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EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL

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FOREWORD

This study is the result of a conviction that the most desirable social value of the present day world is security against the threat of war. The author is indebted to Professor John J. Mahoney of Boston University for instilling the idea from which the conviction grew and for encouraging its development. At the risk of being considered too altruistic by some and positively utopian by many, the purpose of the study is to consider the challenge of the social value of national security, to indicate the possibility of attaining such security by means of better international relations, and to point out the answer that education is prepared to submit. Although the objective offers a world-wide challenge, nevertheless in this study, it is limited to the United States.
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EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL
GOOD WILL

PART I
Presentation of the Problem
National Security as used in this thesis means a freedom from the threat of war based on adequate defense.

In spite of successive wars that have flared across the world since the beginning of time, the desire for vital peace and security from war persists. Today, whatever motives may force a leader to subject his people to bloodshed and destruction, the whole world is affected. Many people consider the acquisition of a national security against the threat of war as a primary social objective of the human race. If we accept the premise that a great many people of the world and more especially of our own country possess the will to peace, and if we believe that peace is desirable, then the logical inference is, that the greatest institution of propaganda and reform should go along with them. Education is a slow method to reform. Consequently, the chances of its ultimate success are greater.

The National Security of our country is being constantly threatened by world conditions. Frequently, circumstances that the world views with alarm, would offer no threat if the correct understandings were applied to the interpretation of them. Therefore, the writer considers that education should seek to arouse such interests, enthusiasms and understandings as will contribute an indirect influence for better international relationships. If this can be done, education will have made marked progress toward one of its
great social objectives.

What price education that trains the youth of a country for no better purpose than to stop bullets?

If education accepts National Security as a major social value, it must be prepared to go even further than merely teaching patriotism. In a world where ardent nationalism and flag-waving patriotism gaze out through short-sighted spectacles, education must dare to accept the challenge of this objective. The American people are generous in the support of education and are justified in the belief that it should not contribute to the waste heaps of the world.

The objectives of education can and do change with the times. The pressure of world economic interests to-day, presenting an ever increasing threat of war, challenges education to make a definite attempt to accept National Security as an ultimate good, an objective on the horizon to which educators can raise their eyes. Definite, concrete and tangible contributions to better international relationships may not be possible, but education shirks its responsibility, if it does not strive to inculcate the youth of the country with a great zeal and desire for peace.

The writer wishes to state here that in this thesis National Security is not opposed to international peace and does not advocate that it be secured at the price of such
peace. International peace can hardly become a reality until each nation attains its own National Security by means of better international relations.
PART II

The Background of the Problem
A Survey of World Conditions Since 1918 That Have Threatened Our National Security

1. Political Conditions
   a. The 20th Century Imperialism of Japan, Italy and Germany.

The Century Dictionary defines imperialism as the "policy of seeking or at least not refusing, an extension of an empire in directions where trading interests and investments require the protection of the flag."

Imperialism is as old as history itself. Wherever one community has sought to extend its influence or its wealth at the expense of another, we have imperialism whether the act is accompanied by war or not.¹

During the 18th century, mercantilism was the policy pursued by European countries in dealing with their colonies. This economy regarded a favorable trade balance as a nation's chief aim. In the 19th century, the policy of free trade developed, due to the fact that free access to European markets was necessary to maintain industrial production in countries like England. Under the regime of laissez-faire, the functions of the state were reduced to a minimum and individual initiative became the pattern of the business world. Adam Smith went so far in this period as to

¹R. S. Lambert, Modern Imperialism, p. 1.
state that from an economic point of view, Great Britain would profit from abandoning her empire.\(^1\)

The change in attitude toward expansion came in the two decades following 1870. England had begun to feel the competition of other industrial rivals; manufacturing nations began to raise protective tariff walls around their own markets and to compete bitterly for foreign markets; steamships and railroads provided facilities for world commerce and conquest; greedy factories and hungry factory towns called out for raw materials and foodstuffs; and surplus capital, rapidly accumulating, sought investments in backward countries. Then the doctrine of economic nationalism triumphed over individualistic liberalism.\(^2\)

As a result of the revival of the old principle of mercantilism, under the dignified alias of imperialism, the net result of the political history of the last one hundred years has been the "conquest of nearly all the world by that part of it which lies in Western Europe and America; the conquest of nearly a billion of the non-white and materially backward peoples by the strongest, white, and most materially advanced nations. Practically all of Africa, Asia, all the

\(^1\) P. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, p. 16.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 57.
insular territories and part of Latin America are ruled by one or another of the Great Powers."\(^1\)

Imperialism always proved itself a great electoral asset. The arguments used to support the policy were popular. Empire is profitable. It provides room for migration and settlement, an access to raw materials and a source for investment of surplus capital. Empire is natural. It insures against attack, depends on trade and maintains prestige. Empire is noble. The assisting and training of backward peoples of non-white races is the "white man's burden."\(^2\) These were the arguments presented fifty years ago in favor of imperialism and the same ones are offered to-day by the nations that believe that it is the surest road to national success and power.

From the 1370's, until the period of the Great War, all the European countries of any size and importance, which were unified and fairly well stabilized, joined the movement of territorial aggrandizement which pushed ahead until no part of the desirable portions of Africa, Asia or the Near East were without their European owner. Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Belgium and the Netherlands were inured to the policy of imperialism and left no stone

\(^1\) N. Peffer, White Man's Dilemma, pp. 4-5.
\(^2\) R. S. Lambert, Modern Imperialism, p. 11.
unturned to stake off sections of the world for themselves. The world believed that trade followed the flag and every nation needed raw materials. As long as the opportunity to get them depended on political control over the territory possessing them, and as long as political control was used to give special advantages to the business of one country, the "haves" defended by force what they possessed and the "have nots" felt they had to fight to get what they needed.¹

Here is a cause for war - one of the causes of the World War. This is why the present day attitude of certain countries toward imperialism has met with world-wide disapproval. The era of great colonial empires is over. Everywhere decentralization of power, more self-government and fewer trade barriers are changing the old style empires. Indeed it seems not unlikely that more and more colonies will be given back to their native owners in view of the widespread reaction of native populations all over the world to 19th century imperialism.

The eagerness of Japan, Italy and Germany to secure colonies in a world where the desirable portions have already been taken, is a constant threat to world peace and to our national security. The aspirations of Italy and Germany are a little further removed from us than those of Japan. In her

¹G. Clark, A Place in the Sun, p. 219.
case, the threat is more direct, more concrete and involves our foreign trade with China, our position in relation to the Philippines and our policy in the Pacific. Let us consider Japan, her history, policies and ambitions in so far as they concern ourselves and offer an opportunity for education to foster better international good will.

In spite of the fact that books and articles about Japan and her policies are very numerous, we are as a whole singularly uninformed about Japan and things Japanese. If we were as well informed about her as she makes it her concern to be informed about us, a spirit of mutual understanding might replace the present attitude of suspicion. "Japan recognizes us as the greatest power in the Western hemisphere, whereas we simply regard her as the strongest, most advanced power in the Orient."¹ Japan's period of foreign tutelage is over. She possesses a strong civilization built along her own lines and sufficient prestige among the nations of the world to warrant a better understanding of her on our part.

Since her awakening about eighty years ago, Japan has passed quickly through those successive stages of development that the rest of the world passed through since the Middle Ages. Only eighty years ago, Japan was in the clutches

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¹ Y. Kuno, What Japan Wants, p. 149.
of feudalism. The awakening of Japan was ceremoniously but firmly accomplished in 1853 by Commodore Perry, and, like China, in the succeeding years Japan was forced to suffer the same shame of extraterritoriality and foreign regulated tariffs. The treatment accorded Japan by the Western nations has left its mark upon the character and disposition of her people.

Such traits of character as super-sensitiveness, pride, suspicion and resentment that we have deplored in the Japanese national character are traceable to her treatment at the hands of the Western nations. To-day she feels additional resentment against a world that "took her to the mountain tops, showed her a great world, and then so changed the rules of the game that she could not acquire what she believed to be her fair share." After her defeat of China and Russia, her prestige increased. This strengthened her belief that nations were classified "in accordance with the size and efficiency of their armies and navies, their industrial systems and the success of their policies of imperialistic expansion."

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1 N. Peffer, Must We Fight in Asia? Pp. 11-24.
3 F. Eldridge, Dangerous Thoughts on the Orient, pp. 15-16.
This was true in the 19th century, but the world has changed and land grabbing is frowned upon by Western nations to-day. Japan's awakening came too late for her to carve out an empire while other nations were doing it and at a time when the policy enjoyed good standing. No India, Africa or America lay ready for Japan's colonizing efforts. Only Asia offered the outlet for the necessary expansion if she were not to remain a small, relatively unimportant nation among the powers of the world.

The outbreak of the World War in 1914 and Japan's subsequent seizure of the German colonies in the Pacific gave her the opportunity she awaited. As a result of the impetus given her manufacturing and carrying trade, she emerged from this period into the first rank of World Powers.

Japan's foreign policy today is dictated by internal economic conditions, reinforced by an ardent nationalism that on occasion assumes the aspect of fanatic patriotism. Japan has no primary causes for war with the United States. Such causes, rooted so deeply in wrong and injustice that no human power could eradicate them, were found for the Great War.\(^1\) If America can come to a realization of the extent to which foreign policies in Japan are shaped by domestic economic problems, it will advance mutual

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understanding and perhaps minimize self-righteous moral condemnation. Japan's imperialism is based on economic necessity linked with a religious patriotism difficult for the twentieth century to understand.

Economically Japan has several problems to face that influence her foreign policy; namely, a surplus population that must be fed, a need for raw materials to manufacture, markets for the disposal of such manufactures and sources of investment for idle capital. The Japanese, especially the farmers, do not take kindly to migration. They were forbidden for so many years to leave their islands that a natural aversion to migration has resulted. In fact, during the period of isolation the building of any ship large enough to make an ocean voyage was forbidden. The world believed that the Japanese farmers would swarm to Manchoukou, but the facts do not substantiate the belief. Artisans, clerks, merchants and professional men went to Manchoukou, but not the farmers.

"The Japanese have their standards of living, too high for competition in labor with most of the peoples of the East. They do not want to colonize Manchuria whose

1 P. Moon, Imperialism and World Politics, p. 363.
population is overwhelmingly Chinese. What they want chiefly is to establish peace and order in the district, so that the native population living by standards rising at best below the Japanese, will furnish a market for the products of Japanese living and working in Japan."

There are three places in the world where conditions are so excellent that the Japanese farmer is willing to migrate. These are Canada, the United States and Australia. However, the Gentleman's Agreement excluded Japanese laborers from both the United States and Canada, and Australia has declared herself to be a white man's continent. This Agreement, named the Root-Takahira Agreement after the two principals who made it, was finally cancelled by California's claim of the right to settle her own internal problems in her own way. The Japanese regarded the cancellation as a discrimination amounting to a national humiliation. Migration to South America is generally discouraged by low wages and uncertain political conditions.

The facts seem to point to the conclusion that Japan will have a surplus population for many years to come. At this point the second economic problem arises. How shall

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3 A. Hindmarsh, The Basic of Japanese Foreign Policy, p. 105.
the people be fed? Can agricultural production be increased? Probably not. In the first place, only one-sixth of the land is arable. The rest of the land is too mountainous for farming. In the second place, the tiny farms are already cultivated intensively. Japan cannot, as England did, pursue the policy of industrialization to the point of crushing agriculture.¹

This raises another question. If Japan remains agricultural to the extent of supporting her population, how can she raise her standard of living? The answer to the question seems to lie in increased foreign trade. Until 1935, the excess of exports over imports was very small, but the last two years have witnessed a boom in foreign trade. China is of course Japan's best market in spite of certain handicaps. These include China's lack of purchasing power, her growing hostility to Japan, her partially effective boycott of Japanese trade and the established positions of Western nations in the China trade.²

Japan is destitute of three very important raw materials: cotton, wool and iron. She has also very little coal and oil.³ Here lies a Japanese problem with a very

¹ A. Hindmarsh, The Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy, p. 117.
² Bisson and Goslin, Clash in the Pacific, p. 27.
³ Ibid., p. 22.
definite international implication. Should industrial nations buy raw materials or annex them? During the last century, they were annexed, but to-day the practice is in bad repute. Japan has offended the world repeatedly on this score. Here is an instance of how the rules have changed.

Since 1918, Japan has been making a systematic drive on the markets of the world in an effort to provide full time employment for her capital and labor. To the commercial nations of the world, this trade has reached disconcerting proportions, "Osaka has unquestionably replaced Manchester in the cotton trade."\(^1\) Japanese leaders place her whole foreign policy on the relationship between her national welfare and the availability of foreign markets and goods.\(^2\)

Japan's position in reference to China and foreign trade there was made fairly clear by the Pan-Asiatic Doctrine of April 1934. In it she evidenced her intention not to stand by and see China in chaos or to see it come under the domination of any foreign power.\(^3\) The statement issued by the Imperial Japanese Foreign Office said in part:

"I. Japan considers herself primarily responsible for

\(^2\) A. Hindmarsh, The Basis of Japanese Foreign Policy, p. 27.
the maintenance of peace and order in East Asia along with other Asiatic powers, especially China.

II. The Time has passed when another Power or the League of Nations can exercise their policy of exploitation in China.

III. Japan intends to oppose any foreign activities in China which she regards as inimical to her own and she is the judge of what is inimical.¹

This Monroe Doctrine of Japan's coupled with Asia's new China Wall, a string of Japanese islands reaching from the Kurils to the Bonins, has made the Open Door of China seem very narrow indeed.²

As recently as March 1937, Japan sought to mitigate the force of this declaration and made a conciliatory gesture toward China and Great Britain. The new Foreign Minister Sato, considering the acute financial position of his country and recognizing that Japan did not succeed as well in North China as she had hoped, declared that Japan had no further territorial ambitions in China. It remains to be seen whether the military in Japan will allow this new policy. They have disregarded the Foreign Office before and may again.

The Philippines are usually mentioned as a possible source of trouble between the United States and Japan. Due to pressure from certain economic interests, the islands were granted a Commonwealth government on November 15, 1935. During a ten year transition period before complete independence is granted, the American Resident Commissioner retains large powers and the naval base is held.¹ "Because of proximity and inter-locking needs, trade between the Philippines and Japan is a natural."² The question to be fairly faced here is whether the Philippines would be worth going to war over if Japan appropriated them after the ten year period.

To the average American a careful study of the economic situation of Japan would probably result in a feeling of interest, and even sympathy, in her problems. The second reason for Japan's imperialism is not as easily understood and would require a greater delicacy in handling. The Japanese today possess a unifying faith in their national destiny that is difficult for a Western nation to comprehend. We have outgrown religious patriotism. The ideal that

¹ Bisson and Goslin, Clash in the Pacific, pp. 32-33.
prompted the Crusades moves Japan today. She believes that she must deliver the world from the "impasse of a material civilization."1 Such an idea motivated by twentieth century inventions must be handled with finesse.

So far, peace in the Far East has meant one thing to the United States and another to Japan. To the former, it means the Open Door, i.e. equal opportunity for all nations to trade in China, a guarantee of China's territorial integrity, and the maintenance of the status quo in the Pacific. To Japan, it means the submission throughout Pacific Asia to the divine imperial will of Japan's emperor.2

The philosophy that motivates Japan's foreign policy and imperialistic aims has been expressed by the Italian Volecelli. "Japan may become a crucible in which the knowledge accumulated by the secular experience of the East and West will be fused and amalgamated giving forth as its product a new form of civilization on a wider basis."3

Japan has a mission that she shows every intention of trying to fulfill. We have everything to gain by trying to see eye to eye with her. One of Japan's elder statesmen,

1Upton Close, Challenge Behind the Face of Japan, pp. 98-102.
2Ibid., p. 15.
3Ibid., p. 387.
Kikujiro Ishii, said, "Ever since Japan's entrance into the family of modern nations, her diplomacy has striven and still strives to attain equality and security." This equality, peace and understanding are based, in our opinion, on Japan becoming a modern minded, Western nation. This she can never do. Japan's hope is based on our knowledge of her divine mission and of our acceptance of her for what she is and for what she does.¹

Italy's imperialistic policy, which so recently stirred the world in her war with Ethiopia, had its foundation in her struggle to acquire a place among the Powers commensurate with her early Roman history. Like Japan, Italy is a comparatively new Power among the nations and like Japan she has risen from an inferior to an important position.

The united Italy of today did not exist before 1861. During the 14th and 15th centuries, the Italian peninsula was controlled by five independent states, Milan, Venice, Florence, the State of the Church and the Kingdom of Naples.² The Italian states of the 16th century were a battlefield where France, striving to make herself the greatest land power in Europe, waged wars without glory to

¹Upton Close, Challenge Behind the Face of Japan, p. 383.
²F. Schevill, A History of Europe, pp. 64-65.
herself and with disastrous results to her enemies. As late as the 19th century, Italy was disposed of by foreign powers and partitioned as suited their policy.

Italy owes her unification to the untiring efforts of two unselfish leaders, Camillo Cavour and Guiseppe Garibaldi. Cavour, the great statesman of Sardinia, had made that island a power of some account in Europe in the early decades of the 19th century. By annexation of the northern Italian states, he had made great progress toward the unification of that part of the country. Garibaldi, encouraged by Cavour, acquired Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples. When in 1860, the Sardinian army joined the volunteers under Garibaldi on the plains of Campania, all Italy except Rome had been consolidated. In Turin, in February, Victor Emmanuel of the House of Savoy, took the title, King of Italy.¹

On the beginning of its existence as a united kingdom, Italy was obliged to set up an expensive administration, to build means of communication and to create an army and navy. In consequence, a national debt of great proportion accrued. Italians were more severely and ingeniously taxed than any people of Europe. Due to economic progress

¹F. Schevill, A History of Europe, pp. 549-551.
in manufacturing, Italy made good progress along the road other nations had taken although she continued to remain relatively unimportant in European affairs. The specters of overpopulation and unemployment began to raise their heads and fortunately there was an opportunity for migration to the United States and Argentina. By 1900, a half million Italians were leaving their homes annually.¹ This situation is the background of Italy's imperialism which only recently threatened world peace and so our national security.

Since Italy arrived late on the scene, she found her colonizing activities curtailed in the world where the spoils had already been divided. At first, her foreign policy consisted of trying to secure the near-by areas inhabited by Italians but belonging to other States. The Trentino and Triest, owned by Austria, were the most hotly coveted. "Italia irredenta," unredeemed Italy, became the cry of the Nationalists.²

Very soon, Italy naturally turned her attention to the Mediterranean. France had already carved out her empire in northern Africa and only the crumbs of undesirable land along the Red Sea remained. Italy seized Eritrea and Somaliland but regarded them merely as a convenient base from

¹F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 600-603.  
²Ibid., p. 605.
which to seize the economically valuable kingdom of Ethiopia.¹

Ethiopia is a very ancient kingdom in Africa whose ruling house claimed descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. The country has been Christian since the time of the Apostles. Menelik II unified his country and gave Italy a protectorate over it in a treaty that he later repudiated. An Italian army from Eritrea marched on Ethiopia and was practically annihilated on March 1, 1896 at Adowa. Crispi's ministry, responsible for the attack, fell and Italy recognized the full independence of Ethiopia by treaty.² Thus ended the first imperialistic enterprise of the young kingdom, but the defeat rankled and its results have been felt to the present day.

In 1912, Italy seized another crumb of what was left of northern Africa. Tripoli, a barren waste of desert except for a narrow coastal plain, was left to her if she wanted to fight Turkey for it. She did this and her success against a feeble enemy gave her the first taste of a popular war.³

In order to secure French permission to take

¹F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 606.
³F. Schevill, A History of Europe, pp. 606-607.
Tripoli, Italy signed a secret treaty with France by which she promised not to fight with her allies in the Triple Alliance (Austria and Germany) against France. It seemed obvious in the event of war that Italy intended to do whatever her selfish interest prompted.  

Secret treaties at the time of Italy's entrance into the World War led her to expect that in the event of Germany's defeat, the latter's colonies would be divided to please Italy and that she might expect a free hand in Ethiopia. At the close of the war no rewards came to Italy. On the other hand, France and Britain acquired the German colonies in Africa and mandates in the Near East. Italy received the Trentino and Trieste which were genuinely Italian, the southern Tyrol, Istria and northern Dalmatia, but practically no land in Africa. Thus Italy closed the war period of her history feeling that because she had no such colonies as France and Britain, she must accept an inferior position in the world among the industrial nations. Italy then went through a period of disappointment and discouragement. During this time, a series of internal disturbances gave Mussolini the opportunity he sought. Italy

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wanted a leader who could give her faith in herself and he believed he could do it.

Mussolini, as dictator of Italy, felt no necessity or desire to adopt one of the prescribed systems of economy but instead instigated a new one that he felt better suited the needs of the Italian people. In his foreign policy, however, he turned to the old, much abused principle of imperialism and advanced all the usual arguments in its favor — arguments that modern economics dares to question. Much of the world's disapproval of Mussolini's conduct in Ethiopia was due to the fact that Western nations have outgrown the mentality that produced that crisis.¹ Il Duce is behind the times on this point as are the other nations that believe in territorial expansion for economic reasons.

Italy began her expansion in Africa to divert attention from unfavorable economic conditions at home and to allay the fear that Germany might embark on a war of expansion or revenge and change the economic and political situation in Europe.² For years, Mussolini had been telling his people of the need for colonial expansion. The conquest of Ethiopia promised to distract public attention from immediate hardships and the million of unemployed. It also

²E. MacCallum, Rivalries in Ethiopia, p. 12.
promised to yield basic raw materials to Italy.  

Italy began her conquest of Ethiopia in October 1935 without declaring war and by May 1936 the enterprise was over. "With the collapse of the Ethiopian resistance and the failure of the League of Nations sanctions to stop Italian aggressions, the question of how best to preserve the peace of Europe and the world became more urgent than ever."  

Italy has declared herself as ready to take England's place and build a great nation on the "grave of the British Empire." This belief that Britain is already dead is widespread in Italy and carefully fostered by Il Duce. A whole empire is to be built on England's grave and without touching the interests of France or Belgium. Ethiopia is just the beginning. Italy's dream and the basis of her foreign policy is to make the Mediterranean an Italian lake.  

England, meanwhile, makes plans to establish an alternate route around Africa to the Orient and to strengthen her fortifications at Mauritius, Mombasa and the Cape.  

The United States was interested in the conquest primarily as a signatory power to the Pact of Paris which

2"Whites At Bay," Literary Digest, June 27, 1936, p. 12.  
4"Whites At Bay," Literary Digest, June 27, 1936, p. 12.
both Italy and the United States signed renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.\(^1\)

"Aspiring Italy would seem to be a menace to peace mainly because she has added to the number of contestants in the dangerous game of international diplomacy, has played it vigorously and has been a more than ordinarily incalculable factor in the play."\(^2\)

The story of German imperialism covers three decades of expansion, a war that took the colonies away and the beginning of agitation for their return. Until 1876, Bismark shared the anti-imperialistic views of the Mid-Victorian age. He accepted the general belief that England was abandoning her policy of expansion because she found it too costly. After 1880, when imperialism was everywhere resurgent, he dared "to come out openly in favor of colonial aggrandizement."\(^3\) Between 1870 and 1880, over six hundred thousand Germans left the Fatherland for the New World.\(^4\) Here was evidence of a surplus population that Germany proceeded to use as her best argument for expansion. But the

\(^1\) E. MacCallum, *Rivalries in Ethiopia*, p. 56.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 69.
colonies were never an outlet for population. Germans did not care to go to the kind of colonies Germany secured. There was plenty of space, but jungle and desert were not useful to the white man.¹ Since Germany, like Italy and Japan, appeared late on the scene, the best territories had already been taken.

By the time the Great War broke out, Germany held Togoland, Kamerun, Southwest Africa, the Pacific Islands of Samoa, Caroline, Solomon and Marshall and a ninety-nine years' lease to Kiaochow Bay in China. Japan seized the Pacific Islands and Germany was forced to concede her African colonies into the hands of the League of Nations which passed them over to England and France as mandates. Germany's expansion in the Near East included the proposed Bagdad railroad, of which three sections had already been built by 1914. This was appropriated by Turkey, France in Syria and Iraq, respectively.

The Nazi today do not recognize the Treaty of Versailles, and since the rearment of Germany has partly restored her prestige, they demand the return of the colonies to complete the restoration. The arguments advanced by Hitler are the same ones used by Italy and Japan. Said Dr. Schnee, governor of several German colonies before the

¹P. Moon, Imperialism and World Politics, p. 541.
War, "Other countries will learn to appreciate that peace is the aim of the German people - peace on the basis of equality includes equality in the colonial realm."\(^1\)

It seems possible indeed, that there will be no peace in Europe until the problem of German colonial activity is solved. "No great nation willingly allows its standard of life and culture to be lowered and no great nation accepts the risk of going hungry."\(^2\) Germany has made the return of her colonies a condition of her reentrance into the League. Hitler has begun a peaceful agitation at home for the return of the colonies. Only as recently as December, 1936, France made a tentative offer to surrender the German colonies under her control as the price of Hitler's non-interference in the Spanish Civil War.

One argument used by the powers against the proposed return we cannot overlook. In the face of the present racial theories of the Nazi, the argument is advanced that Germany might subject her colonies to purges such as the homeland has suffered.

The struggles to get and keep colonies have always been appallingly costly in suffering and money, both

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\(^1\) "Colonial Drive," Literary Digest, May 2, 1936, p. 12.
directly in the colonial territory and indirectly in the homeland. The trend of thought today among countries possessing empires is that if they are to give up their empires it will probably be to the natives to whom the territory originally belonged. If the tide of native resistance continues to rise, as it is likely to do, that course will become inevitable. The tendency today is not for trade to follow the flag but to seek the lowest price level. The great industrial countries secure but a fraction of their raw materials from their colonies and the colonies themselves show a tendency to sell their products in the best market. Colonies may bring prestige, but their cost is heavy in international jealousies and antagonisms.

"If the sacrifices of the World War and the lessons it seemed to teach the human race, justify the hope that the old order changed and that with the new date line, necessary readjustments of frontiers and necessary regulations of retarded areas are all to be worked out in a disinterested fashion by a council of nations, then the use

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1 G. Clark, A Place in the Sun, p. 224.
of war by a civilized State must be limited to those cases in which it acts defensively against an aggressor or cooperatively with others as a repressing agent enforcing the decisions of the common council of disinterested nations."

America is historically and emotionally detached from the life and death struggle which has led European nations to seek colonies in Africa. But we are in the international world and share the consequences of maladjustment even though they be geographically remote and relatively unimportant to our economic interests.

b. The Rise of Dictatorship in Russia, Italy and Germany.

Those Americans who believe that democracy is the way of life for America, see in the rise of European dictatorships a threat to that democracy. The strong belief in civil liberty and peaceful persuasion, which were features of the 19th century, are passing out of existence in Europe. Parliamentary institutions seemed the sovereign formula for the new century. In the 19th century no civilized country had been wholly able to withstand responsible cabinets,

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1 E. MacCallum, Rivalries in Ethiopia, p. 12.
2 Ibid., p. 13.
representative assemblies and a democratic electorate. Political progress seemed to lie along the line of extending the franchise, educating voters and improving the machinery of parliamentary government. The aim of every democratic government was that every citizen should be able to think, speak and vote as he liked. Any dangers in the practice of liberty were believed to be less than a fostering discontent under a system of repression.¹

For centuries people had struggled for more freedom, the right to choose their own leaders, settle their problems and determine their own policies. In the years following the American Revolution, a wave of democratic government swept across Europe. Before the World War, there were no dictators in Europe, but in the chaos that followed it, new governments arose. People, in despair of institutions that failed to give an assurance of safety, wanted strong leadership that promised order and security, purpose and hope. Today, three hundred and fifty million people are ruled by dictators. The world is so interrelated now that dictatorships are bound to reflect on democracy.²

Unlike the ancient despot, the modern dictator

²R. Goslin, Dictatorship, pp. 1-2.
cannot rule by force of arms alone. He must win the people to his plan through fear and then convert them to his cause by propaganda and by the crushing of any opposition. All the modern methods of education, the newspaper, the movies, the drama and radio are used to spread the idea. The leader becomes the symbol of the hope, faith, energy and wisdom of the nation. "As a Caesar and a Messiah, he exhorts his people to follow him in blind and hysterical obedience."1

Under dictatorship there is only one party. Two laws are administered, one for civil and one for criminal cases. In cases of political offenders no trial or jury is necessary, since only those of the "party" would serve in court. The State and those who represent it are always right. The Storm Troops or Black Shirts or the O.G.P.U. have power to seize, imprison, exile or sentence to death any subject. The accused is without protection of any kind.

Public education is controlled by the State which passes judgment upon textbooks and forces the teachers to swear under oath to teach only the "right" doctrines. Recreation for school children becomes a preparation for war.

"When dictators appeal to the feelings of the masses, they most often appeal to base feelings - if only because they endeavor to awaken warlike sentiments, the

1 R. Goslin, Dictatorship, p. 28.
paroxysms of boastful and pernicious jingoism. Dictatorships, indeed, can only prosper in an atmosphere of war and if their foreign policy remains peaceful, it is only because they are restrained by international environments that luckily they are not strong enough or bold enough to destroy. They are condemned constantly to excite the nationalistic passions of their masses."^1

The first rumblings of discontent in modern Russia were signalized by the presentation to the Czar in 1905 of a petition of peasants and workers for the redress of grievances. For twelve years no answer was made. In the meanwhile, Russia had entered the war on the side of France. The war went badly. Russia suffered terrific defeats due to lack of ammunition and the betrayals of her officers. In March 1917, a revolution forced the Czar to abdicate. Kerensky established a socialistic government but the cries of the Bolsheviks for "Peace, Bread, Land" forced his downfall. Lenin, with his small, resourceful, determined group established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The workers took over the factories, the peasants seized the land and the soldiers saw a separate peace concluded with Germany. The Cheka, secret police, was organized to fight counter revolutionary activities.

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When Lenin died in 1924, his two lieutenants, Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, quarreled on policy. Trotsky believed that a world revolution was necessary before communism could be successful in Russia. Stalin was diametrically opposed to that idea. Trotsky was exiled and Stalin set up a dictatorship that exacted absolute obedience from the people. The Russian dictatorship depends on the individual becoming temporarily dependent upon society or the government or the party until the new order is achieved.

The implication of a threat to world peace was answered by Stalin in 1930 when he said, "Our policy is peace. We do not want a foot of alien soil, but we shall not surrender an inch of ours." The Soviet State has not lost interest in world revolution but is more absorbed in creating within its boundaries a socialistic state, which may serve as an inspiration to workers throughout the world, than in spreading the gospel of communism abroad.

Internal conditions in Italy following the World War were such that property owners and business men alike, although opposed to a radical change, were willing to support a strong leader who could give them faith in themselves and in Italy. Discontented with the acquisitions of the Peace

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1R. Goslin, Dictatorship, pp. 3-6.
2R. Buell, New Governments in Europe, p. 394.
Treaty, unemployed soldiers, strikes and bad business conditions combined to give Benito Mussolini the opportunity he awaited. His march on Rome was a greater psychological victory than a military one. The personality of the man was dynamic. Within three weeks, a weak government had made him Prime Minister and Parliament had granted him dictatorial powers. To rid the country of opposition the Socialistic Deputy, Matteotti, was murdered. For less important people, the phial of castor oil, the dungeon or exile were the penalties of disobedience. 1 All but Fascist delegates withdrew from the Parliament in protest of the murder and the last vestige of representative democracy was gone. 2

However, it is not surprising that Italy accepted a dictator. The unification of Italy brought a parliamentary system with which the Italians had had no experience. Strikes fostered by politics as well as the need for better working conditions had weakened Italy and had made her a negative quality in world affairs. 3

The Fascist dictatorship stands for a permanent molding of the people from one generation to another into a strong state under a strong leader.

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2 R. Goslin, Dictatorship, pp. 11-14.  
3 M. Currey, Italian Foreign Policy, p. XVI.
The deliberate repudiation of democratic government by Germany is a hard thing for the world to understand. In November 1918 Germany knew she had lost the war. A revolution brought about the establishment of the Weimar Republic after the Kaiser had fled to Holland. The Republic signed the Peace Treaty, surrendered the colonies to the League, assumed the guilt for the war, and agreed to pay reparations. As a result, it was blamed for these actions and lost prestige.\(^1\) Hitler and the Nazi failed to recognize the services the Republic did render, such as restoring the currency, liberating the Fatherland from occupation by foreign troops, bringing Germany into the League and obtaining the reduction of the reparation payments to a nominal figure.\(^2\)

It is a mistake to assume, that a liberal constitution in itself is unsuited to the German character. Liberalism, toleration and democracy have long been very vital forces in Germany. Weimar, scene of Goethe's greatness, was chosen as the seat of the National Assembly that set up the Republic. Ten years later that same Republic had become identified in the minds of the masses with administrative inefficiency, corruption, dishonesty and weakness.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) R. Goslin, \textit{Dictatorship}, p. 16.
\(^3\) Anon., \textit{Germany - Twilight or New Dawn}, p. 38.
In spite of the accomplishments of the Republic, insecurity and fear spread over the country.

The National Socialist German Labor Party or the Nazi under Hitler was gaining power and seats in the Reichstag. Hitler's first attempt to overthrow the government in 1923 was unsuccessful and he was sent to prison. Times became better and the people forgot the Nazis. Then the depression came and the party grew by leaps and bounds.

Like Mussolini, Hitler was a genius for propaganda. He knew how to appeal to the people. To the workers, he promised security; to the peasants, land; to industry, low production costs. The great middle class felt that he could restore their national pride and self-sufficiency. He also promised to free Germany from the international bankers.¹

The event that catapulted Hitler into power was the burning of the Reichstag buildings on February 27, 1933, and the consequent communistic scare. The March election gave the Nazis 288 seats in the Parliament out of 483. Hitler's party was in control. The Storm Troops began their reign of terror against the Communists, Socialists, Pacifists and Jews. They based their action on the theory of Nietzsche that race is everything and that all the great achievements of the world have been accomplished by the Nordics.²

¹R. Goslin, Dictatorship, p. 9.
fear of the Communists led the Reichstag to vote Hitler Supreme Dictator for four years and so democratic government enacted its own destruction.  

The task of Democracy in relation to Dictatorship is not easy. Vast changes in the world's social and economic life must be recognized. Government must adapt itself to new conditions and elements. If changes are to be made through Democracy, the people must have patience and faith not so much in their leaders as in themselves.

c. The Failure of the League of Nations in Dealing with the Aggressions of Japan and Italy.

There have been in the history of the world several attempts to check violent and bloody conflicts and to allow mankind to enjoy the benefits of peace. The very early Pax Romana of Caesar was followed in succeeding centuries by the efforts of the Catholic Church, the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Alliance. Each in turn exerted a powerful influence for peace on Europe.

The greatest attempt on record is the League of Nations.

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1 R. Goslin, Dictatorship, p. 10.
2 Ibid., p. 34.
Nations which the "Preliminary Peace Conference at its Second Plenary Session on January 25, 1919 created by adopting a resolution declaring that, 'it is essential to the maintenance of world settlement......that a League of Nations should be created' and that 'this League should be treated as an integral part of the general treaty of peace.'

The text of the Covenant was completed on April 28 and was accepted by the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference.

Articles X and XVI of the Covenant with which we are here concerned, are quoted below.

"The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression, the Council shall advise upon means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

"Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants it shall 'ipso facto' be deemed to have committed an act against all other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and

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1 D. Myers, Handbook of the League of Nations, p. 3.
the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not."

Both Japan and Italy as League members have been guilty of breaking Article X; Japan by her invasion of Manchuria and Jehol and Italy by her conquest of Ethiopia. In the Japanese aggression, the League faced its first great failure to accomplish that for which it was organized. In the Far East, internationalism came to grips in the open with nationalism and the world's peace organizers were shocked.

The League Council demanded that Japanese forces be withdrawn to the railroad zone in Manchuria and that her dispute with China be left to the League. But the Japanese were adamant and in the final show-down, the great powers refused to support sanctions. They all had national and imperial interests that forbade cooperation. The League was forced to dodge the issue and appointed a commission of inquiry to study the Far Eastern question. Nearly a year later, during which time Japan had acquired all of Manchuria, the Commission reported to the League Council. Both China and Japan were found guilty of treaty violations. The signatory countries of the Treaty of Versailles could not sanction China's treaty violations without imperiling their
position in regard to Germany. Hence the League could only accept the American formula of non-recognition of the regime set up in Manchuria by the Japanese.

As a result, Japan quit the League and pushed her absorption of Jehol. Japan intimated plainly that if she was to be condemned, she would take measures to force condemnation of all imperial activities. Here was a threat of extreme seriousness. Geneva could do nothing. The body that was to prevent territorial aggression was forced to become quiescent and the world decided that it could not fulfill its purpose unless a great power decided it should.¹

The fact that the League failed in dealing with Japan should have set no precedent for dealing with Italy. The inability to fulfill a duty does not involve a future abjuration of that duty.²

On October 7, 1935, the League Council condemned Italy as a violator of the Covenant because of aggressions in Ethiopia. At the instigation of England and France, Article XVI, dealing with sanctions, was invoked against Italy. Baron Aloisi, chief Italian delegate to the League, charged that that body used, "two weights and two seals," that it had acted against Italy where it had not acted against

¹E. Young, *Powerful America*, pp. 34-40.
Japan in the Manchurian crisis, and that it did not even consider Italy's complaint against Ethiopia.\(^1\)

On November 18, 1936, fifty nations pledged themselves to impose Sanctions against Italy. Nevertheless, within seven months, Mussolini completed his conquest of Ethiopia by annexing that country and officially declaring Italy an Empire. This action was a terrific blow to the League's already tottering prestige. It had made a formal attempt to stop Italy and had failed. France too, occupied with her new Socialist government, and England, unable to make up her mind to force Mussolini's hand, failed to back up the League. England had undoubtedly "used the League for its imperial purposes but at the same time, it had committed itself to the defence of all the weaker peoples of the world, to a repudiation of the old European practice of trading peoples and territories with other marauding powers. Here was a precedent that was a great gain for the Open World."\(^2\)

The world is of two opinions about the failures of the League. Both are presented in the following quotations:

"The grim lesson of the League's failures is that peace machinery is of no value unless it is backed by good will, that pretensions of pacifism mean nothing until they

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\(^2\)E. Young, Powerful America, p. 224.
are supported by the abandonment of aggressive material policies and that a new 'modus vivendi' among the nations cannot be improvised overnight. In the real sense the League is not dead because it never was born. It never will be born until it represents the aspirations of the common people of many lands for peace and freedom."¹

"The League will go on living if its limitations be recognized and if it is not called upon to go beyond its strength. It can serve an important function as a meeting place where world and national questions can be threshed out in the open, where the smallest and weakest nation can get a hearing for its side. It has worked wonders on war making already. Any threat of war today is a world affair and intervention to halt it is the recognized right of all other nations. Any trouble maker knows that the whole case will be subjected to world judgment."²

The most recent successful settlement made by the League was between France and Turkey in the matter of the maritime outlet of the Syrian city of Aleppo. The incident shows that the League can still be an effective agency for the settlement of minor disputes and minor disputes have a

¹"Can the League Survive?" Editorial New Republic, May 20, 1936, pp. 33-34.
²E. Young, Powerful America, p. 43.
way, if neglected, of assuming major proportions. The chief condition of the League's usefulness is loyal acceptance of it as an unbiased and friendly umpire. Although it has failed in international controversies where national ambitions were involved, it can still function in less serious matters, accustoming governments to turn to it in time of friction and gradually building up a position of influence.

The following quotation further emphasizes the benefits of the peace machinery of the League. "No principle back of the modern peace machinery of the world is more important or is a more complete departure from the past than the assumption that nations owe to mankind a complete and frank statement of their purposes and must surrender without reservation the practices which, under the name of secret diplomacy, were characteristic of international relations in the pre-war period. Open covenants openly arrived at does not mean that the delicacies of international conversations may not be shielded from misunderstanding and from pressure, by privacy in their tentative stages, but it does mean that when international arrangements have finally been made, the world is entitled to know what they are, and that there are reasons that justify them quite apart from the mere accident of military power or weakness on one side or the other. It is only when the public opinion of the world is thus kept informed that it can be enlightened and there is no power in the world which can ultimately restrain the abuses of
force except the concentrated power of an enlightened public opinion."

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After the World War, which threatened to crush civilization itself, the combatants resumed their interrupted affairs. The leading nations rededicated themselves to the ideology of liberal democracy characterized by free speech, free assembly, free worship, democratic suffrage and representative assemblies. Only two countries turned sharply from this program. Each abandoned liberalism and developed in conscious opposition to the prevailing creed, one a system called Communism and the other a system called Fascism. They are alike in that they differ from the democratic system and are hostile to it. However, they are likewise equally hostile to each other.2

The Communist ideal was to "create a society of workers and peasants constituting a single class, a class of equals with individually identical claims on the goods owned and produced by the commonwealth." This radical economic

2F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 798.
system was called Communism and its adherents, Communists. While the world watched and in some cases prayed for the collapse of this experiment, it developed unexpected sources of strength. The nation is managed by soviets which are councils ranging from a village soviet to the Council of Commissars of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.¹

The system of soviets is kept on the line of Communism by the Communistic party. The party members, numbering only a small part of the total population, make it their business to play the leading role in each soviet from the lowest to the highest. Since all other parties have been abolished the Communists have the monopoly. Likewise, only one opinion is allowed, the opinion of the party. Newspapers are forced to submit to a rigid censorship and an organization of secret police aims to stamp out opposition before it can gain any headway.²

The Bolsheviks are the enemies of every supernatural religion. They possess a militant religion of their own - Communism, which they long to set up in every country on the earth.³

Since America is far removed from Russia and

¹F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 799.
²Ibid., p. 800.
³Ibid., p. 804.
abstains from interference in its affairs, Communism apparently should not offer any threat to our peace and security. However, this idea is most untrue. Owing to the propagandist activity of the Communists, no country in the world is free from their threat. The Third International, with offices at Moscow, is dedicated to the goal of world revolution. This propagandist section of the Russian government has spent millions all over the world in preparation for the overthrow of the liberal-democratic system. The threatened nations have protested to Russia, but pledges of abstinence in domestic affairs are not kept. "As long as world revolution is, in the eyes of the communist, the certain salvation of Russia; so long will propaganda be practiced as the best available means for producing world revolution."¹

Fascism is a super-stimulated nationalism - patriotism at its worst. In this flamboyant form, nationalism is an unmitigated evil - patriotism perverted and gone mad. Its constant threat to international security is found in the attitudes of mind and will that oppose the desirability of lasting peace.²

After the World War, in Italy the great middle

¹F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 805.
class struggled to stem the radical tide that threatened to overpower the government. They founded centers of resistance, each called a fascio. As the liberal democratic government, that never functioned well on such alien soil, continued to fail to control the radical clubs and labor unions, Mussolini, then head of the Nationalist Socialist Labor Party, converted each fascio into a military unit.

For three years, sporadic civil war between the nationalists and the internationalists raged up and down the peninsula. The summer of 1932 brought complete victory to the Fascists. The march on Rome against an enfeebled government resulted in the overthrow of the ministry and the invitation from Victor Emmanuel to Mussolini to form a new government.¹

Fascism has become a philosophy, a way of life like communism. Its avowed purpose is a greater nation and it demands devotion, obedience and sacrifice. Nothing that can interfere with the ideal is allowed. Individual interests, class struggles, religion, alien elements in the population, trade and treaties with other countries must be wiped out.²

Fascism believes neither in the possibility or the desirability of perpetual peace. Mussolini said on one

²R. Goslin, Dictatorship, p. 21.
occasion, "War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it." Mussolini also rejects the liberal ideas of the 19th century and scraps liberty itself. "Facts are worth more than books, experience more than doctrines. The greatest experience that has come to us after the War..... is the defeat of liberalism. Both Communism and Fascism are outside the bounds of liberalism. Liberty is not an end in itself, it is a means. As a means, it ought to be controlled and dominated. Fascism knows no ideal, worships no faith: it has once passed and if needful will turn and pass again over the more or less decomposed body of the Goddess of Liberty."¹

Italy has rejected the democratic ideal which we accept as the American ideal and has subjected the individual to the control of an omnipotent nationalist state. "The fact that we have three irreconcilable social-political systems within the frame of western civilization is a threat to peace since no one can tell where their instinctive aversion for one another may lead."²

¹R. Desvernine, Democratic Despotism, pp. 63-69.
Since the World War, all efforts to prohibit war have been accompanied by suggestions for the reduction of the instrumentalities of war. Large armies and navies, within themselves, have come to be recognized as a threat to peace. The reduction and limitation of armaments was one of the main objects of the League of Nations, as stated in the Covenant.

Germany was compelled to disarm as a term of the peace treaty and the Allies announced that others would do so, leading to a "general limitation of armaments by all nations." Although the Council appointed a Commission to make the preliminary studies, it has produced nothing to date on the matter.

This whole question is bound up with tremendous political issues and accompanied by a contest for European and world authority and power. Nations like France declare that they cannot disarm until they have acquired security which means the unchallenged retention of all the advantages gained by the latest war. The victors have not sufficient confidence in the League to place their faith in it. Nationalist energies and prejudices are more powerful than the world organization for peace.

"Solve disarmament and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that you solve everything for such an event would lead us out from our 'wanderings between two worlds - one dead and
the other powerless to be born: Wars are made in the hearts of men and armed forces are but the outward and visible symptoms of an inward and hidden fear. The reduction of armaments is chiefly important as a sign that fear has been conquered. It is the conquest of fear that is the difficult task."

Although the United States rejected the League, it is in sympathy with its main purposes. "A very large section of that same public that repudiated the League, nurses a fierce horror of war together with a strong distaste for the armaments which are a contributary cause of conflict."2

The only successful limitations have been in the field of naval armaments. The history of the movement started with the rise of Great Britain to the commanding sea power of the 19th century. By the second decade of the 20th century, Britain began to see the America forging ahead on her naval program. Unable to veto our growing power or to keep up with it, and being further concerned over Japan's building program, she began to think in terms of parity between herself and the United States. Britain was further embarrassed by our successful checking of Japan in the Far East in 1915 and later by the growing distrust of the Dominions for Japan.

Canada, Australia and New Zealand favored America's policy in the Far East and notified London that they did not favor a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Lord Lee of the Admiralty finally convinced the Cabinet that the friendship of America and the Dominions was more important to Britain than a tie-up with the Japanese.

An indirect approach was made to the United States by Lord Lee in a speech of March 16, 1921. He startled Britain by advocating an understanding between that nation and the United States which should obviate the necessity of a naval race. He also stated that Britain was ready to accept an equality of fleets with the United States. No recognition of the move was made in this country. Even the press ignored the implication. Finally, Adolph S. Ochs, late publisher of the New York Times, was chosen by Lee to sound out the Washington government. The result of the maneuver was that President Harding suggested that those powers especially interested in the limitation of armaments and the problems of the Far East should attend a Conference in Washington in 1921-22.

The outstanding result of the Conference was that the tonnage was limited and a ratio was fixed for capital ships and air craft carriers that allowed the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy to build on the basis of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 respectively. Also, all building was to cease for a period of ten years. The main American fleet was given
the Pacific to police while Britain concentrated on the Atlantic and European waters. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was abrogated, satisfying the United States and the Dominions. Japan returned Shantung to China and signed the Nine-Power Pacific Treaty guaranteeing the integrity of China and the policy of the Open Door for that country.

The political significance of the Conference was fully as important as the military. Great Britain's abandonment of the Pacific to the United States constituted a veritable revolution in world authority. The change left the security of the Dominions in our hands, China became dependent upon us for the preservation of her integrity and Japan looked upon us as her chief opponent to expansion on the mainland of Asia. The Conference deprived Japan of British and American support and left her facing a Communistic Russia on one hand and an awakened China on the other. France, second greatest imperial nation of the world, was forced to accept a third rate naval parity with Italy. She did, however, gain the right to a large submarine quota and a vast air fleet. The Japanese people believed that they had been betrayed by their delegates and waited for the time when they should be strong enough to defy both the United States and Britain. They built up to the limit on capital ships and piled extraordinary gun power into them. The new equality of Britain and the United States raised the hope that they would work together for the welfare of the world and that a new
conference would lead to more inclusive limitations.¹

In 1925, at the suggestion of Gustav Stresemann, a conference at Locarno, Switzerland, resulted in several important agreements to aid in the security of Western Europe. The signatory powers were all pleased with the treaties. Germany no longer felt herself an imprisoned nation, bound and made helpless by the Allies, France gained an added security by the guarantee of the support of England and Italy against a war of revenge by Germany, England was pleased by a peace in Europe that would lead to an economic restoration and Poland and Czecho-Slovakia were guaranteed a peaceful method of settling their boundary disputes with Germany.

In 1927, the council of the League called a Conference at Geneva to arrive at an agreement relating to other categories of warships. The Conference failed. America had attained her political objectives by the Washington Conference and needed no further limitation. Britain wished to apply quotas to all naval vessels and aircraft carriers and to abolish the submarine entirely. France placed every obstacle in the way of a decision, using the argument that security was impossible with Germany beginning to rearm.

The following year, Frank B. Kellogg and

¹ F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 821.
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Aristide Briand were successful in securing the promise of fifteen nations that they would "condemn recourse to war.......and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." Thirty nations finally signed the Paris Peace Pact, but since it created no machinery for peace, it was even less effective than the League. The only value of such a pact lies in the moral realm.¹

A new Naval Conference was called in London in 1930 at the instigation of President Hoover and Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. Its purpose was to offset the plans of France and Italy for a naval race. The United States, Great Britain and Japan signed a six-year agreement to maintain the parity of the United States and Great Britain at 1,136,000 tons distributed in agreed amounts among all classes of craft and 800,000 tons for Japan distributed in the same manner. President Hoover believed the agreement important as marking the end of competitive building and the beginning of a new era of better feeling. It was to be a great saving for the three nations too. An "Escalator Clause" was provided for the three powers if France and Italy passed a certain limit in naval construction.

In 1932, the League called another conference at

¹ F. Schevill, A History of Europe, p. 822.
Geneva. Under the leadership of Arthur Henderson, the delegates attempted to set a limitation on land armaments. Months of discussion were unable to produce anything but a deadlock. It was impossible to reconcile the French demand for security and the German demand for equality. France was firm in her opposition to Germany's rearming. Germany was equally unyielding in her demand that the world disarm to her level or permit her to rearm to theirs. After much debate the Conference passed a resolution recognizing Germany's right to arms equality in a system which would provide security for all nations.

Meanwhile, the advent of Hitler brought things to a head. He demanded immediate fulfillment of Germany's claim to equality of armaments. The suggestion of equality through trial periods displeased him and Germany withdrew from the League. 1

In March 1936, Japan announced that she would decline to adhere to the London Naval Pact or give assurance that she would limit the caliber of the guns on her new capital ships to fourteen inches. This announcement surprised no one but seemed the logical result of the naval policy adopted when she withdrew her delegates from the London Conference.

The problem of limitation of armaments is still

unsolved. At the present time the door is wide open to the unlimited competition and unrestricted building of the pre-war days. A weakened League offers little hope that the next move will come from her. At the present writing, vague suggestions are being made that the United States call an international conference to reopen the whole question, but President Roosevelt has not as yet made any definite statements. Meanwhile, the race is on and the nations of the world, whether they would or not, are compelled to support expensive building programs.

2. Economic conditions that have threatened our national security.

a. The Growth of Economic Nationalism

In the Spring of 1927, the first world Economic Conference met at Geneva, convened by the League. The Conference realized that the world was already in the midst of an economic depression, although that year was generally considered the golden age of business prosperity in the United States. The Conference was convinced that Europe especially could return to true peace and prosperity only if growing nationalistic tendencies were checked. Insufficient opportunity for the international exchange of goods, already threatened to throttle trade. In spite of the warnings, each country continued to pursue its doctrine of economic
nationalism.\(^1\)

The growth of an intensely nationalistic spirit in economics is due to three factors. First, the amalgamation of numerous small political units into a comparatively few extensive national territories, which are to a considerable extent able to find the resources necessary for their subsistence within their own borders. Second, the growth of industrialization, which has made manufacturing and agricultural populations of each country complementary and, to a large extent, sufficient for both prosperous trade and prosperous agriculture. Third, the increasing mechanization of industry, leading to large-scale production, mergers and trusts and resulting in business units of such size and importance that they have become of national interest and have enlisted the support of the national government in their relations with other nations.\(^2\)

Economic Nationalism is essentially the tool of the dictator. Under dictatorship, a new concept of man places him as a producer, not as a means to an end but as an end in itself. Man is used to increase production, to raise standards of living for political reasons and to increase

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the power of the State. War lurks behind dictatorship and increased production is a means of insuring better armaments.

The new ideal of Autarchy or national independence, subscribes to the idea that it is best to be connected as little as possible with other countries by international trade, especially for foodstuffs and other indispensable commodities. Every country working in a planned economy wishes a fixed territorial area and a monopoly of foreign trade to plan exports and imports. Each country wants to build up an independent self-supporting economy which can produce as far as possible everything that was formerly imported. Technical progress supports this tendency. Before the War, the exchange of commodities was facilitated by the differences in industrial techniques, but now every nation is able or believes itself able to develop the same technique. Thus the superiority of any country for a particular commodity is denied and every country now tries to produce everything.¹

Economic nationalism, when removed from the field of patriotic endeavor, need not mean more than a policy of utilizing and developing home resources to the fullest extent that is economically feasible and profitable. The danger to us would seem to lie in the wholesale application of the idea

"Buy American." Foreign trade need not be regarded as profiting the foreigner at the expense of the people at home. Certain countries, like certain people, are trained by experience to do special work. A better quality of work is possible where there is specialization. It is not sound economics to produce everything at home, especially if it costs more to produce it than to buy it abroad.

The cost of Economic Nationalism is high. It destroys the advantages of the International division of labor, it diminishes the world supply of capital and it produces a diminution of the standards of living - thus creating poverty.

Because of the development of self-sufficiency in many nations, the total volume of foreign trade in the future necessarily will not be increased greatly. The foreign trade in manufactured goods especially, will inevitably decline as a result of the industrialization of all nations. Also there is a tendency for trade in food products to decline as a result of the agricultural self-sufficiency program of many countries.

Self-sufficiency cannot be attained without serious political and economic friction; it does not guarantee security or prosperity. Grave dangers attend it in time of war and considerable inconvenience in time of peace.  

b. Our Economic Needs

In spite of the fact that the idea of our being in any sense dependent upon others in this day of our power, is repugnant to many and ridiculous to most, it is nevertheless true. Although the United States is doubtless a more nearly self-contained nation than any other, we must reach out into all parts of the world to secure the things we require. Too long have we allowed our patriotic fervor to lull our good sense into the state of apathy where we will accept a statement like the following quotation as a true declaration of the facts.

"The United States is more richly endowed with material......than any single country in the world. In regard to material resources we have coal, iron, copper, water power, petroleum, cotton, lumber, crude salts. Our resources far exceed those of our industrial competitors...... During our entire history we have mined perhaps a half of one per cent of our coal reserves. Our known reserves of iron amount to about three or four billion tons...... The United States produces 60 per cent of the world's pig iron output, 53 per cent of copper, 43 per cent of coal, 72 per cent of petroleum, 52 per cent of cotton, 52 per cent of lumber, and we have 40 per cent of the world's developed water power. Yet our most important resources have scarcely been touched." \(^1\)

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\(^1\)W. C. Redfield, *Dependent America*, p. 4.
Explanation of Maps

The four maps in this section were made to point out the fact that the United States is dependent upon other nations for all the raw rubber it uses and is likewise dependent for some of the materials necessary for the manufacture of steel, the telephone and electric motors.

The maps were compiled as a result of the study into the economic needs of the United States. Two sources were helpful in furnishing data; Dependent America, by William Redfield and An Introduction to American Civilization, by Harold Rugg.

The maps were intended to aid in answering the question "Is the United States economically self-sufficient?"
ARE WE DEPENDENT ON OTHER COUNTRIES FOR SOME OF THE MATERIALS USED IN MAKING STEEL?
THE TELEPHONE UPON WHICH WE DEPEND

MADE FROM MATERIALS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD?

1. Silk
2. Rubber
3. Flax
4. Mica
5. Copper
6. Cotton
7. Platinum
8. Antimony
9. Tin
10. Nickel
11. Asphalt
ARE WE DEPENDENT ON OTHER COUNTRIES FOR MATERIALS NECESSARY IN MANUFACTURING ELECTRIC MOTORS?
WHERE DOES THE UNITED STATES GET ITS RUBBER?
A survey of American foreign trade reveals the following facts rather well known to everyone. In 1860, we occupied fourth place among the commercial nations of the world. By 1900, we had climbed to second place, and today we hold first place. Before the Civil War, manufactured goods made up 70 per cent of the value of all imports. These included cotton manufactures, sugar, coffee, hides, skins and wool. During the next seventy-five years, the manufactured group declined as high protective tariffs encouraged native industries. Then began the increase in crude materials to supply American factories. On this list were rubber, hides, skins, raw silk, wool, vegetable fibers and long Staple cotton. By 1900, this group constituted 33 per cent of all our imports. The twentieth century brought an increase in wealth and a demand for the luxuries and food stuffs of the tropical countries. In 1929 the order of imports according to their value was silk, coffee, rubber, sugar, paper and pulp, skins, hides, petroleum and furs.\footnote{E. Bogart, Economic History of the American People, p. 681.}

These products are familiar and their purpose well known. However, there is a long list of raw materials not mentioned here, that can be classified as strategic, which are essential to the prosecution of war and which we either do not produce at all or can supply only in quantities which
are insufficient for peace time needs. The list here inserted is one prepared by the War Department and arose out of the strenuous effort to equip our forces during the World War. It shows plainly our dependence upon other countries on all the continents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antimony</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Nux Vomica</th>
<th>India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Opium</td>
<td>Western Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chromium</td>
<td>Rhodesia</td>
<td>Platinum</td>
<td>Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Potassium Salts</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>Quicksilver</td>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphite</td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>Quinine</td>
<td>Java</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemp</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hides</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Shellac</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iodine</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Silk</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jute</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Sodium Nitrate</td>
<td>Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaxseed</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manganese</td>
<td>Caucasus</td>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>Malay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manila Fiber</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Tungsten</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mica</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Vanadium</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickel</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perusal of such a list leads one to wonder in what way the supporters of the policy of economic nationalism would explain how we are to secure these materials. Also, by what means would the adherents to the policy of American isolation explain how we are to rationalize our political and
economic policies. It is no longer true that the European countries have rivalries and antagonisms that we do not share. In 1916, President Wilson made the following statement that was true then and is equally true today.

"We are the participants whether we would or not in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are ours also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and Asia."

The truth of the matter seems to be that no nation on earth is or can hope to be totally or even partially self-sufficient today unless it is willing to abandon many things that are looked upon as the necessities of living, such as "telephones, electric lights, radio, phonographs, carpets, linoleum, newspapers, railroads, automobiles, brushes, bagging, linen, woolen and silk clothing and shoes."¹

The matter has been well summed up in a report of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York of 1924. "In the long run it must be clear that no problem that confronts the country is purely local or purely American. The local aspect supplies only a part of the picture inasmuch as the United States has become part and parcel of the whole fabric of international affairs. The peace of Europe; the

¹W. C. Redfield, Dependent America, p. 237.
funding of its debts; the stabilizing of its battered currencies; the rebuilding of its trade; the restoration of international exchange; all these have so direct a relation with respect to the affairs of the American manufacturer, farmer, exporter and importer, that every local problem goes hand in hand with every problem of foreign origin."

Here lies a powerful argument for better international relationships that the schools should not neglect. No nation can wage a prolonged war today because of its dependence upon the materials of foreign trade. In time of peace, the development of our industries and our national economic life requires, not simply that our foreign trade be maintained, but that it be persistently expanded.¹

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¹ W. C. Redfield, *Dependent America*, p. 236.
ownership remains in private hands.\(^1\)

"The State is thus made ultimately responsible for the general planning of the national economic life and this eliminates any justification or excuse for class war, strikes or lock-outs, since all problems are solved by compulsory arbitration."\(^2\) Employers and employees are organized into syndicates and the ultimate result is the complete suppression of labor.

Assuming the complete impartiality of the State in industrial disputes, the system when fully established might indeed prevent the antagonisms of employers and workers ever coming to a head. This possibility, providing there is plenty of employment, offers a direct economic challenge to certain strike-ridden countries.

The denial of the basic assumption of private enterprise and the affirmation of the right of the State to control any aspect of the economic life in the interests of the community, is a radical departure from the American industrial system. The general instability and insecurity of the present industrial system and the attending unemployment have brought the challenge of a planned and managed economy. In spite of these facts, when unemployment is due

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\(^1\) R. Goslin, *Dictatorship*, p. 15.

to the disordered conditions of world trade, a Totalitarian State can no more find employment for its workers than a Democracy or a Monarchy.

d. The Allied Debt Situation

During the war, the Allies borrowed from the United States an amount well in excess of ten billion dollars. Great Britain also made heavy loans to France and Italy. In fact, all the nations were both creditors and debtors at the close of the war except the United States. By December 1925, those who had been appointed to juggle the international debts reached the following conclusions.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Debtor for</th>
<th>Creditor for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>$7,600,000,000</td>
<td>$3,080,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>4,800,000,000</td>
<td>11,320,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5,200,000,000</td>
<td>90,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>12,780,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The United States sincerely regarded all the loans, war and post war, as commercial ones and expected that they would be paid. "Great Britain, France and Italy with equal sincerity and a historical background in such matters, saw the war loans as clearly political and were even inclined to

¹ F. Tilden, A World in Debt, p. 260.
the view that most of the post war loans could be adjudged a politico-economic effort on the part of all former combatants to put the world into a position where all could benefit by the resumption of normal trade and social relations."

The Allies insisted that their ability to make payments depended upon the reparations they received from Germany.

France, barely escaping bankruptcy in 1923, declared that she would pay us only if German reparation were forthcoming. Great Britain maintained that she would collect only enough reparations to fulfill her obligation to us. It soon became increasingly apparent that Germany would never be in a position to pay, and following the bankruptcy of that country in 1923 a movement was launched by the Allies for the cancellation of all war debts.

The United States insisted from the beginning of the controversy that the debt question was in no way related to reparations. The loans made to the Allies were used to conduct the war, feed the civil population, pay maturities of previous debts and maintain the value of the franc and pound sterling. Also, the Allies were paid by the United States for all goods and services used by American troops in Europe.

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Therefore the Allies should pay for goods and services purchased in the United States. Since the Allies had both borrowed and loaned and the United States had only loaned, cancellation would mean a total loss to the latter. ¹

The Allies, on the other hand, felt that the great prosperity of the United States dated from 1914 when Europe at war had begun buying from us at high prices. They also felt that for years we had reaped large war profits while Europe fought and declined. We entered the war late and meanwhile the Allies had been fighting in what really came to be our cause too. Furthermore, we had maintained a high tariff on imports which had made it impossible for Europe to pay us in the only media it possessed, namely, goods. ²

In 1922, the World War Foreign Debt Commission of the United States negotiated separately with each of the debtor nations on the principle of "capacity to pay." The adjusted debts were greatly reduced and payments of principal and interest were arranged in sixty-two annual installments. The Dawes and Young Plans were both further attempts to suggest means of financing reparations and debts.

In June 1932, when the elaborate schemes seemed in danger of collapse, President Hoover declared a moritorium

² E. Turner, Europe Since 1870, p. 675.
of a year in all debts and interest. When in 1932, according to the latest funding settlement of the Lausanne Conference, interest charges were due the United States, England paid under protest since no reparations were forthcoming from Germany. In 1933, with interest charges again due, France defaulted and England paid a relatively small amount as a token to acknowledge the debt. Since that year, every nation has defaulted annually except Finland.

President Hoover favored the re-establishment of the Debt Commission of 1922 to attempt a further settlement of the whole question, but President Roosevelt has opposed it.

At the present writing, certain European countries, which are facing the necessity of supporting an expensive naval building program, have designated their willingness to reopen the whole troublesome question. These nations are anxious to secure loans from the United States but are prevented from doing so as the result of a bill passed by Congress on April 13, 1934. The purpose of the bill was to prevent further loans to any nation already in default on its obligations. This meant that no loans or financial transactions could be made by the government or persons in the country to any debtor nation. Hence, if any European nation desires to borrow further to finance a naval program, it must first settle the old debt in a manner satisfactory to the United States.

In conclusion, the writer uses the following
quotation which is very significant in the situation. "Nations cannot without danger become creditors of other nations to any amount whatever. No loan from one nation to another can possibly bear merely commercial significance. From the very nature of the state, the loan will be political."¹

e. The Significance of the Change in Our Position from a Debtor to a Creditor Nation

From the colonial period of her history through the first decade of the 20th century, the United States occupied a minor position in world proceedings as a whole and a debtor position in economic affairs. With a great country to explore and develop and a distinct aversion to European entanglements, she had remained practically isolated during this period except for a few scattered incidents. Economically, she was a debtor nation that used her agricultural goods to pay for foreign money invested in the country or for goods received. This arrangement was customary for a nation that had little gold with which to pay its debts.

The United States entered the war late and after a three year period, "during which time she was on the receiving

¹F. Tilden, A World in Debt, p. 265.
end of a pipe line through which flowed the various token forms of Europe's exchangeable wealth. The stock of gold coin and bullion of the United States which in 1913 had been $1,870,000,000 rose to $3,163,000,000 in 1918. From being a debtor nation at the outbreak of the war, she emerged from the struggle with nearly a third of the gold of the entire world and with promissory notes in excess of all the gold in existence and furthermore exceeding all the gold likely to be in existence for years to come.\textsuperscript{1}

Although the figures indicated that a drastic change of policy was in order concerning foreign trade, the United States steadfastly refused to receive the goods of the debtor nations and demanded payments in gold in the international exchange of commodities. In the 1920's, the country tried to keep up the tremendous foreign trade stimulated by the war, by making further loans to foreign countries in order to maintain the markets abroad. The nation suffered under the delusion that foreign loans or debts could be repaid in any other form than by the admission of foreign goods.

At the close of 1923, the U.S. treasury held obligations of foreign nations alone amounting to two thousand

\textsuperscript{1}F. Tilden, \textit{A World in Debt}, p. 256.
three hundred sixty million dollars, principal and interest.¹

Aside from the war debts, the United States was a net creditor to the amount of approximately eleven billion dollars. If the interest on these debts alone was to be paid, the country needed to have a substantial excess of imports over exports. She needed to increase her imports relatively to her exports until she had the import surplus by means of which, alone, international debts of any kind could be paid. However, in view of the general attitude concerning these commercial debts, it would seem that the soundness of the foregoing policy has not been generally accepted as yet in this country.

The growth of private indebtedness abroad has, however, created a new interest on the part of Americans in the prosperity of other nations. This is important and significant. As a comparatively newcomer in the field of internationalism, the United States has many things to learn that European nations consider to be an integral part of their background.

We are learning that it is impossible to play the role of creditor successfully and at the same time impose ever increasing restrictions on imports.² The United States

²Moulton and Pasvolsky, War Debts and World Prosperity, pp. 413-4.
has been particularly without the kind of education that is
desirable for the understanding and interpretation of foreign
economic affairs. As Elihu Root said in 1922, "the people of
the United States learned more about international relations
in the last eight years, than they had learned in the pre-
ceding eighty."

Our position as creditor on such a large scale is
bound up with political as well as economic significance.

Summary and Conclusions

The preceding survey of world conditions since 1918
that have threatened our national security reveals several
facts. There is a real and ever present menace to world
peace in the imperialistic activities of Japan, Italy and
Germany. The danger of a clash between the "have" and "have
not" nations of the world in Africa, the Near East and the
Mediterranean is omnipresent.

Strong armed dictators that preach war and shake
mailed fists at the world jeopardize freedom and democracy.
Communism and Fascism remain incalculable factors in the
international scheme.

A weakened League of Nations that is apparently
powerless to act in major affairs and which the armament
building nations regard with calculating eyes, further
increases the cause of our uneasiness.
Economically, we require an increased foreign trade to enable our debtor neighbors to meet their obligations. Yet we are faced with such obstacles as Totalitarian states and the doctrine of economic nationalism. Our position as world creditor has brought us more closely into contact with the European situation and has thus increased the necessity for better international understanding and good will.

Where does the answer lie? In education? A great many people believe that it does.

If this is true, what kind of an education can best train our young people to cope with such a situation? Certainly the old type of education of our grandfathers' or even our fathers' day has not given us the answer.

Simply learning subject matter in the prescribed courses in school will not help pupils to solve future international problems. Just as understanding and tolerance make it possible for individuals to live together peaceably, so similar attitudes and understandings on the international level are requisite if the nations are to get along amicably. Education of any other kind, than that which strives to meet such threats to our national security with interests and enthusiasms for international good will, is a mockery of the name.
PART III

The Scope of the Study
In the third part of the study, it is the writer's intention to make a survey of the status of the social value of National Security. In view of the fact that National Security is a relatively new expression as an objective of education, it is possible that no specific reference to the aim will be found in recent professional literature.

The reader is invited to consider the following line of reasoning in perusing the succeeding pages. National Security, or freedom from the threat of war, is a desirable social aim of individuals and nations alike. Education, taking due recognition of public sentiment, should strive by every means at its command to create the understandings, interests and attitudes necessary for the continuance of such an opinion. The chasm from a desire for national security for ourselves to an understanding of a like inclination on the part of other nations can be bridged most effectively by the study of international relations and by the fostering of a spirit of international good will.

It is the writer's purpose to utilize the principles and objectives, materials, and procedures of studies in international relations to provide the impetus for the arousing of international good will and thus by inference, approach the objective of National Security.

In order that the main objective may not become relegated to the background, the writer proposes first, to
present and endeavor to answer three questions: viz.,

1. Does Education recognize National Security as a Social Value?

2. What has been done to help achieve the objective?

3. What can be done to further the attainment of the objective?

In the second place, Part III will include a list of studies in the field of International Relations and International Good Will with which the writer has become acquainted.

In conclusion, and as Part IV of the study, the writer proposes to submit the plan of a unit of work in International Relations of approximately sixty hours that could be incorporated into a course on Problems of Democracy in Secondary Schools. The purpose of the unit would be the arousing of interests and enthusiasms for international good will and so indirectly serve the Social Value of National Security.

I. Does Education recognize National Security as a Social Value?

Courses of Study

The writer has examined twenty courses of study in
the Social Studies chosen at random throughout the country. Seventy-five per cent of the courses were on the Secondary School level. The years of publication covered a ten year period from 1924 to 1934. The objectives of the courses stressed citizenship as the primary or sole objective. Twenty-five per cent accounted the realization or understanding of the interdependence of nations as the first aim. From seven of the twenty courses or from thirty-five per cent, some hint or inference of the objective, National Security, could be gathered. However, in only one instance was the word "security" used and in that case the designation was worldwide. In the table, these seven courses were starred and the last course mentioned was doubly starred.

It was interesting to note that five of the seven courses were state courses. A possible explanation might lie in the fact that the state would be more apt to plan with a wider outlook on international affairs.

A consideration of the dates of publication showed that the earliest course listed, Maryland 1924, caught a glimpse of the objective of National Security thirteen years ago. On the other hand, the 1934 courses of Virginia and Florida revealed a marked ignoring of international relations.
## Survey of Objectives in Courses in Social Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Junior High</th>
<th>Senior High</th>
<th>Objective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baltimore, Md.</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Tolerance (Open Mindedness)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas, Texas</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Right Social Attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver, Colo.</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Citizenship (Interdependence of (nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(United States as a (World Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Beach, Calif.</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Respect for Democratic (Principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, Calif.</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Causes of War (Interdependence of (nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynn, Mass.</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Interrelationships (World Consciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Citizenship*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Citizenship (Character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis, Minn.</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Understanding of (futility of war and (desire for peace*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Interdependence of (nations*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York State</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(International Arbitration (World order and security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Senior</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Richmond, Va.</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Citizenship</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Francisco, Calif.</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Health, Homemaking)</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis, Mo.</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sense of world membership</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(Perpetuation of)</td>
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<td>Democratic Ideals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Interdependence of)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(nations*)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the light of these observations and with the realization that the number of courses examined was limited, the writer has drawn the following conclusions.

1. Most of the courses in the Social Studies on the Secondary School level offered a brief unit in international relations.

2. Such a unit was usually near the end of the course where it necessarily received less attention.

3. The material generally included the Monroe Doctrine, the Hague Tribunal, the causes and the results of the World War and the organization and workings of the League of Nations.

4. The primary object of such units has not been the establishment of better international relations with the ultimate goal, the attainment of a National Security free from any threat of war.

5. With these courses in mind, the writer was forced to the conclusion that courses in the Social Studies had, on the whole, failed to catch the challenge of National Security as a Social Value.
Magazine Articles

A perusal of the Readers' Guide, Poole's Index to Periodical Literature and the Educational Index failed to reveal any articles devoted to the objective of National Security. However, a wealth of material was listed on International Relations and International Good Will. About one hundred articles were examined and from that number, twenty-five were selected that seemed best suited for the survey because they dealt with International Understanding and were helpful in reference to the unit of work in Part IV.

The articles were classified under the following headings: World Security and Insecurity, Textbooks and Methods, War Myths, International Understanding, International Relations, and Educational Freedom.

The list of authors included such distinguished educators as Glenn Frank, Daniel A. Prescott, Harold George Campbell, John Boyd-Carpenter, Bessie L. Pierce and Maurice Price. Other eminent commentators in the field of International Relations were Albert Einstein, scientist, James Gordon Gilky, Clergyman, Gerald P. Nye, senator, and Henry Stoddard Curtis, lecturer and author. It would seem that discriminating men and women were giving the problem thoughtful consideration.

An analysis of the particular magazines in which the selected articles were found showed that in all except
two cases, the magazines were those commonly listed as belonging to the teaching profession. Progressive Education and The Clearing House were both credited with four articles of the twenty-five. School and Society and The New Era, a British magazine, were tied with three articles each. The two non-professional magazines were the Commonweal and the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

Nine of the twenty-five articles were dated 1936 with four each for 1935 and 1934. It may possibly be inferred from this that the interest and concern for better International Relations is a growing or at least not static idea. It is interesting to note the gap between 1929 and 1932. The writer does not wish to suggest that no articles were written during that two year period, but the coincidence may be significant in the light of our domestic troubles of the same period.

The report on each article was made in the form of an abstract or by direct quotation or a combination of both methods.

A simple chart was prepared to show the titles and dates of the articles selected.
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World Security and Insecurity

De Boer, J. J., "A Program for Peace Education."
_The English Journal_, April 1936, pp. 286-292.

"The American people want peace." We are faced with the necessity of creating effective resistance against the forces which change the national temper from tranquility to hysteria. A good citizen should demand peace of his government just as he demands health and protection.

Youth must have all the facts about war, made proof against war propaganda and inspired with a zeal for anti-war movements.

There will be blood on our hands if we do not speak out. War makes plot against the lives of our young people in whom we are trying to develop the arts and attitudes of civilization. Seeing this, we cannot keep silent without sharing its dreadful guilt.

Einstein, Albert, "Education and World Peace."
_Progressive Education_, December 1934, p. 440.

"The United States because of its geographic location is in a position to teach sane pacifism in its schools."

However, it should not be taught emotionally but from a realistic standpoint. Although actual invasion of the United States is unlikely, she is apt to become involved in international entanglements. Security for all of us and others lies only in a satisfactory solution of world peace.
problems. Youth should not be allowed to believe that safety can be obtained through political isolation. History in schools should be used as a means of interpreting progress in civilization and not for inculcating ideals of imperialistic power and military success. In geography, a sympathetic understanding of the characteristics of various peoples, even those commonly called backward, should be cultivated.

Pipkin, C. W., "Education in a World of Insecurity." The Social Frontier, Nov. 1936, pp. 42-44.

"Education, in a world of insecurity, must know the danger to the American way of life in the present mad international scene when frenzied nationalism is the master. War is the inevitable result when the minds of men are not prepared for peace. Education in a democracy can dynamically take its place in laying the foundations upon which the necessary institutions of peace machinery can be built. Public Enemy Number One to the American way of life is war and the conditions that make war possible."
Textbooks and Methods


"The day of old fashioned textbooks is dead. The better way to educate students in international affairs and relations is by seminars at which any problem can be examined geographically and then economically and the political viewpoint of each nation having interests therein can be taken up, to ascertain what rights each interested nation may really possess."

"Possibly the re-studying of our national mind and national position may, when viewed from an international aspect, lead to a widening of vision which will set our eyes upon the proportional position which each nation occupies in a conspectus of the world as a whole, and make us realize that a more perfect understanding of each other's, as well as each nation's, problems may usher in an era of completer knowledge and understanding sympathy."


"We cannot teach life as it is and improve living. However true this may be it cannot be used as an alibi, for there is an alternative: Since we cannot teach life as it is and thereby improve living, why not teach life as it is, capitalize the worth while, and face frankly its short-comings
with a determination to change them. Acceptance of this position, from the point of view of practice as well as theory, implies that the school must take a broader view of its educational responsibilities and potentialities than it now has."


The beginning of the 20th century witnessed educators bent upon a view and scientific school of history that attempted to appraise historical events with a more objective and less chauvinistic eye." History curriculum began to seek "independence of purely military and political events and strove for scientific presentation of historical truths which should fit pupils for 'complete living.'"

"Following the war, a retrogressive movement instigated by the fear of radicalism and disloyalty to established institutions expressed itself in legislation pointed toward the development of an unalloyed patriotism through the teaching of history."

"The attempts of laymen to prescribe what shall be taught plus a faithful acceptance of the traditional may explain why most of our text books are seriously ignoring adequate information concerning international relations."

"Economic trends and cultural contacts receive scant attention and pages devoted to internationalism tend
to disparage foreign friend and foe alike."

"Textbooks in history and other subjects used in most public schools of the United States still reflect more or less the discussions of war-time propaganda - propaganda of interested groups controlling national policy."

Curtis, H. S., "Needed a New Patriotism." 
School and Society, June 16, 1934, pp. 782-784.

How can we expect to develop the peace-time virtues through a history which devotes two thirds to three fourths of its pages to war? History is usually considered the place in the curriculum to teach patriotism. It has been our custom in the past to regard patriotism as nearly synonymous with army service. We must build fewer monuments to ex-soldiers and erect more to those who in time of peace have rendered notable service.

"The willingness to serve in time of war is a mere by-product of the broader ideal."
War Myths

Ogilve, V., "Education for Peace."

"War is not a biological function and no 'instinct to pugnacity' is its cause. There is no inborn antipathy to other nations or ethnic groups. There is no permanent antipathy to any particular nation or ethnic group. Although antipathy varies with circumstances it is comparatively easy to arouse hostility against another nation. Teach pupils to see things as they are. Teach them to think. Enable pupils in every possible way to know other countries and their people."

Thomas, E. L., "Shall We Go on Making Little Soldiers?"

The History teacher must exalt the heroes of peace above those of war. She must destroy the romanticized concept of a "holy war." She must substitute for the ideal of a glorious death, the ideal of a life of service. The students of today must be placed on their guard against the power of a sensational press. The pupils must be trained to ferret out the real causes of war. The teacher must point out that neutrality is invaluable. History courses should include a thoughtful study of the various plans for attaining peace advocated by the best thinkers of the day. Pupils should be freed from petty nationalism and become
world-minded.

Nye, G. P., "Educating for War or Peace."

Is war inevitable? If so, then we must train our youth for war.

"There was a time when witch-burning was inevitable, not only inevitable but a virtuous thing, quite the thing to expect; however we have long since ceased burning witches. Possibly we have been fooling ourselves about the inevitableness of war."

If we have, then should we not at least provide a place in the curriculum for the positive study of peace?

"What might be the saving if we spent as much for peace and preparations for peace as we now spend for war and preparation for it?"

Mehus, O. M., "Is War Inevitable?"

"War does not emanate from any so-called fighting instincts." Society has abolished other evils that have been just as firmly rooted in human thinking as war is. War does not make a nation strong. War does not settle moral issues, but rather brings about a decided slump in a nation's moral character.

"Also, war will be rejected by civilized society when it realizes its horror and is convinced of its utter

The myths of the Romantic War, the Defensive War, of Human Nature, of Military Security and the Inevitable War are the voices of history and the militarist. The fate of Western civilization depends on the answer given to these myths when the world again stands tottering on the brink of war.
International Understanding


"I wish to emphasize again the importance of teaching our pupils the futility, horrors and devastation of war, and the blessings and benefits of peace. Such instruction does not mean the teaching of pacifism or non-resistance or the giving up of any rights which we hold sacred. It does not mean that our pupils shall forget that they and their parents are enjoying the full advantages of American citizenship because our forefathers held some things dearer than life itself. On the other hand, peace education does mean that we should instill into the minds of pupils ideas of the brotherhood of man, respect for the institutions, manners and customs, and an appreciation of the sanctity of human life, regardless of race, color or creed.

Our teachings of peace ought to lead to a conviction that the human race, in settling disputes among nations, should rise to a higher plane than it has reached in the past and to a determination that instead of resorting to war, nations - the people and their representatives - should solve their difficulties by conciliation, mutual agreement, arbitration, or other peaceful means."

"Inter-racial understanding stresses the necessity of educating children so that differences between themselves and others in such matters as physical appearance, coloring and so on, shall not lead to contempt, dislike and general lack of sympathy."


"Our specific aim is to develop more sympathetic attitudes between the various cultural and racial groups in our midst as a basis for international understanding."


"International understandings can result only from an appreciation of facts about other peoples in relation to their way of life. This appreciation should be based upon the understanding of national ways of life as conditioned by natural and social circumstances. This in turn postulates knowledge of geographical, economic, historical, religious and other facts, derived directly from authoritative sources acceptable to the people themselves."
Hawk, H. C., "Winfield High's Homeroom Project in International Understanding." The Clearing House, November 1936, pp. 149-152.

The author believes that International Understanding should be added to the seven Cardinal Principles. The basis of the project is the correspondence by Winfield students with young people of other lands.


At present, we do not know how people are actually thinking and wishing and hoping with regard to other nations.

We have developed various kinds of tests which could be used to acquire such information, but so far they have only been used in certain very limited investigations.

If a future world war is to be averted, such factors as borderland conflicts, vested interests, international commerce and finance, economic imperialism, the unabating pressure of population upon the means of maintaining a given standard of living and national maneuvering for areas of strategic importance in preserving trade routes and waging war, must be brought out into the open, clarified and made subject to the rules of the game.

The problem is complex and difficult, but not impossible.

"Is there any doubt that a thousand or even a
hundred specialists in attitudes, public opinion, friction and conflict, culture-conflict, economic imperialism, munition propaganda and mass psychology, working over a period of twenty years could prescribe policies and programs that would increase by one hundred per cent the effectiveness of the present policies for producing international understanding and good will? If such concentrated effort is justified in lines of war and profit, is it not warranted in the line of international good will also?"

At present, the writer distinguishes three typical international attitudes. One is that of disregard for or prejudice against alien people. The second is that of positive sentiment in favor of a people, a good will of some sort. A third is that of understanding and appreciation.

Ethnocentrism is undoubtedly the most potent source of friction and strife. Economic interests become involved and national policies become affected.


"What study better than geography can help man to understand his social lag?"

Geography in schools should cease being a descriptive science and include broad questions of ethics and sociology. It would be better to favor implicitly a more humanistic attitude by describing world areas in terms of the manner in
which the resources and population contribute to human welfare.

"The outcomes sought from the teaching of geography should not be alone the mastery of the formal facts of science but should include attitudes and purposes tending to facilitate the solution of man's problem."

"Schools should teach the science of geography to only a limited extent but it should draw heavily upon geography for materials with which to help children understand the world in which they live."
International Relations


"The cardinal strength of democracy is that it broadens the base of judgment upon which policy is built."

"The cardinal weakness of dictatorship is that it narrows the base of judgment upon which policy is built."

"The greater the complexities of the age, the broader should be the base of judgment upon which its policies are built."

"It is not strong government we need but wise government - not government that desires mere lip-service but one invested with virtues of insight, dignity, moderation, justice, tolerance and an acute sense of social values."

"While the processes of the world's life grow daily more international, the policies of world governments grow daily more national. The modern world, bound by the lithe arms of rapid transportation, instant communication and frontier crossing agencies of credit, contract, capital corporate organization, cannot reverse the facts by a swashbuckling nationalism."

Dever, Mary, "World Relations as a Subject in the Curriculum." Historical Outlook, Feb. 1929, p. 84-5.

Dr. Boyd H. Bode defines democracy as "a social organization that aims to promote co-operation among its
members and with other groups on the basis of mutual recognition of interests."

"Training children to an understanding and appreciation of this interpretation of democracy is one part of the work of the public schools."

"The purpose of the school in teaching world relations should be to impart a knowledge of other nations without creating prejudice on the one hand or sentiment on the other; to stimulate a desire for fair play by studying both sides; to open up debatable questions for future consideration."

Material gathered with this purpose in view should lend itself to the most "advanced social treatment while developing an attitude of open mindedness on the part of the student."

"Out of the international contacts of the present the peace or war of the future is at the moment growing."


The tradition of American isolation is not so secure to-day. The annihilation of distance by science, investments abroad in industry, purchase of the bonds of foreign governments and loans to foreign governments have cut deeply into traditional isolation.

Political sovereignty carries with it an implication
of economic, social and cultural independence as well as national independence. This is not so. We are very dependent upon order and prosperity in other countries for the maintenance of optimum conditions within our own land.


"Our teaching about war and peace needs to be more realistic. Vague idealism and pious hopes will not outlaw war. Parents and teachers who want to develop a higher type of patriotism in their children, a patriotism which will know no narrow national boundaries must keep their feet on the ground of everyday occurrences. They must present the facts about war and its consequences. They must help children to trace the roots of war back to competition over raw materials and trade routes. They must show the relation between war and imperialism, including that of their own country. They must face the question whether world peace is possible so long as the white man assumes the "burden" for the colored man's territory. Acquaintance with the cultures of other peoples is not enough; otherwise we should never have gone to war with Germany. Sentiment is not enough. We need to get down to brass tacks in our talk about war and peace if our children are to build a warless world."
Educational Freedom


The study of international problems will strengthen patriotism. The forbidding of any discussion or teaching in the schools of international relations leaves the field to jingoes, imperialists, munition workers and other groups seeking to use patriotism for their own ends.

The discussion of controversial questions develops the critical faculty essential for intelligent citizenship, although it may be granted that the children cannot be expected to solve such a question.


"Education blurts out that patriotism has all too often doctored history into propaganda for bigger and better wars yet to come and refuses to be used in the future as a tool of a nationalism that will be the end of modern civilization if it has its unchecked way."

"Education must give the human family the trained and critical mind, able to examine and if necessary to debunk the false gods to which both religion and patriotism too quickly bow down."
The writer has drawn the following conclusions from the survey of magazine articles:

1. Only one article, that by John De Boer, actually made the point that peace was a social value. "A good citizen should demand peace of his government just as he demands health and protection."

2. Men and women in many walks of life realized that education holds one of the best answers to the problem of international good will.

3. There was a wealth of material available in current magazines that is both vital and helpful for teachers interested in our objective.

4. National Security was well served by writers of magazine articles who pleaded for better International Understanding and Good Will.
Books

An analysis of twenty-five books in the field of Education revealed that the authors:

1. Urged a diminution in the intensity of patriotism as ordinarily understood.
2. Plead ed for a willingness to subordinate the interests of one's own group to the interests of humanity.
3. Deplored the habit of not thinking of foreigners as people.
4. Counselled the discontinuation of such schools as fertilized the soil from which national suspicions and hatreds sprung.
5. Called for the schools to usher in the era of the brotherhood of man, of Universal Peace.
6. Condemned Nationalism as the chief force impelling our civilization to its doom.
7. Claimed that the flag suggested Nelson, not Shakespeare.
8. Maintained that children were taught the faults of other nations but not the faults of their own.
9. Asserted that schools recognized the claims of taxpayers and society in general, by making good citizenship the principle objective of education.
10. Warned that the peoples of various nations were dangerously ignorant of each other.
11. Advocated that the most reliable insurance against invasion was to be found in an increased understanding and sympathy on the part of the various peoples of the earth.

12. Upheld the cultivation of the habit of peaceful settlement of international disputes.

13. Declared that the American people have not reached complete accord regarding the place education shall occupy in the social scheme.

The books examined were of comparatively recent publication. Eight of the twenty-five were published before 1930 and two as recently as 1937. The list included the principle publishers of the country with the Columbia University Press accredited with three publications. The majority of the books were published in New York, although Los Angeles and London were represented. Several of the books made reference to the field of international good will but none referred to National Security as a Social Value. Economic, personal and intellectual security were mentioned in one or two instances. The books which were especially helpful in the survey have been starred on the following list.

   McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.
   New York City, 1935.

   The Macmillan Co.
   New York City, 1936.

   Bureau of Publications
   Teachers College, Columbia University,
   New York City, 1932.

   Progressive Education and Its Effect upon the Child and Society

   Revised and Enlarged edition

7. *Curry, W. E., Education in a Changing World*
   W. W. Norton and Co., Inc.
   New York City, 1935.

8. Davis, Calvin C., *Junior High School Education.*
   World Book Co., Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1926.
   A Survey of Principles and Practices of Education  
   Farrar and Rinehart, Inc.  
   New York City, 1934.
    C. C. Crawford, University of Southern California,  
    Los Angeles, California, 1932
    J. B. Lippincott Co.  
    Philadelphia, 1937
    American Historical Association  
    Charles Scribner's Sons  
    New York City, 1936.
    Dialogues in Modern Education,  
    Harcourt, Brace and Co.,  
    New York City, 1928.
    Charles Scribner's Sons  
    New York City, 1927
   Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928.


17. Pringle, Ralph, *The Junior High School.*
   A Psychological Approach.
   McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.
   New York City, 1937.

   Ginn and Co., New York City, 1936.

   W. W. Norton & Co., Inc.
   New York City, 1932.

    Boni and Liveright
    New York City, 1926.

    D. Appleton and Co.
    New York City, 1916.

    Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1922.

Columbia University Press
New York City, 1954.

Cambridge, at the University Press
London, 1924.

The writer has drawn the following conclusions from a survey of the books:

1. Authors of books on education seemed to realize the need for more friendly international attitudes.

2. They offered very little that was concrete by way of improving the situation.

3. Security, if mentioned, generally referred to economic security.

4. National Security as a Social Value was not commonly recognized as an objective of education by books on educational aims and objectives.

The purpose of the foregoing survey (pp. 84-115) was to endeavor to collect sufficient data to answer the question, "Does Education recognize National Security as a Social Value?"
1. Education appeared to recognize the desirability of better international relations and had made a conscious effort to contribute to them.

2. The magazine articles most closely approached the objective of National Security, the courses of study lagged far behind and educational books expressed little or no opinions on the subject.

3. In so far as a limited survey showed, education did not universally accept the objective of National Security as a Social Value.

II. What has been done to help achieve the objective?

Although the survey of professional literature revealed that education did not generally recognize National Security as a Social Value, nevertheless several things have been done by educators and laymen to help achieve the objective.

A great body of material available to the teaching profession has been gathered by agencies interested in peace education. To be sure, it is in the field of international relations and international good will, but such material, if properly handled, can be so taught as to give rise to those attitudes that tend to decrease fear and suspicion of other nations and so increase our National Security.
Organizations and Agencies in the United States
Devoted to the Study of World Affairs and the Promotion of International Understanding.

1. Foreign Policy Association
   Dr. Raymond L. Buell, President. Issues a Weekly Foreign Policy Bulletin, also
   Foreign Policy Reports
   8 West 40th Street, New York City.

2. Council on Foreign Relations
   Primarily a research organization for the scientific and impartial study of international relations. Findings reported in a quarterly review, Foreign Affairs, also publishes Annual Survey of American Foreign Relations and a Political Handbook of the world.
   45 East 65th St., New York City.

3. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
   Division of Intercourse and Education
   405 West 117th Street, New York City.
   Under direction of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler,
   President of Columbia University.
   Publishes International Conciliation pamphlets.
   Donates important current books to International Mind Alcoves in small town public libraries.
4. World Peace Foundation

Since 1920, the Foundation has acted as distributing agent in the United States for publications of the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization.

40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

5. Rockefeller Foundation

49 West 49th Street, New York City

The Organization maintains an International Health Division.

6. Institute of International Education

Supported by Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. Its object is to develop "international good-will and education through such activities as the exchange of professors, the establishment of international fellowships, the holding of conferences on the problems of international education; and the publication of books and pamphlets on the systems of education of the different countries."

Publishes News Bulletin that reports monthly matters of interest in field of international education.

7. National Council for Prevention of War

Publishes peace material for programs, projects,
games, readings and recitations, bibliographies, lantern slides, songs, posters, maps, charts, declamation material, flags.

532 Seventeenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Agencies Active in Schools and Colleges

1. Junior Red Cross

2. National Student Forum on the Paris Pact - Study of the Pact has been incorporated into the curriculum of 2053 high schools.

3. League of Nations Association offers annual prizes to high school students for best essay on the League of Nations. Provides dramatization material on Assembly of the League composed of quotations from speeches of the previous Assembly.

Teacher Training

To equip teachers with a knowledge of world affairs

1. International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University

2. Fletcher School of International Law and

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1 The Thirty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society For the Study of Education, Part III. International Understanding Through the Public School Curriculum, 1937, pp. 303-310.
Diplomacy at Tufts College, Melrose, Mass.

3. Yale University, Department of International Relations.

4. University of Chicago and University of Minnesota provide special inter-departmental study in international relations.

5. George Washington University and University of Southern California make special provision for such study.

6. University of Hawaii - Summer School - offers interesting projects especially relating to the Pacific Area.

Classified Lists Concerned with World Understandings
Edith E. Ware: The Study of International Relations in the United States: A Survey for 1936.


The preceding material would tend to prove that much has been attempted to help achieve the objective of National Security by the agencies and institutions devoted to better international relations.

III. What can be done to further the attainment of the objective?
It is obvious from a review of what has been done to further International Good Will that a great deal has been accomplished. A large proportion of the work, however, has been performed by agencies outside of the schools. It remains for Education to attempt to help itself.

The field of adult education offers a splendid opportunity to bring to the parents and others in the community the objective of National Security. A continuance of the struggle for greater educational freedom will widen the base upon which the schools may stand. Greater opportunity for teacher training in the field of International Relations is greatly needed if education is to forge ahead. Finally, the schools must give pupils every opportunity available to know other people. We usually like the people we know or at least regard them with toleration and good will.

List of Studies in the Field of International Relations and International Good Will with which the writer has become acquainted.


Since these studies are not definitely within the field of the research, they are simply listed here without comment. No studies were found dealing with National Security as a Social Value of Education.

The following quotation will serve as a conclusion to Part III.

"The new world now to be built is a world where civilization shall be protected against further catastrophes by international organization or, at any rate, by international understanding. And the builder of the new world must be education. Education alone can lay the foundations on which the building is to rest. On this point a kind of consensus has been reached by those who trust the future of international co-operation and those who refuse to believe in it. When the latter go about repeating that to succeed in such a task one would have to change human nature, they do but exaggerate the acknowledged need for a gradual and patient reshaping of the public mind. There is a great work to be achieved, and no men can forward it but those who are well informed as to the conditions and needs of our times, inasmuch as all countries and all races are concerned. Even the efforts of such men would be in vain unless, in a world of democracy, they were backed by a body of opinion, ever growing more enlightened and more powerful." ¹

¹P. Mantaux, Foreword to *International Understanding*, by John Harley.
Summary

The inquiry into the status of the objective of National Security as a Social Value in education discloses the following facts:

1. Education does not concern itself directly with the objective.

2. Agencies outside the schools have at hand a body of material suitable for disseminating wider knowledge of the objective.

3. If education is to accept the challenge of the objective, the way must be prepared through a program of adult education and greater academic freedom.

4. Although many studies have been made in the field of international relations and good will, the present study appeared to be the first one in education on the special subject of National Security as a Social Value.
PART IV

A Unit of Work of Approximately 60 hours
for Incorporation into a Course on
Problems of Democracy in Secondary Schools
The plan for Part IV is to suggest a unit of work of approximately sixty hours that could be incorporated into a course on Problems of Democracy in Secondary Schools. The unit has for its aim the fostering of those attitudes, interests and understandings that will tend to increase the cause of international good will and thus contribute indirectly to the objective of National Security. Four topics are submitted to be included in the unit and four additional topics are suggested. Part IV of the thesis might well be considered the subject of future study.

The Topics

Included in the unit is a General Reading List to be used by the pupils to acquire a background and three detailed outlines for work on the following topics: Ethnocentrism, The Economic Needs of Nations and Arbitration.

Other subjects that might well be included in the unit or substituted for those outlined include; Munitions, Great Personalities Who Have Worked for Better International Relations, International Bodies to Which the United States Subscribes, and Limitations and Strengths of Different Forms of Government.

The Objectives

Although the objectives for each topic in the unit are primarily on the international level, in each case, the social process approach to the objectives is urged. By the
use of this approach, the subject under discussion can be closely associated with the fundamental processes of human living and so be viewed in the proper perspective.

"..... the social process approach to instruction in the social studies. Its underlying assumptions are few and susceptible of direct exposition. It sees the possibility and the utility of grouping our multifarious human activities into a small number of great processes (or groups of fundamental activities) which are common to all types of society. True, because of the infinite variety of human response to stimuli, different culture groups - each according to its particular genius - employ different techniques, institutions, and methods for carrying on these fundamental processes. But overriding this complex of means and mechanisms are certain powerful "constants" which operate in every place and culture and make possible a classification of fundamental social processes."

"There are three conditions which, operating throughout human experience, appear as constants in the cultural equation. First, the human species is a distinguishable animal group with certain significant and relatively stable biological capacities. In particular, this species possesses a nervous system of marvelous potential flexibility - the seat of its learning capacity. Second, man has always been forced to grapple with a physical environment which, unaided or undisciplined, stubbornly refuses to satisfy his desires
and drives. This fact has largely conditioned his activities. Third, human living is always carried on in groups; what men have learned they have learned together in a reciprocal relationship. Without in any way denying the essential uniqueness of each individual, it is nevertheless true that this uniqueness is developed, inhibited, or molded by the opportunities and limitations of group living. Man makes a culture and the culture makes him."¹

Elements of Understanding

These paragraphs include the minimum essentials that the pupils should carry away from the discussion of each topic. It is not intended that the material be used for direct teaching but rather that it served as a summary of each topic.

Subject Matter

The body of subject matter chosen as the basis for attaining the objectives is varied, but a wider selection is possible. It is desirable that from the great mass of material available, substitutions or additions be made to suit the need and occasion.

Alpha and Beta Courses

Most of the material that constitutes the body of subject matter commonly taught in the public schools can be divided roughly into two classifications. One includes the skills, knowledges and a very few facts that must be drilled until the correct response becomes mechanical. Courses which are composed wholly or to a greater extent of such definite subject matter may be termed Alpha courses. They are difficult courses which proceed along the well established routine of teaching and testing and are justified in doing so.

Outside this small core of very definite material lies a wide field of social material which is neither concrete nor static, about which men are of several opinions and which is influenced to a great extent by their interests, attitudes, understandings and enthusiasms. These feelings cannot be taught formally. They are of the spirit and are caught as a torch from an enlightened leader. Courses which are designed to create such outcomes are called Beta courses. Within this classification lies a large part of the Social Studies and more particularly that phase which has for its objective the creating of attitudes and enthusiasms for international good will.

Socialized Procedure

The conduct of a Beta course should follow a
socialized procedure. Such a procedure takes due recognition of certain well established technique. These include the seminar method of group discussion, supervised study, open textbook recitations, dramatization, problem solving, project construction, cooperative contract work and formal class organization as a council or congress. These techniques are conducive to that spirit of cooperation which is fundamental to the whole objective of National Security.

Reading References

Great care has been taken in selecting the reading references for each topic. These books are, with very few exceptions, different from those on the General Reading List. Lists for both pupils and teachers are included. The pupils should be encouraged to read extensively since a wide background makes for greater tolerance and understanding.

Pupil Activities

To the experienced teacher, the pupil activities will offer an opportunity for individual initiative. The possibilities far exceed the few suggestions in each topic. Since there is no time allotted for formal testing, the activities may be as numerous and interesting as the materials at hand and the originality to plan allow.

Visual Instruction

The field of visual instruction in international
relations and attitudes is one worthy of further intensive study.

A strong case for the motion picture in this connection is made by Dr. George Zook, United States Commissioner of Education. He says in part, "The possibilities of the motion picture in international understanding are limited only by the ingenuity of man. It speaks to the learned and the unlearned.... Its universal emotional appeal and common language, its geographical spread and commercial interests, its financial power and propaganda possibilities make it one of the strongest and subtlest integrating influences in human history." ¹

The International Institute of Educational Cinematography has made many contribution to the problem.

Other means of visual instruction for international good will can be found in the Thirty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Under Materials and Aids, pp. 349-357, are listed sources of charts, exhibits, lantern slides, pictures, posters and maps.

The following list of anti-war motion pictures has been prepared by the National Council for Prevention of War.

1. Commercial anti-war feature pictures:

CAVALCADE, Noel Coward's famous peace play brought

¹Koon, Cline. Motion Pictures in the United States, Foreword, p. V.
to the screen in a handsome production. Fox Films (Twentieth Century-Fox), 44 West 56th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE MAN I KILLED or BROKEN LULLABY--Ernst Lubitsch Production. Paramount Pictures, 1501 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT from the novel by Erich Maria Remarque. Universal Pictures, Inc. 1250 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

THE MAN WHO RECLAIMED HIS HEAD, an expose of munition makers' strategy and unscrupulous newspaper publishers. Universal Pictures, Inc., 1250 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

THINGS TO COME, by H. G. Wells. Spectacle portraying how a next war will destroy civilization. United Artists Corporation, 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

LA KERMESSE HEROIQUE (CARNIVAL IN FLANDERS)--dialogue in French, with English subtitles. Amusing satire on war. Delightful comedy. Distributed by American Tobis Corporation, New York, N. Y.


DEALERS IN DEATH--compilation of newsreel scenes: expose of the munitions racket. Distributed by Topical Films, New York, N. Y.

PRISONER OF SHARK ISLAND--the case of Dr. Mudd, falsely accused of implication in the Abraham Lincoln assassination; showing violence and intolerance which follow in the path of armed combat. Twentieth Century-Fox, 44 West 56th Street, New York, N. Y.

THE STORY OF LOUIS PASTEUR--while not conventional plea for peace, this film shows how science, if not hampered by war, can progress in aiding humanity. Warner Brothers Pictures, Inc., 321 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

FURY--showing the danger of mob violence. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1540 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
BLACK LEGION—Expose based on recent happenings in Michigan; denunciation of mob violence. Warner Brothers Pictures, N. Y. C.

2. Commercial Short Subjects:

NEIGHBORS, animated cartoon in color—munition makers and warmongers impersonated by barnyard characters—travesty on armament races. Highly amusing. Columbia Pictures, 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MICKEY'S KANGAROO—on the "love the neighbor" theme. A Mickey Mouse cartoon in Technicolor, distributed by United Artists, 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

MARCH OF TIME (Vol. No. 1, No. 3)—Scenes of Zaharoff, munitioneer; expose of arms racket. Distributed by First Division Pictures, 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.

3. Non-Theatrical Film Agencies Distributing Anti-War and Educational Films on Varied Topics:

EASTMAN KODAK STORES, INC., 235 W. 23d St., New York, N. Y. World War Movies. Prices on request.

FILMS, INC., 330 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y. Extensive film library; educational and theatrical movies; several peace programs including MAN WHO RECLAIMED HIS HEAD. Service representatives in important centers of United States, who can supply projection equipment along with films. Full information on request.


HARVARD FILM SERVICE, Biological Laboratories, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. "Land Transportation," dealing with development of transportation through the ages, demonstrating the diminishing size of the world as successive forms of transportation progress. "The International Ice Patrol" depicts the activities of the agency of that name, maintained by the United States and supported by the majority of new and old world nations; shows
the heroism of peace-time pursuits. Catalogue and fees on request.

BURTON HOLMES LECTURES, INC., 7510 Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Travelog pictures, showing scenes from all over the world. Price $2.50 per day, allowing one day each way for transportation. Carrying charges paid by customer.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PICTURES, INC., 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. Motion Pictures of the world and its people; 2,000 films, many free. Information on request; complete illustrated catalogue, 35¢.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION, INC., 9 West 40th St., New York, N. Y. Two reels, war scenes, peace conference, present work of league. Price $5.

MOTION PICTURE PRODUCERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF AMERICA, INC., 469 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Lindbergh's Flight; Signing of the Kellogg Pact.

PATHE, INC., 35 West 45th St., New York, N. Y. Children of Many Lands Series: The Little Indian Weaver, The Wee Scotch Piper, The Little Swiss Wood-Carver, The Little Dutch Tulip Girl. Pamphlets for the aid of teachers are distributed in connection with each of these pictures and contain facts about the country represented, games the children play, suggestions for projects, lists of books, etc. Miscellaneous educational features including subjects showing customs and scenes in different parts of the world. Catalogue on request.

YMCA MOTION PICTURE BUREAU, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Selected motion pictures covering a wide range of subjects dealing with other countries and showing world inter-dependence. Free except for transportation charges. Catalogue on request."

Tests

Although in a Beta course no formal testing is carried on, there are tests on the market covering opinions and attitudes on the international level that might prove
helpful. Information concerning a few of them is given below.

1. **Opinions on International Questions**
   
   Association Press, 347 Madison Ave., New York City
   
   $ .30 a sample set with manual
   
   $2.00 a package of 20 tests with manual

2. **Opinions on Race Relations**
   
   Association Press
   
   $ .30 a sample set with manual
   
   $2.50 a package of 20 tests with manual

3. **Test of Opinions, Feelings and Attitudes Concerning Some International Problems**
   
   Association Press
   
   $ .25 a package of 20 tests with manual

4. **Test of International Attitudes**
   
   
THE UNIT
General Reading List


Armstrong, Hamilton F., *"We or They."* Macmillan Co., 1936.


Fish, Carl, *The Path of Empire*. Yale University Press, 1925.


Fleure, Herbert, *The Peoples of Europe*. Oxford University Press, 1925.


Hodges, Charles, *Background of International Relations.* John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1931.


Leith, Charles, _World Minerals and World Politics_.
    Whittlesey House, 1931.
    Harper and Brothers, 1931-1935.
Lumley, Frederick and Bode, Boyd, _Ourselves and the World_.
    Whittlesey House, 1931.
Mathews, J. M., _The Conduct of American Foreign Relations_.
    The Century Co., 1922.
Marshall, Leon, _The Story of Human Progress_. Macmillan Co.,
    1928.
Muller, Helen, _The World Court_. H. W. Wilson Co., 1931.
Packard and Sinnott, _Nations As Neighbors_. Macmillan Co.,
    1930.
Page, Kirby, _An American Peace Policy_. George Doran Co.,
    1925.
Page, Kirby, _Imperialism and Nationalism_. George Doran Co.,
    1925.
Page, Kirby, _War - Its Causes, Consequences and Cure_.
    George Doran Co., 1923.
Powers, Harry, _America Among the Nations_. Macmillan Co.,
    1917.
Remarque, Erich, _All Quiet on the Western Front_ (novel).
    Little, Brown and Co., 1929.

Rugg, Harold, Ginn and Co. Publications.

*An Introduction to American Civilization*, 1929.
*An Introduction to the Problem of American Culture*, 1931.
*Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*, 1932.

Schurz, Carl, *American Leadership for Peace and Arbitration.*

World Peace Foundation Pamphlet Series, vol 4, no. 1.


Thomas Crowell Co., 1935.

Seldes, George, *Can These Things Be!* Brewer and Warren, 1931.


Seldes, George, *The Vatican - Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow.*

Harper, 1934.


H. Holt and Co., 1911.


Toynbee, Arnold, Our Neighbors Today and Yesterday. Gerald Howe, Ltd., 1933.


Van Loon, Hendrik, Man, the Miracle Maker. Liveright, 1928.


Ethnocentrism

I. Major Objectives
   A. To promote a better understanding of the socio-
      logical concept of ethnocentrism.
   B. To assist in the realization of the threat of such
      a concept to our National Security.

II. Minor Objectives
   A. To create understandings that should aid in the
      breaking down of prejudice and intolerance.
   B. To point out the strain in our living due to
      cultural lag.

III. Elements of Understanding

   Ethnocentrism is that "view of things in which
   one's own group is the center of everything and all others
   are scaled and rated with reference to it."¹ It is
   expressed by a sympathetic awareness and approval of one's
   fellows and their ways and by a feeling of fear, suspicion
   and contempt toward outsiders and their ways.

   Each human group in the struggle for existence,
   security and survival has arrived at certain modes of
   behavior shown by experience to be reasonably adequate in
   satisfying those needs. Members of other groups who follow

other codes are naturally looked upon as perverse, immoral, savage or heathen.

Ethnocentrism is not confined to tribes or nations. It manifests itself within social groups as the family, classes, castes, sects and races and assumes such devious and developed forms as nationalism, patriotism, family pride, class consciousness, sectionalism and race prejudice.

The we-groups, the faithful, the in-group and the peace group maintain law, order, government and industry among themselves and only gradually, if ever, extend the same privileges to the out-group.

Certain forces are at work continually to mitigate the ethnocentric sentiments and increase tolerance and understanding. These are education, travel and improved techniques of communication. They stimulate the diffusion of culture and lessen the cultural lag.

Ethnocentrism offers a fundamental threat to international good will and by so doing jeopardizes the objective of National Security.

IV. Suggested Materials
A. Background of Ethnocentrism
   1. Origin of Folkways
   2. We-groups of Primitive Society
   3. The Ethnos or Group Character
B. Manifestations of Ethnocentrism

C. Cultural lag or varying rates of cultured change.

V. Methods and Procedure
A. Beta Course
B. Socialized Procedure

VI. References
A. For the Pupil
Angell, Norman, Peace and the Plain Man, Part IV, Chapter III, Human Nature and Human Behavior.
Angell, Norman, The Unseen Assassins, Part II, Chapter III, Patriotism vs. Welfare.
Boas, Frank, Anthropology and Modern Life.
Chapter II, The Problem of Race
Chapter IV, Nationality
Bullen, Frank, The Cruise of the Cachalot (fiction)
Cole, Walter, A. B. C. Book of People (Posters)
Keith, Arthur, Ethnos or the Problem of Race.
Nash, J. V., *Races of Men* (Posters)


B. For the Teacher


Brinton, Daniel, *The Basis of Social Relations*.

Butler, Nicholas, *Building the International Mind*.

Cooley, Charles, *Social Organization*.

Davie, Maurice, *The Evolution of War* (See index, Ethnocentrism).


Josey, Charles, *Race and National Solidarity*.


Le Bon, Gustave, *The Psychology of Peoples*.


VII. Pupil Activities

A. Write a short story on one manifestation of
ethnocentrism.

B. Draw a wall freeze of the cultural traditions of many countries. (Hunting, maritime, musical, military, scientific, baseball, business, moral and religious prophecy.)

C. Trace down the connotation of American ethnic tags: (Bohunk, chink, dago, frog, greaser, nigger, sheeny, wop)

D. Draw large Posters of different racial peoples.

E. Make a survey of the home city for ethnic types and their contributions to the civic life.

F. Keep a scrapbook properly labeled of everyday manifestations of ethnocentrism.

G. Write a pageant to show the gifts of the different races to America.
The Economic Needs of Nations with Special Reference to the United States

I. Major Objective
   A. To bring about a better realization of the economic interdependence of nations.

II. Minor Objectives
   A. To develop a greater realization of the interdependence of individuals.
   B. To reveal the dependence of the United States on other nations in time of peace and war.
   C. To show the weakness of the policy of economic nationalism and its threat to our National Security

III. Elements of Understanding

   Individuals are dependent upon each other socially in the family, school, church and club. Shops and factories are dependent upon each other and means of communication in the industrial world. Nations are likewise dependent upon each other primarily in the economic field. Nations must trade if they are to maintain or improve their individual standards of living. The United States is not economically self-sufficient in time of peace or war.

   Economic nationalism or economic self-sufficiency means that each nation tries to produce or grow at home everything it requires. This is unprofitable and is based on the erroneous assumption that foreign trade benefits only
the foreigner.

Debts between nations can best be paid with goods. There is not enough gold in the world to use in international trade. A nation's economic needs are commensurate with its standard of living and no nation is really economically self-sufficient if it must lower that standard in order to maintain it.

IV. Suggested Material

A. Group Interdependence

1. Social - the family, school, church, club
2. Industrial - small shop, large factory
3. National and International
   a. Economic Internationalism
      Policy of laissez faire, free trade, gold standard, protection tariffs, migration of labor.
   b. Imperialism
      "White man's burden," rising spirit of Nationalism, the color line, economic oppression.
   c. Economic Nationalism
      High tariffs, quota systems, embargoes, control of international exchange, migration of industry, planned wages and standards of living, the New Deal.
V. Method and Procedure

A. Beta Technique

B. Socialized Procedure

VI. References

A. For the Pupil


Bogart, Ernest, *Economic History of the American People,* Chapter XXVII, Foreign and Domestic Commerce.


Carver and Adams, *Our Economic Life.*

Faulkner, Harold, *American Economic History,* Chapter XXVII, *The Great Illusion*

Fleurer, Herbert, *Geography of Western Europe.*

Goslin and Stone, *America Contradicts Herself.*

Hodges, Charles, *Background of International Relations,* Chapter XVIII, *Economic Nationalism.*

Keenleyside, H. L., *Canada and the United States.*


Redfield, William, *Dependent America.*

Sayre, Francis, *America Must Act*.

Schuman, Frederick, *International Politics*.

Chapter X, Patriotism and Profits.

Slosson, Edwin, *Creative Chemistry*.


B. For the Teacher

Beard, Charles, *The Open Door at Home*.

Ersko, Norris, *Economics of Business*.

Buell, Raymond, *International Relations*.

Chase, Stuart, *A New Deal*.

Collings, H. T., *International Trade*.

Condliffe, John, *War and Depression*.


Davenport, Herbert, *The Economics of Enterprise*.

Fay, Charles, *Elements of Economics*.

Garmer, James, *The Economic Foundation of Peace or World Partnership*.

Moulton, Harold, *War Debts and World Prosperity*.

Robertson, W. S., *Hispanic American Relations with the United States*.


Toqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America*.
Viallatte, Achille, Economic Imperialism and International Relations During the Last Fifty Years.
Williams, B. H., Economic Foreign Policy of the United States.

VII. Pupil Activities
A. Construct maps and charts to solve definite problems.
B. Keep a diary with the purpose of stressing social interdependence.
C. Write an original pageant.
D. Debate issues involved in study of Imperialism.
E. Construct a model of the units in some migrated industry (Ford and Firestone).
F. Prepare floor speeches after group discussions.
G. Dramatize a World Economic Conference on subject "When is a nation self-sufficient?"

VIII. Visual Instruction
A. Why! War! What! Waste!
   An appeal for peace by showing the effects of War. Silent picture, 2 reels, $2.00.

National Council Y.M.C.A.
19 LaSalle Street
Chicago, Ill.
B. Panama Canal - Construction of Canal and its effects on the Western Hemisphere. Silent picture, one reel, free.

Department of Visual Education
Board of Education
150 West Ohio Street
Chicago, Illinois

C. The Chevrolet Motor Company has many excellent talking pictures showing the dependence of industries upon each other. They are free to schools.
Arbitration

I. Major Objective
   A. To stimulate a greater interest and respect for the policy of arbitration as a substitute for war.

II. Minor Objectives
   A. To promote a further application of the policy of arbitration in the pupil's social life.
   B. To encourage a belief in the possibility of a wider application of the policy of arbitration in the industrial world.

III. Elements of Understanding

   Arbitration is the voluntary or compulsory submission of the settlement of a controversy to one or more private persons.

   As individuals in a social group, we are required to settle a dispute with another individual in a lawful way. If we refuse and resort to violence, punishment for the infraction of the group standard results. Tolerance and fair-mindedness are the qualities that make arbitration possible in the social world.

   The policy of arbitration has been used successfully in the past to settle disputes in the industrial world. Undoubtedly, greater and more lasting gains are possible between capital and labor by means of arbitration than by strikes and violence. Controversies between nations involving economic
and political questions and even those relating to national honor, can be settled by arbitration. International arbitration is no more inconsistent with the dignity of government than it is with the dignity of an individual.

The settlement of disputes by mediation or arbitration marks an advanced state of social organization. It is the result of the recognition of the evils of war. International Arbitration provides an effective means of increasing our National Security.

IV. Suggested Materials

A. The social experience of the pupils in respect to arbitration in the family, gang, school, church and club.

B. Current Events in the field of Industrial Arbitration.

C. Selected cases in the history of International Arbitration.
   1. Jay's Treaty
   2. Webster-Ashburton Treaty
   3. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
   4. Oregon Treaty
   5. Bering Fisheries Arbitration
   6. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty
   7. Geneva Arbitration
      a. Alabama Claims
      b. San Juan Water Boundary
8. Alaskan Boundary
9. Venezuela-Guiana Boundary
10. Treaty of Portsmouth
11. Panama Claims
12. Chaco Settlement
13. Argentine Anti-War Treaty

V. Method and Procedure
A. Beta Course
B. Socialized Procedure

VI. References
A. For the Pupil
1. Social Arbitration
   Brewer, John and Glidden, Charles, Newspaper Stories for Group Guidance, Unit B.
   Van Loon, Hendrik, Tolerance.
2. Industrial Arbitration
   Consult the Readers Guide for Current Event Articles.
3. International Arbitration
   Adams, Randolph, A History of the Foreign Policy of the United States. Chapter XI, One Hundred Years Successful Diplomacy with Great Britain.
   Bulletins of Pan-American Union, No. 67, 68, 70 Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C.
Fish, Carl R., American Diplomacy. Chapter X, Jay's Treaty.
Shotwell, J. T., War As An Instrument of National Policy, Chapter XI. The Arbitration Treaty.

B. For the Teacher
American Peace Society. Arbitration as a Substitute for War.
Barclay, Thomas, New Methods of Settling International Disputes and the Future.
Commager, Henry, Documents in American History.
Moore, John, History of International Relations.
Myers, Denys, Arbitration Engagements.
Prescott, Daniel, *Education and International Relations*.

Ralston, Johnson, *International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno*.

Schuman, F., *International Politics*, Chapter VI.

Settlement of International Disputes.

Tenth Year Book, Department of Superintendence, *Character Education*.

VII. Pupil Activities

A. Make a class book of case studies in social arbitration.

B. Keep a bulletin board for current industrial arbitration cases.

C. Broadcast weekly commentators on subject of arbitration.

D. Debate issues involved in all types of arbitration.

E. Dramatize cases of international arbitration.

F. Publish a weekly paper in the field of general arbitration.

G. Compare the methods for settling a dispute, as shown in the motion picture, with those used in a court of arbitration.

H. Write an original short story, pageant or one-act play on arbitration.

VIII. Visual Instruction

"America Goes Over"
Write Motion Picture Bureau, National Council Y.M.C.A.,
19 LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
Conclusions

The Unit of Work as analyzed and outlined in Part IV will, in the writer's opinion, contribute to the arousing of interests, attitudes, understandings and enthusiasms for international good will, if entrusted to a superior teacher.

Such a teacher should have a wide background in international relations and have accepted the philosophies of the social process approach and of Beta subject matter. He should believe that National Security is a primary social value and that education is capable of making an excellent answer to its challenge.
PART V

The Dangers and Difficulties Attending Any Attempt to Teach National Security Through Education
In the light of the criticisms that have been thrust upon education and educators within the last few years, it seems very likely that any attempt by the public schools to subscribe to the objective of national security by means of better international relationships, would meet with widespread and bitter attack.

There are in this country several agencies at work, continuously and insidiously, to keep war, its heroes and its glories before the nation. These groups use every means available to assist in the diffusion of their spread-eagle doctrine. Their prostitution of the desirable quality of love of country has resulted in that type of flamboyant patriotism that believes in the ignoble creed - my country, right or wrong. These agencies are both local and nationwide. Therefore, the ultimate result of any innovation in our schools greatly depends upon their attitude.

Any program of education that subscribes to the creation of better international relationships can hardly hope to escape a certain amount of misunderstanding. The field of adult education affords a splendid opportunity for the breaking down of such misunderstandings if due to ignorance and fear. Education has run afoul of deliberate misinterpretations and vicious criticism in the past and would undoubtedly be subjected to it again, if it accepted the challenge of our objective.

In the following pages the writer will present three
agencies from whom criticisms at least, may be expected. This will be followed by a brief analysis of the principle of academic freedom and a few suggestions for the teacher dealing with subjects of a controversial nature.

The three agencies to which the writer referred are the American Legion, the Hearst press and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The American Legion

The American Legion, as used in this study, includes only those ex-service men of the World War who belong to posts that support the national policy and the national commander of the organization.

In the years immediately following the war, the Legion was decidedly reactionary and allied itself with the business interests of the country in opposition to "radicals," the recognition of communistic Russia and in condemnation of pacifists and advocates of disarmament. Very soon, the Legion identified itself with the schools and declared itself a champion for education. It offered two explanations for the interest. First, the fact that the importance of education had been brought home to them in France. In the second place, the fact that as taxpayers, they were interested in the welfare of the nation. Today, they stand for respect for the flag and the Constitution and oppose any "un-American teachings." They contend that there is no place
for "-isms" in our schools.¹

The program as stated seems simple and honest enough on the face of it, but beneath the surface are hidden forces. In the first place, the Legion by its greedy demands for special legislation has made a privileged class of less than one per cent of the American people—a class that is receiving at present over one fourth of the expenses of the National budget.² In the second place, it is well known that "minority groups of different communities not infrequently bring pressure on boards of education and on state legislatures to require that their particular brand of patriotism or economic ideas be imposed upon the students."³

The Legion has recommended that "our young people be taught not only an appreciation of our own national virtues, but also an understanding and sympathy for the ideals and glories of other nations."⁴ As the basis for an educational program, these recommendations are too narrow, too confining to make any real contribution to the growth of better international relations in the interest of national

²A. Roosevelt, "Enemy Within the Gate." New Outlook, Oct. 1932, p. 7.
security for the United States. It is a feeble statement of the place of international education for peace.

"The new scientific age of power has bound all the nations of the world together. Our fate is tied up with Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan whether we like it or not. As long as there is a war anywhere in the world, we are in danger of being drawn into it or hurt by it. It is imperative that we join forces in trying to eliminate the cause of war. Such causes are part of the warp and woof of our social and economic life. They arise out of the competitive struggle for material wealth and power."¹ This quotation, in the writer's opinion, places the emphasis where it belongs. Education should concern itself with fundamental understandings of present day living, more than with the "ideals and glories of other nations."

A continued emphasis upon ardent patriotism and upon America for Americans, is rather more conducive to war than to peace. "The best way to keep America out of war is to do what we can to prevent there being a war anywhere into which she can be drawn. If we are to make an effective contribution to this end, we must acquire an awareness of the rest of the world and a sympathetic understanding of its problems as a corrective to the delusion that safety lies in isolation and as a stimulus to our sympathy for the struggles

¹R. Goslin, War Tomorrow, p. 38.
of less fortunate people who are working and praying for peace on their own frontiers."¹

To many people, the Legion has become synonymous with a desire to get all the money possible out of the national government. The powerful lobbies that finally succeeded in securing the passage of the Bonus Bill do not represent American patriotism at its best. The Legion has called many names and even resorted to more serious tactics against the teaching profession for alleged unpatriotic activities. However, the brand of patriotism that they displayed over the bonus, places the Legion in a vulnerable position.

"An education that does not strive to promote the fullest and most thorough understanding of the world is not worthy of the name. Also, there must be no deliberate distortion or suppression of the facts to support any theory or point of view."²

The American Legion, by its activities since the war, has not served as an inspiring exponent of the old quality of love of country. That quality is good and wholly desirable. Patriotism of the flag-waving variety, that is blinded by fear, prejudice and intolerance of other

nationalities or races, does not make for better international understandings.

"The duty of educators is clear - only an enlightened public opinion based on accurate information and full and free discussion of facts can give to our nation full and adequate security. Dissemination of vital facts with honest discussion of the issues they involve, is a major responsibility of the nation's schools. In no wise need the school, in assuming a practical role in fostering international understandings and knowledge of the world in general, fail to promote and preserve patriotic fervor. National solidarity is accomplished the more easily by knowledge of those neighbors with whom contact is desired and is necessary for our economic welfare."¹

The majority of the people in the United States undoubtedly desire peace. Education can see the sheer folly of any other course. Until the Legion stresses peace rather than war and stands behind the schools, education can make slow but persistent progress without it.

The Hearst Press

William Randolph Hearst has been the American phenomenon newspaper publisher since 1886. The following

¹B. L. Pierce, "Schools and the Spirit of Nationalism." Annals American Academy, Sept., 1934, p. 121.
quotation is written in the Hearst style and gives the main objective of Hearst papers.

"With all the energy which nearly fifty years of mass production journalism seems not to have impaired in the slightest, he has turned all the instruments of publicity and propaganda which are at his sole command - his News Service, his Radio System, his Motion Picture Syndicate, his chain of newspapers - to the task of making the American masses Think as he asserts that he thinks, namely that Communism has invaded the United States So successfully that it has captured and now controls a large and growing number of American school and college teachers who are corrupting the Thoughts of the American Youth."¹

Mr. Hearst knows this because he sent reporters disguised as radical students to various colleges to entrap Red professors. "Perhaps it is only Mr. Hearst's great burning passionate patriotism that prompts him to attack the principles of free speech and free thought and to turn the men who work for him into sneaks and spies."²

Professor Washburn of Syracuse University was sounded out first. Because of the similarities in letters that he had received and those sent to Professors Count and

Kilpatrick of Columbia University, the trick was discovered. It was obviously a carefully planned attack on American schools and colleges. The country needs to have its attention focused on this type of patriotism. "Hearst must be recognized as the propagandist and forerunner of American Hitlerism."  

Education and educators may well expect criticism of the most virulent kind from this source. Slanderous and libelous attacks, from which no individual can defend himself effectively, are the Hearst stock in trade. However, every cause has its martyrs and if it is vital enough, it will survive. Education can meet the brand of patriotism exhorted by Mr. Hearst with a tolerance born of a more mature and farseeing vision.

The Daughters of the American Revolution

The D.A.R. is another organization that has allowed itself to fall into the same class as the Legion and the Hearst press by its advocacy of a kind of patriotism warranted to stir up unfriendly rather than friendly international relations.

It is difficult to believe that the society allowed itself to be hoodwinked and misled into a militant program by

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men who later became thoroughly discredited by political scandals. Two such men were Fall and Sinclair of the Teapot Dome affair. Nevertheless, this is the opinion of H. T. Bailie as expressed to the D.A.R. members in an open letter entitled "Our Threatened Heritage." Mrs. Bailie states that at the 1924 meeting of the Women's Patriotic Societies, the delegates listened to bitter speeches by military men and civilians extolling military training, ridiculing the idea of a warless world, denouncing international cooperation and decrying the activities of world peace organizations. The Societies gathered themselves together and went forth to protect America.

The result, in the D.A.R., was that each Chapter was presented with a list of lectures who were not to be invited to speak before the Chapter. This so-called "black list" at one time included among others the names of such distinguished men as Bishop William Anderson, Rabbi Harry Levi, President William Nielsen, Dean Roscoe Pound, and Publisher William Allen White. The approved speakers were those who favored and advocated a great navy, disapproved of the United States entering the League of Nations and decried the menace of Communism. In its attempt to interfere with free speech, the Society went so far as to try to prevent the "black list" from addressing other organizations. The author of the published letter mentioned above offers ignorance as the only excuse for such an attitude, but that seems
incredible in an organization such as the D.A.R.

The following quotation taken from the Christian Century of March 29, 1928, sums up the situation admirably. "The D.A.R., an organization of high purpose and select personnel, is going to have another Revolution on its hands if it does not cease to permit itself to be used as the tool of those sinister and reactionary influences which, under the guise of protecting American institutions, promoting the national defence and all that sort of thing, are fighting free speech and boosting for a big navy."

Although within the last few years the "black list" has apparently been shelved and the agitation has subsided, the recent State Convention of the Massachusetts Chapters held in Boston in March 1937 shows the D.A.R. to be on the reactionary side today. It clearly reveals that the teaching profession has no reason to look upon the Society as a source of inspiration and aid in the arousing of better international relations through education. The speakers at this convention included State Commissioner of Education, James G. Reardon, who spoke in favor of the Teachers Oath Law, Adjutant General Charles H. Cole, who warned of the dangers from Communistic Doctrines now being spread through Massachusetts by "red leaders" and Leonard W. Cronkhite of Cambridge, who spoke on the subject of neutrality as a "horrible thwarting of the safety of democracies."\1

\1Boston Herald, March 19, 1937, p. 3.
In the light of this evidence, it does not seem unreasonable to believe that the D.A.R. should be included among those who would present some difficulties and even dangers to any program for education that had as its aim, freedom from the threat of war based on better international relationships.

**Academic Freedom**

"Academic freedom is the right of the student to learn and the right of the teacher both to teach unhampered in the class room and to enjoy the same rights accorded other citizens outside the class room."¹

The following quotation taken from a report by Norman Coleman on "The Necessity and Scope of Social Indoctrination" expresses a moderate and tempered view of academic freedom.

"The school for its very life must avoid special propaganda. While teachers as citizens have and should have party convictions, they are public servants. They should give their personal views, if at all, modestly and should treat different or opposing views with fairness and respect. The school should stress the general attitude of a democracy, its faith that free men generally respond to educational

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opportunity and that social wisdom is most likely to be discovered and developed through free discussion. The school should foster and encourage and if necessary provide forms of social activity in which young people may experience the benefits of free discussion and the satisfaction of associated effort."

Returning to the definition of academic freedom in the opening paragraph of this section, the reader will recall that the right of the student to learn was pronounced. This point of view is often ignored in the heat of discussion. The following quotation takes due recognition of this remission.

"It is only the truth that counts and the welfare of the young who are to be taught. If the truth is known, it must be taught without fear or favor; if it is not known, as so often is the case in the challenging subjects of the current curriculum (biology and social sciences), then nothing remains for the teacher but to examine with his pupils all facets of the problem including the teacher's own personal opinion and to stimulate them to honest, penetrating, and courageous investigation on their own initiative. To go beyond this is to violate the intellectual and the spiritual integrity of the learner; it is to erect the barrier of

predetermined judgment between the mind of the pupil and the truth which he is seeking; it is exalting the right of the individual teacher above the welfare of the social group. The rights of the learner are as sacred as the rights of the teacher."\(^1\)

"It is highly important that our young people should be aware of a multitude of problems which have a direct bearing upon the social, economic and political welfare of nation and that they should be prepared in the schools to deal with these problems intelligently and fearlessly after the days of formal schooling are over."\(^2\)

"The particular service which our American teachers are prepared to render today is to keep open the avenues of discussion and discriminating inquiry concerning the state of the nation. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' It is equally true that the silence of the people is a sign that tyranny is near."\(^3\)

"The right of freedom of speech involves the accompanying duty to deal justly with all men and to observe the principles of decency and honor. These are the

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 82.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 82.
essential limitations upon academic freedom. When these limitations are not observed, teachers will subject themselves to merited criticism.¹

Although educational freedom is a debatable subject in certain sections of the country and the opposition to it is bitter and pronounced, nevertheless, some teachers are able to carry on discussions of controversial subjects with no apparent resistance. What qualities possessed by the teacher or methods utilized by him, make this possible? A group of teachers in a seminar discussion volunteered some helpful suggestions which the writer has taken the liberty of presenting here.

In the first place, it was generally conceded that it would be wise for a young or a new teacher to become well established in a community before attempting any serious discussion of a problem about which that same community is of two or three opinions. Also, a gradual building up of confidence on the part of the pupils and the parents is essential. Any controversy that involves the religious element is doubly dangerous. "Festina lente" should be the motto of the teacher directing any classroom discussion.

The teacher as a member of the group has a right to his opinion and should express it if requested to do so.

by the pupils. This helps to develop an "esprit de corps" so essential in a discussion group. However, the teacher's opinion should carry no more weight than the other opinions under consideration in the class. The truth is the element sought if it is known and if it is not known, then each seeker forms his own opinion in the light of the evidence presented. The teacher should present as much evidence for both sides as her education and background affords. However, she would do well to refrain from drawing conclusions and should never present such conclusion as the truth. A careful observance of the distinction between indoctrination and free discussion will make it possible for the teacher to include in his courses much vital material which hitherto has been included from the class room.¹

In addition to becoming established in the community, the next greatest asset of the teacher is his tact and personality. Fortunately, since a great deal depends upon these two qualities, they can be developed if the teacher is willing to make a conscious effort.

The present chapter is concerned primarily with the dangers and difficulties attending any attempt to teach national security by means of encouraging in our schools the attitudes inducive to better international relationships.

The writer has examined the records of three agencies from whom education may expect hostile and open criticism. They may be expected to hinder a cooperative attack of the problem.

Education, however, has always struggled to find and reveal the truth. Although it has been buffeted by forces bowing to false gods, the hemlock cup and prescribed oaths, it has held to the truth as steadfastly as possible. Educational freedom based on free speech should be only the means to an end, but unfortunately in some communities it has been forced to become an end in itself. The following quotation will serve as a summation of this discussion.

"We are attempting in America to develop a cooperative society founded on good will, fair dealing and material helpfulness. Faith in the common man and faith in the ultimate triumph of truth over falsehood are fundamental to the success of our program. Light, freedom and life are both the means and the end of our struggle."¹

PART VI

Summary of the Study
If the entire preceding discussion is summarized from the point of view of the problem of education recognizing National Security as a Social Value, the following may be listed as the points the study has endeavored to make.

1. National Security may be defined as a freedom from the threat of war based on adequate defense.

2. Undoubtedly, a great many people in this country and in others, admit the evils of war and sincerely desire peace.

3. Education taking due cognizance of a laudable public sentiment should strive to arouse, foster and stimulate those interests, attitudes, enthusiasms and understandings that will contribute to international good will.

4. Such a spirit of tolerance and understanding will be reflected in our international relations and thus education contributes to our National Security.

5. The survey of world conditions since 1918 shows that the security of our country has been threatened both directly and indirectly on several occasions. If there is a disturbance anywhere in the world into which we may be drawn, that condition constitutes a distinct threat to our National Security.

6. Since this security is precious to all people and the threats made against it are disturbing, it is wise to inquire the status of the objective of National Security in
education.

7. Analyses of a limited number of courses of study, professional magazine articles and books reveals that education has not concerned itself with the objective of National Security.

8. However, interested agencies dedicated to peace and international good will have gathered a great body of material that is available to the schools and which can be utilized in such a way as to offer a direct contribution to the objective.

9. Education can offer several methods to further the knowledge of National Security as a Social Value. These include greater opportunity for adult education, a wider application of the theory of academic freedom and more discriminating facilities for teacher training.

10. Although many studies have been made in the field of international relations and good will, the present study appeared to be the first one in education on the special subject of National Security as a Social Value.

11. In order that the study may have a practical side, it presents a unit of work approximating sixty hours, for incorporation in a course on Problems of Democracy in Secondary Schools.

12. The unit has for its fundamental objective the arousing of those intangible attitudes and enthusiasms for international tolerance and understanding that would
contribute indirectly to the objective of National Security.

13. It is admitted that if education accepts the objective of National Security as a Social Value, it must be prepared to defend its position against certain critical agencies that have previously sought to influence the schools and the nation.

14. The whole field of the study is closely bound up with the philosophy of academic freedom and the right of discussion of controversial subjects.

15. In conclusion, it would seem that if education decided to accept the challenge of the Social Value of National Security as a fundamental objective, all the means necessary for its ultimate success lie at hand. This end cannot be attained without struggle, but the struggle is well worth while.
PART VII

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