 p. 20 cents.

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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL RIGHTS (Articles 22-27)

Background

These rights, the result of an attitude of social consciousness developed during the 19th and 20th centuries, had not appeared in previous declarations of the rights of man. However, the inclusion by President Roosevelt of "freedom from want" among his Four Freedoms is indicative of the place they have earned among all peoples. Unfortunately this has not produced universal agreement on particular rights or on the means for securing such rights, as the following summary of debate in the Third Committee of the General Assembly reveals.

Article 22: Right to social security: This article was originally intended to be a sort of preamble to the rights enunciated in following articles, in order to emphasize their importance. The U.S.S.R. offered an amendment (subsequently rejected) which would have stressed the need to ensure for every individual a real opportunity to enjoy all the rights mentioned in the Declaration. Generally, the argument centered on the meaning of "social security"; whether it should be interpreted in a broad or narrow sense.

Article 23: Right to work, to collective bargaining, to equal pay, and to adequate remuneration: This article originally read: "(1) Everyone has the right to work, to just and favorable conditions of work and pay, and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone is free to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests." A variety of amendments were offered with disagreement centering on the state's responsibility in the matter of the right to work and such issues as whether a man should have the right or the obligatory duty to join a trade union. The U.S.S.R. commented on the evil of unemployment and its absence in the Soviet socialist economy. New Zealand declared that it could not accept section 3 because it required most employers to hire only union members. Brazil wished the word "real" to be inserted before the word "pay". The article was eventually redrafted and accepted in its present form.

Article 24: Right to rest and leisure: This article originally included only the initial phrase. Questions which arose were: Has a man a "right" to health? Is there a difference between rest and leisure? Should the self-employed be included? Should reference be made to working hours?

Article 25: Right to adequate standard of living, security in case of disability, special care for mother and child, and equal protection for illegitimate children: Discussion centered on sharper definition of the

right to security than had been provided for by the original draft article. Rights of illegitimate children were given specific mention through an amendment.

Article 26: Right to free education, an education that promotes human understanding, and a choice of the kind to be given one's children: Points raised with regard to the original draft article were that secondary and higher education must be free or else there would not be equal access to it on the basis of merit, and that parents should retain the prior right of choice over the nature of their children's education in order to avoid repetition of such evils as the Hitler Youth Movement.

Article 27: Right to cultural participation and ownership of products of one's intellectual creation: Section 2 of this article was added to the original draft to protect the intellectual worker. Countering a Soviet argument, Uruguay maintained that science could not be made to serve any ideology even "progress and democracy" which the former had suggested. Science obeys a process of independent evolution, said the Uruguayan delegate.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you, in general, agree with the idea of economic rights; eg. the right to social security?
2. Is there a right to idleness?
3. Do we have a right to work or a right to health, or are they both privileges?
4. Is there a right to the earnings of others? Consider the nature of our law of inheritance.
5. What of the argument that secondary and higher education is not equally open to all unless free?
6. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

References for Teachers and Students*

1. United Nations. Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Final Authorized Text. United Nations Department of Public Information. Lake Success, N. Y., 1949. 8 p.

*2. United Nations. Of Human Rights (22 mins.) United Nations Film Division. Lake Success, N. Y., 1950. (A film: 16 mm., sound).

3. United Nations. For Fundamental Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information. Lake Success, N. Y., 1948. 126 p.

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*5. United Nations. Our Rights as Human Beings: A Discussion Guide on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information. Lake Success, N. Y., 1949. 32 p. 10¢.

* Starred items are especially suitable for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 39

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Background

While the state of civil liberties--or human rights--in the U. S. has long been a topic of considerable domestic interest, our position in the post-war political and ideological struggle has made it a world issue of the utmost importance. The U. S., in its role as champion of liberty and leader in the struggle to evolve a Declaration and Covenant on Human Rights, can hardly afford to have one of the greatest appeals which it can make to the uncertain peoples of the world undermined by regrettable acts of injustice at home. Our citizens, representing the peoples of many lands, are identified with these other millions. The dignity of a country or even a continent may be outraged by acts of discrimination within our borders.

A. The state of civil rights: The serious nature of this problem prompted the President to establish, in 1946, a Committee on Civil Rights. It was authorized to inquire into the state of civil rights in the U. S., and to recommend more effective means for the protection of civil rights where necessary. In a report made public in October 1947, facts, such as the following, were presented.

(1) Discrimination: (a) Lynchings: Decade by decade lynchings have decreased. However, from 1936-1946 at least 43 lynchings occurred, with no person receiving the death penalty and prosecution of the guilty being rare. Moreover, more than 226 persons were rescued from threatened lynchings of which over 200 were Negroes. (b) Effect of the poll tax: In 8 poll tax states in 1944 the number of voters was 18.31% of the total electorate; in 40 non-poll tax states, 68.74%. (c) Job discrimination: 80.8% of the bases of job discrimination was based upon race, of which 96.7% were Negroes; 8.7% was based upon national origin, of which 7.9% were Mexican-Americans; 4.3% was based upon alien citizenship. (d) Military discrimination: In 1947 the Army furnished 1 Negro officer for every 70 Negro enlisted men: the ratio for Whites was 1 for 7. For the Navy, Marines and Coast Guard the ratio for Negroes was respectively 2 to 21,793, 0 to 2,000 plus, 1 to 910; for Whites it was 1 to 7, 1 to 13, 1 to 6. In the Army only 9% of all Negro soldiers were in the top three non-commissioned grades, while for Whites the figure was 16%; in the Marines, 2% versus 15%; in the Navy 80% of the Negroes were cooks or stewards, compared with a figure of 2% for the Whites.

(2) Segregation and Prejudice: In June 1945, 1,710 white enlisted men were asked this question: "Some Army divisions have companies which include Negro and White platoons. How would you feel about it if your outfit was set up something like that"? Those in such a company answered: "Would like it" (32%), "Just as soon have it as any other set up (28%), "Rather not but it would not matter too much" (33%), "Would dislike it very much" (7%). Those in other companies in the same regiment: Respectively 18%, 33%, 29%, 20%. Those elsewhere in the division: Respectively 9%, 29%, 38%, 24%. Those in in other Field Forces without such a set up: Respectively 2%, 9%, 27%, 62%.

B. Freedom versus security: Of equal concern has been the task of reconciling personal liberty and group authority. In one form or another, this has

been an issue of never-ending difficulty for all democratic governments. A democracy must have authority to function and must be safe as well as free. However, the danger is ever present that the struggle to protect the interests of the many may degenerate into a drive to destroy all conflicting ideas--into a persecution of minority groups and unorthodox ideologies. Of this Lincoln warned when he said: "Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage, and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them." Because the dividing line can never be made permanent it becomes the continuing responsibility of every citizen to appraise the existing equilibrium between liberty and authority in the light of the democratic ideal. Only thus can our heritage be preserved.

C. The Constitution and the Covenant: It is evident that rights and freedoms as guaranteed by the United States Constitution are essentially no different from those proclaimed in the Draft International Covenant on Human Rights. The latter details them more fully, but what conflict exists is not of documentation but of enforcement. (Note particularly Articles 16-20 of the Covenant). As the President's Committee observes, the gap between our aims and practices "eats away at the emotional and national bases of democratic beliefs", creating a "moral erosion" which may in time destroy democracy.

Questions for Discussion

1. Has the right to rest and leisure, and have other rights mentioned in the Declaration, been realized in our democracy?
2. Have we been over-indulgent with the attitude that education is the sole answer to social conflict?
3. Have we been too much on the defensive about the state of human rights in the U. S.?
4. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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Discussion Guide No. 40

THE DRAFT COVENANT AND PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION

Background

A. General nature of the Covenant: While the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims principles likely to exercise a moral influence on governments and public opinion, the Draft International Covenant on Human Rights, when completed and ratified, will stand as a multilateral treaty becoming a part of national and international law. Since 1947 the Covenant has been undergoing drafting and revision. It is hoped that it will be approved by the General Assembly before the end of 1950.

B. Covenant and Declaration compared: The Covenant differs from the Declaration in two fundamental respects: (a) It omits many of the rights mentioned in the latter; (b) It defines with far greater precision the rights included. The obligatory nature of the Covenant is responsible for these differences. Unlike the Declaration, which is a total platform covering the entire gamut of human rights, the Covenant comprises only such basic individual and civil rights as freedom from torture, slavery, servitude and arbitrary arrest, freedom of movement, of thought, and of religion, and freedom of assembly and association. Particularly to be noted is the exclusion of social, economic and cultural rights. France, the U. S., the U. K., the Netherlands, India, and Denmark support their omission on grounds varying from a wish to see them the subject of later protocols to disbelief in the possibility of their definition. The U.S.S.R., Australia, Yugoslavia, and the Philippines desire inclusion but are not agreed on the rights.

C. Problems of Implementation: (1) Two general attitudes: (a) The U.S.S.R. conceives of implementation as the realization by each state in its own way of the rights and freedoms concerned. This view precludes the possibility of creating international machinery for insuring the maintenance of such rights within national borders. (b) Other states conceive of implementation as the product of some international agency capable of overseeing the condition of human rights in covenanted states.

(2) The agency for implementation: Among those who support the creation of some international machinery, opinions vary greatly. The General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Human Rights Commission, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, an International Court of Human Rights, a special commission, a standing committee, and an ad hoc committee have all been suggested as the proper agency for implementation. Moreover, disagreement persists over the question of whether to include measures for implementation within the body of the Covenant; some argue for a separate agreement or protocol.

(3) Functions of the agency: The international authority established would in some cases supervise the application of the Covenant and receive complaints (viz. the Danish proposal). However, its principal task would be one of fact-finding, conciliation, and notation of violations. No enforcement is foreseen in the sense of effective sanctions. China particularly stresses the role of education and cooperative international action, as well

as the moral pressure of making violations public, rather than legalistic correction.

(4) Right of petition: The Commission on Human Rights has decided that in principle, signatory states would have the right to enter complaints initiating proceedings under whatever form of implementation would finally be adopted. However, the right of individuals to petition for redress of grievances is still unresolved.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is the distinction between the Covenant on Human Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights generally understood, together with the implications of the former upon our national institutions?

2. Is the United States prepared to defer to the authority of an international tribunal with regard to acts infringing upon the rights of citizens within our borders?

3. If states alone have the right of petition would the result be to sharpen conflicts between states, since an individual would have to inform another nation of his grievance?

4. Is education, as China suggests, the wisest policy at this stage?

5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 41

RIGHTS OF WOMEN

Background

A. Historical development: (1) National activities: A first "Declaration of Women's Rights" was presented in 1789 by the French revolutionists, but it was rejected. Around 1848 organized national movements began to agitate for reforms. In various countries, particularly Scandinavian, women first won the right to vote, but it was not until after the first World War that a trend of constitutional reforms became strongly apparent.

(2) International agitation: Through the media also of international conferences, conventions, intergovernmental bodies, and the League of Nations, women have long sought improvement of their status. In 1902, conventions at the Hague dealt with conflicts of laws concerning divorce, marriage, and guardianship of minors; in 1904 and 1910 with suppression of traffic in women and children. In 1928, the American Republics, having earlier considered the problems of sex discrimination (1923), set up an Inter-American Commission of Women and in 1933 adopted a convention on the subject of the nationality of married women. The League of Nations meanwhile encouraged the study of the status of women in all countries, as established by national laws and actual application.

B. Activities of the United Nations: (1) The Charter and the rights of women: As a significant expression of the importance of human equality, the Charter of the U. N. affirms its faith "in the equal rights of men and women" (Preamble) and gives it repeated emphasis in numerous articles (1, 8, 13, 55, 76). It was felt that the Charter could not ignore the deeds performed by women in all fields of human achievement, and in particular their contribution to victory in the second World War.

(2) Work of the Commission on the Status of Women: The Economic and Social Council of the U.N., in 1946, established a Sub-Commission on the Status of Women to advise the Commission on Human Rights. Later this was converted into a full Commission to serve as the Council's expert body. In three annual sessions (1947, 1948, 1949) the Commission has concerned itself with the following scope of activities: (a) Political: Universal suffrage, equal rights with men to vote, to be elected, and to hold public office. (b) Civil: Equal dignity in marriage (monogamous), and equal rights in guardianship of children, nationality, acquirement, administration, and inheritance of property. (c) Social and economic: Prevention of social and economic discrimination against women, abolition of prostitution, special consideration for motherhood, and effective schemes for health and social insurance legislation. (d) Education: Equal opportunity for education including all specialized fields, by means of the press, radio, films, etc.; creation of world public opinion in favor of women's rights; the establishment of a Woman's Section in the Secretariat of the U.N.; the sponsorship of a United Nation's Women's Conference to further the program. Particular emphasis has been placed upon obtaining complete, detailed studies of legislation in all nations influencing the status of women, and the practical application of such legislation, in order that intelligent recommendations and conventions on particular aspects might be prepared.

(3) Effectuating equal rights: The Commission, of course, like any other body of the United Nations cannot legislate and enforce the principle of the equality of sexes. Its role is primarily one of education. For this reason its methods are generally the following: It collaborates with other United Nations bodies, with member governments, national and international women's organizations, and experts in the various fields of work. Member governments, which have not already done so, are encouraged to grant suffrage to women. International conventions are urged to legislate on women's rights, as related to the four areas mentioned above.

Questions for Discussion

1. What might be the effects - social, economic, and political - of achieving equality between the sexes, particularly in the socially backward areas of the world?
2. Can equality of the sexes be legislated, even by national fiat?
3. Should the issue of equality be placed before the issue of general social and economic betterment in backward areas?
4. Will a program of equalization, actually enforced and carried out in a backward area, always prove pleasing and beneficial to the emancipated sex?
5. Should this topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Guide No. 42

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND OF THE PRESS

Background

A. Early activity: In 1944 the House of Representatives had expressed a desire to see an international treaty concern itself with the protection of world-wide interchange of news. American press agencies strongly supported this resolution. In 1946 the Department of State asked for concrete suggestions on the subject, for possible implementation by the United States. A draft treaty on freedom of information was prepared and became the official United States proposal with regard to this area of human rights. The Commission on Human Rights had meanwhile set up a special Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press to draft an appropriate international declaration or convention. An international conference on the subject was held at Geneva in 1948.

B. U.N. Conference on Freedom of Information: Major achievement was the drafting of three conventions: (1) on the gathering and international transmission of news; (2) on the institution of an international right of correction; (3) on freedom of information.

1. Convention on the gathering and international transmission of news: In general the contracting states agreed: (a) to permit and encourage foreign correspondents to have the widest possible access to news on the same basis as national correspondents; (b) to permit egress of news without censorship, save for reasons of national military security; (c) not to expel correspondents on account of any lawful exercise of news-gathering and transmission.

2. Convention on the institution of an international right of correction: A procedure was sought whereby governments could obtain publicity for official corrections of allegedly false news reports affecting their international relations. It was agreed that the state in whose territory the report was published would provide the normal facilities for dissemination of the corrected information transmitted by the injured state, and that if it had failed to do so in five days, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, shall upon request give it full publicity.

3. Convention on freedom of information: This agreement secured to peoples generally, freedom to impart and receive information and opinions, without governmental interference, save on grounds of national safety and other clearly defined matters. The draft emphasized the duty to help maintain peace and encourage social progress. Disputes over this convention were to be referred to the International Court of Justice.

C. Consideration by the General Assembly: Upon transmission of the draft conventions to the General Assembly, three views emerged: (a) Certain states, led by the U.S.S.R., regarded "freedom" of information, as freedom to transmit news of an "objective" character. (b) Others, particularly the Latin American states, while nominally in favor of freedom of information, wanted legal obligations on correspondents to ensure factual

reporting. (c) The United States, Great Britain and others, opposed any restrictions other than moral, on the grounds that otherwise the door would be opened to dictatorial determination of what is right and true. This last view generally prevailed, and the first two of the draft conventions mentioned above were amalgamated and approved by the General Assembly without radical change. This Convention on the International Transmission of News and the Right of Correction will not, however, be open for ratification until the Assembly completes its consideration of the remaining draft Convention on Freedom of Information. The issue outlined above may prove insoluble and wreck prospects for final ratification of either convention.

D. Other activities in this field of human rights: The inadequate production of newsprint has been considered, as well as security for news personnel, an International Institute of Press and Information, practical measures to limit censorship, and counteracting the spread of distorted news. The Sub-Commission has, of course, been a leader in these and other activities related to freedom of information and of the press.

Questions for Discussion

1. War-mongering by newspapers and press associations is a frequent Soviet claim. Is it true? Would curbs be desirable? If so, how could they be accomplished.
2. Will matters of "military security," or "national defense" (as the Assembly revised the phrase) severely limit transmissable news?
3. Can reporting facts always be distinguished from reporting opinion?
4. Is our own press tending toward monopoly? If so, what can be done about it?
5. Should the topic be included in any way in the school program? If so, how and where? What help, if any, is needed to enable teachers to deal with it? What experience can members of the Conference contribute?

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* Starred items are especially suited for young people.

Discussion Groups Nos. 34-42

HUMAN RIGHTS

Summary of the Recorders' Reports

Consideration of the historical background of human rights gave rise to the following observations on the meaning of such rights. Mankind has long faced the problem of conflict between individual and group rights. In most periods of history, certain individual rights have been regarded as inviolable. Despite war and oppression, mankind has shown a remarkably persistent effort to achieve recognition of that belief. Yet there has not always been clear agreement as to which rights are truly fundamental, even among those who support the doctrine that the sole purpose of society is to further the welfare of tis members. What is "truth" has been hard to determine, for logically what is true today must be true for all time; yet there is little evidence in our own Bill of Rights of a right to rest and leisure and little emphasis on other economic rights which are presently being proclaimed. Thus one may be forced to conclude that while regard for man's individuality is an unalterable "truth," the precise application of some such general rule is exceedingly difficult to determine and is perhaps only relative to the immediate popular demand.

In connection with this general problem of man in society, some dissatisfaction was expressed over the use of the word "tolerance." Tolerance seems to imply that he who tolerates is in fact superior, that coexistence of differences is possible because of generosity rather than respect. The brotherhood of man, however, is not something to be "tolerated." It is a doctrine to which we should give genuine loyalty and respect.

Attention was also directed to the work of the United Nations in the field of human rights and to the implications of that work for all humanity.

The following points were emphasized:

1. The Human Rights Declaration is not a treaty. In contrast to the Covenant, it is simply a moral obligation imposed upon states.

2. The rights of an individual spring from his being a member of the human family and not from his citizenship in a state.

3. Rights which seem reasonable to one nation may seem quite radical to another. Many have failed to comprehend the significance of this fact and have thus underestimated the significance of the UN's achievement. Few are aware that it is an historical event when nations can agree that freedom of religion, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and freedom to share in the government of one's country are basic human rights. The teacher, in particular, is obligated to impress upon students that these rights have been won only with the greatest difficulty; that they are the product of a long struggle; that their universal acceptance in the Declaration was attained only after much effort was expended to reconcile vast differences of thought on government, religion, social custom and law.

4. Each individual is equal in the sight of God yet vast inequalities of ability exist. Each individual has an inherent right to social security, yet a corresponding duty of preparing himself to attain that security. All have the right of employment, yet inequalities of ability and service make competition desirable and just. Primarily it is the duty of the economic system to provide work for all, but if it fails to do so the burden passes to the state. Yet the right to economic security, work, health and education, are essentially moral and not legal rights. Consequently the school must instill in youth a sense of responsibility, a recognition of duties as well as rights. From the child's initial day of attendance he should be confronted by this principle and it should remain to influence his outlook throughout his entire life.

5. Freedom of information and of the press are often affected by less obvious restrictions than governmental interference--viz. lack of funds, lack of facilities for printing, pressure group influence, lack of interest and illiteracy. These are often almost as harmful as dictatorial control by the state. The diminishing number of newspapers and the quality of many of those which exist should be of concern to all thoughtful citizens.

6. In fifty-two countries women have achieved the same legal status as men in the field of political rights. Discrimination, however, continues to exist in twenty-two other states. In England women have gained political equality but, according to their teacher representative, tradition continues to prevent equal pay for equal work. The National Teachers' Union of England is engaged in combating this injustice. In Germany, women have not received equality of treatment and opportunity. In general it appears that equality is best derived from the acceptance of responsibility. Giving comparable responsibilities to both sexes in the schools is an excellent preliminary step and should be a consistent element of all teaching practice.

In the application of the Covenant and the Declaration to Main Street, U.S.A., note was taken of the fact that if the former became the law of the land it would give rise to some difficulty, because under present federal-state relations, the United States government cannot guarantee all such rights as are included in the Draft Covenant.

Some teachers felt that much has been accomplished towards solving the racial problem in the United States. Reference was made to new universities and public schools for Negroes, improved housing facilities, abolition of the poll tax in Georgia, equal salaries for Negro and White teachers, and equal treatment for the Mexican in the South West. Others could not agree that much real progress had been achieved. They cautioned against self-righteousness, since steps already taken were in reality only elementary justice.

Warning, too, was given that other freedoms might be in danger. The experiences of Dorothy Kenyon and Esther Brunauer were cited, and the American Civil Liberties Union was recommended as a source for further reference. In the final analysis one thing seemed clear--namely that the school as well as other institutions must alert all whom they affect to the need for increased study of the laws and practices prevailing in our own country in order to determine what steps must be taken before we can meet the international standards set up by the community of nations.

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*Starred items are especially suited for young people.

VI. THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

"The human family stands at the threshold of exhilarating opportunities; we must go forward hopefully."

"THE YOUNG AMERICAN CITIZEN: HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN A WORLD COMMUNITY"

Edgar Dale

/Edgar Dale was born in Minnesota. He received the degree of B.A. from the University of North Dakota, of M.A. from the same university, and of Ph. D. from the University of Chicago. He is at present Professor of Education at Ohio State University, where he has taught since 1929. He is also a member of the Advisory Board for Propaganda Analysis, the U.S. National Commission for Unesco, the Executive Committee--Department of Visual Instruction of the N.E.A., and Chairman of the Motion Pictures and Visual Education Division of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. He is the author of Audio-Visual Methods in Teaching (1946) and many other works7.

When we discuss the young American citizen, his rights and duties in a world community, we must immediately take into account the mental and emotional climate of that world community. First of all, it is a world community in which there is a great deal of pessimism. There is pessimism about the United Nations, pessimism about the very ability of men to meet the problem of the day.

H.G. Wells who, as you know, was usually optimistic, was sharply pessimistic in his last book, Mind at the End of its Tether. In that book he said that "man must go steeply up or down and the odds seem to be all in favor of his going down and out. Only a highly adaptable minority will survive."

An optimist has been now defined as the lesser of two pessimists. Some people long nostalgically for the good old days in 1932 when all we had to be afraid of was starving to death. The other day I heard Max Lerner tell this story at the graduation exercises at the Putney School in Vermont. It seems there was a policeman walking his beat along a bridge. Suddenly he saw a man about to commit suicide by leaping off the bridge. He caught him and began

reasoning with him. The man said, "Can you give me any good reason why I should live?" The policeman said, "Let's talk about it and if I can't convince you in an hour that you ought to live, go ahead and jump off." They walked back and forth for an hour and at the end of this time both of them jumped off the bridge.

Our choice as teachers and citizens is the choice between the mood of Hamlet and the mood of Wordsworth. Hamlet, you will remember, said, "The time is out of joint, O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right." Wordsworth writing in a period of revolution said: "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven."

I want to take the optimistic point of view today so I don't think any of you will jump off any bridges as a result of my talk. I hope, indeed, that you will look even more enthusiastically upon your job and its effect in developing the able, young world citizen.

In spite of two disastrous world wars we must realize that tremendous progress has been made in the last 25 years. What could be more hopeful than to live during the birthdays of Israel, Pakistan, India, the Philippines, Indonesia, Ceylon? After all, we did win World War II against a nation whose leaders killed some six million Jewish people. I saw that crematorium last year at Dachau. This was one of the minor places for this mass murder. Only 232,000 were killed there.

May I remind you when we are worrying about new tyrannies, new forms of totalitarianism that if this particular tyranny had not been put down in World War II we would not be discussing the question all here today. Our freedoms would be entirely gone and huge numbers of us would, indeed, not be here at all.

It was said of one noted man that his life went out on a rising curve. We are gathered here today, members of many nations, to see that our nations and the United States, especially, move ahead on a rising curve. It would be

well if we were to be successful in our efforts to prevent World War III, to do the many other fine things that we have projected here at this conference. It would be fine if we could reach these goals, but I want to remind you that our responsibility is not to reach the goal but to move in the right directio: as swiftly as we can.

The Scandinavian philosopher Kierkegaard in his series of essays translated into English by Douglas Steere under the title Purity of Heart Is to Will One Thing says:

> The individual is not...eternally responsible for whether he reaches his goal within this world of time. But without exception, he is eternally responsible for the kind of means he uses. And when he will only use...those means which are genuinely good, then in the judgment of eternity, he is at the goal. If reaching the goal should be the excuse and the defense for the use of illicit or questionable means--alas, suppose he should die tomorrow. Then the clever one would be caught in his own folly. He had used illicit means, and he died before reaching the goal. For reaching the goal comes at the conclusion; but using the means comes at the beginning. Reaching the goal is like hitting the mark with his shot; but using the means is like taking aim. And certainly the aim is a more reliable indication of the marksman's goal than the spot the shot strikes. For it is possible for a shot to hit the mark by accident. The marksman may also be blameless if the shell does not go off. But no irregularities of the aim are permissible...Conscience is...the "blushing innocent spirit that sets up a tumult in a man's breast and fills him with difficulties" just because to conscience the means are without exception as important as the end.

What all-encompassing aim, therefore, can we set up which is understandabl to all of us and, indeed, which presents a route that all may travel, the wise and the not so wise, the literate and the illiterate, the common man and the uncommon man. I believe that our aim, our goal in the problem of world citizenship whether for young people or adults is to make the world a good home for everybody to live in. Let me state seven characteristics of that good home:

First of all, in the good home there is love and affection. Here I use the word affection as defined by Dr. George H. Preston in his The Substance of Mental Health as "That quality which lets two people come close to each other without fear of ridicule or rejection, expecting understanding, sympathy, tolerance, and protection, if protection is needed."

Second, there is a sense of belonging. This is an outcome of love and affection. Everybody has status. Everybody has a chance to be somebody. Everybody is treated as an individual, as a person.

Third, in the good home there is sharing. Not on a quid pro quo basis--you give me this and I'll give you that--but on the basis of love and affection.

Fourth, in the good home there is planning, thinking. The parents in the good home realize that there are three stages in the development of children, young people, and adults. The first stage is one in which the child is egocentric. He is waited upon and helped because he is physically unable to take care of himself. He gets more than he gives. In the second stage, that of adolescence, a person takes care of himself. He may plan a few years ahead but his forward look, his thinking ahead is limited to a few years. Then there is the final stage in which the parents themselves are if they are mature parents. They are no longer egocentric. They are no longer at a stage where they are only putting in as much as they are taking out but they put in more than they take out. Indeed, as far as planning and thinking are concerned, they are looking ahead not to the world of their children but to the world of their children's children. They constantly ask themselves, "What pattern am I building in my family that my children will inevitably build in their family?"

Fifth, in the good family there is opportunity for diversity and unity. Every parent knows that his children are different. He doesn't try to put them all in the same mold. We have talked a good deal about individual differences in the last 25 years as though this was a remarkable discovery. Every parent with more than one child has always known it.

Sixth, in the good family there is something for them to look forward to. It may be the friendly evening meal or the games after supper or the movie they are going to Saturday night, or the church camp they will attend for two weeks next summer. Life has prospects. The family life is on a rising curve.

Seventh, in the good family there is sharing, participation. In the good family children are a part of the family not apart from it. We become persons and personalities by participation. Every time a parent fails to let a child participate, to do something that he is able to do, in that degree he diminishes the stature of his child's personality. We all pride ourselves on being so democratic in our families yet we are far more authoritarian than we realize. Many parents have asked me this last year, "Where are you going to send your boy to college?" Perhaps they merely mean to inquire where he is going to go but I believe it is an unconscious indication of dictation of vocational and professional choice and an unwillingness to let young people think through problems like this for themselves.

We have seen now, some of the characteristics of a good home. Let me now ask the question so critical in the education of the world citizen: Is the world a good home for everybody? Let's see. Love and affection are not the outstanding characteristics in the world in which we live although certainly they are vitally present. One needs only to mention names like Israel, India, Pakistan, Soviet Union, Korea, Philippines to realize that hatred and distrust are still living realities. Need I remind you that for a senator or representative to get elected in many parts of the South, as was recently true in North

Carolina, he must either emphasize hatred and distrust of Negro people or at least speak in favor of segregation. The statements of Senator-elect Willis Smith were characterized by an able college president as "repulsive." Indeed, our policy of segregation in the United States is the Achilles heel of our foreign policy.

May I remind you second, that in a good family all the members of that family share whatever the resources of that family are. Everybody gets what he needs. That's not true in the human family. According to an FAO report one-third of the people in the world eat three-fourths of the food. I am not suggesting any quick and easy remedy for this problem. But certainly technical assistance under Point Four can make a profound difference in this regard.

The world is not a good home to live in for the one billion illiterate people in this world. This is a rough figure but its about half the adults in this world which has around 2.3 billion people in it. The young citizen growing up everywhere not merely in the United States needs to resolve that in his life-time he will see to it that that billion of illiterates is sharply reduced. Indeed, it would be shameful if in the life of some of those older persons of us who are here present we do not make certain that every child beginning now gets a fundamental education. You know, of course, that UNESCO has a division of fundamental education and that pilot projects are going forward in several countries. But we are spending pennies on this problem when we should be spending huge sums of money.

According to a recent speech by Isadore Lubin, "over one billion people in the world today are living on an income of less that $100 (a year). These people can look forward to an average life of less than 30 years. If we want peace in the world, we must give them something to look forward to, a life free from the ravages of disease, hunger, and drouth." I need not emphasize the point that the billion who earn less than $100 a year are likely also to be among the billion illiterates. Poverty and illiteracy go hand in hand.

There is an enormous amount of ill health in the world. Malaria, yaws, tuberculosis and veneral disease take a very heavy toll in many parts of the world.

I have pointed out that our goal is to make the world a good home for everybody and I have noted that it is not now a good home for everybody.

My third point is that we now have within our grasp the means for making the world a good home for everybody. What are our assets? First, there is the atmosphere, the circumstances surrounding this very meeting. It is something new in the world when we can have so many people gathered together here today not only from the United States but from foreign countries to think through this very problem of how to make the world a good home for everybody. New convictions about the possibility of so doing can be found everywhere. And certainly these ideas exist not only in the United States but also in great measure in most nations in the world. One basis for this present concern is the development of devastating new war weapons. We are learning that we must either grow up or blow up.

Can we produce a world in which there is physical and mental health? The advances in this field have been enormous. Last summer in Paris Mr. Arthur Elton, noted documentary film maker, screened for us a motion picture he made in Sardinia which shows how UNRRA and the Rockefeller Foundation cooperated on that island to practically eliminate malaria. We have accomplished this goal in the TVA Valley. In some parts of Greece, 85 per cent of the population once had malaria. During 1948, malaria in these areas had been reduced to 5 per cent. This was a cooperative job of UNRRA, WHO, FAO, AND ECA, the Economic Cooperation Administration.

In the United States we have sharply reduced the amount of tuberculosis and the victory over this disease is getting closer. Tuberculosis has caused the death of 4,500,000 people in the U.S. since 1904. But 4 million more would have died if tuberculosis had continued to kill at the 1904 rate. Through the

Food and Agriculture Organization efforts are being made to reduce the ravages of such animal diseases as foot and mouth disease and rinderpest--a disease which according to FAO Reports kills 2 million cows and water buffaloes every year. Through artificial breeding methods we have learned now how to sharply increase the quality of this stock we are raising.

I heard a farmer the other day tell about increasing the average milk production of his cows by 3,000 pounds of milk as a result of participating in the Ohio artificial breeding program. Three thousand pounds is 1500 quarts and that's a lot of milk.

The Brazilian government recently purchased a young bull from Ohio State University and it was shipped by air to Brazil. I assume that this would be described as getting the "male" by air as well as getting the heir by mail.

We have learned new methods of preventing soil erosion, of sharply improving the quality of this soil. The other day Louis Bromfield pointed out to us the quality of the crops which he was securing on his land as contrasted with that just across the road which was hardly supporting a few scrawny cattle.

The most important tool for building this new world is the United Nations itself. It is a family of nations organized to make the world a better home to live in. This organization has created special organizations--UNESCO, FAO, the WHO--to help improve education, health, food supply. This is something new, something to be optimistic about. May I point out to you that UNICEF, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, has been responsible for 10 million vaccinations against TB in Europe alone.

I have talked to you about the characteristics of a good home. I have indicated that the world is not a good place for everybody to live. Now, specifically what do we do with young people to develop the kind of citizenship that we need today? This of course, is what I have been talking about.

Let me make the inference and conclusions much more specific. If we are

going to develop the effective citizen you and I must see our classrooms, our schools, our universities as a good home for children and young people to grow in. There must be love and affection in our classroom. Indeed, this is one of the major conclusions drawn in the five-year Detroit citizenship study headed by Dr. Stanley Dimond of the Detroit Public Schools:

"The key to better citizenship is emotional adjustment. The mental health approach seems to me to be the foundation upon which we will get better citizens. If I could be sure that each youngster in school got a reasonable amount of love, had some friends, and found some success experiences in his schooling, then I think I could build on this foundation."

The failure to satisfy these needs seems to be a primary cause of poor citizenship. What opportunities are there in the classroom in the school for teaching thinking, planning, the thoughtful approach to problems? When I see excellent teaching the children are asking the questions. They may ask them of the teacher or "ask" them through the reading of reference books, through interviewing resource persons, through carrying out significant activities in the community. In the poorest schools the teacher asks the questions and she already knows the answers. Isn't this silly? The young citizen will become a good mature citizen if he has a chance to practice the kind of living that makes for good citizenship. And part of that practice comes from asking questions that you want answered.

Clear thinking will come only through solving ones own problems. Why should a person think clearly about problems the answers to which don't make any difference to him? As William James once said, "If it doesn't make any difference, what difference does it make?"

Dr. Stanley Dimond also pointed out to me that, "I can get no evidence in our schools or in most of the other schools of the nation that thinking or problem solving is taught. There is a lot of lip service to this principle but I do not actually find that they are engaged in problem solving activities."

We cannot think clearly about things which are only play acting. Participation and thinking clearly about world problems can come only, I believe,

as an outgrowth of thinking clearly about problems in the classroom, in the school as a whole, in the community. In the "Civic Leader" for April 24, 1950, Dr. Dimond writes:"In one high school less than 50 per cent of the students participate in any school activity other than attending classes. Limited economic circumstances seem to be the chief factor preventing students from participating in extra-curricular activities.

Some of the evidence coming out of the experiments described earlier tends to support the participation hypothesis. For example, the class making the greatest gains in the junior high school experiment, and the two senior high school classes showing greatest gains were taught by teachers who are considered to be unusually adept at pupil-teaching planning. Observation of student governments and other participation activities gives additional support to the argument that democracy is not well taught by autocratic methods."

For several years Mrs. Mary Dabney of the National Community Chests and Councils and I have been working to see what can be done by schools to develop this kind of participation. Here are some examples:

Students in speech classes visit community agencies, write their own speeches, and rehearse them under direction of speech or English teachers. Students then give talks before school audiences and civic groups at Red Feather campaign time, carefully scheduled by Chest and teachers so as not to burden any student, but to give as many as possible an opportunity to speak to a "real" audience. Some places where this was done very effectively last year were: In Cincinnati where student speakers and an outstanding job. In Enid, Okla. where the speech class produced play, "A Feather in your Cap," was presented before clubs and on the radio. In Kansas City, Mo. where there was a "Student Speakers Workshop". Other schools using this type of project included Peoria, Ill., Racine, Wisc., Richmond, Va., Santa Barbara, Calif., Oklahoma City, Madison, Wisc., and Davenport, Iowa.

Sometimes community service material is incorporated in the curriculum as at Atlanta where a textbook, "Building Atlanta's Future," was prepared by the University of North Carolina with the help of the staff of the Community Planning Council. It is now being used as a textbook in first year citizenship courses in ten public high schools in the city of Atlanta. Students and teachers have spoken highly of the book, and interest in the citizenship course is extensive. The School Board has had requests for copies of the book from thirty states and three foreign countries.

In Salt Lake City the book "Community Life in Salt Lake City and Utah" was written by Dr. Worlton, former Assistant Superintendent of Schools.

The Louisville 12th grade "Problems of Democracy" course includes a unit on "Building Together in the Field of Social Welfare" prepared by Miss Zachari of the Board of Education and Mrs. Kirby of the Louisville Health and Welfare Council.

Cleveland and Detroit now have school curriculum committees working with Community Chest and Council staffs in writing or revising local text materials.

The Los Angeles Schools have published a teaching aid text on local health and welfare services.

Many opportunities for actual participation in community affairs are being created. In Philadelphia the Red Feather school Program (of the Chest) and the Council on Volunteers (of the Community Welfare Council) work with schools to arrange for opportunities for students to do after-school volunteer service in social, health and recreation agencies. Credit is given in many schools, notably South Philadelphia High, for this work, which is carefully supervised and worked out on a semester time schedule.

In Louisville three high schools now offer opportunities for school credit to Junior and Senior students who do supervised volunteer service in selected community agencies. Arrangements are made cooperatively by the Louisville Health and Welfare Council.

The Social Welfare Council of the Oranges and Maplewood, N.J., has started an experiment in one high school called the "Junior Social Workers." Students serve as volunteer recreation and club leaders, as hospital aides and in day nurseries. Agency executives comment favorably on the sense of responsibility toward their assignments and the maturity of judgment shown by the student volunteers.

Teachers are also playing a role in community planning and service. In Cleveland the Welfare Federation enjoys participation on its Board and Committees of many top school people, including the superintendent, principals, and teachers.

During this year in cooperation with the Ohio Association of School Administrators I have been collecting illustrations of ways in which students are participating in community life. The findings show that we are making an excellent beginning on real participation. We have done good things with student councils, with safety patrols. But I doubt if the average high school graduate today is sensitive to what is really going on in his own community. I don't think he knows its factories, its public and voluntary agencies. Field trips are common in excellent schools but many youngsters never take them. Instead they read about the world. There is a misconception among some teachers that learning the words about citizenship is even better than doing the things for which the words stand. And some graduate work is words about words.

I don't want to give you the impression that training for world citizenship through participation is always an overt process, a doing of something. Certainly the effective citizen must be able to mentally rehearse

his prospective actions before he carries them out. In short he must be able to think not only about his prospective actions but also about the actions of people who have lived richly and written important documents about their experiences. Jay Williams, chairman of Social Sciences at the University of Chicago has recently written in the Journal of Higher Education for June, 1950 about the use of original writings of men like Adam Smith, Hamilton, George Bellamy and others. It was not easy to get the students to think about the problems and issues raised.

Mr. Williams points out that the students had many habits which inhibit learning.

"They had, in general, a rather firm conviction that an academic institution is one where the teacher thinks and the student absorbs. In conferences with the instructors they explained that it was novel for them to be asked questions which could not be answered by an affirmative or negative or by some straight-forward statement of fact. Consequently students were often tongue-tied when first confronted with such questions as: Does the Declaration of Independence sanction universal suffrage? or is Locke an enemy of monarchy? or does Locke think all men are rational?"

We must do a better job of teaching current affairs. Note for example, these data from Lester Markel's book, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy": About 30 percent of the electorate is <u>unaware</u> of almost any given event in American foreign affairs. About 45 percent of the electorate is <u>aware</u> of important events in the field but cannot be considered <u>informed</u>. Only 25 percent of the electorate consistently shows knowledge of foreign problems.

A recent Gallup survey showed that only 5 percent of adult population knew the meaning of Point Four. In Columbus on a quiz program which pays $5 for each question answered with a jackpot which builds up for unanswered questions, it took 29 phone calls to get an answer to the question, "What do the initials U N E S C O stand for. The luckyand wise man who gave the right answer was richer by $145. Wisdom really pays. It took only two question to establish the names of the nephews of Donald Duck. In case you should be asked, the names are Louey, Huey, and Dewey.

The problem of how to improve understanding of current affairs is complicated. I will make a few suggestions:

First, you are fortunate if you can get the fine cooperation of newspapers--and what is being done by the Minnesota World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis, is excellent.

Second, wisdom and insight in foreign affairs must be valued highly by the superintendent of schools, the principal, the high school teachers, by ministers, church leaders, union leaders, farm bureaus. If they don't care, youngsters won't care.

Third, the best knowledge of foreign affairs comes as a by-product thru working on Junior Red Cross, CARE gifts, projects with foreign students such as we worked out this year at Newark, Ohio, Zanesville, and Kenton, The way to solve foreign affairs is to make them domestic affairs. We must get personally acquainted with our opposite numbers in other countries--by travel, by exchange of teachers, by letters, and in other ways.

Fourth, if we don't participate in local affairs we will not take part in foreign affairs. Sometimes we distinguish between social problems and personal problems, but every problem must be personal before we really will do much about it.

The world is one family and the sooner we start treating each other as members of a family the sooner we shall become world citizens. I have tried to make clear that in every family we have in miniature the same problems we have in the world family. In every school we have in miniature the problems that we have in the world. In every community we have in miniature the same problems that we have in a world community.

Isn't this really a very good time to be alive? If you had a choice for yourself and for the children and young people you are teaching as to what period of our history you would like to have lived thru, I wonder what your choice would be. My own choice is today. Can anyone think of a time when courage and wisdom were more important? Courage you remember has been defined as the memory of past success and we have had a great many successes in this world.

The problem of peace and freedom is one we shall have to solve ourselves. No one can do it for us. Indeed, the desire for the strong man, the wise man, the great man to take this burden off our shoulders is a sign of immaturity. I like the story of the man who inquired of a boy in a certain town whether

any great men had been born there. "No," he replied, "only babies." Greatness in a time like this is not created fullblown, it is cultivated, it is grown and it is grown in the gardens which all of you are tending.

I believe, therefore, that as you think about "The Young American Citizen: His Rights and Duties in a World Community" you will agree with Wordsworth, "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive but to be young was very heaven."

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE
PRIMARY GRADES

Background

The primary teacher who thinks of international understanding as necessarily demanding knowledge about foreign policy, diplomacy, or international organizations will probably protest that such matters are beyond the comprehension of primary-graders (which, of course, is correct) and so conclude that there is nothing she can do to teach international understanding (which conclusion, however, is not justified).

The experiences which children have during their first three years of schooling can contribute significantly to their international understanding in two ways:

First, they can learn that the world is a big place and that they are part of it; that other children in other communities sometimes eat foods that differ from what they eat, wear different clothes, play different games, speak different languages, and yet are very much like they are; that some of their parents and neighbors have travelled in foreign countries; and they can learn the names of some foreign cities and countries and acquire a rough concept of the global shape of the world.

Second, they can learn how to get along with other people, what other people are like, how the elementary democratic processes serve the needs of both individuals and groups. Such experiences in human relations are basic to their later achievement of understanding about international relations.

Defining this second objective for the education of young children in international relations, Truda Weil of the New York City Public Schools has written, "Since the job of the teachers is not that of economist, statesman, nor politician, it becomes the primary job of the teacher to develop human personality into a perception of right living with other human beings so that at home and abroad, reason, justice, and good will toward men will prevail." (Teaching the World Responsibilities of Americans, page 23)

And Delia Goetz of the U. S. Office of Education has said, "What is international understanding, then? First of all, it is learning to appreciate and respect the individual wherever he is. It is learning to know peoples of other countries or other cultures--whether in their classrooms or in another continent--as human beings. It is finding out the kind of homes they live in, what they eat, what they wear, how they work and play. It is learning something about the songs they sing, the pictures they paint, and the books they write. It is becoming familiar with the names and something of the lives and deeds of the men and women they honor. It is helping children see the similarities and the differences in peoples' lives and customs, and the reason for them. It is helping children realize how the lives of these people are all interwoven with our own." (World Understanding Begins with Children, page 6)

Questions for Discussion

1. To what extent, and how, are children in the primary grades of American schools now acquiring concepts and attitudes that contribute to worldmindedness?
2. To what extent, and how, are children in the primary grades of American schools now acquiring experience and understanding in human relations that will equip them for later development of international understanding.
3. What objectives of education for international understanding in the primary grades are important and attainable in addition to the two that are mentioned above?
4. What changes are most needed to increase the contribution of primary education to the international understanding, both immediate and deferred, of young children?
5. What are the principal obstacles to more effective teaching of international understanding in the primary grades? Lack of pupil experience and interest? Lack of teaching materials? Lack of time? Insufficient teacher skill in instructional techniques? Insufficient teacher knowledge of subjectmatter?
6. What are your local and state teachers associations doing to stimulate interest in, and information about, education for international understanding among their members? Do they have committees on international relations? Have they named representatives to serve as advisory members of the NEA Committee on International Relations? (Every local and state association affiliated with the NEA is entitled to name one advisory member.)
7. How can we make the fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming school year?

References for Teachers

1. NEA Committee on International Relations, ASCD, and NCSS. Education for International Understanding in American Schools. Washington, 1948. 241p. $1.

2. Oeste, George I., editor. Teaching the World Responsibilities of Americans. Annual Proceedings of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies. Vol. 45. Philadelphia, 1949. 76 p. $1.

3. Goetz, Delia. World Understanding Begins with Children. Bulletin 1949, No. 17, U.S. Office of Education. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949. 30 p. 15 cents.

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5. NEA Department of Elementary School Principals. Learning World Goodwill in the Elementary School. 25th Yearbook. Washington, 1946. 366 p. $2.

Discussion Guide No. 44

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE

INTERMEDIATE GRADES

Background

Horizons recede rapidly for the child of the middle grades as he grows from age 9 to age 10 and from 10 to 11. The people he meets in his social studies work often live in distant times and places. The stories in his readers tell of strange and wondrous happenings in far-away lands. He begins to make significant linkages between his own first-hand experiences and what he reads in books. Thus, he understands that the proprietor of the Chinese restaurant down the street spent his boyhood in Canton, a city in China about which he read in his geography book. He knows also that Pedro, his new classmate, has difficulty in speaking English not because he is dull but because his parents and playmates spoke only Spanish in the Mexican village where he was born.

The typical curriculum for the intermediate grades provides many opportunitieis for children to learn about the people of other countries and their different ways of living. Such learning can be mere superficial description, but at best it will provide insights into such questions as: why do certain peoples live the way they do? how does it feel to be a black-skinned boy in Africa? -- or a fair-haired girl in Sweden? how do peoples who live in different parts of the world influence and benefit one another through such activities as travel, exchange of creative work, and international trade?

Questions for Discussion

1. Published descriptions of teaching in the intermediate grades in the field of education for international understanding indicate that nearly all such teaching is focused on the objective of helping children to learn about other peoples and cultures. Is this emphasis justified by the experience of teachers attending this Conference? To what extent should we try to introduce other topics into the curriculum at this level -- for example, problems of war and peace? international organizations? functions and practices of diplomacy?

2. In the past, our teaching about foreign cultures was criticized for exaggerating the differences between foreign peoples and ourselves. Thus, we tended to give children the idea that people in foreign countries were strange, exotic, and quite unlike Americans. More recently we have tried to minimize differences and stress similarities. In so doing, have we gone too far to the other extreme? How can we maintain a suitable balance in this respect? (The NEA report, Education for International Understanding in American Schools expresses the goal in this sentence: "The world-minded American knows and understands how people in other lands live and recognizes the common humanity which underlies all differences in culture."

3. Recognition that learning grows out of personal experience has tended, during the past generation, to shift the focus of elementary education from books to life. The class learns about making flour by visiting the

local mill (or by grinding grain in class with hand equipment) rather than by reading about the process. This is all well and good when it's feasible. But in the area of international relations, learning must of necessity be largely outside the first-hand experience of the young learners. Does this mean that in this area we must rely on books and other reading materials that yield only vicarious experiences for pupils? Or, is it perhaps more possible than at first seems apparent to utilize the principle of experiential learning in international understanding at the intermediate grade level? If so, how?

4. Related to the foregoing is the question: how can we use community resources in teaching international understanding in the intermediate grades?

5. What classroom techniques and school-wide projects have been found most effective in teaching international understanding in the intermediate grades?

6. What reading materials and audio-visual aids have been found most useful?

7. What are your local and state teachers associations doing to stimulate interest in, and information about, education for international understanding among their members? Do they have committees on international relations? Have they named representatives to serve as advisory members of the NEA Committee on International Relations? (Every local and state association affiliated with the NEA is entitled to name one advisory member.)

8. How can we make the fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming school year?

References for Teachers

1. NEA Committee on International Relations, ASCD, and NCSS. Education for International Understanding in American Schools. Washington, 1948. 241 p.

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4. Chase, W. Linwood. Wartime Social Studies in the Elementary School. Curriculum Series, Number Three. Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1943. 51 p. $1. See especially Section Three, "Friendliness Toward Other People," and Section Four, "The World-wide Setting of Modern Life."

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THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Background and Questions for Discussion

The teaching of international understanding in junior high school should permeate the entire school program. All teachers in all subject fields can contribute, although some can contribute more directly and more extensively than others. Out-of-class activities can, and should, contribute to the development of the international understanding achieved by high-school youth.

1. The Subject Fields

Every subject in the high-school program can contribute to international understanding. But present practice falls short of potentialities.

How does your subject, as commonly taught, contribute? How might it contribute more?

If all teachers acknowledge increase of international understanding as a common objective of their respective fields of teaching (as they should), how can duplication and overlapping among different courses be avoided?

2. Out-of-Class Activities

Some schools seek to stimulate school-wide, or community-wide, interest in international relations through such activities as exhibits, pageants, and festivals. In addition to the public-relations value of such enterprises, they unquestionably have educative value for the student participants. But, are the educational outcomes usually substantial enough to justify the time and effort expended? What principles should guide the planning and execution of projects of this type?

International relations clubs are found in many senior high schools, but are rare in junior high schools. Why? Would it not be desirable to encourage the formation of more such clubs in junior high schools? (For information on organizing international relations clubs, and for obtaining continuing service to such clubs, teachers should write to Robert H. Reid, Committee on International Relations, NEA, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D.C.)

What other out-of-class activities can be effectively utilized in promoting education for international understanding?

3. Motivation

The typical American adult feels little personal involvement in international affairs. He may have a spectator interest in world events, but feels no responsibility for helping to shape the trend of events and does not see that his life will be affected by what happens in Moscow, Paris, or Lake Success. To him, these matters are very remote: let others worry about them!

If this attitude is characteristic of adults, is it not even more marked in the outlooks of young adolescents? Or, are junior high school pupils more responsive than their parents to the challenge of world problems?

In any case, the teacher confronts a special kind of problem in stimulating pupil interest in international affairs--a problem in motivation which is of much greater magnitude with respect to this area of instruction than in

the case of teaching such subjects as shop, sewing, health, or community civics (all of which have a high degree of obvious relevance to the pupil's immediate interests and needs).

How can international affairs be made personally significant to junior high school pupils? What are some of the "natural" interests of pupils at this age level which can be appealed to in motivating their study of other lands and peoples and of international relations?

4. Teaching Materials

Junior high school teachers seeking to enrich their instruction in international understanding almost universally remark on the lack of materials suitable for pupil reading. Are materials really as scarce as teachers say, or does the complaint arise from teachers' lack of acquaintance with what exists?

What materials have been found most useful for junior high school classes? How can teachers most efficiently keep up with new materials? What problems are involved in obtaining new materials for student use? In using them most effectively with students of differing levels of ability?

What films and recordings are most useful? How can such audio-visual aids be obtained and used effectively?

5. In-service Teacher Education

Teachers need to have international understanding before they can teach it. How can teachers become better informed on world affairs?

6. This Conference

How can we make fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming school year?

References for Teachers

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2. NEA Committee on International Relations. Teaching United Nations: A Pictorial Report. Washington, 1949. 32 p. $1.

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Discussion Guide No. 46

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Background and Questions for Discussion

1. Courses in International Relations

Some high schools offer separate courses in international relations, but such courses are rare. Such courses permit systematic organization of instruction directed toward international understanding.

Should the practice of offering separate courses in international relations be more widely encouraged for senior high schools? If so, how should such courses be organized? What instructional materials are available and appropriate? What are the disadvantages of separate courses?

2. The Subject Fields

How does your subject, as commonly taught, contribute to international understanding? How might it contribute more? How can its international content be best correlated with that of other subjects in the curriculum?

When United States history and world history are taught in separate courses, does the student tend to get a false notion that the histories are quite unrelated? Does such division of subject matter foster a nationalistic outlook? If so, what should be done to prevent such outcomes? (Does the same problem exist with respect to separate courses in American literature?)

3. International Relations Clubs

Many high schools have international relations clubs. About 300 such clubs are "sponsored" by the NEA Committee on International Relations. Such sponsorship entitles club advisers to use the Committee's information service and to receive suggestions for club programs and kits of free materials to aid study and discussion by high-school students. Advisers of international relations clubs who wish to have their clubs sponsored by the NEA Committee and others who wish to organize such clubs are invited to write to Mr. Robert H. Reid, Special Assistant to the NEA Committee on International Relations, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

How can international relations clubs in senior high schools serve more effectively to promote education for international understanding? What additional services should the NEA Committee offer such clubs?

4. Other Extra-Curricular Activities

What other out-of-class activities can be effectively utilized in promoting education for international understanding?

5. Motivation

In the fall of 1946 the National Opinion Research Center asked a cross-section of the American people: "Can you think of anything that you

personally can do that would help prevent another war?" Only 36 per cent replied affirmatively. (Education for International Understanding in American Schools, pages 76-78). The fact that nearly two-thirds of the nation's adults failed to recognize any role for themselves in the maintenance of peace illustrates the difficulty of motivating individuals to learn and to act in the field of world affairs. The individual characteristically does not see that he is personally involved in such seemingly remote problems as international trade, international control of atomic energy, or the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. By contrast, the school study of personal hygiene, vocational agriculture, or community civics, for example, has a clear relevance to the immediate interests and needs of the learner.

How can international problems be made personally significant to high-school students? What avenues of interest already exist in the mind of the typical adolescent and how can such interests be utilized for motivating instruction? How can new interests be stimulated?

6. Teaching Materials

Reading materials on international affairs are abundant--for adult reading. Such materials can serve adequately the needs of abler students in senior high school. But, for the majority of high-school students, there remains a scarcity of suitable reading materials.

What materials have been found most useful for senior high-school classes? How can teachers most efficiently keep up with new materials? What problems are involved in obtaining new materials for student use? In using them most effectively with students of differing levels of ability?

What films and recordings are most useful? How can such audio-visual aids be obtained and used effectively?

7. Role of Teachers' Associations

What are your local and state teachers' associations doing to stimulate interest in, and information about, education for international understanding among their members? Do they have committees on international relations? Have they named representatives to serve as advisory members of the NEA Committee on International Relations? (Every local and state association affiliated with the NEA is entitled to name one advisory member.)

8. This Conference

How can we make fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming school year?

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3. Thursfield, Richard E., editor. The Study and Teaching of American History. The National Council for the Social Studies, 17th Yearbook. Washington, 1946. $2. See Section One, "The Function of American History in One World," pp. 3-93.

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN COLLEGE

Background and Questions for Discussion

Education for international understanding in college is not synonymous with the study of international relations. The latter is, of course, just one part of the former. Most colleges offer one or more courses in "International Relations" (or "World Politics"); but outside of such courses all college contribute to the international understanding of their students through courses in history, political science, English literature, modern languages--indeed, throughout the entire curriculum. This discussion guide assumes that the total program should be considered as a means for enhancement of international understanding, but it will also provide opportunity for focusing attention on international relations as a special field of study.

1. Objectives

a. What should a college education do for the general student (one who does not specialize in the field of international relations) with respect to his outlook and information on world affairs:

b. What should be the aims of college programs designed for students who specialize in the international field?

c. To the extent that international studies for the undergraduate are vocational, what guidance should he be given concerning graduate work and prospective career?

2. Courses in International Relations

a. What courses are most needed to constitute a minimum offering for a major concentration in the field of international relations? What courses in related fields should also be required of students majoring in international relations?

b. Should the offerings in international relations be under the jurisdiction of a separate department or of an interdepartmental committee or should they be within the department of political science?

c. Should a survey course in international relations be required as the first course for all students who plan to major in the field, or should they begin with more intensive specialized courses?

d. What students, other than international relations majors, should be encouraged -- or, perhaps, required -- to take a survey course in international relations? What should be the aim and content of such a course? At what level should it normally be offered? Should there be any requisites for it?

b. How can the contributions of the several subject fields to international understanding be improved? How can duplication and overlapping be reduced and coordination be better managed?

4. Current World Affairs

a. Should colleges, more generally than at present, offer courses in current world affairs? If so, what should be the nature of such courses? Should they be for credit or for non-credit?

5. International Relations Clubs

a. How useful a function is served by the student international relations clubs that exist on many college campuses?

b. How can the activities of such clubs be improved?

c. How can they reach more students?

6. Methods and Materials

a. What are the most promising trends in college instruction in relation to international understanding?

b. What reading materials are most useful?

c. How can films and other audio-visual aids be used more effectively?

7. This Conference

a. How can we make fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming year?

References for Teachers

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Discussion Guide No. 48

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Background

Education for international understanding in the elementary and secondary schools is a responsibility that must be shared by all teachers in all subject fields on all grade levels. A teacher must have international understanding in order to teach it. He must also want to teach it and know how to do it.

To prepare teachers well for this important responsibility, the task of teacher education is threefold:

(1) To stimulate the interest of prospective teachers and teachers-in-service in interantional affairs and in the opportunities they will have as teachers to develop the international understanding of children and youth.

(2) To provide students in teacher education with experience and skills in methods of teaching international understanding..

(3) To help students acquire a broad base of information and understanding about the modern world and the facts of international relations.

Institutions for teacher education are at present doing many things toward the attainment of this threefold objective. The extent and variety of such activities are indicated in the findings of a survey reported by Arndt and Hager in 1947 (Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the American Association of Teachers Colleges, pages 107-113). All but 6 of 117 institutions surveyed were offering one or more specialized courses dealing with international problems. Most of them had held forums, institutes, or special assemblies on international affairs. A few sponsored travel study courses. Nearly half (52) reported valuable educational experiences for their total student bodies as a result of enrolling students from foreign countries. The authors concluded that the range of activities was impressive and encouraging, but they expressed some doubts as to whether the activities were as widely influential as they should be. They concluded: "What is not clear from the reports is the degree to which a vital concern about international relationships is permeating all elements of the college programs. This wide-spread attack is important. Special courses on international problems are helpful. Special lectures, institutes and forums certainly serve to bring the issues before students and faculty. However, prospective teachers will probably not go out with a determination to help build a durable peace unless the faculty members generally are themselves tremendously concerned and seize every opportunity to emphasize international implications in all their work. A concern about international relationships and a determination to help build a peaceful world is not something which can be taught apart from the rest of living. It must become an important part of the daily thinking of all leaders of this great land."

Questions for Discussion

1. Do the preceding paragraphs state accurately and adequately the function of teacher-education institutions with respect to education for international understanding? If not, how should the statement be modified?

2. What differences, if any should characterize the educational programs for college students preparing for elementary and secondary teaching?

3. Should teachers colleges, more generally than at present, offer courses in current world affairs? If so, what should be the nature of such courses?

4. How useful a function is served by the student international relations clubs that exist on many teachers-college campuses?

5. How can foreign students enrolled in our teachers colleges be more effectively used in the promotion of international understanding?

6. How can a larger proportion of students and faculty members be reached through international activities in teacher-education institutions? In the words of Arndt and Hager, how can we "permeate all elements of the college program with a vital concern about international relationships"?

7. How can we make the fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming year?

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Discussion Guide No. 49

THE TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING IN ADULT EDUCATION

Background and Questions for Discussion

Adult education provides a means of great potential influence for increasing the international understanding of the American people. Only a small fraction of the potential is presently being realized.

1. Scope

How can more adults be reached with educational programs directed toward increase in international understanding? Should the programs be on a formal or informal basis or both?

2. Objectives

Should adult study groups in the field of international affairs seek primarily to enhance the enlightenment of their members or should they seek deliberately to influence public opinion and governmental action toward "desireable"ends?

(On this point, one writer advises: "In bridging the gap between Main street and the world, education will have to acknowledge itself an aid to thinking, not a revelation of wisdom. The right of the primary group when possessed of full information to decide for itself on a course of action is basic to the functioning of democracy. The task of the educator is to place the needed information in the proper hands against all opposition political or social." Thomas R. Adam, Education for International Understanding, p. 174)

3. Motivation

How can adult education help American citizens to develop a sharper realization of their personal involvement in world affairs and a greater sense of personal responsibility for helping to shape the trend of events?

The need for such motivation was indicated in 1946 by a public-opinion poll which asked a cross-section of American adults, "Can you think of anything that you personally can do that would help prevent another war?" Only 36 per cent replied affirmatively. In contrast, an earlier poll had found that 83 per cent of the public felt that they were doing something specific to win the war!

4. Methods and Materials

Given a class or study group of well-motivated adults seeking to learn more about American foreign policy and world affairs, how can the instructor or leader make the most efficient use of class time to promote such learning? What reading materials should be recommended for use by adult learners in studying international relations?

5. Responsibility

What agency or agencies should take the initiative in developing programs of education for international understanding for adults? The public schools? Colleges or universities? National organizations? Local groups? How can the efforts of different organizations in this field best be coordinated?

6. This Conference

How can we make fullest use of the experiences we have had at this Conference in our teaching during the coming school year?

References for Teachers

1. Adam, Thomas. Education for International Understanding. New York: Institute of Adult Education, 1948. 181 p. $2.

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TEACHING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Summary of the Recorders' Reports

The following is a brief analysis of reports on teaching international understanding at all levels of education.

1. As a Norwegian teacher expressed it, a child by his mere arrival in the classroom, or by having had varied experiences elsewhere, has already begun to enlarge his world. In Norway, he encounters no formal history teaching before the fourth grade. Indeed, the problem at this level is rather one of encouraging personality adjustment, of guiding and stimulating his interests toward greater social understanding and cooperation. Teaching devices might be: (a) packing Red Cross boxes; (b) exchanging letters with children of other lands; (c) bringing to class toys and textiles of foreign origin; (d) celebrating such events as United Nations Day and World Brotherhood Week.

2. At each level of education, care should be taken to avoid authoritarian teaching. Children in the middle grades should learn self-discipline primarily through obeying rules which they themselves have formulated. Reason must be given precedence over power, for children subjected to force may resort to force. Teachers, moreover should recognize: (a) the importance of good human relations between teachers and other staff members and between teachers and children; (b) the need for parental cooperation through better public relations programs; (c) the need for emphasis on the discovery of similarities rather than differences.

It is also clear that, at this age, the child can begin to embark upon activities of greater scope and interest. Denmark, for example has initiated

friendship tours by which school children, having saved their pennies, are given the opportunity to exchange visits with their neighbors in other countries. Each child remains ten days in the home of the other, the only expense being the costs of transportation. Effective use, too, can be made of foreign visitors and other local resources.

3. In the junior high school, the following guides were suggested in the choice of a curriculum:

(a) Examine the children with regard to their needs and interests. They are at a difficult age, susceptible to higher ideals, yet somewhat self-centered and struggling to achieve independence.

(b) Examine our present culture to discover what is required of youth; how they can best be prepared to meet the demands of their society.

(c) Examine the resources of education within the entire school program (assembly programs, extra-curricular activities, etc.)

International relations can permeate the subject matter of almost any course of study including mathematics, home economics, and English. Interest can be created and broadened by using the library as well as the textbook. Again, teacher direction should be kept at a minimum and cooperative planning emphasized.

4. The senior high school teacher is perhaps more responsible than any other for a systematic presentation of international relations. Since the problem is to transmit a large and complicated body of information, it is necessary for the teacher at this level to be particularly well informed both as to the long-range and the immediate problems of international society. At present this information is in most cases inadequate; yet the task grows more complex each day. It is obvious that teachers in service must increase their

participation in workshops, lecture courses, research, travel, teacher exchange, extension courses, community forums, current reading, and conferences if they hope to become or to remain prepared.

Many teaching devices exist besides those already mentioned. Assembly programs; home room projects; use of bulletin boards, magazines, and community resources; stimulation of pride in the diverse national ancestries of students through the study of music, literature, art, folk dancing, and even food--all are effective techniques. An informative display might be arranged in a downtown window, being changed at frequent intervals by a committee of teachers (or of students) as a means of informing the community about international relations. A class might be divided into discussion groups of seven or eight with each group studying a problem of its own choice.

5. For the college and university, the problem is essentially one of correlating the various subject matter fields. Education in international understanding, in the broad sense of that term, is often haphazard and piecemeal. Particularly is this true for students in fields other than the social studies.

Most colleges and universities, moreover, have not initiated programs to meet or to further community interest in international relations. Ohio State University might be emulated in this regard. There, groups of American and foreign students are frequently sent out on weekend visits to designated schools. They participate in panel discussions and answer questions from the student body as to what their schools are like, the character of their home life, and so on. The program is informal and the effect is that young people, through direct personal contact, begin to realize that people, regardless of color or place of origin, are in reality very much alike the world over.

Within the university itself, much needs to be done in the way of integrating foreign students into the life of the campus, and in overcoming problems of language and lack of familiarity with educational practices. Where visiting groups are large the appointment of a special director of international education is advisable.

6. In the teacher-training institutions, the demands are growing ever more complex and interrelated. Every pre-service course, whether it be literature, language, history, music, or art, contains elements of a course in human relations. These elements need to be related to the rest of the curriculum in order to accomplish the desired end. Pittsburgh and Winnetka, it was reported, have had particular success in the preparation of teachers through such programs.

7. Much always remains to be done in the field of adult education if our nation is to intelligently and responsibly discharge the duties to which it has fallen heir. The greatest need is to develop a positive attitude toward peace and to overcome public lethargy and cynicism. The challenge is to create for peace some semblance of that excitement and interest which imbued all for victory in war. The government itself is one force which can help. The State Department, UNESCO, the United Nations and other governmental and intergovernmental agencies should develop more comprehensive programs in the field of adult education. Nevertheless, the responsibility rests finally and essentially upon the people themselves.

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6. Graham, Gladys Murphy. The UN and the Schools. A.A.U.W. Journal, Winter and Spring 1949.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS*

Margaret Boyd

In a setting typically American, on the campus of Lindenwood College, 400 American teachers and approximately 50 teachers from other lands have been seriously engaged in discussing problems international in scope. So illuminating has been the program of this Conference that we will never again think in terms of our own back yard.

The world has become our back yard. We will be much better teachers and better citizens, not only because of the information and insight gained, but also because of the materials and the methods which we have found for introducing international questions into our classrooms.

We have learned that problems which have seemed domestic to each individual country are now international. We do not expect to return home as experts in international affairs, but we have gained a closer understanding.

We have learned that the most threatening force in the world today is hunger, but we have also learned that health, economics, and democratic citizenship can be taught as we meet that fundamental need.

We have realized that full support of the United Nations in all its endeavors is our most effective control. Even in the present period of international tensions, we have found that the United Nations has accomplished more than we had dared hope. New devotion has been aroused to the principles of human rights of all peoples and of all nations, large and small.

We have been stimulated to find out more concerning vital issues. We have really been trying to find out how to make the world a better home in which to live.

* A tape recording of various activities including this address and an evening's entertainment furnished by the visiting foreign educators can be obtained from the Department of Classroom Teachers, 1201 16th St.N.W. Wash.D.C. Price $3.00

Probably our richest experience has been the opportunity to meet and talk with teachers from other lands. We have realized anew that all peoples wish to live together in peace and amity. Made possible by the Overseas Teacher Fund provided by the American teachers themselves, this miracle of bringing together, for each of the last three years, teachers from overseas to tell us of their countries and to hear of ours has been truly inspiring.

Values from this first international conference of teachers devoted to studying international problems must now be translated into school rooms from Finland to the Philippines, from India to the British Isles. The waging of peace, clearly our greatest responsibility, is one which classroom teachers dare not and shall not shirk.

SUMMATION*

William G. Carr

1. The United States is the leader of the free world; we must act responsibly.

2. The United Nations is our best hope for peace; we must support it loyally.

3. Nuclear energy unlocks the door to a new world; we must enter it boldly.

4. Half the world is hungry; we must share generously.

5. Diversity rather than uniformity is the source of our strength; we must work together fraternally.

6. The human family stands at the threshold of exhilarating opportunities; we must go forward hopefully.

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*This brief summation, from which excerpts have been drawn to introduce the major divisions of this report, was delivered at the close of the Conference session.

RESOLUTIONS

The participants in the Seventh Annual Conference of the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association, in addition to resolutions of thanks, resolved:

1. (a) That the NEA Journal staff be commended for the effective material on International Relations published in the Journal during the past year and that it be encouraged to devote more space whenever possible to similar articles, as well as to available teaching materials in this particular field.

   (b) That state education associations be urged to publish in each issue of their journals, or as often as possible, articles promoting international understanding, especially related to teaching.

2. That all classroom teachers pledge their wholehearted efforts to secure the support of the senators from their respective states for the adoption of the Draft Covenant on Human Rights.

3. (a) That press, radio, and television news services, in reporting the news from Korea, be urged to make clear the fact that the military activities against the invaders of southern Korea are the result of the action of the Security Council of the United Nations.

   (b) That they are further urged to avoid the use of the word, "Yanks", and to substitute a name which designates only the forces of the United Nations Security Council.

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