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Reel  
181

Box  
67

Folder  
657

The moral and psychological basis for a lasting peace, 1944.

THE MORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF A LASTING PEACE  
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

International peace is an ethical idea and <sup>it</sup> is anchored in the religious idealism of the human race, <sup>the</sup> in / spiritual conception of human life and destiny.

It springs directly from the dogma of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Unless it has that anchorage, it drifts about helplessly in a sea of political ~~simulation and~~ expediency. A civilization which has lost its moorings in faith and the moral law, lacks both the will and the motive for a peaceful organization of society. It will be swept along blindly by the currents of ~~ambivalence~~, greed and belligerency - just like our own age. To bring under control the ~~tremendous~~ forces of chaos and the primitive tribal combativeness which have been with us since the beginning of time, and to achieve the difficult disciplining of nations in ways of law, order and peace, requires a tremendous exertion on the part of men and nations, an heroic ~~and unprecedented~~ out-reaching of the spirit, of which this generation, any more than the last, may not be capable. But the ~~moral~~ imperative to make the effort is clearly here, as well as the ~~desperate~~ urgency to save our world from the blood and horror of global war every twenty <sup>or</sup> twenty-five years. ~~There~~ The possibility, of course, is always there that our generation may experience such a birth of practical idealism, baptised in the blood of a second world war, that it will resolve to lay



the strong and sure foundations for a peaceful world society. <sup>TP</sup> International peace does not derive its moral sanction from <sup>any</sup> doctrine of pacificism.

The ideal of peace is not rooted in the doctrine that evil is not to be resisted, and that war is always wrong. It is the clear duty of men and nations to resort to arms when right can not otherwise be enforced. <sup>on the inter. scene</sup> Violence must at all times be confronted with countervailing force, morally motivated. Where there is no agency which can effectively check an aggressor nation, it is the right and the moral obligation of the nation whose security is threatened, or of all nations whenever the basic values of civilization are endangered, to resist to the utmost and to employ force to avert the danger. But agencies to resist aggression can be established and can be implemented. It is therefore a confession of the moral backwardness of society if individual nations or groups of nations are forced to resort to war. Nor is it clear that in all instances nations who <sup>do</sup> resort to war on the plea of moral necessity do so as <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ last and unavoidable measure, or that they had closely searched their hearts to discover whether any other motives were not actually influencing their decision, and whether all peaceful avenues had really been explored by them.

War is not an ultimate and inextricable fact in the life of humanity. It is not an indispensable or necessary element in the physical or spiritual progress of mankind. War is at all times an evidence of gross ~~and insurmountable~~ imperfections

which still exist in human society. And it should at all times be regarded as a challenge to destroy it. Disarmament is ~~highly~~ desirable, not only because it will lift the crushing burden of the cost of military establishments from the shoulders of men, but also because armament is by its nature competitive, and history has demonstrated that competition in armament leads to war. But disarmament will come as a natural consequence <sup>of</sup> ~~upon~~ the establishment of a strong international order.

Nations will beat their swords into plowshares only when the necessity for such swords will no longer exist, when there will be in effective operation an international agency sufficiently strong and implemented to protect every nation against aggression.

TP Nor has international peace anything to do with internationalism in its commonly accepted meaning, or with any speculation concerning <sup>the wiping out</sup> ~~obliteration~~ of national identities.

← Racial, national and cultural divisions among men have historical validity and serve the purposes of the Almighty. But the primary spiritual validity appertains to man as such, in his capacity as a child of God, and to the human family as a whole.

While not ignoring the separate ~~identities~~ and groupings in human society the emphasis of morality has been upon their harmonious co-existence, the peaceful adjustment of their differences and their collaboration in the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.

All nations have appointed functions to perform in the divine economy and

are variously endowed. Some possess special gifts and aptitudes and others are favored by special opportunities. Some are culturally retarded and others advanced. Such advantages, wherever enjoyed, only impose additional responsibilities upon the possessor and make increasingly mandatory a more sensitive concern for the rights of

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the backward and the under-privileged. (Classic religion recognizes no inherent

national or racial superiority<sup>s</sup> and has consistently repudiated the exploitation of

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all such fictitious pretexts to dominate and to exploit other peoples. (So-called

backward peoples must not be treated as subject peoples or regarded as proper spoil for colonial and imperial interests. (Rather are they to be helped by appropriate international action to achieve as rapidly as possible their independence and their social and cultural improvement.)

Appropriate international action to achieve this and all other desirable ends is possible only when all nations are organized for peace, when there ~~will~~ exist a permanent <sup>association</sup> ~~league~~ of nations whose members will have covenanted themselves to observe the moral law. Nations will find a just and durable peace only if they merge their separate national interests with the larger interest of the corporate life of humanity. Before this will transpire, nations will have to modify their concepts of national sovereignty.

National sovereignty, along with all forms of human sovereignty, must be

subordinated to the higher moral law of God. Sovereignty, if it is not anarchy, is always limited by law. No nation is above this law. No nation is a law unto itself. Every nation is morally responsible and accountable to God Who is the source and sanction of all life, individual or collective. There can be no peace without the surrender of unqualified, unco-ordinated and willful national sovereignty,-- without, as it were, a pooling of sovereignties. For nations to be free, they must be free within the disciplines of international law. Only in such freedom, within the moral law, is the assurance of enduring peace.

The concept of absolute national sovereignty has no more moral validity than the concept of absolute individual sovereignty. Unless it means absolute equality between all states, large or small, in relation to international rights and security against aggression, it is an utterly immoral concept. The notion that a state can do whatever it likes, whether in relation to its own citizens or to other states -- and that such action, ipso facto, becomes morally justified -- a notion which the always overdrawing its scientific bank account, politically-motivated German metaphysics of the last century, has so assiduously cultivated, runs counter to every basic moral principle of civilized society. Such specious doctrines will make forever impossible any international security organization. The concept of independent and sovereign states must be brought within the frame-work of just international obligations assumed by all states for mutual protection and for



the moral progress of their own citizens and of mankind. Nations must be free and autonomous but subject to the priority of a ~~rapidly~~ developing international way of life which will progressively define their duties towards each other.

*It is to-day accepted as an axiom that,*

*Within each state,* the individual must relate his needs and purposes to the life of the group, and his individual rights must be adjusted to the demands of civilized corporate existence. *In our day* Economic individualism *has* had to come to terms with new forms of economic collectivism in <sup>a</sup> rapidly changing industrial society. New patterns are being developed. The old doctrines of "laissez faire", and the old slogans of "freedom of contract" have been forced to give way. It is as immoral as it is anachronistic for states to cling to claims of absolute sovereignty in a world which is being drawn into such close economic inter-dependence, and wherein politics is so frequently the hand-maiden of economics.

The orthodox sovereign-state idea wrecked the League of Nations. The right to secede from the League was allowed. This sanctioned disruption and international anarchy at the behest of national sovereignty. A unanimous vote was required for major decisions. This sanctioned paralysis of international action out of deference to willful national sovereignty. The draft constitution for the new world security organization which was outlined at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference ~~recently~~ is also vitiated to a degree by this sovereignty principle. Any one of the major powers may

forestall action in the Council by the use of the uncontested veto power which it will possess, ~~even~~ in cases when it itself is accused of aggression. In other words, each major power will sit in judgment on its own case.

Unless this principle is removed from the constitution of the proposed international organization, it may prove disastrous to the new league. It is not an issue which can be ironed out later on. It forestalls all attempts at ironing out in

the future and it is so intended. <sup>to do</sup> It may prove again the initial and fatal mistake. This applies, too, to the implied gradation in rights as between the large and the smaller states and the division of the world among the major powers into spheres of political tutelage. To be sure, one must not expect the perfect security system to spring full-blown

at this time. Decades may be required to perfect a world organization. But we must avert such <sup>inherent</sup> constitutional defects which are sure to wreck the entire edifice at the first major crisis.

The same principle of national sovereignty has permitted certain states and governments to discriminate against and to persecute classes of their own citizens within their own borders under the excuse that it is an "internal affair," beyond the scope of international concern or intervention. Here a disastrous doctrine of moral isolationism has joined forces with the doctrine of national sovereignty to mount guard over some of the blackest crimes of our age. States were permitted to propagate violent racist doctrines which incited their people to political aggression and adventures in world dominations and to enact discriminatory legislation disfranchising

and otherwise degrading and persecuting groups of their own citizens when it was clear that all such officially inspired propaganda, and all such discriminatory laws were in fact dangerous attacks upon free and democratic government <sup>everywhere</sup> and upon the peace of the world - matters, which are of <sup>the most</sup> vital concern to the international community.

The Nazis adopted racism as a major weapon of dictatorship and imperial expansion. By means of it, they destroyed the Weimar Republic. By means of it, they also created the mood of crisis and conflict within those countries which they had marked out for conquest, and succeeded in undermining their power of resistance. They disrupted the internal unity of those nations and thus prepared them for easy subjugation. Thus anti-Semitism became an important element in the strategy of Total War.

It is clear that certain types of governments and political regimes cannot fit into any peaceful world order. They will not, and by their nature they cannot, collaborate in any just international system. They must be quarantined, and pending their restoration to political sanity, and their <sup>will</sup> ~~readiness~~ to guarantee to all their citizens equality before the law and <sup>their</sup> ~~their~~ innate human rights, they should not be admitted to membership in the society of nations.

One of the prerequisites for a peaceful world order is a <sup>universal</sup> Bill of Rights which will protect the individual in his inalienable (God-given) rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness against the encroachment of the State and the ever-present



menace of a tyrannical majority. Society must re-establish the individual man in his legitimate domain, and must declare that domain inviolate. The last mad decade or two ~~has~~ destroyed in many parts of the world all the constitutional guarantees and safeguards of freedom and dignity which men through the long and bitter centuries of struggle acquired for themselves. Never was the stature of man so reduced as in our day. Never was the individual made so insignificant, so insecure and spiritually so cowered and overwhelmed by the ruthless and tyrannical state. No peace is possible in a slave world! The chief characteristic of democracy is the dogma of the free human being and his innate and therefore inalienable human rights.

If there were more emphasis in our day on the rights of man, there would be less reason to worry about the rights of minorities. For it is the denial of basic rights to the members of certain groups of people because of racial, religious or nationalistic prejudices, which create those minority problems which so frequently lead to war. ~~Before~~ Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but ~~within the frame-work of an associated life~~, in relation to the group to which they belonged — nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchic, a feudal arrangement of social life. Democracy re-discovered the human being, the individual who derived from his Creator — not from society or from his

class - certain fundamental rights which were accordingly his inalienably. And it entrenched him in those rights. He is not to be deprived of them by any government or any majority or any dictator. Race, creed, color have nothing to do with these rights. They belong to all men, wherever they live, by virtue of the fact that they are all children of God. ~~£~~

It is a sad commentary on our times that, in the United States, we have come to talk and think so much of late about minorities. Unconsciously we are helping to re-create here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard, America has always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we have been concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his individual worth, character and achievement and not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. These we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

( America was able to absorb immigrants from many races and nationalities and of diverse creeds and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. ~~They~~

They submerged all their parochial interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming devotion to America. ~~§~~

~~§~~We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. ~~§~~ It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from minority discriminations as the minority itself.

No peaceful organization of society is possible unless it is built upon the full political, economic and social rights of men everywhere. It is only the work of righteousness which can yield peace, and it is only upon justice and truth that peace can securely rest. Poverty and economic misery lead to internal strife and revolutionary agitation which are frequently channeled by the threatened privileged classes into international strife and wars of conquest. Nations which are denied free access to trade and the raw material of the world live constantly in the hope that war will give them what peace denies. Minorities who suffer from political discrimination are also pre-disposed to welcome international upheavals which may hold for them the promise of emancipation.

A sure requirement for peace is the quick punishment of the lawless disturbers of peace. Nations which are guilty of provoking war should be punished and their leaders and military criminals should receive punishment commensurate with their crimes. This is not a question of revenge. Retributive justice is neither revenge nor retaliation but a requisite condition of international morality. Morality is concerned with the destruction of the evil rather than of the evil-doer. Primarily it is concerned with the eradication of the causes which lead to war. But, unfortunately, the evil and the perpetrators of evil cannot in <sup>fact</sup> ~~part~~ be separated. Aggressor nations must be defeated, punished and deprived of the power to do mischief a second time. Forgiveness must wait upon true contrition and full restitution. Modern criminology is not motivated by considerations of revenge or vindictiveness, but solely by considerations of how best to protect the community against crime and how to reform the criminal wherever possible. All discussions of a soft or a hard peace for a defeated nation, guilty of war, are utterly irrelevant. The degree of punishment must be related to the just objective which is sought. If peace can be broken with impunity, if the only sin is not the launching but the losing of war, then no world peace organization will ever survive and all international law is worthless.

But it should never be forgotten, that while the punishment of war-mongering nations and war criminals is morally mandatory, the durable peace must, in the last



analysis rest upon good will and universal reconciliation, upon the voluntary association of nations as equals with a world community regardless of their past offenses.

X The task of building a world peace system is not an easy one. The ideal was first proclaimed nearly three thousand years ago by the great prophets of Israel, but its attainment seems ~~far more~~ <sup>so</sup> remote today ~~than~~ <sup>as</sup> at any time during these long centuries. Nevertheless religion urges upon us an unfaltering faith in the future, and in man's power to achieve the seemingly impossible, once he becomes possessed of the power and the might of the spirit of God. It is heartening to <sup>however,</sup> remember that the first major attempt to create an international world order was actually made in our <sup>own</sup> generation, and though it failed because of certain lamentable flaws in its structure, it has nevertheless pointed the way and has aroused the determination of men to essay again, and, by averting the mistakes of the past, build anew upon surer foundations.

It is necessary to create a real temperament for peace among men, a peaceful frame of mind, a will to peace. Peace is not altogether a question of economics. Nations do not make war or establish peace prompted solely by economic motives. Man does not live by bread alone, and nations do not wage war for bread alone. Many other factors, psychological and historical enter into every situation. It is necessary

to kindle the imagination of mankind with the ideal of peace. It is necessary to

*to touch their souls*  
imbue the youth of the world, with an ardent love for peace, and to touch their souls

~~with the matchless ideal of peace.~~ We have surrounded war with all kinds of glamour,

with every device of sight, sound, rank and dignity calculated to evoke admiration

and imitation. In the eyes of youth that which is martial is heroic, fascinating,

challenging. But the ideal of destroying war can also be dramatized, so as to

evoke the admiration and loyalty of our youth *due* war fomentors and aggressor nations

can be represented in such a way as to call forth repugnance and indignation and the

resolve to exterminate them as plagues. The heroes of peace, the champions of good

will among nations, the benefactors of mankind in the many peaceful arts of social

life, and their struggles against disease and poverty and their adventures into the

undiscovered continents of truth -- these too can be glamorized *and* even more

effectively than the heroes of war and their deeds on the battlefield. The

imagination of our youth can be captivated by the heroic epic, properly told, of

the spiritual and intellectual struggle of man *against the dark forces of ignorance, superstition, fear, and hate.*

The combative instincts of men can be sublimated to nobler and less primitive areas of struggle, and can be given full scope in socially constructive and challenging enterprises.

The international ideal, The universal ideal which captivated the minds of

men in the 18th and 19th centuries and which has been pushed out of the minds of men by the spiritual fragmentation and isolationism of our own tragic era, must be rediscovered for the youth of the world. We must begin to speak again of humanity and mankind! The term<sup>W</sup> international<sup>n</sup> must cease to be suspect among us. We must begin to stress anew the common fate and destiny of the entire human race, and of the inter-dependence of all nations. We must expose as villainy<sup>and blasphemy</sup> all forms of national chauvenism, race-snobbery and religious fanaticism. We must educate the rising generation into the clear conviction that no nation can live unto itself alone or can solve its problem by itself alone, and that no basic human problems are ever solved by war. Few human hopes ever blossom among the broken corpses of the battlefields. In peace alone can human life unfold and the ideals of mankind thrive.

The glowing humanistic tradition must be recaptured, the sweeping vistas of man's boundless progress and the golden panorama of a just, noble and peace-blessed society in the end of days. Before real peace can come to dwell among us there must be a resurgent idealism among us, a rekindled faith in man and in the sanctity of his life, and in the holiness of human brotherhood.



# TOLEDO DISTRICT METHODIST CHURCH

A GREATER SUNDAY EVENING SERVICE

St. Paul's Methodist Church

April 15, 1945

7:45 P.M.

The Rev. F. Bringle McIntosh,  
District Superintendent, presiding.

The Youth Choir, First Church, Findlay,

W. Oscar Jones, Director

Nile Gibson at the console

Miss Evelyn Anderson, Accompanist

PRELUDE

ANTHEM - "All In The April Evening" ..Robertson

CALL TO WORSHIP BY THE MINISTER

HYMN - "O God Our Help" .....#533  
(Congregation standing)

PRAYER.....Dr. J. B. Rosemurgy

CHORAL RESPONSE

\* \* \* \*

ORGAN INTERLUDE

\* \* \* \*

ANTHEM - "I'm So Glad Trouble Don't

Last Away".....Niles

Richard Damon, Soloist

OFFERTORY

OFFERTORY ANTHEM -

"In Joseph's Lovely Garden".....Dickinson

Jane Frowine, Soloist

ADDRESS - "The Moral and Psychological

Basis of a Lasting Peace".....

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Rabbi, Cleveland Temple

ANTHEM - "Lo, A Voice to Heaven Sounding" ...

Bortniansky

BENEDICTION.....F. Bringle McIntosh

CHORAL RESPONSE

POSTLUDE

\* \* \* \* (Persons may be seated  
during this period)

# The Moral and Psychological Basis of a Lasting Peace

Abba Hillel Silver

**I**NTERNATIONAL peace is an ethical idea and it is anchored in the religious idealism of the human race, in the spiritual conception of human life and destiny.

It springs directly from the dogma of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Unless it has that anchorage, it drifts about helplessly in a sea of political simulation and expediency. A civilization which has lost its moorings in faith and the moral law lacks both the will and the motive for a peaceful organization of society. It will be swept along blindly by the currents of soullessness, greed, and belligerency—just like our own age.

To bring under control the demonic forces of chaos and the primitive tribal combativeness which have been with us since the beginning of time, and to achieve the difficult disciplining of nations in ways of law, order, and peace, requires a tremendous exertion on the part of men and nations, an heroic and unprecedented out-reaching of the spirit, of which this generation, any more than the last, may not be capable. But the moral imperative to make the effort is clearly here, as well as the desperate urgency to save our world from the blood and horror of global war every twenty or twenty-five years. The possibility of course, is always there that our generation may experience such a birth of practical idealism, baptized in the blood of a second world war, that it will resolve to lay the strong and sure foundations for a peaceful world society.

International peace does not derive its moral sanction from any doctrine of pacifism. The ideal of peace is not rooted in the doctrine that evil is not to be resisted, and that war is always wrong. It is the clear duty of men and nations to resort

to arms when right can not otherwise be enforced. Violence must at all times be confronted with countervailing force, morally motivated. Where there is no agency which can effectively check an aggressor nation, it is the right and the moral obligation of the nation whose security is threatened, or of all nations whenever the basic values of civilization are endangered, to resist to the utmost and to employ force to avert the danger.

But agencies to resist aggression can be established and can be implemented. It is therefore a confession of the moral backwardness of society if individual nations or groups of nations are forced to resort to war. Nor is it clear that in all instances nations who resort to war on the plea of moral necessity do so as the last and unavoidable measure, or that they had closely searched their hearts to discover whether any other motives were not actually influencing the decision, and whether all peaceful avenues had really been explored by them.

## THE REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE

**W**AR is not an ultimate and inextricable fact in the life of humanity. It is not an indispensable or necessary element in the physical or spiritual progress of mankind. War is at all times an evidence of gross and indurate imperfections which still exist in human society. And it should at all times be regarded as a challenge to destroy society. Disarmament is highly desirable, not only because it will lift the crushing burden of the cost of military establishments from the shoulders of men, but also because armament is by its nature competitive, and history has demonstrated that competition in armament leads to war. But disarmament will come as a natural consequence of the establishment of a strong international order. Nations will beat their swords into plowshares only when the necessity for such swords will no longer exist, when there will be in effective operation an international agency sufficiently strong to protect every nation against aggression.

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This address to the National Council for the Social Studies was delivered in the opening session of the annual meeting in Cleveland on November 23. The author is Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland.

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Nor has international peace anything to do with internationalism in its commonly accepted meaning, or with any speculation concerning obliteration of national identities. Racial, national, and cultural divisions among men have historical validity and serve the purposes of the Almighty. But the primary spiritual validity appertains to man as such in his capacity as a child of God and to the human family as a whole. While not ignoring the separate identities and groupings in human society, the emphasis of morality has been upon their harmonious co-existence, the peaceful adjustment of their differences and their collaboration in the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.

All nations have appointed functions to perform in the divine economy and are variously endowed. Some possess gifts and aptitudes and others are favored by special opportunities. Some are culturally retarded and others advanced. Such advantages, wherever enjoyed, only impose additional responsibilities upon the possessor and make increasingly mandatory a more sensitive concern for the rights of the backward and the underprivileged. Every blessing has its burdens. Classic religion recognizes no inherent national or racial superiorities and has consistently repudiated the exploitation of all such pretexts to dominate and to exploit other peoples. Every people is a chosen people if it performs some task in the world. So-called backward peoples must not be treated as subject peoples or regarded as proper spoil for colonial and imperial interests. Rather are they to be helped by appropriate international action to achieve as rapidly as possible their independence and their social and cultural improvement.

Appropriate international action to achieve this and all other desirable ends is possible only when all nations are organized for peace, when there will exist a permanent league of nations whose members will have covenanted themselves to observe the moral law. Nations will find a just and durable peace only if they merge their separate national interests with the larger interest of the corporate life of humanity. Before this will transpire, nations will have to modify their concepts of national sovereignty.

#### THE MENACE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

**N**ATIONAL sovereignty, along with all forms of human sovereignty, must be subordinated to the higher moral law of God. Sovereignty, if it is not anarchy, is always limited by law. No nation is above this law. No nation is a

law unto itself. Every nation is morally responsible and accountable to God, who is the source and sanction of all life, individual or collective. There can be no peace without the surrender of unqualified, uncoordinated and willful national sovereignty, without, as it were, a pooling of sovereignties. For nations to be free, they must be free within the disciplines of international law. Only in such freedom, within the moral law, is the assurance of enduring peace.

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Within each state the individual must relate his needs and purposes to the life of the group, and his individual rights must be adjusted to the demands of civilized corporate existence. Economic individualism has had to come to terms with new forms of economic collectivism in our rapidly changing industrial society. New patterns are being developed. The old doctrines of *laissez faire*, and the old slogans of "freedom of contract" have been forced to give way. It is as immoral as it is anachronistic for states to cling to claims of absolute sovereignty in a world which is being drawn into such close economic interdependence, and wherein politics is so frequently the handmaiden of economics.

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Unless this principle is removed from the constitution of the proposed international organization, it may prove disastrous to the new league. It is not an issue which can be ironed out later on. It forestalls all attempts at such ironing out in the future, and it is so intended. It may prove again the initial and fatal mistake. To be sure, one must not expect the perfect security system to spring full-blown at this time. Decades may be required to perfect a world organization. But we must avert such inherent constitutional defects which are sure to wreck the entire edifice at the first major crisis.

#### THE RIGHTS OF MAN

THE same principle of national sovereignty has permitted certain states and governments to discriminate against and to persecute classes of their own citizens within their own borders under the excuse that it is an "internal affair," beyond the scope of international concern or intervention. Here a disastrous doctrine of moral isolationism has joined forces with the doctrine of national sovereignty to mount guard over some of the blackest crimes of our age. States were permitted to propagate violent racist doctrines which incited their people to political aggression and to adventures in world domination, and to enact discriminatory legislation disfranchising and otherwise degrading and persecuting groups of their own citizens when it was clear that all such officially inspired propaganda, and all such discriminatory laws were in fact dangerous attacks upon free and democratic government and upon the peace of the world—matters, which are of the most vital concern to the international community.

The Nazis adopted racism as a major weapon of dictatorship and imperial expansion. By means of it they destroyed the Weimar Republic. By means of it they also created the mood of crisis and conflict within those countries which they

had marked out for conquest, and succeeded in undermining their power of resistance. They disrupted the internal unity of those nations and thus prepared them for easy subjugation. Thus anti-Semitism became an important element in the strategy of total war.

It is clear that certain types of governments and political regimes cannot fit into any peaceful world order. They will not, and by their nature they cannot, collaborate in any just international system. They must be quarantined, and pending their restoration to political sanity, and their readiness to guarantee to all their citizens equality before the law and innate human rights, they should not be admitted to membership in the society of nations.

One of the prerequisites for a peaceful world order is a universal Bill of Rights which will protect the individual in his inalienable God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness against the encroachment of the state and the ever-present menace of a tyrannical majority. Society must re-establish the individual man in his legitimate domain, and must declare that domain inviolate. The last mad decade, or more, has destroyed in many parts of the world all the constitutional guarantees and safeguards of freedom and dignity which men through the long and bitter centuries of struggle acquired for themselves. Never was the stature of man so reduced as in our day. Never was the individual made so insignificant, so insecure and spiritually so cowed and overwhelmed by the ruthless and tyrannical state. No peace is possible in a slave world. The chief characteristic of democracy is the dogma of the free human being and his innate and therefore inalienable human rights.

If there were more emphasis in our day on the rights of man, there would be less reason to worry about the rights of minorities. For it is the denial of basic rights to the members of certain groups of people because of racial, religious, or nationalistic prejudices which create those minority problems which so frequently lead to war. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but within the framework of an associated life, in relation to the group to which they belonged—nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchy, a feudal arrangement of social life. Democracy rediscovered the human being, the individual who derived from his Creator—not from society or from his class—certain fundamental rights which were accord-



ingly his inalienably. And it entrenched him in those rights. He is not to be deprived of them by any government or any majority or any dictator. Race, creed, color have nothing to do with these rights. They belong to all men, wherever they may live, by virtue of the fact that they are all children of God.

**I**T IS a sad commentary on our times that, in the United States, we have come to talk and think so much of late about minorities. Unconsciously we are helping to recreate here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard America has always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we have been concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his individual worth, character, and achievement and not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. These we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

America was able to absorb immigrants from many races and nationalities and of diverse creeds and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. They submerged all parochial interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming devotion to America.

We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the Negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from the minority discriminations as the minority itself.

No peaceful organization of society is possible unless it is built upon the full political, economic, and social rights of men everywhere. It is only the work of righteousness which can yield peace, and it is only upon justice and truth that peace can securely rest. Poverty and economic misery lead to internal strife and revolutionary agitation which are frequently channeled by the threatened privileged classes into international strife

and wars of conquest. Nations which are denied free access to trade and the raw material of the world live constantly in the hope that war will give them what peace denies. Minorities who suffer from political discrimination are also predisposed to welcome international upheavals which may hold for them the promise of emancipation.

#### PUNISHMENT OF AGGRESSORS

**A**SURE requirement for peace is the quick punishment of the lawless disturbers of peace. Nations which are guilty of provoking war should be punished and their leaders and military criminals should receive punishment commensurate with their crimes. This is not a question of revenge. Retributive justice is neither revenge nor retaliation, but a requisite condition of international morality. Morality is concerned with the destruction of the evil-doer. Primarily it is concerned with the eradication of the causes which lead to war. But, unfortunately, the evil and the perpetrators of evil cannot in fact be separated. Aggressor nations must be defeated, punished, and deprived of the power to do mischief a second time. Forgiveness must wait upon true contrition and full restitution.

Modern criminology is not motivated by considerations of revenge and vindictiveness, but solely by considerations of how best to protect the community against crime and how to reform the criminal wherever possible. All discussions of a soft or a hard peace for a defeated nation, guilt of war, are utterly irrelevant. The degree of punishment must be related to the just objective which is sought. If peace can be broken with impunity, if the only sin is not the launching but the losing of war, then no world peace organization will ever survive and all international law is worthless.

But it should never be forgotten that while the punishment of war-mongering nations and war criminals is morally mandatory, the durable peace must, in the last analysis, rest upon good will and universal reconciliation, upon the voluntary association of nations as equals with a world community regardless of their past offenses.

#### THE WILL TO PEACE

**T**HE task of building a world peace system is not an easy one. The ideal was first proclaimed nearly three thousand years ago by the great prophets of Israel, but its attainment seems far more remote today than at any time during these long centuries. Nevertheless religion urges

upon us an unfaltering faith in the future and in man's power to achieve the seemingly impossible, once he becomes possessed of the power and the might of the spirit of God. It is heartening to remember that the first major attempt to create an international world order was actually made in our generation, and though it failed because of certain lamentable flaws in its structure, it has nevertheless pointed the way and has aroused the determination of men to essay again and, by averting the mistakes of the past, build anew upon surer foundations.

It is necessary to create a real temperament for peace among men, a peaceful frame of mind, a will to peace. Peace is not altogether a question of economics. Nations do not make war or establish peace prompted solely by economic motives. Man does not live by bread alone, and nations do not wage war for bread alone. Many other factors, psychological and historical, enter into every situation. It is necessary to kindle the imagination of mankind with the ideal of peace. It is necessary to imbue the youth of the world with an ardent love for peace, and to touch their souls with the matchless ideal of peace.

We have surrounded war with all kinds of glamour, with every device of sight, sound, rank, and dignity calculated to evoke admiration and imitation. In the eyes of youth that which is martial is heroic, fascinating, challenging. But the ideal of destroying war can also be dramatized, so as to evoke the admiration and loyalty of our youth. War fomenters and aggressor nations can be represented in such a way as to call forth repugnance and indignation, and the resolve to exterminate them as plagues. The heroes of peace, the champions of good will among nations, the benefactors of mankind in the many peaceful arts of social life, and their struggles against disease and poverty and their adventures

into the undiscovered continents of truth—these too can be glamorized and even more effectively than the heroes of war and their deeds on the battlefield. The imagination of our youth can be captivated by the heroic epic, properly told, of the spiritual and intellectual struggle of men. The combative instincts of men can be sublimated to nobler and less primitive areas of struggle, and can be given full scope in socially constructive and challenging enterprises.

The international ideal, the universal ideal which captivated the minds of men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which has been pushed out of the minds of men by the spiritual fragmentation and isolationism of our own tragic era, must be rediscovered for the youth of the world. We must begin to speak again of humanity and mankind: the term international must cease to be suspect among us. We must begin to stress anew the common fate and destiny of the entire human race, and of the interdependence of all nations. We must expose as villainy all forms of national chauvinism, race snobbery, and religious fanaticism. We must educate the rising generation into the clear conviction that no nation can live unto itself alone or can solve its problem by itself alone, and that no basic human problems are ever solved by war. Few human hopes ever blossom among the broken corpses of the battlefields. In peace alone can human life unfold and the ideals of mankind thrive.

The glowing humanistic tradition must be recaptured, the sweeping vistas of man's boundless progress and the golden panorama of a just, noble, and peaceblessed society in the end of days must be restored. Before real peace can come to dwell among us, we must rekindle faith in man and in the sanctity of his life, and in the holiness of human brotherhood.

# Democratic Living: A School Experience

Ethel E. Price

SINCE social studies is the school area in which the determination of human conduct in terms of mutual relationships is of paramount importance, it is through the teaching of social studies, more than any other subject, that we can build a substantial foundation for democratic living in school, in the home, in society.

Democratic living involves the preservation of ideals of sympathetic understanding and mutual respect of individuals, regardless of race, religion, intelligence, or economic status. It recognizes personalities, some bright and gifted, others dull and slow, each playing a part, though sometimes a minor one, in the scheme of living. It provides for the growth of the individual according to his needs, interests, and abilities. It encourages the experimental method of inquiry, and freedom of selection, and discussion of controversial questions. It emphasizes the concept that each of us is a responsible sovereign, that we are the government, and that our government, and all that it encompasses, can be no better than we who make it.

Those ideals of democracy are, however, of little value unless practiced in our daily lives, and the classroom teacher must see that opportunities for such living are provided. Opportunities for democratic living, as provided recently by a unit in Citizenship, may prove interesting.

## A CLASS BECOMES A TOWN

IN SETTING up rules so that the class could work more efficiently, a child suggested that "it sounded like the laws of a town." Another echoed, "Why can't we have a town instead of a

grade?" And the idea of a town was born. The other children were enthusiastic, and soon plans for conducting a town were evolved. The first question raised was that of a name. Several names were suggested and Little Folks Town was chosen. The children next divided the town into sections: Kenilworth, Chevy Chase, Brookland, and Capitol View.

Who should run the town was the next problem. A discussion of form of government introduced study of democratic versus autocratic form. From their combined experiences in living in different cities with different forms of government, they decided to have a mayor and his council who would be responsible for the making of the laws; a court with judge and jury to settle difficulties; a police department to see that laws were kept; a health department to deal with all phases of health; and a cleaning department to care for the cleanliness of the town. Each department was to have a chief who would be responsible for the success of his department.

It was then necessary to find out how to assign these positions. It was decided that the most democratic way was to hold an election. Finding how an election is held gave opportunity for further investigation. Standards for each office were set up, and candidates representing each section were chosen. Each candidate naturally had his followers, and a part of each afternoon was given over to campaigning. Speeches were made, and posters advocating certain candidates were hung around the room. The teacher even discovered a petition circulating around the room.

Plans for election day were made; an election booth draped in red, white, and blue paper was built. The children divided into groups for carrying on the machinery of the election. The study had already provided information on who could vote, how to register, and how to mark a ballot. A table for registration, the booth for the voting, a table for the sorting of votes, and another for counting the votes were set up, a broadcasting

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Democratic practices in school require skillful teacher leadership, but some possibilities are illustrated by this account of a citizenship activity in the Monroe Laboratory School of the Miner Teachers College, Washington, D.C. The author is supervisor of practice teaching in the school.

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44-23

1945

# *Twenty-Sixth Annual Program*



OHIO  
PASTORS'  
CONVENTION



## *The Minister's Income Tax*

The answers to these questions will be found in the January issue of Church Management. About 200 new subscriptions have been made available starting with this issue. If you want to be "counted in" make sure name and address on the card are correct and return to us with the proper amount.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| ( ) Is the minister's salary subject to the withholding law?                        | ( ) Is a child over 18, attending college, a dependent?  |
| ( ) Is it advisable for him to use form 1040 or the new simplified form W-2 (Rev.)? | ( ) Must the church apply the withholding law to all lay employees regardless of the amount of their pay?          |
| ( ) Should he include his parsonage as income?                                      | ( ) How will this affect musicians who may receive but a dollar or two each Sunday? Teachers?                      |
| ( ) Are fees and gifts to be included as income?                                    | ( ) Suppose a minister receives cash in lieu of rent? Must he report such as income?                               |
| ( ) How about receipts from pensions and annuities? Are they taxable?               | ( ) Suppose a minister owns his own home? May part of the cost of maintenance be deducted as professional expense? |
| ( ) What is a fair deduction for his automobile expense?                            |  |
| ( ) May cost of professional books and periodicals be deducted?                     |  |

CHURCH MANAGEMENT is published "monthly except August." The subscription price is \$2.50 per year; \$4.00 for two years.

### **CHURCH MANAGEMENT**

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*from:*

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The Bible Meditation League, world's largest supply center for Bible study material for the armed forces, welcomes you to Columbus, and sincerely invites you to visit its National Headquarters offices at 42 East Gay Street and 82 North Third Street.

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The place of the Bible Meditation League in the world conflict is attested by this quotation from a letter written by the Secretary of the largest Second Baptist Church of Auburn, New York.

"In a recent letter from our pastor, Chaplain R. S. Stansfield, who is somewhere in Germany with General Patton's division, he writes to his wife that the Bible Meditation League and the American Bible Society are doing the most outstanding work in getting the Word of God to the Service Men. We rejoiced to hear that."

Hundreds of churches from coast to coast welcome annually the speakers from the Bible Meditation League, and report great blessings resulting from the speakers' messages. Arrangements may be completed while you are in Columbus for a League speaker in your church.

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8084.**

## Three Paid-in-Full Life Members



Bishop C. W. Brushborn



Bishop Schuyler E. Gorth



Dr. A. Ward Applegate

### Life Membership in Pastors' Convention Doubles During the Year

Life membership in the Ohio Pastors' Convention has almost doubled since the Silver Anniversary Convention last year, with 32 new Life Members added during the year, three of whom are paid in full and the others have made substantial payments toward the \$100 Life Membership fee which goes into an endowment fund for the Pastors' Convention.

Twenty-seven Life Members were paid up in full at the time of the convention last year and seven others had made payments of \$25 or \$50 or more, two of whom have just finished paying in full, making a total of 32 paid-in-full Life Members to date, and 34 who have enrolled as Life Members.

Fees paid for Life Memberships are placed in an endowment fund to provide a source of income for the support of the Pastors' Convention in years of depression or adversity so that it can be maintained as a great spiritual resource for Ohio pastors from year to year.

It is hoped that enough ministers will become Life Members of the Pastors' Convention to create a minimum endowment fund of \$20,000, which would make available approximately \$1,800 per year for the use of the Convention Executive Committee in promoting the interests of the Convention.

Listed on pages 10 and 12 of this program are the names of those who are either paid-in-full Life Members or have enrolled as Life Members and made payments of \$25 or more toward their memberships.

Life Memberships may be paid personally by the ministers from their own funds or through funds provided by their churches or raised through various means especially for this purpose.

*(Please turn to pages 10 and 11)*



# *Program*

## 26th Annual OHIO PASTORS' CONVENTION

January 29, to February 1, 1945  
Columbus, Ohio

### Sessions

Memorial Hall

 Fellowship  Supper

Physical Education Building\*

Ohio State University

### Headquarters

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\*NOTE: To go to the Physical Education Building, take a North High Street trolley—Arcadia Avenue, Blenheim Road, or Oakland Park—to 15th Avenue, go across Campus to Neil Avenue, turn right, go to intersection or cross-street, turn left, and go to the second building on the left of the street.



Rev. L. J. Taber, President  
The Ohio Council of  
Churches



Dr. Charles L. Seasholtz  
Chairman, 1945 Ohio  
Pastors' Convention



Dr. B. F. Lamb  
Executive Secretary, The  
Ohio Council of Churches

## OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Dr. Charles L. Seasholtz, Chairman  
Herbert Huffman W. S. Winterman

### FORMER CHAIRMEN

A. Ward Applegate	H. Merwin Kerst
Harry W. Barr	Isaac E. Miller
Wm. H. Huber	Clarence LaRue

### VICE CHAIRMEN

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C. E. Josephson	John R. Williams

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Garnes M. Cook	E. Bruce Jacobs
Charles Coulter	George S. Lockland
J. C. Williams	

### THE USHERS

Harry W. Barr and Clarence LaRue, Co-Chairmen
Hugh Iron Evans
Harold H. Gettweit
A. Ward Applegate
H. Merwin Kerst
Isaac E. Miller

## RULES

### Adopted by the Program Committee for the Control of the Convention.

1.—The first floor of Memorial Hall will constitute the bar of the Convention and all those who desire to speak, or present resolutions must sit on the first floor. The chair will not recognize those who desire to speak from the balcony.

2.—Speeches from the floor will be limited to three minutes and no one will be permitted to speak twice on the same subject until all others have had an opportunity to speak on that subject, or until special privilege to speak the second time has been granted by the Convention.

3.—A timekeeper will be named by the Chairman. He will sit on the front seat and with cards indicate the length of time each speaker has taken, giving him adequate warning so that he will not continue more than three minutes.

4.—All new business to be presented from the floor must be presented either Monday or Tuesday so that the Reference Committee will have ample time to consider proposals and report back at the business sessions Wednesday and Thursday. Exceptions to this rule are to be made only by a vote of the convention.

5.—A Reference Committee has been appointed by the executive Committee of the Convention. The business of the Reference Committee is to consider all resolutions presented from the floor, other than those that logically go to standing committees, and such other resolutions as, in their judgment, should be brought to the Convention for action, and then report back to the Convention its recommendations.

6.—Copies of resolutions and reports will be available through the Ohio Christian News.

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# PROGRAM

## "Rebuilding the World with Christ"

*All sessions in Memorial Hall  
except as otherwise noted*

## MONDAY, JANUARY 29

### MORNING SESSION

- 10:00-10:30 Morning Worship.....Columbus Boychoir  
10:30-11:15 "Long Trails and Home Fires,"..Dr. Charles W. Gilkey  
11:15-12:00 "Recovering Some New Testament  
Powers—Joy".....Dr. Halford E. Luccock

### AFTERNOON SESSION

- 12:30- 3:00 Denominational Luncheons. (See page 17.)
- 3:30- 3:45 Afternoon Worship.....Convention Male Choir  
3:45- 4:30 "The Function of a Redemptive Society"  
.....Dr. D. Elton Trueblood  
4:30- 5:15 "A Christian Program for World  
Reconstruction".....Dr. Walter M. Horton  
5:30- 7:45 Dinner and Business Meeting of the Assembly of the  
Ohio Council of Churches in the Ball Room,  
Y.W.C.A., 65 S. Fourth Street, \$1.00 per Plate.  
(Members of the Assembly Only.)

### EVENING SESSION

- 8:00 P. M. Evening Worship.....Male Chorus  
"The Moral and Psychological Basis of  
Lasting Peace".....Rabbi A. H. Silver  
"Fight Like H - - -,".....Dr. Bernard C. Clausen

### The Small Sweet Courtesies of Life

The little bits of thoughtfulness make for the happiness of everyone; in the home, in the church, in all places where men gather together. So it is especially in our Pastors' Conference. Someone is speaking—courtesy would indicate respectful silence and attention. When we are speaking, we do not like to be disturbed by whispering and the chatter of others in our audience. Let us remember that while someone else is speaking we should be silent. Quiet, respectful, courteous attention is an art, in which Ministers should excel.

Let us display our skill in being gentlemen under all circumstances.



Rabbi A. H. Silver



Dr. Bernard C. Clouton



Dr. Charles H. Wesley

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# PROGRAM

## TUESDAY, JANUARY 30

### MORNING SESSION

- 9:00- 9:15 Morning Worship.....Male Chorus  
9:15-10:00 "Reconstructing Our Human Relations"  
.....Dr. Charles W. Wesley  
10:00-11:00 Business Session.  
11:00-12:30 Communion Service—  
Bishop H. Lester Smith, presiding.  
"Recovering Some New Testament Powers—  
Boldness".....Dr. Halford E. Luccock

### AFTERNOON SESSION

- 1:45- 2:00 Afternoon Worship.....Male Chorus  
2:00- 2:30 "Alcohol and Tomorrow's World"  
.....Dr. Francis W. McPeck  
2:30- 3:00 "Pastoral Counseling with Returning  
Service Men".....Rev. Seward Hiltner  
3:15- 5:15 Two Discussion Groups with Rev. Hiltner and Dr. Mc-  
Peck Alternating as Discussion Leaders. ....  
First Hour—(1) First Baptist Church, 583 East Broad Street  
*wright* Rev. Clayton E. Williams, Presiding  
Dr. Francis W. McPeck, Conference Leader  
(2) Broad Street Methodist Church, 500 E. Broad  
Rev. Clayton E. Williams, Presiding  
Rev. Seward Hiltner, Conference Leader  
Second Hour—Groups continue with exchange of Leaders

### EVENING SESSION

- 6:00 P. M. Fellowship Supper with Legislators and Public Offi-  
cials, Physical Education Building, Ohio State Uni-  
versity, per plate \$1.75.  
Invocation, Rev. E. Stacy Matheny, Chaplain of  
the Senate, Ohio Legislature.  
Greetings, Honorable L. J. Taber, President, Ohio  
Council of Churches.  
Response, Honorable Frank J. Lausche, Governor of  
Ohio  
"Wir Haben Ein Lift".....Dr. C. Oscar Johnson  
"The Years Ahead".....Hon. Francis B. Sayre

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# Life Membership in Pastors' Con



Rev. George S. Luckland



Rev. Baynton Merrill



Rev. P. H. Walshman



Rev. Frank G. Helms



Rev. Clarence H. LaRue



Rev. Wm. B. Robinson

## Patrons of the Pastors' Convention

*Individuals and firms who contributed \$10 or more toward the support of the twenty-sixth annual Pastors' Convention are—*

**Roberts Funeral Home**

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1809 E. Third Street  
Dayton, Ohio

(Continued on Page 12a)

# Convention Doubles During the Year

(Continued from Page 2)

Paid-in-full Life Members of the Pastors' Convention are:

A. Ward Applegate	C. B. Ketcham	Charles L. Seasholes
Clarence J. Bradbury	George S. Lackland	G. Siegenthaler
Charles W. Brashares	R. F. Lamb	E. R. Stafford
H. E. Beckler	Clarence H. LaRue	Arthur Staples
E. B. Brewster	M. H. Lichtner	Sidney E. Sweet
Gaines M. Cook	Ralph Loomis	Donald Timmerman
Schuyler E. Garth	Vinton E. McVicker	King G. Thompson
Wilbur H. Fowler	Boynton Merrill	W. H. Thompson
R. E. Golliday	Wm. B. Robinson	R. L. Tucker
Frank G. Helme	Warren L. Rogers	Vernor Wade Wagar
James L. Holliday	(Deceased)	P. H. Welshimer

Those who have enrolled as Life Members and paid \$50 or more are:

Samuel Furrow	Henry W. Hobson	Isaac E. Miller
W. Dwight Heaston	Clement D. Lochr	L. V. Simms

Those who have enrolled as Life Members and paid \$25 or more are:

Ralph T. Alton	Paul Ertel	W. T. Packer
Russell E. Bayliff	Norman E. Fickel	Arthur M. Romig
Edwin Bobbitt	LeRoy C. Henne	John Calvin Smith
R. L. Budd	Archie H. Hook	Anson P. Storkes, Jr.
Roger T. Burton	E. Bruce Jacobs	Edwin Swinburne
Joe Cleland	Kenneth S. Leary	Ivan L. Wilkins
S. B. Crandell	Harold H. Lentz	O. L. Willis
Edwards H. Dickinson	W. G. McFadden	G. W. Whyman
Hoke S. Dickinson	Stanley A. Miller	
W. W. Duff	Charles E. Nash	

Each paid-in-full Life Member receives an attractive Life Member button for the lapel of his coat, which admits him to all sessions of the Convention as long as he lives. Please observe the buttons worn by those who are now Paid-in-Full Life Members.

**Pictures on These Two Pages  
Are of Pastors Who Are  
Paid-in-Full Life Members**



Rev. Gaines M. Cook



Dr. Oscar Blackwelder



Dr. A. L. Wareschles



Dr. Marshall B. Reed

Columbus 15, Ohio

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# PROGRAM

## WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31

### MORNING SESSION

- 9:00- 9:30 Morning Worship.....Convention Male Choir  
9:30-10:15 "Keeping Our Sense of Direction"  
.....Dr. Marshall R. Reed  
10:15-11:15 Prince of Peace Declamation Contest (Finals in the  
Twentieth Annual Contest), Speakers—Six Young  
People Selected in State Elimination Contests from  
the District Winners.  
11:15-12:00 "Recovering Some New Testament Powers—  
Expectation".....Dr. Halford E. Luccock

### AFTERNOON SESSION

- 2:00- 2:15 Afternoon Worship.....Male Chorus  
2:15- 3:00 "European Churches Revived"....Dr. A. L. Warnshius  
3:00- 4:00 Business Session.  
4:00- 4:45 "The Vital Significance of the Rural  
Church".....Prof. Wm. V. Dennis  
5:30- 7:45 Fellowship Supper for Town and Country Pastors at  
the Broad Street Methodist Church, 35 cents per  
Plate. Open to All Who Are Interested. (See page  
17.)  
"Intriguing Experiences for the Rural  
Pastor".....Prof. Wm. V. Dennis

### EVENING SESSION

- 8:00 P. M. Evening Worship.....Convention Male Choir  
"Can We Hope to Win the Peace?"  
.....Dr. Luman J. Shafer  
"Earth's Four Greatest Values"....Dr. Oscar Blackwelder

## THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 1

### MORNING SESSION

- 9:00- 9:30 Morning Worship.....Convention Male Choir  
11:15-12:00 "Recovering Some New Testament Powers—  
The Church".....Dr. Halford E. Luccock  
Adjournment.

### PATRONS OF THE PASTORS' CONVENTION

(Continued from page 10)

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*Physical Education Building, Ohio State University*

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Fellowship Singing.....	Led by Rev. W. S. Westernman
Invocation.....	Rev. E. Stacy Matherly, Chaplain of the Senate, Ohio Legislature
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P 7

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TWENTY-FOURTH

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Theme: Social Studies Mobilize for Tasks of Reconstruction

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# **Tabular View of Meetings: Friday, November 24, Hotel Statler**

**9:00-10:30 A.M.**

**10:45-12:00 A.M.**

**12:30-2:15 P.M.**

**Group I**

Better Use of Textbooks  
Parlor C, See p. 13

**Group II**

Evaluation in Social Education  
Parlor B, See p. 13

**Group III**

Selecting and Organizing Local Materials  
Tavern Room, See p. 13

**Group IV**

Experiences That Develop Social Maturity in the Primary Grades  
Parlors 1 and 2, See p. 15

**Group V**

Balance between the Local Community and Study of Wider Areas (Middle Grades)  
Grand Ball Room, See p. 15

**Group VI**

Group Discussion as a Teaching Technique  
Parlors F and G, See p. 15

**Group VII**

Lessons to be Learned from Social Education in the Armed Forces  
Parlor 3, See p. 17

**Group VIII**

Out-of-School Agencies that Promote Social Education  
Parlor L, See p. 17

**Group IX**

Social Education Considers the Role of Management and Labor  
Pine Room, See p. 17

**Group X**

American Relations with the Soviet Union  
Room 345, See p. 19

**Group XI**

Geography in the Program of Social Studies  
Lattice Room, See p. 19

**Group XII**

The Changing Teaching of Government, 1929-1944  
Parlor E, See p. 21

**Second General Session**

Quillen, Burton  
Grand Ball Room,  
See p. 7

**Luncheon A**

Citizens for a New World  
Lattice Room, See p. 27

**Luncheon B**

Our American Neighbors  
Pine Room, See p. 27

**Luncheon C**

Place of the Social Studies in the Curriculum  
Parlor H, See p. 27

**Luncheon D**

Vitalizing the Teaching of Local Government  
Room 341, See p. 27

**Luncheon E**

Committee Report on Consumer Education in the Social Studies  
Parlor C, See p. 27

**Luncheon F**

Adapting Instruction in the Social Studies to Individual Differences  
Parlors 1 and 2, See p. 29



## **Thursday, November 23**

3:00 P.M.

3:30 P.M.

4:00 P.M.

4:45 P.M.

5:20 P.M.

8:00 P.M.

Exhibit Opens, Euclid Ball Room

Registration Opens, Foyer, Mezzanine Floor

Informal Tea, Pine Room

Technicolor Motion Picture

Social Hour, See p. 7

First General Session

Lake Silver

Grand Ball Room, See p. 7

**Tabular View of Meetings: Friday, November 24, Hotel Statler**

**2:30-3:20 P.M.**

Third General Session  
Staley  
Grand Ball Room,  
See p. 9

**3:30-5:00 P.M.**

Group I  
Effective Classroom Use of Audio-  
Visual Aids  
Parlor C, See p. 13

Group II  
Recent Developments in the Field of  
Critical Thinking  
Parlor B, See p. 13

Group III  
Integrating State and Local Mate-  
rials into the American History  
Course  
Tavern Room, See p. 13

Group IV  
Experiences that Develop Social Ma-  
turity in the Primary Grades  
Parlors 1 and 2, See p. 15

Group V  
Balance between Local Community  
and Study of Wider Areas (Middle  
Grades)  
Grand Ball Room, See p. 15

Group VI  
Home and Family Living  
Parlors F and G, See p. 15

Group VII  
Social Education for Returning Vet-  
erans  
Parlor A, See p. 17

Group VIII  
Work Experience as a Phase of So-  
cial Education  
Parlor L, See p. 17

Group IX  
Social Education Considers the Role  
of Management and Labor  
Pine Room, See p. 17

Group X  
America's Understanding of China  
Room 345, See p. 19

Group XI  
Geography in the Program of Social  
Studies  
Lattice Room, See p. 19

Group XII  
Some Aspects of Current Politics,  
National and International  
Parlor E, See p. 21

**6:30-8:15 P.M.**

Fourth General Session  
Banquet  
Anderson, Wesley  
Grand Ball Room, See p. 9

**8:30 P.M.**

Fourth General Session (Continued)  
Junior Town Meeting of the Air  
Chase and panels  
Grand Ball Room, See p. 9

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- A 16—Civil War, 1861-1865
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**Tabular View of Meetings: Saturday, November 25, Hotel Statler**

**9:00-9:30 A.M.**

**9:30-11:30 A.M.**

**12:00-1:45 P.M.**

Fifth General Session  
Postwar Policy Report, Price  
Grand Ball Room  
See p. 9

First Section  
Primary Grades  
Room 345, See p. 23

Second Section  
Middle Grades  
Parlors 1 and 2, See p. 23

Third Section  
Community Civics  
Parlor C, See p. 23

Fourth Section  
American History and Geography  
Grand Ball Room, See p. 23

Fifth Section  
World History and Geography  
Pine Room, See p. 23

Sixth Section  
Contemporary Problems  
Parlor E, See p. 25

Seventh Section  
Social Studies in the Program of Vocational Education  
Parlor J, See p. 25

Eighth Section  
Social Studies in Adult Education  
Tavern Room, See p. 25

Ninth Section  
Social Sciences in the Program of Teacher Education  
Parlor L, See p. 25

Tenth Section  
Social Studies in the Rural Schools  
Parlor B, See p. 25

Sixth General Session  
Business Meeting  
Past-Presidents' Luncheon Symposium  
Lattice Room, See p. 11

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**2:00 P.M.**

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Seventh General Session  
Grand Ball Room, See p. 11

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**Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting  
November 23, 24, and 25, 1944**

**Hotel Statler**

**Cleveland, Ohio**

**Theme: Social Studies Mobilize for Tasks  
of Reconstruction**

## ***Registration Opens***

Hours of Registration

Thursday, November 23

Friday, November 24

Saturday, November 25

3:30 to 8:30 P.M.

8:30 A.M. to 7:00 P.M.

8:30 A.M. to 4:00 P.M.

**THURSDAY**

**November 23**

**3:30 P.M.**

**Foyer, Mezzanine**

## ***Exhibit Opens***

## ***Reception***

The Greater Cleveland Council for the Social Studies cordially invites all those attending the Annual Meeting to an informal reception.

*Informal tea*

*Life Begins at School*—A sound technicolor motion picture of the curriculum of John Hay High School, Cleveland

*Social Hour*

**3:00 P.M.**

**Euclid Ballroom**

**4:00-6:00 P.M.**

**Pine Room**

**4:00-4:45 P.M.**

**4:45-5:30 P.M.**

**5:20-6:00 P.M.**

## **GENERAL PROGRAM**

### ***First General Session***

**PRESIDING:** Allen Y. King, Public Schools, Cleveland, Past-President, National Council for the Social Studies

*Address of Welcome*

Charles H. Lake, Superintendent, Public Schools, Cleveland

*Moral and Psychological Basis of a Lasting Peace*

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland

### ***Section Meetings***

For program of section meetings see pages 13 to 21.

### ***Second General Session***

**PRESIDING:** Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University, Editor, *Social Education*

*Presidential Address: The Role of the Social Studies Teacher in the Post-War World*

I. James Quillen, Stanford University

*America's Share in the World of Tomorrow*

Senator Harold H. Burton, Ohio

**THURSDAY**

**November 23**

**8:00 P.M.**

**Grand Ballroom**

**FRIDAY**

**November 24**

**9:00-10:30 A.M.**

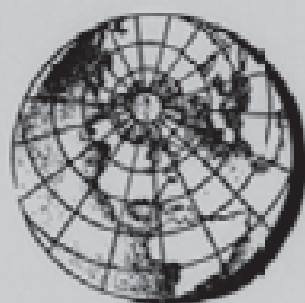
**FRIDAY**

**November 24**

**10:45 A.M.-**

**12:15 P.M.**

**Grand Ballroom**



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INMAN AND  
CASTAÑEDA



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LATIN AMERICA  
for Schools

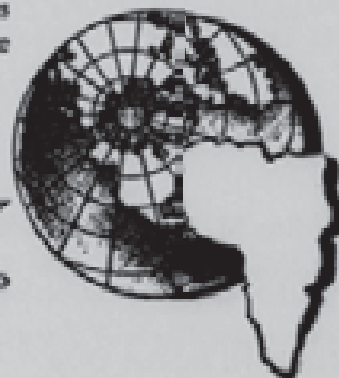
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## GENERAL PROGRAM

### Luncheon Meetings

For program of luncheon meetings see pages 27 to 29.

### Third General Session

**PRESIDING:** I. James Quillen, Stanford University,  
President, National Council for the Social Studies

*Economic Welfare in the Postwar World*

Eugene Staley, School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. Economic Consultant UNRRA

**FRIDAY**  
November 24  
12:30-2:15 P.M.

**FRIDAY**  
November 24  
2:30-3:20 P.M.  
Grand Ballroom

### Section Meetings

For program of section meetings see pages 13 to 21.

### Exhibit Hour

### Banquet

**TOASTMASTER:** Howard R. Anderson, Cornell University

*Some Excerpts from an Encyclopedia of Educational Terms*

Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota

**FRIDAY**  
November 24  
3:30-5:00 P.M.

5:00-6:00 P.M.  
Euclid Ballroom

**FRIDAY**  
November 24  
6:30-8:15 P.M.  
Grand Ballroom

### Fourth General Session

#### Junior Town Meeting of the Air—Demonstration

**MODERATOR:** W. Linwood Chase, Boston University

*Shall the United States Adopt Compulsory Military Service for Youth After the War?*

High School Students Participating:

Erwin Fishman, Cleveland Heights High School

Teacher, Paul Nash

Jack Hardman, Lakewood High School

Teacher, William Ternansky

Richard McConnell, Cathedral Latin High School

Teacher, Virginia Gallagher

Frank Wyka, South High School, Cleveland

Teacher, Elmer Jessup

**CRITIQUE PANEL:** W. Linwood Chase, Boston University, Chairman

Doris Cunneen, Student, Collinwood High School, Cleveland

Harry D. Lamb, Supervisor of Radio Education and Speech, Toledo

William B. Levenson, Directing Supervisor of Radio, Public Schools, Cleveland

G. H. Reavis, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools, Cincinnati

**FRIDAY**  
November 24  
8:30 P.M.  
Grand Ballroom

### Fifth General Session

**PRESIDING:** Mary G. Kelty, Washington, D.C.,

First Vice-President, National Council for the Social Studies

*The Social Studies Look Beyond the War*

Report of the Commission on Postwar Policy,

Roy A. Price, Syracuse University, Chairman

**SATURDAY**  
November 25  
9:00-9:30 A.M.  
Grand Ballroom

### Section Meetings

For program of section meetings see pages 23 to 25.

### Exhibit Hour

[Business Meeting, Greater Cleveland Council for the Social Studies]

11:30-12:00 A.M.  
Euclid Ballroom

11:30-11:45 A.M.  
Grand Ballroom



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GENERAL PROGRAM

***Sixth General Session***

***Luncheon Meeting***

***Business Meeting***

PRESIDING: I. James Quillen, President, National Council for the Social Studies

***Past-Presidents' Symposium: Keeping Abreast of the Changing Scene***

PRESIDING: Howard R. Anderson, Cornell University

C. C. Barnes, Detroit; R. O. Hughes, Pittsburgh; Allen Y. King, Cleveland; Roy A. Price, Syracuse University; Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota; Ruth West, Spokane; Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University; Fremont P. Wirth, George Peabody College for Teachers

**SATURDAY**  
November 25  
12:00-1:45 P.M.  
Lattice Room

***Seventh General Session***

**Theme: Broader Realization of Democratic Values**

PRESIDING: Alain Locke, Howard University

***Racial Diversity in National Unity***

Carey McWilliams, Author and Lecturer

***Cultural Diversity in National Unity***

Otto Klineberg, Columbia University

***Religious Diversity in National Unity***

Reverend George B. Ford, Rector, Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church, New York, N. Y.

***Human Dignity in the American Way of Life***

Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University



**SATURDAY**  
November 25  
2:00 P.M.  
Grand Ballroom

# *Guiding Children's Social Development* **THE HANNA SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM**

For Elementary Grades



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Susan's Neighbors at Work  
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This Useful World  
Making the Goods We Need  
Marketing the Things We Use

## *The Authors...*

PAUL R. HANNA  
William S. Gray  
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\*L. James Quillen  
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Paul B. Sears  
Edward A. Krag

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for the Social Studies

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## FRIDAY SECTION MEETINGS

### Group I

#### *Better Use of Textbooks*

CHAIRMAN: F. C. Landsittel, Ohio State University

PANEL: Mildred Batchelder, American Library Association; Lucy May Coplin, University of West Virginia; Lloyd W. King, American Textbook Publishers Institute; W. E. Oswald, James Hillman Jr. High School, Youngstown, Ohio; D. C. Racker, Curriculum Director, Public Schools, Springfield, Missouri.

SECRETARY: Bessie L. Thompson, McKinley High School, Canton, Ohio

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlor C

#### *Effective Classroom Use of Audio-Visual Aids*

CHAIRMAN: William H. Hartley, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland

PANEL: Daniel C. Knowlton, Cazenovia Junior College, Cazenovia, New York; Leland S. March, Principal, High School, Ridgewood, New Jersey; Raymond J. Snodgrass, High School, Paducah, Kentucky.

SECRETARY: John H. Hamburg, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools, Edgerton, Wisconsin

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlor G

### Group II

#### *Evaluation in Social Education*

CHAIRMAN: Hilda Taba, University of Chicago

PANEL: Herbert J. Abraham, University of Chicago; Lena B. Ellington, State Teachers College, Charleston, Illinois; Leonard S. Kenworthy, American Friends Service Committee; Margaret A. Koopman, State Teachers College, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan; Bernardine G. Schmidt, State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana.

SECRETARY: Frankie I. Jones, High School, La Porte, Indiana

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlor B

#### *Recent Developments in the Field of Critical Thinking*

CHAIRMAN: Frederick G. Marcham, Cornell University

PANEL: Charles R. Abry, Young America; Dwight L. Arnold, Director of Research and Guidance, Public Schools, Youngstown, Ohio; Henry H. Kronenberg, University of Arkansas; Harriet Stull, University of Indiana; Ruth West, Lewis and Clark High School, Spokane, Washington.

SECRETARY: Marguerite B. Strahan, High School, Richmond, Indiana

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlor B

### Group III

#### *Selecting and Organizing State and Local Materials*

CHAIRMAN: Richard J. Stanley, Hal High School, West Hartford, Connecticut

PANEL: Mildred E. Bassett, Rhode Island College of Education; Alice P. Lanterman, Southwest High School, Kansas City, Missouri; Dorothy Meideth, University of Minnesota; John W. Ray, Principal, Academy High School, Erie, Pennsylvania; Ludie Simpson, Public Schools, Atlanta, Georgia; Lee Wachtel, Municipal Reference Library, Cleveland.

SECRETARY: Nina F. Varson, High School, Highland Park, Michigan

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Tavern Room

#### *Integrating State and Local Materials Into the American History Course*

CHAIRMAN: A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota

PANEL: Virginia M. Brown, DuPont High School, Wilmington, Delaware; Margaret Campbell, State Teachers College, Murray, Kentucky; Helen L. Macon, Chapel Hill Schools, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania; George H. Slappey, O'Keeffe Jr. High School, Atlanta, Georgia.

SECRETARY: Ruth Andersen, Free Academy, Norwich, Connecticut

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Tavern Room

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FRIDAY SECTION MEETINGS

Group IV

***Experiences that Develop Social Maturity  
in the Primary Grades***

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlors 1 and 2

CHAIRMAN: Ruth M. Robinson, Principal, Hough Elementary School, Cleveland

PANEL: Mary I. Cole, State Teachers College, Bowling Green, Kentucky; May K. Duncan, Head, Department of Elementary Education, University of Kentucky; Robert W. Eaves, Chairman, Yearbook Committee, Department of Elementary School Principals, N.E.A.; Ethel K. Howard, Director of Elementary Education, Public Schools, Lakewood, Ohio; Mary Willcockson, Supervisor of Elementary Grades, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio; William E. Young, Director, Division of Elementary Education, State of New York.

SECRETARY: Florence Linsenmeier, Benjamin Franklin Elementary School, Cleveland

***(Continuation of morning session)***

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlors 1 and 2

Group V

***Balance between the Local Community and Study  
of Wider Areas (Middle Grades)***

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Grand Ballroom

CHAIRMAN: Mary A. Adams, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools, Baltimore, Maryland

PANEL: Helen McCracken Carpenter, State Teachers College, Trenton, New Jersey; W. Linwood Chase, Boston University; Catherine Grimshaw, Public Schools, Dedham, Massachusetts; C. W. Hunnicutt, Syracuse University; Della E. Kibbe, Supervisor of Elementary Schools, State of Wisconsin; Mabel Snedaker, Supervisor of Social Studies, Elementary School, University of Iowa; Zoe A. Thralls, University of Pittsburgh.

SECRETARY: A. Winifred Elliott, Oliver Wendell Holmes School, Cleveland

***(Continuation of morning session)***

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Grand Ballroom

Group VI

***Group Discussion as a Teaching Technique***

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlors F and G

CHAIRMAN: Nelle E. Beaman, Director of Social Studies, Public Schools, Tulsa, Oklahoma

PANEL: Gerald H. Hays, Northwestern University; Isabel J. Levi, Woodward High School, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jennie L. Pingrey, High School, Hastings-on-Hudson, New York; Harrison M. Seyre, American Education Press; Alice Stewart, Horace Mann-Lincoln School, Columbia University.

SECRETARY: Ruth E. Litchen, University of Kansas

***Home and Family Living***

*(Joint Session with the American Home Economics Association)*

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlors F and G

CO-CHAIRMAN: Dorothea F. Marlow, High School, Shaker Heights, Ohio  
(American Home-Economics Association)

Harry Bard, Supervisor of History, Public Schools, Baltimore, Maryland  
(National Council for the Social Studies)

SPEAKERS: Lloyd Allen Cook, Ohio State University

Esther McGinnis, State Teachers College, Buffalo, New York

SECRETARY: Christine Hillman, Flora Stone Mather College, Wesleyan Reserve University



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FRIDAY SECTION MEETINGS

Group VII

***Lessons to be Learned from Social Education  
in the Armed Forces***

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlor J

CHAIRMAN: Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota

*Lessons from Social Education in the Army*

Lt. Col. Herbert G. Espy, Information and Education Division,  
Headquarters, Army Service Forces

*Lessons from Social Education in the Navy*

Lt. (j-g.) William Alexander, USNR

*Convalescent Training Program*

Lt. Eugene J. Taylor, Convalescent Training Division, Army Air Forces

SECRETARY: Clyde E. Feuchter, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berca, Ohio

***Social Education for Returning Veterans***

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlor J

CHAIRMAN: Robert H. Reid, Great Neck, New York; Social Studies Editor, United States Armed Forces Institute

PANEL: Edwin M. Barton, Director of Social Studies, Public Schools, Elizabeth, New Jersey; Marshall R. Beard, Registrar, State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Philo C. Dunsmore, Supervisor of Social Studies and Curriculum, Public Schools, Toledo, Ohio; Robert LaFollette, Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana; Myrtle Roberts, Woodrow Wilson High School, Dallas, Texas; Wayne G. Smith, Commander, The American Legion, Cuyahoga County Council, Ohio; Norman Woolfel, Director, Teaching Aids Laboratory, Ohio State University.

SECRETARY: Emily R. Gibson, Elementary School, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio

Group VIII

***Out-of-School Agencies that Promote Social Education***

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlor L

CHAIRMAN: William Van Til, Ohio State University

PANEL: John A. Crawford, Cleveland Plain Dealer, American Youth Hostels; Harold Korey, Camp Director, Chicago, Illinois; W. H. Palmer, State 4-H Club Leader, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and College of Agriculture, Ohio State University; Jean C. Roos, Youth Department, Cleveland Public Library; Paul K. Weinandy, Director, Alta Social Settlement, Cleveland; Arthur B. Williams, Cleveland Museum of Natural History; Florence H. Wilson, League of Women Voters.

SECRETARY: Clyde Varner, John Marshall High School, Cleveland

***Work Experience as a Phase of Social Education***

3:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlor L

CHAIRMAN: Warren G. Seyfert, Principal, High School, University of Chicago

PANEL: Robert N. Bush, Dean, State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas; Leonard S. Kenworthy, American Friends Service Committee; Ray Lassenhop, Austin High School, Chicago, Illinois; Richard H. McFeely, George School, Pennsylvania; Hilda Taba, University of Chicago.

SECRETARY: Pauline P. Schwartz, State Teachers College, New Haven, Connecticut

Group IX

***Social Education Considers the Role of Management  
and Labor***

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Pine Room

CHAIRMAN: Frank V. Morley, Hascourt, Brace and Company, formerly member of the War Labor Board

SPEAKERS: William B. Barton, Labor Relations Committee, U. S. Chamber of Commerce  
John H. Rohrich, Vice-President Teamsters District Council, American Federation of Labor

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## FRIDAY SECTION MEETINGS

### *Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Kenneth Gould, Scholastic Publications

### *(Continuation of morning session)*

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Pine Room

SPEAKERS: Kermit Eby, Assistant Director of Education, Congress of Industrial Organization

Henry S. Woodbridge, American Optical Company, Member National Association of Manufacturers

### *Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Kenneth Gould, Scholastic Publications

### Group X

### *American Relations with the Soviet Union*

CHAIRMAN: Everett Augspurger, Supervisor of Social Studies, Cleveland  
SPEAKER: Corliss Lamont

*The Soviet Union in the School Curriculum*

PANEL: Corliss Lamont; Ruth Wood Gavian, D. C. Heath and Company; Eunice Johns, Horace Mann School, Gary, Indiana; Wilbur F. Murra, Civic Education Service.

SECRETARY: Margaret G. Warner, High School, Lakewood, Ohio

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Room 345

### *America's Understanding of China*

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Room 345

CHAIRMAN: Jacob C. Meyer, Western Reserve University

SPEAKER: Haldore Hanson, Division of Cultural Relations, The Department of State

PANEL: Margaret Brayton, Assistant Supervisor-Curator, Children's Museum, Detroit, Michigan; Haldore Hanson, Division of Cultural Relations, U.S. Department of State; Evangeline R. Purcell, Northwestern High School, Detroit, Michigan; Marguerite Ann Stewart, Institute of Pacific Relations; Dorothy L. Wahl, Garfield Heights High School, Cleveland, Ohio.

SECRETARY: John Schwarz, State University, Bowling Green, Ohio

### Group XI

### *Geography in the Program of Social Studies*

*(Joint Session with the National Council of Geography Teachers)*

CHAIRMAN: Guy-Harold Smith, Ohio State University  
(National Council of Geography Teachers)

*Geography and the Social Studies*  
Stanley D. Dodge, University of Michigan

*The Responsibility of the Geography Teacher in the Upper Grades*  
Edna E. Eisen, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

*Geography, the Basis of the Social Studies Program*  
J. Granville Jensen, Rhode Island College of Education

SECRETARY: Melvina Svec, State Teachers College, Buffalo, New York

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Lattice Room

### *(Continuation of morning session)*

1:30-5:00 P.M.  
Lattice Room

CHAIRMAN: J. R. Whitaker, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee  
(National Council for the Social Studies)

*The Place of Geography in the Social Studies*  
Harry Lathrop, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois

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FRIDAY SECTION MEETINGS

*Educational Services of Geography in the Emerging World Community*

George J. Miller, editor, *Journal of Geography*; State Teachers College, Mankato, Minnesota

DISCUSSION LEADER, Edwin H. Rosder, University of Illinois

SECRETARY: Edna E. Eisen, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

Group XII

***The Changing Teaching of Government 1929-1944***

(Joint Session with the American Political Science Association)

FRIDAY  
November 24  
9:00-10:30 A.M.  
Parlor E

CHAIRMAN: Franklin L. Burdette, Executive Secretary, National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship

*On the College Level*

Ben Arneson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio

*On the Secondary-School Level*

Leonard B. Irwin, Principal, High School, Haddon Heights, New Jersey

*What Secondary-School Teachers Can Learn from College Teachers*

George H. Baker, Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan

*What College Teachers Can Learn from Secondary-School Teachers*

Earl L. Shoup, Western Reserve University

*Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Hilda M. Watters, State Teachers College, Macomb, Illinois

***Some Aspects of Current Politics, National and International***

CHAIRMAN: Stanley E. Dimond, Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan; Chairman, National Council for the Social Studies Committee on Civic Education

3:30-5:00 P.M.  
Parlor E

*Determining Factors in the 1944 Election*

Wilfred E. Binkley, Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio

*Canadian Views on the International Scene*

George W. Brown, University of Toronto, Editor, *Canadian Historical Review*

*Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Hugh Laughlin, Ohio State University



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**JUNIOR TOWN MEETING LEAGUE** "topics of the week" (containing the background, the issues, and book-lists on the most important problem of each week) appear in OUR TIMES. These topics are selected by authorities in the field of the social studies acting on a committee of the JUNIOR TOWN MEETING LEAGUE under the direction of W. Linwood Chase of Boston University.

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## SATURDAY SECTION MEETINGS

### Theme: Implementation of *The Social Studies* *Look Beyond the Peace*

#### First Section

##### *Primary Grades*

CHAIRMAN: E. T. McSwain, Northwestern University

PANEL: Elizabeth B. Carey, State Education Department, Albany, New York; Katherine Clarke, Washington University; Anna Hallberg, Wilson Teachers College, Washington, D.C.; Cordelia M. Horn, Hough School, Cleveland; Allegra J. Ingleright, Director of Elementary Education, Public Schools, South Bend, Indiana; Grace E. Storm, University of Chicago; Blanche Verbeck, Ohio State University.

SECRETARY: Ruth Roodiger, A. J. Hickoff School, Cleveland

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
Room 345

#### Second Section

##### *Middle Grades*

CHAIRMAN: Edwin H. Reeder, University of Illinois

PANEL: Elsie M. Beck, Supervisor of Social Studies, Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan; Prudence Cutright, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Gertrude M. Lewis, Yale University; Ida B. DePencier, University of Chicago; Bertha Richardson, Homer Street School, Springfield, Massachusetts.

SECRETARY: Florence Potter, Hough Elementary School, Cleveland

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
Parlors 1 and 2

#### Third Section

##### *Community Civics*

CHAIRMAN: F. Leslie Speir, Supervisor, Department of Instruction, Public Schools, Cleveland

PANEL: Stillman M. Hobbs, Public Schools, Rochester, New York; Otis G. Jamison, State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana; Ruth Coyner Little, George Washington University; Kenneth W. Povenmire, Mound Jr. High School, Columbus, Ohio

SECRETARY: Roger A. Dunning, Public Schools, East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
Parlor G

#### Fourth Section

##### *American History and Geography*

CHAIRMAN: Richard J. Purcell, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.

PANEL: Mabel B. Casner, West Haven, Connecticut; Ralph W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Clarion, Pennsylvania; Clarence P. Denman, State Teachers College, Bowling Green, Kentucky; Robert E. Keohane, University of Chicago; Anna B. Peck, University of Kentucky; Paul Sechausen, Department of Education, State of Indiana; J. R. Whitaker, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

SECRETARY: Ruth Corbin, High School, Morocco, Indiana

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
Grand Ballroom

#### Fifth Section

##### *World History and Geography*

CHAIRMAN: Horace T. Morse, Associate Director, The General College, University of Minnesota

PANEL: Donald R. Alter, State Teachers College, Charleston, Illinois; Meribah Clark, State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana; Julia Emery, Wichita High School East, Wichita, Kansas; Grace Coyle Hankins, Woodrow Wilson High School, Cam-

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
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den, New Jersey; J. Granville Jensen, Rhode Island College of Education; Leonard O. Packard, Teachers College of the City of Boston; Erwin J. Urch, High School, University City, Missouri.

SECRETARY: Bertha R. Leaman, Francis Shimer College, Mt. Carroll, Illinois

### Sixth Section

#### *Contemporary Problems*

CHAIRMAN: R. B. Patin, Principal, High School, Shaker Heights, Ohio

PANEL: William M. Brewer, Head, Department of History, Divisions 10-13, Washington, D.C.; Nadine Clark, Stonewall Jackson High School, Charleston, West Virginia; Eleanor Florence, Laurel School, Shaker Heights, Ohio; Theodore D. Rice, Director, Michigan Secondary-School Curriculum Study; Hillis A. Staley, High School, Decatur, Illinois; Archie W. Troelstrup, Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri.

SECRETARY: Joseph C. Baumgartner, Lincoln High School, Cleveland

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
Parlor E

### Seventh Section

#### *Social Studies in the Program of Vocational Education*

CHAIRMAN: C. C. Barnes, Director of Social Studies, Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan

PANEL: Frank A. Maas, Counselor, Social Science Department, Milwaukee Vocational School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Charles H. Wesley, President, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio; J. C. Wright, Assistant United States Commissioner for Vocational Education.

SECRETARY: Edward F. Jerrow, John Hay High School, Cleveland

### Eighth Section

#### *Social Studies in Adult Education*

CHAIRMAN: George H. Baker, Assistant Director, Division of Adult Education, Detroit, Michigan

PANEL: Lee B. Bauer, Director of Adult Education, Cleveland, Ohio; Vivian J. Beamon, Assistant Principal, Jackson School, Cincinnati, Ohio; Vernon Bowyer, Director of Adult Education, Chicago, Illinois; Marguerite Burnett, Director of Adult Education, Wilmington, Delaware; Fannia M. Cohn, Educational Department, Ladies' Garment Workers Union; L. C. Larson, Indiana University; Alice V. Myers, Director of Adult Education, Des Moines, Iowa.

SECRETARY: Lt. Eugene J. Taylor, Army Air Forces

### Ninth Section

#### *The Social Sciences in the Program of Teacher Education*

CHAIRMAN: Buft W. Phillips, University of Wisconsin

PANEL: Harold J. Bowers, Division of Teacher Education and Certification, Ohio State Department of Education; Stanley E. Dimond, Supervisor of Social Studies, Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan; Hugh Graham, John Carroll University, Cleveland; Margaret A. Koopman, State Teachers College, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan; John L. Miller, Superintendent, Public Schools, Great Neck, New York.

SECRETARY: Jacob C. Meyer, Western Reserve University

### Tenth Section

#### *Social Studies in the Rural Schools*

CHAIRMAN: Ella A. Hawkinson, State Teachers College, Moorhead, Minnesota

PANEL: Martha E. Layman, State Teachers College, Valley City, North Dakota; W. H. Palmer, State 4-H Club Leader, U. S. Department of Agriculture, and College of Agriculture, Ohio State University; W. L. Shuman, Superintendent, Cuyahoga County Public Schools, Ohio; R. Bruce Tom, United States Department of Agriculture, and College of Agriculture, Ohio State University; Terry Wickham, Superintendent, Public Schools, Hamilton, Ohio.

SECRETARY: Hannah Yager, State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York

SATURDAY  
November 25  
9:30-11:30 A.M.  
Parlor B

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## LUNCHEON MEETINGS

### Luncheon A

#### *Citizens for a New World*

CHAIRMAN: Julian C. Aldrich, State Teachers College, Maryville, Missouri

*Presentation of the Fourteenth Yearbook*  
Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University

*Discussion of the Fourteenth Yearbook*  
Brooks Emeny, Council on World Affairs  
Harold M. Long, High School, Glens Falls, New York

*Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Russell T. McNutt, Central High School, Muncie, Indiana

### Luncheon B

#### *Our American Neighbors*

CHAIRMAN: Malcolm W. Davis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

*United States' Understanding of Latin America: A Latin-American Estimate*  
Sr. Oscar A. Gacitúa, Concepción, Chile, Guest of the Department of State

*United States' Understanding of Canada: A Canadian Estimate*  
T. F. M. Newton, McGill University, Canadian Wartime Information Board

*Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Ethel DeMarsh, Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

### Luncheon C

#### *Place of the Social Studies in the Curriculum*

CHAIRMAN: Orlando W. Stephenson, University of Michigan

PANEL: Stephen M. Corey, University of Chicago; Rev. C. E. Elwell, Director of High Schools and Academies, Diocese of Cleveland; R. O. Hughes, Director of Citizenship and Social Studies, Public Schools, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; G. H. Reavis, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio; H. L. Smith, Dean, School of Education, Indiana University.

SECRETARY: George W. Hodgkins, Curriculum Staff, Public Schools, Washington, D.C.

### Luncheon D

#### *Vitalizing the Teaching of Local Government*

*(Joint Luncheon with the American Political Science Association)*

CHAIRMAN: Howard White, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, Chairman, American Political Science Association Committee on the Social Studies

*Vitalizing the Teaching of Local Government*  
William E. Mosher, Dean, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

*Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Carl C. Radder, Academy High School, Erie, Pennsylvania

### Luncheon E

#### *Committee Report on Consumer Education in the Social Studies*

CHAIRMAN: Archie W. Troelstrup, Stephens College

FRIDAY  
November 24  
12:30-2:15 P.M.  
Lattice Room

FRIDAY  
November 24  
12:30-2:15 P.M.  
Pine Room

FRIDAY  
November 24  
12:30-2:15 P.M.  
Parlor II

FRIDAY  
November 24  
12:30-2:15 P.M.  
Room 341

FRIDAY  
November 24  
12:30-2:15 P.M.  
Parlor C



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## LUNCHEON MEETINGS

### *Presentation and Discussion of the Committee Report*

Robert A. Bream, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Stewart B. Hamblen, High School, Cranford, New Jersey; Palmer Howard, High School, New Britain, Connecticut; William Van Til, Ohio State University; Fred T. Wilhelms, Consumer Education Study NEA, Washington, D.C.

### *Open Discussion*

SECRETARY: Hazel Phillips, Community High School, Argo, Illinois

### Luncheon F

## ***Adapting Instruction in the Social Studies to Individual Differences***

CHAIRMAN: Alice W. Spieseke, Teachers College, Columbia University

### *Presentation of the Fifteenth Yearbook*

Edward Krug, Montana State University

### *Discussion of the Fifteenth Yearbook*

Harold Alberty, Ohio State University

Hallie T. Smith, State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana

Kenneth B. Thurston, Indiana University

SECRETARY: Robert L. Reeves, Southeastern High School, Detroit, Michigan

FRIDAY  
November 24  
12:00-2:15 P.M.  
Parlors 1 and 2

### **After Reading Your Program Record Here the Section Meetings You Plan to Attend**

## THURSDAY

Afternoon

Evening



## FRIDAY

Morning

Luncheon

Afternoon

Evening

## SATURDAY

Morning

Luncheon

Afternoon

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## INFORMATION

### *Registration*

Everyone who attends the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting, or any part of it, is asked to register. The Registration Desk will be located in the Assembly Foyer on the Mezzanine Floor of the Hotel Statler. It will be open as follows:

Thursday, November 23..... 3:30 to 8:30 P.M.

Friday, November 24..... 8:30 A.M. to 7 P.M.

Saturday, November 25..... 8:00 A.M. to 4 P.M.

All members of the National Council for the Social Studies may register without payment of fee. To facilitate registration, members are urged to present their membership cards. Those who arrive on Thursday are asked to complete their registration at once and thus lessen congestion on Friday morning. College students, certified as such by an instructor, will be registered for 35 cents. Other non-members may register for the entire convention for \$1.00. Each registrant will receive a badge, presentation of which is necessary for admittance to all meetings (except the demonstration broadcast of the Junior Town Meeting of the Air).

Members of the American Home Economics Association, the National Council of Geography Teachers, and the American Political Science Association may attend the joint sessions of their representative cooperating organizations on presentation of their membership cards. Presentation of the National Council for the Social Studies registration badge is necessary for admittance to other meetings.

Persons attending the convention are urged in the interests of conservation to bring to the meeting the copy of the program sent them in the mail. The supply is definitely limited.

### *Tickets*

*Advance reservations* should be made for all luncheon and banquet tickets. Remittance in full should accompany each reservation for meal tickets. It is particularly important *this year* that meal reservations be made in advance because food and labor shortages require the hotel to make all meal arrangements farther in advance than usual. Prices are \$1.70 for luncheons and \$2.85 for the banquet (tips and tax included). All requests for reservation of tickets for luncheons, or banquet, should reach Washington not later than Saturday, November 18.

Ticket reservations will be honored in order of receipt, and will be held at the Registration Desk until fifteen minutes before the event. Such tickets as have not been reserved in advance may be secured at the Desk as long as the supply lasts. Send reservations to the National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Persons registered for the convention are cordially invited to the luncheon speeches and discussions even though they are unable to attend the luncheon itself.



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Parlor A will be the Convention Headquarters Office of the executive secretary and the Local Arrangements Committee.

Parlor M will be the headquarters of the Press Bureau. The Press Bureau will be under the direction of Belmont Farley, public relations director of the National Education Association.

### ***Hospitality***

Members of the local committee on hospitality will be pleased to help members become acquainted with one another, with the hotel, and with places of interest and entertainment in Cleveland.

Information may be obtained from the headquarters table of this committee, located near the registration desk.

### ***Hotel***

The Hotel Statler is official convention headquarters. It will house the exhibits, and all the meetings. Sleeping-room reservations should be made on the reservation card enclosed with this program, or by writing directly to the Hotel. The Hotel offers special rates for NCSS members as follows: Single room \$3.00 to \$6.00; double bedroom \$4.50 to \$8.00; twin bedded room \$5.00 to \$8.00.

### ***Memberships***

Membership in the National Council for the Social Studies, new or renewed, may be secured at the Registration Desk. Annual dues are \$3.00 and include a subscription to *Social Education*, a yearbook, and other timely materials. Persons paying the \$1.00 registration fee who wish to become members within sixty days following the meeting may apply the registration fee to their membership dues by sending the registration receipt with \$2.00 to the Headquarters Office in Washington, D.C. No remittances for joint membership in the National Council and its affiliated organization will be accepted at the Registration Desk, but must be submitted through the treasurer of the affiliated organizations.

Each new member who enrolls as of November, 1944, will receive: (1) the November issue of *Social Education* and succeeding issues through October 1945, (2) the Fifteenth Yearbook: *Adapting Instruction in the Social Studies to Individual Differences*, and (3) Bulletin No. 18: *Paying for the War*. Other timely materials sent free to members in the past year by other agencies producing educational aids include maps, bibliographies, special bulletins, an atlas, visual aids, etc.

### ***Exhibits***

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### INDEX OF ADVERTISERS

Advertiser	Page
Allyn and Bacon.....	20
American Book Company.....	28
American Education Press.....	22
Civic Education Service.....	Back Cover
Denoyer-Geppert Company.....	4
Follett Publishing Company.....	24
The Gregg Publishing Company.....	16
Ginn and Company.....	26
Harcourt, Brace and Company.....	10
D. C. Heath and Company.....	30
Henry Holt and Company.....	Inside Front Cover
Houghton Mifflin Company.....	14
McGraw-Hill Book Company.....	18
The Macmillan Company.....	8
Scholastic Magazines.....	32
Scott, Foresman and Company.....	12
Silver Burdett Company.....	34
World Book Company.....	26
Young America.....	6

## PROGRAM COMMITTEE FOR THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION

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## ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE CONVENTION PROGRAM\*

American Home Economics Association  
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 American Federation of Labor  
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 Canadian Historical Review  
 Canadian War Time Information Board  
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 National Association of Manufacturers  
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship  
 National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship  
 United States Army  
 United States Army Air Forces, Convalescent Training Division  
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 United States Department of Agriculture  
 United States Department of State, Division of Cultural Relations  
 United States Navy  
 United States Office of Education  
 United States War Labor Board

\* Aside from schools, colleges, universities, state departments of education and publishing companies.

# INDEX OF PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

ABRAHAM, Herbert J., 13  
 ABBY, Charles R., 13  
 ADAMS, Mary A., 15  
 ALBERTY, Harold, 29  
 ALDRICH, Julian C., 27  
 ALEXANDER, William, 17  
 ALTER, Donald R., 23  
 ANDERSEN, Ruth, 13  
 ANDERSON, Howard R., 9, 11  
 ARNOLD, Ben, 21  
 ARNOLD, Dwight L., 13  
 AUGSPURGER, Everett, 19  
 BAKER, George H., 21, 25  
 BARD, Harry, 15  
 BARNES, C. C., 11, 25  
 BARTON, Edwin M., 17  
 BARTON, William B., 17  
 BASSETT, Mildred E., 13  
 BATCHELDER, Mildred, 13  
 BAUER, Lee B., 25  
 BAUMGARTNER, Joseph C., 25  
 BEAMON, Vivian J., 25  
 BEARD, Marshall R., 17  
 BECK, Elsie, 23  
 BINKLEY, Wilfred E., 21  
 BOWERS, Harold J., 25  
 BOWMAN, Nellie E., 15  
 BOWYER, Vernon, 25  
 BRAYTON, Margaret, 19  
 BREAM, Robert A., 29  
 BREWER, William M., 25  
 BROWN, George W., 21  
 BROWN, Virginia M., 13  
 BURDETTE, Franklin L., 21  
 BURNETT, Marguerite, 25  
 BURTON, Senator Harold H., 7  
 BUSH, Robert N., 17  
 CAMPBELL, Margaret, 13  
 CAREY, Elizabeth B., 23  
 CARPENTER, Helen McCracken, 15  
 CASNER, Mabel B., 23  
 CHASE, W. Linwood, 9, 13  
 CLARK, Meribah, 23  
 CLARK, Nadine, 25  
 CLARKE, Katherine, 23  
 CLINCHY, Everett R., 11  
 COHN, Fannie M., 25  
 COLE, Mary T., 15  
 COOK, Lloyd Allen, 15  
 COPLIN, Lucy May, 15  
 CORBIN, Ruth, 23  
 CORDIER, Ralph W., 23  
 COREY, Stephen M., 27  
 CRAWFORD, John A., 17  
 CUNNEEN, Doris, 9  
 CUTRIGHT, Prudence, 23  
 DAVIS, Malcolm W., 27  
 De MARSH, Ethel, 27  
 DENMAN, Clarence P., 23  
 De PENCIER, Ida B., 23  
 DIMOND, Stanley E., 21, 25  
 DODGE, Stanley D., 19  
 DUNCAN, May K., 15  
 DUNNING, Roger A., 23  
 DUNSMORE, Philo C., 17  
 EAVES, Robert W., 15  
 EBY, Kermit, 19  
 EISEN, Edna, 19, 21  
 ELLINGTON, Lena B., 13  
 ELLIOTT, A. Winifred, 13  
 ELWELL, Rev. C. E., 27  
 EMERY, Brooks, 27  
 EMERY, Julia, 23  
 ESPY, Herbert G., 17  
 FEUCHTER, Clyde E., 17  
 FISHMAN, Erwin, 9  
 FLORENCE, Eleanor, 25  
 GACITUA, Oscar A., 27  
 GALLAGHER, Virginia, 9  
 GAVIAN, Ruth Wood, 19  
 GIBSON, Emily R., 17  
 GOULD, Kenneth M., 19  
 GRAHAM, Hugh, 25  
 GRIMSHAW, Catherine, 13  
 HALLBERG, Anna, 23  
 HAMBLIN, Stewart B., 29  
 HAMBURG, John H., 13  
 HANKINS, Grace Croyle, 23

HANNA, Geneva, 15  
 HANSON, Hildore, 19  
 HARDMAN, Jack, 9  
 HARTLEY, William H., 13  
 HAWKINSON, Ella A., 25  
 HILMAN, Christine, 15  
 HORRIS, Siffman M., 25  
 HODGKINS, George W., 27  
 HORN, Cordelia M., 23  
 HOWARD, Ethel K., 15  
 HOWARD, Palmer, 29  
 HUGHES, R. O., 11, 27  
 HUNNICUTT, C. W., 15  
 HUNT, Erling, M., 7, 27  
 INGLERIGHT, Allegra J., 23  
 IRWIN, Leonard B., 21  
 JAMISON, Otto G., 23  
 JENSEN, J. Greenville, 19, 25  
 JERROW, Edward F., 25  
 JESSUP, Elmer, 9  
 JOHNS, Eunice, 19  
 JONES, Frankie L., 13  
 KELTY, Mary G., 9  
 KENWORTHY, Leonard S., 13, 17  
 KEHANE, Robert E., 23  
 KISSE, Della E., 15  
 KING, Allen Y., 7, 11  
 KING, Lloyd W., 13  
 KLINBERG, Otto, 11  
 KNOWLTON, Daniel C., 13  
 KOOPMAN, Margaret A., 13, 25  
 COREY, Harold, 17  
 CREV, A. C., 13  
 CRONENBERG, H. H., 13  
 CRUG, Edward, 29  
 LAPOLLETTE, Robert, 17  
 LAKE, Charles H., 7  
 LAMB, Harry, 9  
 LAMONT, Corliss, 19  
 LANDSITTEL, F. C., 13  
 LANTERMAN, Alice P., 13  
 LARSON, L. C., 25  
 LATHROP, Harry, 19  
 LAUGHLIN, Hugh, 21  
 LAYMAN, Martha E., 25  
 LEAMAN, Bertha R., 25  
 LEVENSON, William B., 9  
 LEVI, Isabelle J., 15  
 LEWIS, Gertrude M., 23  
 LINDENMEIER, Florence, 15  
 LITCHEL, Ruth E., 15  
 LITTLE, Ruth Coyner, 23  
 LOCKE, Alain, 11  
 LONG, Harold M., 27  
 LUSSENHOP, Ray, 17  
 MAAS, Frank A., 25  
 MACON, Helen L., 13  
 McCONNELL, Richard, 9  
 MCCracken, Helen, 15  
 McFERRY, Richard H., 17  
 McGINNIS, Esther, 15  
 McNUTT, Russell T., 27  
 McSWAIN, E. T., 23  
 McWILLIAMS, Carey, 11  
 MARCH, Lehard S., 13  
 MARCHAM, Frederick G., 13  
 MARLOW, Dorothy F., 15  
 MERIDETH, Dorothy, 13  
 MEYER, Jacob C., 19, 25  
 MILLER, George J., 21  
 MILLER, John L., 25  
 MORLEY, Frank V., 17  
 MORSE, Horace T., 23  
 MOSHER, William E., 27  
 MURRA, Wilbur F., 19  
 MYERS, Alice V., 25  
 NASH, Paul, 9  
 NEWTON, T. F. M., 27  
 NICHOLS, Jeannette P., 13  
 OSWALD, W. E., 13  
 PACKARD, Leonard O., 25  
 PALMER, W. H., 17, 25  
 PATIN, R. B., 25  
 PECK, Anna R., 23  
 PHILLIPS, Burr W., 25  
 PHILLIPS, Hazel, 29

PINGREY, Jennie L., 15  
 POTTER, Florence, 23  
 POVENMIRE, Kenneth W., 23  
 PRICE, Roy A., 9, 11  
 PURCELL, Evangeline R., 19  
 PURCELL, Richard J., 23  
 QUILLEN, I. James, 7, 9, 11  
 RADDER, Carl C., 27  
 RAY, John W., 13  
 REAVIS, G. H., 9, 27  
 REEDER, Edwin H., 21, 25  
 REEVES, Robert L., 29  
 REID, Robert H., 17  
 RICE, Theodore D., 25  
 RICHARDSON, Bertha, 23  
 ROBERTS, Myrtle, 17  
 ROBINSON, Ruth M., 15  
 ROEDIGER, Ruth, 23  
 ROHRICH, John H., 17  
 ROCKS, Jean C., 17  
 RUCKER, D. C., 13  
 SAVRE, Harrison M., 15  
 SCHMIDT, Bernadine G., 13  
 SCHWARTZ, Pauline P., 17  
 SCHWARTZ, John, 19  
 SEEHAUSEN, Paul, 23  
 SEYFERT, Warren G., 17  
 SHOUP, Earl L., 21  
 SHUMATE, W. L., 25  
 SILVER, Rabbi Abba Hillel, 7  
 SIMPSON, Lodie, 13  
 SLAPPEY, George H., 13  
 SMITH, Gay-Harold, 19  
 SMITH, Hallie T., 29  
 SMITH, H. L., 27  
 SMITH, Wayne G., 17  
 SNEDAKER, Mabel, 15  
 SNOODGRASS, Raymond J., 13  
 SPIER, F. Leslie, 25  
 SPIESEKE, Alice W., 29  
 STALEY, Eugene, 9  
 STALEY, Billie A., 25  
 STANLEY, Richard J., 13  
 STEPHENSON, Orlando W., 27  
 STEWART, Alice, 15  
 STEWART, Marguerite Anne, 19  
 STORM, Grace E., 23  
 STRAHAN, Marguerite B., 13  
 STULL, Harriet, 13  
 SVEC, Melina, 19  
 TABA, Hilma, 13, 17  
 TAYLOR, Eugene J., 17, 25  
 TERNANSKY, William, 9  
 THOMPSON, Beattie L., 13  
 THRALLS, Zoe A., 15  
 THURSTON, Kenneth B., 29  
 TOM, R. Bruce, 25  
 TROELSTRUP, Archie W., 25, 27  
 URCH, Erwin J., 25  
 VAN TIL, William, 17, 29  
 VARNER, Clyde, 17  
 VARSON, Nina P., 13  
 VERBECK, Blanche K., 23  
 WACHTER, Lee, 13  
 WAHL, Dorothy L., 19  
 WARNER, Margaret G., 19  
 WATTERS, Hilda M., 21  
 WEINANCY, Paul K., 17  
 WESLEY, Charles H., 25  
 WESLEY, Edgar B., 9, 11, 17  
 WEST, Ruth, 11, 13  
 WHITAKER, J. R., 19, 23  
 WHITE, Howard, 27  
 WICKHAM, Terry, 25  
 WILHELMSS, Fred T., 29  
 WILLCOCKSON, Mary, 15  
 WILLIAMS, Arthur B., 17  
 WILSON, Florence H., 17  
 WILSON, Howard E., 11  
 WIRTH, Fremont F., 11  
 WOLFFEL, Norman, 17  
 WOODBRIDGE, Henry S., 19  
 WRIGHT, I. C., 25  
 WYKA, Frank, 9  
 YAGER, Hannah G., 25  
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A Statement of Postwar Policy  
prepared by an Advisory Commission  
of the  
National Council for the Social Studies

November, 1944



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## Preface

THIS statement, a sequel to *The Social Studies Mobilize for Victory*, has been prepared under authorization from the Board of Directors of the National Council for the Social Studies. A preliminary draft was circulated for discussion in summer session groups, by local social studies councils, and at the Pittsburgh meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies. A revised draft of the statement was drawn in August and subsequently circulated among members of the Advisory Commission appointed by President Quillen. A final drafting committee composed of Mary G. Kelly, Erling M. Hunt, Allen Y. King, William Van Til, Merrill F. Hartshorn and the chairman, reviewed the many suggestions received, and prepared the present statement. An effort was made to synthesize the points of view expressed, and many new suggestions have been incorporated.

The statement does not appear as an official pronouncement of the National Council for the Social Studies since it has not been reviewed or passed upon either by the Board of Directors or the membership at large. No effort was made to have members of the Advisory Commission sign the final statement and consequently it should not be assumed that any single individual endorses any particular item contained in the statement.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of a grant of funds from the War and Peace Fund of the National Education Association. The many excellent contributions of members of the Advisory Commission and others have been sincerely appreciated.

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## I. The Challenge

MILITARY victory in the present war will provide one more chance to build a world of freedom, well-being, and security. This time the opportunity must not be muffed.

America's part in winning the war, her economic strength, and her ideals and traditions of leadership in international cooperation have already placed her in a position of leadership in shaping the postwar world. If, however, our hopes and plans are to be realized, we must be prepared to wage peace as effectively as we have waged war. The campaigns of peace require an informed and thoughtful citizenry, determined to attack world problems with courage, resourcefulness, and high moral purpose.

### *Social Education Is of Vital Importance in the Transitional and Postwar Periods*

During the war years emphasis has been placed upon technical progress, on the production of material goods, and on the development of technical and military skills. As the war ends chief emphasis must be placed on achievement in the far less tangible and more difficult area of human relations. Continued progress in all areas, including production and technical advance, depends upon the establishment of favorable relationships among nations, between governments and producers, between management and labor, between producers and consumers. Social goals must be established with intelligence and understanding, common interests must be capitalized, and apparent conflicts explored and reconciled. Education, both formal and informal, in all its departments and phases, and at all age levels, must take account of the problems and needs which the war and the peace will have created or intensified.

The social studies have a special responsibility for enabling citizens to bring informed, thoughtful, and purposeful intelligence to bear on international, national, and individual problems. Encouraged and supported by school boards and administrators, they must capitalize the increased awareness of peoples and conditions in all parts of the world, and increase determination to establish a peace that will endure. Only as interests, enthusiasm, and enlightened participation of electorates in policy-making can be assured will victory be consolidated and preserved.

A nation which has poured out its wealth, talent, and energy in a war to establish lasting peace cannot afford to be parsimonious or indifferent in defending that peace when it is won.

### *New Problems Will Confront Society and Individuals*

We cannot foresee in detail the events and problems of the postwar years. We can be fairly certain, however, that a victorious peace will not end the international crises and the unsettlement which have characterized our time. The economic dislocations which produced world-wide depression during the past two decades have not been corrected. Rather they have been intensified by a war which has destroyed human and natural resources, which has uprooted whole populations, and which, through Europe and Asia, has left a trail of physical devastation that has not previously been approximated in all human history.

When the war ends scores of millions of people will be homeless or deprived of the implements of production. They will be uninformed about events in their own countries and ignorant of broader world movements; their children will be unschooled. They will be hungry, weary, hate-inspired. Dependent populations and races long regarded by white men as backward or inferior will be disillusioned, restless, and aggressive. What forces may rise in such a disordered world, what winds of revolution may sweep across the American, Asiatic, and European continents, no one can foretell. Some such movements might prove progressive and constructive; under humane and constructive leadership there might emerge from them a better civilization than the world has yet known. But further disaster is also possible. In any case, no one familiar with the history of other postwar periods can expect the years ahead to be characterized by stability, security, and an era of good will.

In our own country, citizens will have to struggle with the problems of demobilization, of maintaining high-level employment, of preventing depression, of eliminating those stirrings of racial and class antagonisms which even now are disturbing thoughtful Americans.

When the war ends, social studies teachers must work with the problems of young people living in a period of readjustment. The pupils themselves, as they grow up in a postwar American atmosphere, will be a different generation from their prewar predecessors. They are likely to be more mature, more sophisticated, than were earlier generations of youth.

Many pupils will have experienced separations, frustrations, insecurities, excitement. Many will have known the early work experience, the military routine, and the joy of identifying themselves with a cause which have characterized the lives of adolescents in wartime. There is a danger that a feeling of being let down in a postwar world may lead many young people into anti-social expression.

Many will have had experiences that were educationally significant. They

will need a high school curriculum that deals with their real concerns in a world which they know to be dynamic and fraught with social problems; that never, in a zeal for abstraction and formal learning, loses sight of the problems and tensions of the young people who are the central object of education in school.

Our citizens should come to understand that these problems and others must be faced realistically; that while some can perhaps be solved in the foreseeable future, it will be necessary to live long with others; that to work for a better world is worthy of the continuing endeavor of every citizen, young or old; that satisfactory postwar settlements at home and abroad are dependent upon willingness and ability to apply enduring ethical principles in changed and constantly changing conditions. These are among the challenges of the postwar years.

### *Social Education Will*

#### *Build on Past Achievements*

During past decades real advances have been made in the teaching of history, economics, geography, government, sociology, and current affairs. Teachers of social studies and other educators have become increasingly aware of the need for adaption to changing scholarship, changing needs of society, and a changing range of needs, interests, and ability in the school population. The advances that have been made in the social studies program must now be further projected; that program must absorb new content and must develop improved procedures to achieve a more effective education for citizenship. The best elements in existing curricula and practices will remain, but revision and experimentation must be continued to meet new conditions and new needs. Thus will evolve the program of citizenship, in school and out of school, of the future.

### *The Needs of the Period Ahead Demand*

#### *Adjustments in Social Studies Programs*

Social changes, which are accelerated by war, always imply changes in the courses and units taught, and the learning experiences provided, in social studies. The Commission recommends that the specific needs set forth in Part IV, pages 16-29, receive attention at all levels of education as an indispensable part of intelligent effort to make adjustments in the period ahead and to lay the groundwork for an enduring peace. We are challenged to develop an education for world citizenship, and to build and to help implement a reasoned hope for a better world.

## II. Impacts of War on American Education

THE Second World War has created a high national deficit in education. Shifts and reshifts of population have caused severe stresses and strains in the educational system of many communities. As teachers have entered military service, industry, or other types of war service outside the schools, thousands of schools have closed for lack of instructors. Shrinkage of enrollments, as many young people have left school to enter the armed forces or take jobs, has compensated only in part for loss of teachers. Lags in teacher education have further complicated the acute shortage of instructors at all levels. Emergency transfer of teachers to fields in which their training is inadequate and emergency appointment of others only partially qualified have not improved the quality of instruction. Research and experimentation at all levels and in most aspects of education have been seriously curtailed. As teachers and other educational workers return to the schools they must reorient themselves to conditions that call for more than simple resumption of interrupted activities. War has changed both the school population and the needs of society.

Experience in the armed forces and war jobs have obvious educational value, but as the war ends the need for making up individual educational deficits must be met. Vocational retraining within the armed forces and vocational rehabilitation under the Veterans Administration will meet the need only in part. Many of those whose in-school education was interrupted at eighteen or earlier will wish to obtain high school diplomas, college degrees, and professional or other vocational preparation.

Wartime developments and conditions have raised other social and personal problems of which the schools and the social studies program must take account. Wartime employment of women has lessened the influence of home training and has often prevented teachers from working in cooperation with parents. Young people have lived in the high tension atmosphere of wartime, with its attendant dislocations and emotional disturbances. Serious problems of juvenile delinquency have arisen or been intensified. Early employment and financial independence in wartime may be followed by difficult problems of adjustment as employment needs and opportunities decline. The possibility of required military service must be faced. The return of veterans, especially of the younger group who were not established vocationally when they entered military service, will create serious problems of social and economic adjustment. Both shortages and surpluses in many areas of vocational specialization have been created by the conversion to wartime economy, and will be even more acute during reconversion and demobilization.



Problems of racial, religious, and other cultural tensions have arisen in many communities, with repercussions in the schools. Yet consideration of these and other problems of social relationships and questions of social policy has been reduced as increased attention has been given in the schools to scientific studies, pre-induction training, and immediate needs of the war. As the war ends it is highly important that the social studies and humanities be enabled to deal with social relationships and policies, and with individual problems and adjustments, as an essential service in the transition to peace. In a world of individual, community, national, and international tensions, social education is indispensable to the preservation and advance of the civilization, and also to the reorientation of the technology which has made victory possible.

If, however, the war has created a deficit in education, it has also brought some encouraging developments and significant opportunities. The importance of ethical values in education has been recognized, as has the importance of teaching the democratic way of life. The need for more effective education in home and family life has been widely realized. Many of our young people have experienced their first community participation, doing such significant and useful war work as war bond sales and salvage drives; consequently, they have learned that they have a part to play in their communities. At the same time pupils have learned more about practical economics—taxation, natural resources, rationing, prices, inflation—than ever before. The wartime work experience of millions of our youth should prove a useful foundation for work as part of the curriculum.

Teachers have achieved a more significant role as community leaders by conducting rationing, serving in the civilian defense program, and working with other educational agencies in the community. Many teachers will return to their classrooms with new and significant experiences in the armed forces.

Communities, in turn, are learning to use their schools. Simultaneously, public and students have come to expect a more functional education; consequently, the schools must satisfy a more critical and discriminating community. The greater emphasis that has been placed upon nutrition, child care, the emotional and mental health of pupils, recreational opportunities, intercultural education, and health should prove to be significant gains from the standpoint of curriculum. The span of education has been extended by increases at the adult educational level and at the pre-school level.

Adult education, part-time education, refresher courses, and education through industry have grown tremendously, thus paving the way for a comprehensive program of publicly supported education for all who wish to study. Education of women in our society may be more readily broadened and diversified as a result of wartime employment in many fields.

Wartime interest in current events, American history, the United Nations, global geography, and round-the-world experiences of millions of American youth should facilitate education for world-mindedness. Instructional materials—films, charts, audio-aids, maps—have been greatly improved in the course of wartime job training, military education, and other programs.

These gains constitute some of the assets that we can capitalize as we set out to reduce our wartime educational deficit.



### III. Analysis of Postwar Society and Needs

**A**s victory brings hostilities to an end in area after area, new problems, some international, some national, must be faced. The transition to peace, already begun in liberated areas, seems likely to extend far into the future. During that transition period many peoples and areas must be rehabilitated. The part which the United States has taken in the war imposes upon her a position of leadership in the consideration and solution of world problems.

Education in a democracy has responsibility for informing the public and maturing its thinking. It has additional and obvious responsibilities for the further education of veterans and for aiding in their reorientation to civilian life, for training a competent civil service personnel, and for selecting and training teachers and other educators who can discharge the obligations resting upon education. Education is itself, however, a national problem. Educational opportunities are not equal, support of schools is often inadequate, and the means are too often lacking for attacking the responsibilities assigned to the schools as a public agency for advancing individual competence and contributing to the extension of democracy and general welfare. Only as the public realizes that the schools constitute such an agency and gives them full support, in confidence as well as in appropriations, can the schools do their part in aiding the public to understand and attack the problems, national and international, which the postwar years must face.

Among the world problems which must be faced are the following:

- the menace of war must be faced and agencies and machinery for maintaining peace must be reestablished
- international political machinery for dealing with problems and issues common to all peoples and nations must be organized; neither concert of victors, nor balance of powers has proved adequate to the maintenance of peace and the solving of international problems
- agencies for the protection of minorities and backward peoples must be created
- provisional governments must be established pending the organization of stable governments supported by the people
- disorder—even revolution—must be put down and some areas policed for various periods of time
- conflicting boundary claims and nationalist aspirations must be settled
- problems concerned with the disposition of colonies must be solved
- national and international policies relating to air lines must be reconciled

- peacetime industry and commerce must be reestablished in some instances through the provision of financial and material aid in the revival of industry and agriculture
- machinery must be established for elimination of economic causes of friction among nations and for world coordination to bring about reasonable economic stability and to prevent disastrous booms and depressions which so imperil peace among nations
- employment must be provided for men and women returning from military service or released from war industry
- labor policies and standards require continued adjustment
- pestilence and famine must be combatted
- the welfare and security of individuals in all nations must be protected so that frustrations do not stimulate fascist organizations and movements
- casualties of the war must be cared for and, when possible, restored to health and useful activity
- homes, factories, places of business, farm buildings, and public places must be rebuilt
- the homeless, exiles, emigrés, forced laborers, and returned soldiers must be re-domiciled and migrants resettled
- schools must be rebuilt and educational reorientation from totalitarianism and war toward democratic processes and peace achieved
- provision must be made for cultural and intellectual collaboration among nations including international agreements to raise educational standards; the desirability of an international office of education should be explored

Among the domestic issues which demand attention are the following:

- problems related to the armed forces must be solved, including the rate of demobilization of men and women, education and rehabilitation of demobilized personnel, and the employment of demobilized men and women
- war workers must be readjusted to peacetime activities
- wartime economy must be reconverted to peacetime needs
- governmental agencies must be reorganized to provide for new responsibilities of the postwar period and to create greater governmental efficiency
- the possibility of government service as a career must be prepared for
- public works programs must be developed to take up the slack during the transition from wartime to peacetime economy
- the democratic way of life in its social and economic aspects as well as its political manifestations must be understood, practiced, and extended

- desirable lines of delimitation in our mixed economy between governmental planning and control, on the one hand, and private enterprise on the other must be determined
- technological improvements, capital resources, and intelligent planning must be utilized to protect and employ natural and human resources for progressive economic improvements, full employment, and maintenance of public welfare
- sectional jealousies must be eliminated and cooperation among the states and sections of the United States extended, to the end that sectional contrasts become an asset to our national life
- the rights of minority racial, religious, and nationality groups must be protected
- the living standards of underprivileged areas and groups must be raised and fuller opportunities for all youth must be provided.



#### IV. Implications of War and Postwar Needs for Curriculum Change in the Social Studies

EXPERIENCE in the war has reminded us forcibly of the need for emphasis, throughout the programs of the school and the social studies, on the interdependence of all nations and peoples, on democracy as the way of life which we have fought to preserve and extend, and on the need for integrity and morality not only in individual and in national life but in international relations.

The schools have long taken account of the economic interdependence of the communities, regions, and nations of the world. Two world wars have now demonstrated that world peace as well as world economic life is indivisible—that no nation can by its own efforts guarantee either the prosperity or the security of its people. Depression in one part of the world can undermine and has undermined the prosperity of other parts. Maladjustments and frustrations which can be exploited by fascist movements are a concern of all nations whose peace is menaced by such movements. In an age of air travel the health of any part of the world can only be secured by guarding the health of all parts of the world. For peace and security, for prosperity and welfare, the world is one.

Democracy, with its roots in our religious and political experience extending back many centuries, and with its branches spreading into our economic life and social institutions, has provided the political framework within which our nation has grown great and powerful, and has developed its traditions and ideals. The schools, a characteristic agency of that democracy, have the responsibility of interpreting and building loyalty to its traditions and ideals.

Democracy can maintain its health and vitality only as its citizens accept their personal responsibility for integrity in national life, and only as the nation accepts its responsibility for ending irresponsible aggression and exploitation of the weak in international relations.

These three themes—interdependence, expanding democracy, the need for integrity and morality in personal, national, and international life—should permeate the entire school program of education for citizenship.

The Commission recognizes that all experience in school and out of school is related to citizenship education. All administrators, teachers, and other school workers are concerned with the attitudes and habits that are part of good citizenship; and most teachers, whatever their field or grade level, are concerned with some aspects of the great body of information needed for effective citizenship in our complex society. The implications of the war and of the peace for curriculum change therefore range beyond the social studies, whether or not their organization follows or cuts across such long-established

subjects as American history, world history, geography, civics, economics, or modern problems. Whatever organization is adopted should be flexible enough to allow for future changes in society, as well as for varying local conditions and needs, and for individual differences among children and youth.

The Commission, after reviewing our experience in two wars and in two efforts to plan a lasting peace, and after considering the impact of the war on the world as a whole, on our own nation, and on our people, young or old, believes that the social studies must take account of a range of conditions and needs that the war and prospects of peace have either created or intensified.

Curriculums will vary from section to section, and from urban to rural areas, as well as from grade level to grade level; but great social trends and forces will be reflected in them all. Each school system must plan carefully to insure that its curriculum shall present a coherent sequence of experiences, and shall encourage continuous development.

In view of the needs of both society and the individual, and in recognition of the boundless opportunities for improvement in human relations, the National Council for the Social Studies urges a strong program of social education for every year of public education.

### *Modern War Can Destroy Civilization and Democracy*

War has no glamour for those who have experienced its costs in casualties, treasure, and sacrifice. The fact that we are willing to pay such costs to preserve our freedom, democracy, and civilization should not blind us to realization that these values are now menaced by the methods and effects of modern war. The Commission recommends that in both elementary and secondary schools, where appreciation of and attachment to freedom and democracy are inculcated, the dangers of war be considered:

- it destroys wealth and property necessary to human welfare and the advance of civilization
- it disrupts the economy of peace and diverts talents and energy from the advancement of civilization and well-being to destruction
- it destroys spiritual values and promotes hatred and brutality
- it undermines confidence among nations and destroys international law
- it stimulates militarism and reliance on force
- it undermines democracy by necessitating highly centralized government, propaganda, censorship, and espionage



- the mere possibility of its recurrence necessitates the maintenance and constant extension even in peacetime of military establishments and armaments, of governments able to make war swiftly and powerfully, of agencies for propaganda and espionage, and of economic policies which in themselves make for war.

*International Organization and Cooperation  
Offer the Only Practical Hope of Peace,  
Security, and Well-Being*

Sentimental internationalism and flabby pacifism menage rather than promote the cause of peace. Yet only as all people—not those of one nation alone—understand the need for, and the achievements and possibilities of international cooperation, and study realistically the procedures and difficulties involved, can the prospects for peace be improved. The Commission recommends that at the elementary and secondary levels the curriculum reflect awareness that:

- no single nation, no concert of nations, no balance of great powers, no program of military preparedness, has ever succeeded in maintaining peace
- unrestrained nationalism, coupled with unrestricted sovereignty, has twice caused world wars disastrous alike to the aggressors and their victims
- successful experience in international cooperation in economic life—in ending piracy, in controlling crime, in facilitating communication and transportation, in conserving resources, in controlling disease, in improving labor conditions and social welfare, and in protecting minorities—provide precedents for the extension of international activities and agencies
- the very failures of the League of Nations in preventing war raise questions as to how a more effective international organization can be developed: Shall an international organization use force, if necessary, to check aggression? Shall membership in the international organization be made compulsory, without the right of secession? How can the international organization provide for adaptation to world changes rather than maintenance of a status quo? How can the low standards of living and frustrations that foster fascist and nazi movements and aggression be alleviated or removed? Can the United States Constitution be articulated with an emerging international organization?
- the study of comparative government leads to the conclusion that no one set of governmental institutions fits the needs of all people

- the extension of democracy into international relations implies the need for development, through organized education of children, youth, and adults, of understanding of the functions and machinery of international agencies, and of loyalty to them, for no democratic government can function without an informed and active constituency
- loyalty to national ideals and institutions is not only compatible with loyalty to agencies for international cooperation but should be a source of strength to them; on the other hand, the promotion of hatred and suspicion, or national selfrighteousness in schools or through newspapers, broadcasts, or motion pictures is to be deplored
- the schools should not ignore the difficulties of international cooperation, or the existence of traditional rivalries, hatreds and conflicting interests; any education that is effective must be realistic.

*Racial, Religious, Ethnic, and Social-  
Economic Tensions Must Be Reduced by  
Understanding, Unity, and Respect for  
Individual Personality*

We in America must live together harmoniously in our own nation. We are immigrants and the descendants of immigrants, a nation of many religions and races, a nation which rejects class and caste distinctions as incompatible with our way of life. Racist thinking and scapegoating, the fomenting of divided loyalties, the accepting of stereotypes about supposed hereditary superiorities of groups, are consonant neither with our democratic way of life nor with the scientific findings of our anthropologists and psychologists. As part of a societal attack on the economic and psychological roots of inter-group hostility, intercultural education in the schools can make a contribution. Specifically, the Commission recommends that:

- in the elementary school, students should extend their acquaintance from home and neighborhood to larger communities, with growing understanding of the new groups and people encountered
- the contributions of culture groups to the growth of America and civilization should be stressed in the teaching of social studies; history classes afford an excellent opportunity to point out what various immigrant and minority groups have given to American life, and what contributions different racial and national groups have made to world civilization
- through school programs, understanding of scientific facts about race should be disseminated; alleged hereditary superiority of certain groups should be recognized as racist myth; recognition of race, religion, and nationality as separate classifications should be among our social understandings

- practical anthropology, including instruction on races, should be treated as an aspect of units dealing with cultures
- school programs should take cognizance of the role of emotions in prejudice and intolerance, rather than proceed as though the disease of intolerance were entirely amenable to intellectual treatment
- the ethnic backgrounds of young people should be utilized in festivals, pageants, holiday celebrations, and other appropriate school and community programs as an aid to developing understanding and appreciation of different cultural strengths and values
- study of problems of intercultural relationships in the community should be part of the experience of the students.

*Democracy Must Be Emphasized As a System  
of Government, a Way of Life, and a Set  
of Principles for Living and Learning  
Together in the Schools*

The rise of authoritarianism—fascism, nazism, and communism—in challenging democracy, made us aware that we had not given sufficient explicit attention to the meaning, history, and practices of democracy. We strongly endorse the increase in attention, stimulated by the war, to the long story and to the traditions and ideals of democracy, together with efforts to provide experience in its practice in classrooms and in school life. The study and practice of democracy should be inseparable throughout school experience. Specifically, the Commission recommends that:

- the history of our freedoms and rights, of the development of government of the people, by the people, and for the people should be included in world history and American history at each grade level where they appear
- the political institutions of democracy—bills of rights, constitutional government, popular franchise, representative government, rule of law, responsibility of the executive, independence and integrity of the judiciary, and responsibility of the electorate for participation in policy making—should be taught in courses in civics, government, or modern problems, or in whatever curriculum organization draws on these subjects
- the duties of citizenship be emphasized equally with its rights
- opportunity should be provided in the elementary grades to become familiar with the lives and achievements of the men and women associated with the great advances of democracy, and with dramatic episodes in its history

- before youth leave secondary school they should become familiar with the great documents of democracy and its modern major achievements (See page 28.)
- in the study of American history and government due attention should be given to our unwritten constitution, the product of custom, judicial and executive interpretation, and Congressional practice, as well as to the written Constitution
- the strength and values of democracy should be attractively presented, the need for continuing effort to achieve its ideals stressed, and the dangers of dictatorship and totalitarianism should be analyzed together with the conditions that have given rise to such movements
- the growth and need for extension of democracy in international affairs should be traced and explored in courses in or related to civics, history, and problems of democracy
- the procedure of diplomacy, including the making of treaties and other agreements and the settlement of controversies among nations should be similarly studied
- schools should provide the fullest possible opportunity for growth in the practice of democracy, extending to teachers and students freedom, rights, and privileges commensurate with their ability and willingness to assume responsibilities and to grow in self-discipline
- the practice of democracy in schools should be accompanied by explicit analysis of the procedures and values involved
- school activities, in class and out, should recognize the worth of all individuals, the value of differences in backgrounds, interests, and talents, and should respect independence of judgment as well as the value of cooperation and the frequent necessity for abiding by majority decision; the atmosphere of democracy should permeate all school life and all relationships of administrators, teachers, students, as well as that between school and community
- the difficulties of cooperation and of solving problems, the dilemma created by the need for compromise and the maintenance of conviction, and the value of minority opinion should be recognized in any realistic program for the study or practice of democracy
- within the framework of clearly defined objectives and a well-articulated curriculum, and under competent teacher leadership, elementary and secondary schools should provide opportunity for pupils to have a share in identifying goals, selecting and evaluating class experiences, and planning content, methods, and sequence of units
- administrators and teachers should encourage children and youth to participate as fully in the programs for school government and welfare as their maturity and willingness to accept responsibility permit.

*Close Relationships with the Community  
Are Essential to the Vitality of the  
School Program in Civic Education*

Many aspects of the war effort have drawn young citizens into civic activities of value both to society and individual participants. Comparable activity should be stimulated and recognized in the postwar years. Apprenticeship in citizenship, in the wider life of the community as well as that of the school, is an invaluable aspect of education in citizenship. Specifically the Commission suggests that:

- surveys of economic life and opportunities, of social conditions and problems, should be encouraged, especially in secondary schools, to bring realism into social learning and to call attention to immediate civic responsibilities and opportunities
- joint school-community civic improvement programs should be organized, and the interest of young citizens in the work of regional and local planning commissions should be enlisted
- young citizens should be aware of the programs of official and voluntary organizations concerned with welfare and civic improvement—social-service agencies, settlement houses, libraries, churches, hospitals, the Red Cross, young people's organizations, service clubs, women's clubs—and the possibilities for contacts and active cooperation between young and adult groups of citizens should be explored and developed
- the resources of the community for developing understanding of business organization and problems of labor and management through contacts with business men, chambers of commerce and service organizations, labor unions, and public officials, should be capitalized
- the needs of all youth require a major expansion of the educational program, keeping in mind especially those who have least capacity for, and interest in, the more academic aspects of the school program; in the interests of realism, of understanding of the modern world, and of exploring personal characteristics, the school should provide practical work experience after school hours and during vacations; the need can be met only by enlisting the organized cooperation of employers in stores, shops, factories, on farms, and in homes, and by establishing under school auspices, where practicable, work camps that offer the widest possible opportunity for productive labor and for learning vocational skills and good work habits
- community study should supplement vocational guidance in calling attention to employment opportunities and related qualifications in education, experience, aptitudes, and personal qualities
- the program of social education for rural youth should revolve around the problems and the opportunities of life in their own areas.

### *The Social Studies Program Affords Opportunities for Individual Growth and Adjustment*

Problems of personal, family, and school relations are still too largely neglected in the school curricula. Yet such problems are of major concern to the student and teacher; when utilized, they furnish intrinsic motivation for vital study. The problems the student encounters in his immediate environment affect his values, behavior, and attitudes; we neglect student problems that are immediate and personal at the peril of all we wish to achieve through our teaching. For social studies teachers who recognize their importance, immediate student problems afford a point of departure for elaboration of the meaning of democracy and for action based on thought. They can be used for bringing into lively and personal focus principles in the social studies which might otherwise remain to the student high order abstractions concerning world society or national life, but not touching his immediate interests and concerns. Consequently, the Commission specifically recommends that:

- school government should be utilized as a vehicle for the development and exemplification of basic concepts in social studies; among the aspects of school governments which frequently call for social studies discussion and action are election procedures, matters of representation, spheres of student and faculty control, and political or pressure activities
- problems which characterize group relationships in classes should be utilized through applying social studies concepts and democratic values to concerns of student life
- boy-girl relationships and problems of social behavior are prominent among adolescent concerns; social studies teachers should take advantage of the opportunity involved to teach applied ethics, alcohol education, the social implications of sex behavior, and wholesome family life
- since problems of relationships with family members are important to young people, we should teach sociological understanding of the institution of the family, and apply the knowledge to problems of the immediate environment
- social studies teachers should share with guidance officers, other teachers and school workers, the responsibility for developing self-understanding and satisfactory social adjustment by individual students.

### *Domestic Problems, Economic in Their Nature, Need Intensified Consideration*

Most of the economic problems facing the American people are problems which can be stated and studied, but for which no certain solutions have

been devised. The Commission recommends that teachers and students read and discuss them together, pointing out alternative plans with the strengths and weaknesses of each; among them are:

- the problems surrounding the maintenance of the flow of private capital into new enterprise, and the protection of investments in private enterprise under adequate government supervision
- problems of taxation; its complexities and overlappings, its form, base and incidence
- the public debt and its implications for public finance
- the relationships of international trade, cartels, and tariffs, and their impact upon the domestic economy
- the purposes and the scope of a program of social security
- the whole cluster of problems relating to labor, management and government
- the economic implications of the domestic issues mentioned on pages 14 and 15, so far as they can be made intelligible to secondary school or college youth
- the economic implications of the distribution of goods and services as set forth in the following section.

*Consumer Education Is Essential in an Economy  
in Which All Face Problems As Consumers*

With the coming of the great technology, individuals increasingly have become specialists in producing and generalists in consuming the wide range of complex goods and services which the machine age has made available. Consequently education for the consumer, confronted with multiple choices, is needed in the twentieth century as never before. The war has driven home to us the importance of problems of consumption. Many civilians felt the impact of war largely through rationing, price control, campaigns for saving, and the fight against inflation. We have seen the miracle of production take place in America; a pressing postwar question is whether, with the use of intelligence, we can distribute our potential plenty to the American people and so match the production miracle with a consumption and distribution miracle. Postwar consumption problems are on the horizon—deflation, spending of savings, income distribution. Since consumer education will continue to be important in postwar years, specifically the Commission suggests that:

- the real consumer problems of young people should be studied in American schools; problems including choosing, buying and using food, clothing, shelter, education, and recreation



- use of school activities, lunchroom situations, and class purchases, school credit unions, cooperatives, should be used as typical realistic points of departure for consumer education
- students should learn how our industrial age has ushered in an economy of abundance in which satisfactory consumption is feasible if we can master techniques of distributing our potential plenty
- the consumer movement, which is a development analogous to the labor movement, should be considered in the schools; the fight for pure food laws, the work of the Federal Trade Commission, the rise of testing agencies like Consumers Union, the Bureau of Standards, are typical aspects of the movement
- consumer legislation should be studied to see the extent to which such legislation is used to protect the American people; to see which legislation does and which does not facilitate the development of our productive system, and the furtherance of our emergent social welfare and to see what further legislation is needed
- consumer education should be utilized to enable the individual student to develop values and establish standards of choice-making which will help him toward a richer, more useful, and happier life; stress on choice-making and values should characterize all consumer education activities rather than be conceived as a separate unit.

### *Geographical Relationships Have Changed and Grown in Importance*



Through many centuries the development of new methods of transportation and communication have changed space and time relationships. In recent times technology has made all countries and peoples near neighbors. Climate, geographical location, and resources have very greatly influenced living standards and institutions, as the study of human geography and ecology have made clear. The implications of the distribution of resources and of geographical location for national economics, for military strategy, and for related national policies have been explored in geopolitics. Air travel and air power have introduced new factors in economic and cultural life and in international relations, certain to bring continuing and important changes in society. Effective planning by individuals, communities, business groups, and regions, by nations and among nations must be based on understanding of geographical facts and relationships. Much geography, largely descriptive in nature, has long been taught in elementary schools, but geography has never become well established in secondary schools and colleges, levels at which study of its more mature aspects should be carried on. The Commission recommends:

- continued attention in elementary grades, to the geography of the local community, to the economic and social life of regions, and to the interdependence of all communities and regions
- increased attention at both elementary and secondary levels to changing time, place and space relationships, with due attention to the influence of aviation
- increased use, at all levels, of globes, maps of all kinds, and geographical charts and graphs, with resulting familiarity with map projections and symbols, latitude, longitude, time belts, and weather maps, and with related development of skills
- increased attention at the secondary level, in a course in geography or at appropriate points throughout other social studies offerings, or both, to geographical factors and influences in economic, social, and political life in the past, at present, and in planning for the future.

*Americans Need to be Familiar with the  
History and Civilization of Other Peoples*

Other countries and peoples have long been studied to a considerable extent both in our elementary and secondary schools, whether in terms of courses in history and geography or of major themes relating to human and social development or major areas of human living. The Commission strongly endorses such study, believing that it grows in importance as peoples and nations grow more interdependent and as American national interests widen. The war has directed attention not only to the existence of a dangerous amount of prejudice and intolerance in the world but to related gaps and deficiencies in our school program for building knowledge and understanding of peoples in the other Americas, in the Far East and the Pacific area, and in the Soviet Union. The current interest of many educational and other organizations and groups in the school program as it relates to these areas and groups, and to intercultural education, should hasten desirable curriculum changes, the production of needed materials, and the improvement of teacher preparation. The Commission urges:

- continued and, where necessary, increased attention to the history, geography, and life of other countries and peoples at both the elementary and secondary levels
- systematic presentation of the elements that make up civilization and of the story of the development and inter-relationships of civilization in the West and the East
- inclusion, in both elementary and secondary schools, of attention to neglected areas and peoples, particularly in the other Americas, the Far East and Pacific area, and the Soviet Union, and of minority as well as majority groups in Europe and America

- recognition that while the story of nations as political units cannot be ignored, the story of democracy, of changing economic life, of institutions concerned with human welfare and individual development, and of religion, literature, music, art, and science should be included in any adequate program for the development of effective citizenship
- recognition that the school programs in literature, music, art, and science, as well as in social studies have important responsibilities for developing knowledge and understanding of other peoples and of world civilization, and that whenever practicable, joint planning should be undertaken.

*The History, Ideals, Achievements, and  
World Relationships of the United States  
Are Central in The Program of Civic Education*

United States history and offerings in American geography, government, and problems, have long constituted the main body of the school program in civic education. In a democracy it is especially necessary that citizens have an understanding of the history and achievements of the nation, and of the traditions and ideals which they must preserve and extend. They must also have knowledge and understanding of the conditions, problems, and issues on which policies are being formed. Competence to deal with such issues and problems requires knowledge and understanding of history. The war has not reduced the importance of study of our own country. Rather it has made wide and accurate knowledge of American development more important than ever before to citizens of all ages.

The war has, however, called attention to several aspects of American life which need increased attention, such as intercultural and racial relations and military policy. It has also reminded us of the need, if we are to understand present-day America, for substantially increased attention to our relations with the other Americas and with the rest of the world. Technology and air travel, two world wars and our emergence as a leader in the United Nations, place the United States and its history in a new setting. The United States can no longer be understood by studying the United States alone.

The Commission recommends:

- continued study in the elementary, junior high, and senior high school grades of American history, with continued attention, in whatever effective patterns of organization may variously be adopted, to the geography, government, economic and social life, and problems, of the United States
- explicit attention to the great figures in American history

- explicit attention to the story of American democracy, to dramatic key episodes in our history, and to such great documents and major developments associated with the growth of our democracy as the Declaration of Independence, the Northwest Ordinance, the Constitution and Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Social Security Act, the Four Freedoms, the establishment of free public schools, the extension of the franchise, the growth and recognition of labor unions, the maintenance of individual opportunity under our system of free enterprise, and the protection of civil liberties
- the articulation of the senior high school course in American history insofar as practicable, with senior high school study of political, economic, and social problems of our democracy
- in the study of modern problems, as in American history, increased attention to our relations with the other Americas and with the rest of the world; just as at many points American history merges with world history, so now do national problems merge with those of the world
- local history used wherever possible to illustrate movements and forces that might otherwise seem unreal or abstract, and to serve as a medium for training in methods of investigation.

*The Social Studies Are Concerned  
with Current Affairs and the  
Processes of Molding Public Opinion*

Consideration of current events has become established in many schools as part of the social studies program in the intermediate grades and in junior and senior high schools. Young as well as older citizens need to keep abreast of new developments. The schools can do much to develop habits of discriminating between news and propaganda; to develop awareness of the processes by which public opinion is formed; and to protect the public against the tricks of demagogues and against efforts to persuade on less than full and accurate information. The Commission recommends:

- continued attention to the study of current events and affairs in social studies courses from the elementary grades through high school
- deliberate and systematic effort to make use not only of newspapers and weekly magazines, including special publications for the schools, but of historical and geographical backgrounds
- drawing upon and analyzing radio news and news films

- in secondary schools especially, introducing students to journals of opinion and to publications prepared for lay persons, written in non-technical language, and aimed at developing an understanding of current affairs
- not confining the study of current affairs and public opinion to the pathology of society or to the essentially negative approach to propaganda techniques; but using a positive and constructive approach
- emphasizing the role of individuals and groups in developing opinion and in actively advancing constructive policies.



## V. Implications of the War and Postwar Needs for Teaching Procedures in the Social Studies

THE preceding section of this report advanced interdependence, expanding democracy, and the need for integrity and morality in personal, national, and international life as three themes which should permeate the entire school program of education for citizenship. Obviously no sharp distinction can be made between curriculum and procedures. Provision of learning experiences from which understanding, internal drive, value patterns, attitudes and skills may be acquired is at once a problem of content and of method of study. Students learn the meaning of responsibility by carrying responsibility for the welfare of themselves and others, learn the meaning and value of democracy by living in a democratic atmosphere in school and community, and learn of affairs in the local community through field trips, reading and discussion. Such learning experiences constitute a major factor in the curriculum through which social sensitivity, understanding, skills, and attitudes or dispositions to act are acquired. Procedures used must be consistent with objectives sought.

Training programs of the armed forces have utilized the services of educators and have adopted many techniques commonly used in the teaching profession. Extensive use has been made of discussion techniques, films, pamphlets, maps, charts, and diagrams. Conditions relative to such factors as selectivity, social control, and motivation in the armed forces training program are quite unlike those in public schools. Nevertheless their use of visual and auditory aids and of direct teaching methods has clearly demonstrated the effectiveness of these aids and methods. Utilization of the formula "teach how, show how, and have do" is representative of the best educational thinking. Effective use has been made of classification and performance tests, interviews, and personal inventories. These features of the armed forces training program reflect achievements in public school teaching generally and in social studies specifically. Through provision of adequate materials and financial resources, competent staff, and more time for planning, school curricula could be more effectively activated by the employment of these methods.

### *The Cooperation and Support of School Administrators Is Essential to Effective Citizenship Education*

Realizing the need for administrative support and for improved educational procedures, the Commission recommends that:

- administrators should encourage teachers to plan policies and procedures with the administration and should maintain balance within the curriculum, giving full recognition to the importance of citizenship education
- teachers and administrators alike should contribute to the understanding by board members and the lay public of the basic purposes of citizenship education, and the role of social studies in the total program; the possibility of provision of adequate instructional facilities and staff would be greatly enhanced by such understanding
- teachers of the social studies who deal with social reality in a scholarly and objective manner should receive the courageous support of administrators and members of boards of education
- administrative policy should take account of the need for a stimulating program for high ability students and for adaptation of curriculum, materials, and methods for "slow learners"
- adequate materials of instruction, including not only textbooks but also pamphlets, periodicals, maps, and visual and auditory aids should be provided
- smaller class groups would make possible more effective diagnosis of individual difficulties and more fruitful remedial treatment
- classrooms should be equipped with modern furniture and classroom layouts to provide a stimulating and wholesome atmosphere for social learning
- provision should be made for the wider use of the school plant by the community for programs of adult education and recreation.

*Improved Techniques of Utilizing Individual Differences and Providing Realism in Social Studies Teaching Are Indispensable*

Every effort should be made to make social studies teaching more vital and realistic. Realism will be enhanced by recognizing that the problems of our time are the problems of human beings living in a particular culture pattern. Persons-in-culture vary tremendously in ethics and attitudes as well as in intellectual ability.

If students are taught as though they were all alike, many will find social problems, even those which most affect their immediate living, to be dry, lifeless, unreal. Each student is an individual who learns what he experiences, or what has meaning to him himself. Stressing individual differences, recognizing that each student has his concerns and problems, is essential.

Methods of procedure should be such that individual differences will be utilized so that all pupils have a contribution to make. Such a provision is necessary, not only for the individual's own good, but for the benefit of



society as well. There should be attention to the non-bookish student as well as attention to the intellectually gifted or potential leaders of thought, for no group should be neglected.

Techniques for giving realism to social studies are numerous and vary in local situations. The Commission recommends the following as suggestive of some procedures which may be used:

- community participation through surveys, community service, interviews, field trips, and observation
- audio-visual aids, including recordings, radio, films, exhibits, and charts (see below)
- varied reading materials, including pamphlets, magazines, fiction, and supplemental books appropriate to various levels of maturity
- dramatization, including documentary plays, pageants, and informal sketches
- sharing ideas and materials through panels, symposiums, forums, town meetings, group planning and discussions
- laboratory work such as making maps, charts, and models.

Through such techniques, applied to topics of concern to high school youth, the social studies area can be made vital and real. Respect for individual differences will characterize programs using such techniques, providing that teachers are concerned to discover and make use of the differing individual backgrounds, characteristics, skills and abilities of students.

#### *Audio-Visual Aids Provide Challenging Opportunities in Social Education*

The gravity, number, and complexity of the problems to be faced by the citizen in the transition and postwar periods, and the need for broad understanding of these problems, will impose a heavy burden upon social studies teachers. The social studies curriculum will be more crowded than ever; time and energy will be at a premium. It is imperative that social studies teachers utilize to the fullest possible extent all effective means for enriching and facilitating the learning process.

Visual and auditory aids, such as maps, globes, charts, graphs, models, mounted pictures, slides, slidefilms, sound and silent motion pictures, radio programs, and recordings have demonstrated their effectiveness in the armed forces, in school, and out of school. Yet too few of these newer tools of learning have been readily available to teachers, and their use has been all too limited. Too few school administrators appreciate fully their importance or make adequate provision for their full utilization. Many teachers have not

received adequate training in the most effective methods of using these tools. The Commission recommends that:

- there be a clear recognition on the part of teachers and laymen that many pupils cannot learn effectively from the printed page; that all pupils need the real and vivid experiences provided by visual and auditory aids; that emotional drives which facilitate learning are often provided by these aids
- individual teachers, private and public agencies, and educational organizations undertake further experimentation and research in methods for using these tools effectively and that provision be made for disseminating the findings among teachers and others concerned
- colleges and universities establish more courses and workshops for the training of teachers in methods of effective use of audio-visual aids
- educational organizations, including the National Council for the Social Studies, collaborate with foundations, government agencies, and the motion picture and radio industries in the preparation of auditory and visual aids to social education, for all levels of instruction and for all topics in the social studies curriculum
- the supply of multiple copies of visual aids and recordings be increased and made more readily available and easily accessible to teachers in depositories such as those of the United States Office of Education, state departments of education, universities and colleges, boards of education in the larger communities, public libraries, museums, film centers, and other agencies
- boards of education equip classrooms adequately for the effective use of these tools, and that the National Council for the Social Studies, in collaboration with other educational organizations, foundations, and public and private agencies, undertake a study of the equipment needed and issue recommendations.

#### *Techniques of Inquiry and Discussion Must Be Further Developed*

Believing that both the growth of human personality and the resolution of social problems require skill in the assembling of information, the drawing of valid conclusions, the forming of considered opinions, and the sharing of ideas, the Commission recommends that:

- social studies teachers give attention to the development of inquiry and discussion at all levels of instruction

- specific and attainable skills appropriate to the maturity of the class and its individual members be included for special emphasis in each grade and in each unit of work and that provision be made for repeated attention at stated intervals for further development of those skills as pupils grow in ability to use them; included should be such skills as those involved in studying pictures and objects, using indexes, outlining, making and interpreting graphs, tables, and cartoons, appraising motion pictures, interviewing authorities and laymen, using books to locate information, collecting, evaluating, and organizing evidence, drawing conclusions, testing hypotheses, and planning action
- teachers and pupils recognize that discussion is a cooperative art for the sharing of information, experiences, and opinions, for reaching reasoned conclusions and for formulating plans of action; if discussion is developed as an art, it need not be a "forensic exchange of ignorant opinion"
- teachers recognize that a frank appraisal and discussion with pupils of the role and aims of the social studies is a worthy use of class time
- a variety of discussion techniques be utilized, in such forms as the symposium, the panel or roundtable, the forum, and various combinations of these; radio programs will provide many helpful suggestions and models
- controversial issues be approached from the viewpoint of the right of the learner to learn; the teacher occupying the position of counsellor rather than director in the discussion, clarifying the problem, challenging pupils to be certain of their "facts," and, by example, encouraging a calm search for conclusions.

#### *Evaluation Procedures Should Reflect Accepted Objectives*

The broadening of the purposes of education to include training and growth in democratic practices, regard for individual development and adjustment, and attention to attitudes and behavior, implies an extension of the program for evaluating results.

The Commission recommends that:

- attention be given to careful analysis and definition of the objectives of citizenship education—to the items of information to be learned, the attitudes and skills to be developed, and the behaviors to be encouraged
- in measuring the achievements of programs of social education all types of evidence be considered, including not only pencil and paper tests but case studies anecdotal records, goal cards, and student reports

- tests developed by the personnel of local school systems be used to supplement standardized tests
- careful analysis be made of test results for evidence of individual student characteristics and for the effectiveness of the learning experiences provided
- continued experimentation be carried on to develop new types of measuring instruments and new methods of recording and reporting the full range of student behaviors.



## VI. Implications of this Analysis for the Program of Teacher Education

THE extent to which the foregoing recommendations can be carried into effect depends largely on the teachers who will administer the program. Preparing teachers for their role in the transitional and postwar periods becomes, therefore, a task of pressing importance. There are two aspects to the task: the education of prospective teachers and in-service education.

### *Better Recruitment Policies Should Insure Candidates of High Calibre*

The same requirements apply to teacher-recruitment that apply to all professions. The Commission recommends that:

- only young men and women of better than average ability should be admitted to teacher-education programs, such ability to be determined partly by previous records and test results
- personal characteristics such as emotional stability and ethical and moral attitudes should be taken into account
- good health should be an indispensable qualification
- young men should be encouraged to enter the field of elementary school teaching as well as secondary school teaching
- adequate salaries must be recognized as a major incentive if persons of the calibre referred to above are to be attracted to the profession
- nevertheless, teaching should continue to be presented as a service to the state and society, offering satisfactions not primarily financial.

### *The Academic Preparation of Teachers Should be Broad and Many-sided*

A broad general preparation which will draw on the arts, sciences, and humanities should be provided; it will explore the interrelationships among all fields; it will make for many-sided personalities; and it will serve as a base for special interests.

On the undergraduate level programs for preparing teachers of social studies have included courses in the separate subjects together with some courses cutting across subject divisions. Both types of courses will continue to be offered. Whatever organization is adopted, however, some newer needs should be met. Prospective teachers should gain an acquaintance with peoples and areas that have been neglected, with community study and its techniques, with the nature and materials of consumer education, and intercultural education. Problems of selection and organization of content of his-

tory and geography courses and units, the treatment of international relations and world problems, and the materials and methods of studying current affairs need continuing attention in teacher-education programs.

*The Professional Preparation of Teachers  
Should be Determined by the Tasks Teachers Face*

Professional courses need to prepare teachers to understand students and to understand the learning process. These courses should continue to include such elements as: the purposes of education in a democracy; the position of the school in the social order; the curriculum as a whole; human development, including actual case studies; psychology courses closely geared to teaching needs and procedures; courses in the teaching of the social studies; an adequate mastery of evaluation; mental hygiene and personal problems of the individual student-teacher, including guidance for his own immediate problems. The Commission further recommends:

- early and continued observation of widely varying types of good teaching paralleling the courses in education
- an early period of apprenticeship in a school, during which the student gains a many-sided experience as clerk, organizer of materials, and tester, followed by student teaching in a situation resembling as closely as possible a real classroom situation
- opportunities, where they are still lacking, for long-continued contacts with children in extra-classroom situations, such as camping, scouting, informal recreation, clubs
- continuous use of a well-equipped curriculum laboratory, containing a wide range of current books for children and teachers, a wide sampling of current courses of study, motion picture apparatus, radio equipment, and recordings

*Experience in the Management of Affairs of  
a Democratic Society Is an Essential Part  
of Education for Teaching*

The Commission urges further that:

- teachers in training be encouraged to accept membership in committees managing school affairs, committee chairmanships, and group offices, as a means of gaining experience in democratic processes
- continued experience be provided in group deliberation and discussion, with much attention to the handling of controversial issues
- student-faculty conferences to explore areas within which the students may have freedom to operate

- apprentice service in the conducting of community agencies be arranged, such as social work, settlement houses, youth hostel leadership, service to cooperatives, camping; the group as a whole should cooperate with the local community in the carrying out of a specific project or arrange for short work-periods in other localities
- an adequate amount of enjoyable social experience in informal and formal situations be planned so that all prospective teachers may learn the acceptable ways of society and may feel comfortable and secure in their social life.

### *In-Service Education of Teachers*

The description of education for prospective teachers as outlined above serves also as an ideal for experienced teachers. But any immediate improvement in social education must be the result of advances made by teachers now in service. Therefore school authorities should, as soon as the teacher-supply permits, set about the trying task of eliminating members of the staff who were drawn in as a temporary expedient and whose preparation is totally insufficient to meet teaching needs. The Commission recommends that:

- rigid insistence upon specific social studies preparation for special social studies teachers should once more become general practice
- the teachers who remain should be given maximum help and stimulation; those returning from service in the armed forces and those who have recently been working in various industries have much of value to contribute in suggestions for changes in social education; those who themselves experience difficulty in adjusting should receive the sympathetic assistance of administrators and fellow-teachers.
- maximum help and stimulation include sympathetic supervision by competent experienced teachers or administrators, cooperation and support from the school administration and community, and salaries that both recognize and make possible a high level of professional service
- as a means of self-improvement teachers should organize and participate in professional groups—local, state and national—for the purpose of discussing their problems, exchanging ideas, and experimenting with new materials and procedures; such group-membership can supply stimulus and solidarity
- groups may take the form of workshops in the local system, systematic extension and summer school courses or seminars, local councils of the National Council for the Social Studies, or refresher courses for teachers who have reached the maximum salary and certification requirements



- the summoning of all the resources of a school system for attack upon its own curriculum may be regarded as a superlative means of teacher-education: the agreement upon a basic philosophy, the setting up of objectives, the examination and choice of materials, the providing of experiences for achieving the objectives, and the study of evaluation processes
- school administrators should work actively with teacher-groups to analyze the requirements of the local situation, and to set in motion the administrative steps needed for improvement; to encourage teacher groups to engage in experimentation as a means of growth; to provide the books and equipment needed as a stimulus; to arrange small enough classes for the diagnosis of difficulties and for the individual work needed by slow-learning pupils; and to set up differentiated curriculums for those to whom the usual curriculum is totally unsuited
- administrators should free teachers periodically for observing the work of others in their own and neighboring systems
- teachers should be assisted to familiarize themselves with modern evaluation—its purposes, techniques and uses
- faculty meetings may well focus on the consideration of fundamental issues by teacher-groups themselves as well as bringing in outside speakers occasionally
- the teacher's own program of reading should be planned to include current affairs, recent developments in the field of the social studies, and such areas as human development and psychology
- purposeful foreign and domestic travel should be encouraged as a means of personal development and of understanding other cultural groups
- the teachers' role in the community should be that of interested, informed, participants; they should be encouraged to take an active part in at least one non-school community activity
- all teachers would profit greatly from engaging in a wide range of work experiences in agriculture, industry, and other occupations differing greatly from teaching; the heightened appreciation and understanding of contemporary culture which would result would be invaluable in assisting them to interpret life to students.

## VII. The Call

As the war has tested our youth and our older population, it has at the same time tested our peculiarly American system of education. In the armed forces and on the home front, we have demonstrated initiative, adaptability, and resourcefulness. We have accepted wartime adjustments and restrictions without abandoning our rights or our habit of being critical. We have developed and used tremendous industrial and military power without becoming either robots or militarists. We have demonstrated our devotion to democratic ideals and institutions by pouring out not only vast wealth and human energy but the lives of many of our finest youth. We have defended and advanced ideals and traditions long imbedded in our programs of civic education.

We are now committed to cooperation in a world program for the establishment of peace, security, and well-being. Only to the extent that we succeed will our aims in the war be achieved, and the victory for which we have sacrificed, be preserved. Now, once more our people and our system of education are to be tested; again initiative, adaptability, and resourcefulness will be demanded; again unselfish devotion to the greater good will be needed; and fear and uncertainty about the future must be superseded by confidence and determination. There is no reason for believing that our spiritual resources have been exhausted. We can and we will meet the challenge to maintain and extend the way of life that we have developed, and that we are still striving to perfect. For such purposes our schools must build understanding, loyalty, and support.

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VOLUME IX

NUMBER 2

# SOCIAL EDUCATION

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FEBRUARY, 1945

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# SOCIAL EDUCATION

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## CONTENTS

EDITOR'S PAGE: CANADIAN-AMERICAN EDUCATION . . . . .	<i>Erling M. Hunt</i>	53
THE MORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF A LASTING PEACE . . . . .	<i>Abba Hillel Silver</i>	55
DEMOCRATIC LIVING: A SCHOOL EXPERIENCE . . . . .	<i>Ethel E. Price</i>	60
THE SCHOOLS AND AMERICAN-SOVIET UNDERSTANDING . . . . .	<i>Corliss Lamont</i>	63
TWELVE-YEAR-OLDS CAN THINK CRITICALLY . . . . .	<i>Edward Darling</i>	65
EDUCATION AND CANADIAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS . . . . .	<i>Arthur A. Hauck</i>	67
STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS . . . . .	<i>Charles E. Phillips</i>	71
LABOR'S NEED OF A PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM . . . . .	<i>W. Roy Buckwalter</i>	73
MANAGEMENT AND LABOR IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES PROGRAM . . . . .	<i>William B. Barton</i>	77
NOTES AND NEWS . . . . .		80
PAMPHLETS AND GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS . . . . .	<i>Leonard B. Irwin</i>	84
SIGHT AND SOUND IN SOCIAL STUDIES . . . . .	<i>William H. Hartley</i>	86
BOOK REVIEWS . . . . .		90
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED . . . . .		96

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# U S A

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## Editor's Page

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### CANADIAN-AMERICAN EDUCATION

WARTIME needs and interests have stimulated critical investigation and reconsideration of what schools in the United States teach about other peoples and other countries. Textbook treatment, in history, geography, civics, and other fields, of Latin America, the Far East and other Pacific areas, the Soviet Union, and the British Commonwealth has received varying amounts of attention in studies either published or now in preparation.

The American Council on Education, which has sponsored studies of Latin America and the Far East, and published findings and recommendations, has also in recent months taken the initiative in proposing a study of what Canadians and Americans learn about each other in the schools of the two countries. With the cordial and effective cooperation of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, and the National Conference of Canadian Universities, a joint Canada-United States Committee on Education has been established, "to provide opportunity for consultation among educational leaders and associations of the two countries and to aid in developing educational programs for strengthening the respect and understanding which citizens of each country now have for the other." The Committee is non-governmental; it is simply an unofficial agency for cooperation among educational groups in two friendly countries which have a common heritage, many common interests, which are now engaged in a common war effort, and which are alike concerned with adjustments in education needed to meet the urgent international problems of the postwar period.

Members of the Committee from the United States are: J. W. Brouillette, Director of General Extension at Louisiana State University; J. B. Edmonson, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Michigan; Arthur A. Hauck,

President of the University of Maine; Ernest Horn, Professor of Education in the University of Iowa; Erling M. Hunt, Professor of History in Teachers College, Columbia University; Howard E. Wilson, Professor of Education at Harvard University; Carl Wittke, Dean of Liberal Arts at Oberlin College; and, *ex officio*, Herman B. Wells, President of the University of Indiana, and George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education. From Canada the Committee members are: Victor Doré, Superintendent of Education in the Province of Quebec; C. C. Goldring, Superintendent of Schools in Toronto; M. E. LaZerte, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta; Edouard Monpetit, Dean of the School of Social Sciences at the University of Montreal; Fletcher Peacock, Director of Education in the Province of New Brunswick; Charles E. Phillips, Professor of the History of Education in the Ontario College of Education; and, *ex officio*, V. K. Greer, President of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association; James S. Thomson, President of the National Conference of Canadian Universities; and E. Floyd Willoughby, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation. An executive group for the Committee is made up of its co-chairmen, Dean Edmonson and Dr. Peacock, and its co-secretaries, Dr. Phillips and Dr. Wilson.

The first meeting of the Committee was held in Niagara Falls, Ontario, on September 18-20, 1944. Among the guests at the meetings were James T. Shotwell and Malcolm W. Davis of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which has sponsored the preparation and publication of a series of volumes on the "Relations of Canada and the United States," under the editorship of Dr. Shotwell. Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, member of the British Parliament and formerly Under-Secretary in the British Board of Education, also a guest of the Committee, described recent educational developments in Great Brit-

ain, and activities among the United Nations for educational advance during the postwar period.

#### GENERAL PROGRAM

**A**T THE Niagara Falls meeting a statement was adopted (shortly to be issued in pamphlet form by the Committee) which reviews the similarities, differences, and mutual interests of the two countries, and suggests the function of education in perpetuating the goodwill which now exists. The following paragraphs from that statement indicate the point of view and general policy of the joint Committee.

Though present happy relations between Canada and the United States are firmly established, it would be unwise in the extreme to take their continuance for granted and to neglect the good offices of friendship. Cooperation can never be regarded as a *fait accompli*; it can endure only as an active, on-going process. . . . The history of developing friendship between our two countries gives us good reasons for congratulation and pride but shows no less clearly the need for keeping the basis of that friendship strong. During more than a century of peace between Canada and the United States there have been few decades without occasion for disagreement; there will be such occasions again. Only a living and flourishing friendship secured by deep-spreading roots of respect and understanding can prevent occasions of difference from growing to dangerous proportions. . . . It is imperative that the citizens of each land understand their national similarities and differences, place differences and antipathies in proper perspective, cherish precedents in cooperative action, coordinate for mutual advantage the factors of our economic life, respect our separate national cultures. . . . The educational institutions of the United States and Canada alike have a heavy responsibility for building in generation following generation the understanding and tolerance upon which good international relations rest. . . . There is evidence that educational agencies are not now discharging these responsibilities in adequate measure. . . .

After reviewing the international influences and trends affecting education in the postwar period, the Committee

calls upon the educational forces of Canada and the United States to cooperate in insuring an adequate educational undergirding for the perpetuation of the international amity in North America which now exists. Increased and improved education about Canada in the United States and about the United States in Canada is possible and is desirable. It is a safeguard of future welfare. Such education must be realistic, not sentimental or propagandistic; it must be built on the assumption that mutual understanding and tolerance of differences are essential ingredients of enduring mutual respect.

The Committee regards education for good relations between Canada and the United States as one phase of a broader program of education for constructive participation in world affairs.

The Committee in no way advocates a continental isolationism. At its Niagara Falls meeting it endorsed unanimously a proposal for establishing in the near future a joint United States-United Kingdom Committee on Education, similar in function and organization to the Canada-United States Committee. The Committee looked with favor upon close cooperation in educational and cultural matters among the educators of the United States, Canada, and Great Britain as an immediately feasible step.

#### SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

**T**HE Committee considered plans for and strongly recommended a proposed survey of textbooks and other teaching materials in history, geography, and the other social studies. The survey should analyze and evaluate these teaching materials and the courses of study in which they are used in the schools of both countries.

In spite of the unencouraging reports of present school practices and related ignorance summarized by President Hauck and Dr. Phillips in later pages of this issue, some substantial foundation on which to build an educational program already exists. Scholars and college instructors have long cooperated in their professional organization meetings and publications. The series on "Relations of Canada and the United States" represents the scholarly works on which textbook writers and curriculum makers may draw. Popular histories and interpretations are increasing in number, and *Canada: Member of the British Commonwealth and Good Neighbor of the United States*, by F. G. Marcham (Cornell University Curriculum Series, No. 1; Ithaca, 1943. Pp. 78. 40 cents) is a valuable resource unit for teachers.

Teacher education in the field of United States-Canada relations is regarded by the Committee as of pressing importance. The Committee is formulating plans for programs of teacher training, especially through summer schools, workshops, and travel designed to acquaint Canadian teachers with the United States and teachers from the United States with Canada. The Committee expects to issue a periodic newsletter to serve as a clearing house for information on activities and promising practices in the area of its interest. Individuals interested in securing the newsletter are invited to write to any member of the Executive Board of the Committee. The Committee will welcome information concerning school and college practices and plans in the study of Canada-United States relations.

# The Moral and Psychological Basis of a Lasting Peace

Abba Hillel Silver

**I**NTERNATIONAL peace is an ethical idea and it is anchored in the religious idealism of the human race, in the spiritual conception of human life and destiny.

It springs directly from the dogma of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Unless it has that anchorage, it drifts about helplessly in a sea of political simulation and expediency. A civilization which has lost its moorings in faith and the moral law lacks both the will and the motive for a peaceful organization of society. It will be swept along blindly by the currents of soullessness, greed, and belligerency—just like our own age.

To bring under control the demonic forces of chaos and the primitive tribal combativeness which have been with us since the beginning of time, and to achieve the difficult disciplining of nations in ways of law, order, and peace, requires a tremendous exertion on the part of men and nations, an heroic and unprecedented out-reaching of the spirit, of which this generation, any more than the last, may not be capable. But the moral imperative to make the effort is clearly here, as well as the desperate urgency to save our world from the blood and horror of global war every twenty or twenty-five years. The possibility of course, is always there that a generation may experience such a birth of practical idealism, baptized in the blood of a second world war, that it will resolve to lay its strong and sure foundations for a peaceful world society.

International peace does not derive its moral sanction from any doctrine of pacifism. The ideal of peace is not rooted in the doctrine that evil is not to be resisted, and that war is always wrong. It is the clear duty of men and nations to resort

to arms when right can not otherwise be enforced. Violence must at all times be confronted with countervailing force, morally motivated. Where there is no agency which can effectively check an aggressor nation, it is the right and the moral obligation of the nation whose security is threatened, or of all nations whenever the basic values of civilization are endangered, to resist to the utmost and to employ force to avert the danger.

But agencies to resist aggression can be established and can be implemented. It is therefore a confession of the moral backwardness of society if individual nations or groups of nations are forced to resort to war. Nor is it clear that in all instances nations who resort to war on the plea of moral necessity do so as the last and unavoidable measure, or that they had closely searched their hearts to discover whether any other motives were not actually influencing their decision, and whether all peaceful avenues had really been explored by them.

## THE REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE

**W**AR is not an ultimate and inextricable fact in the life of humanity. It is not an indispensable or necessary element in the physical or spiritual progress of mankind. War is at all times an evidence of gross and indurate imperfections which still exist in human society. And it should at all times be regarded as a challenge to destroy society. Disarmament is highly desirable, not only because it will lift the crushing burden of the cost of military establishments from the shoulders of men, but also because armament is by its nature competitive, and history has demonstrated that competition in armament leads to war. But disarmament will come as a natural consequence of the establishment of a strong international order. Nations will beat their swords into plowshares only when the necessity for such swords will no longer exist, when there will be in effective operation an international agency sufficiently strong to protect every nation against aggression.

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This address to the National Council for the Social Studies was delivered in the opening session of the annual meeting in Cleveland on November 25. The author is Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland.

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Nor has international peace anything to do with internationalism in its commonly accepted meaning, or with any speculation concerning obliteration of national identities. Racial, national, and cultural divisions among men have historical validity and serve the purposes of the Almighty. But the primary spiritual validity appertains to man as such in his capacity as a child of God and to the human family as a whole. While not ignoring the separate identities and groupings in human society, the emphasis of morality has been upon their harmonious co-existence, the peaceful adjustment of their differences and their collaboration in the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth.

All nations have appointed functions to perform in the divine economy and are variously endowed. Some possess gifts and aptitudes and others are favored by special opportunities. Some are culturally retarded and others advanced. Such advantages, wherever enjoyed, only impose additional responsibilities upon the possessor and make increasingly mandatory a more sensitive concern for the rights of the backward and the underprivileged. Every blessing has its burdens. Classic religion recognizes no inherent national or racial superiorities and has consistently repudiated the exploitation of all such pretexts to dominate and to exploit other peoples. Every people is a chosen people if it performs some task in the world. So-called backward peoples must not be treated as subject peoples or regarded as proper spoil for colonial and imperial interests. Rather are they to be helped by appropriate international action to achieve as rapidly as possible their independence and their social and cultural improvement.

Appropriate international action to achieve this and all other desirable ends is possible only when all nations are organized for peace, when there will exist a permanent league of nations whose members will have covenanted themselves to observe the moral law. Nations will find a just and durable peace only if they merge their separate national interests with the larger interest of the corporate life of humanity. Before this will transpire, nations will have to modify their concepts of national sovereignty.

#### THE MENACE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

**N**ATIONAL sovereignty, along with all forms of human sovereignty, must be subordinated to the higher moral law of God. Sovereignty, if it is not anarchy, is always limited by law. No nation is above this law. No nation is a

law unto itself. Every nation is morally responsible and accountable to God, who is the source and sanction of all life, individual or collective. There can be no peace without the surrender of unqualified, uncoordinated and willful national sovereignty, without, as it were, a pooling of sovereignties. For nations to be free, they must be free within the disciplines of international law. Only in such freedom, within the moral law, is the assurance of enduring peace.

The concept of absolute national sovereignty has no more moral validity than the concept of absolute individual sovereignty. Unless it means absolute equality between all states, large or small, in relation to international rights and security against aggression, it is an utterly immoral concept. The notion that a state can do whatever it likes, whether in relation to its own citizens or to other states—and that such action *ipso facto* becomes morally justified—a notion which the politically-motivated German metaphysics of the last century, always overdrawing its scientific bank account, has so assiduously cultivated, runs counter to every basic moral principle of civilized society. Such specious doctrines will make forever impossible any international security organization. The concept of independent and sovereign states must be brought within the framework of just international obligations assumed by all states for mutual protection and for the moral progress of their own citizens and of mankind. Nations must be free and autonomous but subject to the priority of a rapidly developing international way of life which will progressively define their duties towards each other.

Within each state the individual must relate his needs and purposes to the life of the group, and his individual rights must be adjusted to the demands of civilized corporate existence. Economic individualism has had to come to terms with new forms of economic collectivism in our rapidly changing industrial society. New patterns are being developed. The old doctrines of *laissez faire*, and the old slogans of "freedom of contract" have been forced to give way. It is as immoral as it is anachronistic for states to cling to claims of absolute sovereignty in a world which is being drawn into such close economic interdependence, and wherein politics is so frequently the handmaiden of economics.

The orthodox sovereign-state idea wrecked the League of Nations. The right to secede from the League was allowed. This sanctioned disruption and international anarchy at the behest of na-

tional sovereignty. A unanimous vote was required for major decisions. This sanctioned paralysis of international action out of deference to willful national sovereignty. The draft constitution for the new world security organization which was outlined at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference recently is also vitiated to a degree by this sovereignty principle. Any one of the major powers may forestall action in the Council by the use of the uncontested veto power which it will possess, even in cases when it itself is accused of aggression. In other words, each major power will sit in judgment on its own case.

Unless this principle is removed from the constitution of the proposed international organization, it may prove disastrous to the new league. It is not an issue which can be ironed out later on. It forestalls all attempts at such ironing out in the future, and it is so intended. It may prove again the initial and fatal mistake. To be sure, one must not expect the perfect security system to spring full-blown at this time. Decades may be required to perfect a world organization. But we must avert such inherent constitutional defects which are sure to wreck the entire edifice at the first major crisis.

#### THE RIGHTS OF MAN

THE same principle of national sovereignty has permitted certain states and governments to discriminate against and to persecute classes of their own citizens within their own borders under the excuse that it is an "internal affair," beyond the scope of international concern or intervention. Here a disastrous doctrine of moral isolationism has joined forces with the doctrine of national sovereignty to mount guard over some of the blackest crimes of our age. States were permitted to propagate violent racist doctrines which incited their people to political aggression and to adventures in world domination, and to enact discriminatory legislation disfranchising and otherwise degrading and persecuting groups of their own citizens when it was clear that all such officially inspired propaganda, and all such discriminatory laws were in fact dangerous attacks upon free and democratic government and upon the peace of the world—matters, which are of the most vital concern to the international community.

The Nazis adopted racism as a major weapon of dictatorship and imperial expansion. By means of it they destroyed the Weimar Republic. By means of it they also created the mood of crisis and conflict within those countries which they

had marked out for conquest, and succeeded in undermining their power of resistance. They disrupted the internal unity of those nations and thus prepared them for easy subjugation. Thus anti-Semitism became an important element in the strategy of total war.

It is clear that certain types of governments and political regimes cannot fit into any peaceful world order. They will not, and by their nature they cannot, collaborate in any just international system. They must be quarantined, and pending their restoration to political sanity, and their readiness to guarantee to all their citizens equality before the law and innate human rights, they should not be admitted to membership in the society of nations.

One of the prerequisites for a peaceful world order is a universal Bill of Rights which will protect the individual in his inalienable God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness against the encroachment of the state and the ever-present menace of a tyrannical majority. Society must re-establish the individual man in his legitimate domain, and must declare that domain inviolate. The last mad decade, or more, has destroyed in many parts of the world all the constitutional guarantees and safeguards of freedom and dignity which men through the long and bitter centuries of struggle acquired for themselves. Never was the stature of man so reduced as in our day. Never was the individual made so insignificant, so insecure and spiritually so cowed and overwhelmed by the ruthless and tyrannical state. No peace is possible in a slave world. The chief characteristic of democracy is the dogma of the free human being and his innate and therefore inalienable human rights.

If there were more emphasis in our day on the rights of man, there would be less reason to worry about the rights of minorities. For it is the denial of basic rights to the members of certain groups of people because of racial, religious, or nationalistic prejudices which create those minority problems which so frequently lead to war. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the Rights of Man were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially, and economically not in relation to themselves but within the framework of an associated life, in relation to the group to which they belonged—nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchy, a feudal arrangement of social life. Democracy rediscovered the human being, the individual who derived from his Creator—not from society or from his class—certain fundamental rights which were accord-

ingly his inalienably. And it entrenched him in those rights. He is not to be deprived of them by any government or any majority or any dictator. Race, creed, color have nothing to do with these rights. They belong to all men, wherever they may live, by virtue of the fact that they are all children of God.

**I**T IS a sad commentary on our times that, in the United States, we have come to talk and think so much of late about minorities. Unconsciously we are helping to recreate here the crazy-quilt pattern of the Old World. In one essential regard America has always differed from Europe. Europe, for centuries, has been concerned with the problem of minorities. Here we have been concerned not with the rights of minorities but with the rights of man. Here we prided ourselves on judging a man on the basis of his individual worth, character, and achievement and not on the basis of the group to which he belonged or the religion to which he subscribed. These we held to be his own personal and private affairs.

America was able to absorb immigrants from many races and nationalities and of diverse creeds and mold them into first-rate citizens. In every great national crisis, such as this World War and the last, these Americans, immigrants or the sons of immigrants, responded as loyally to the call of duty and sacrifice as did the descendants of the very first immigrants who settled upon these shores. They submerged all parochial interests and loyalties into the one overwhelming devotion to America.

We did not always succeed in wiping out the minority concept in this country. In the case of one important minority group, we failed lamentably. We surrounded the Negroes of the United States with political and economic disabilities. We segregated and handicapped them as a group. As a result we fought one tragic Civil War over this problem, and the problem is far from being solved even today. It is easy to create a minority problem. It is most difficult to solve it. In the long run, the majority suffers as much from the minority discriminations as the minority itself.

No peaceful organization of society is possible unless it is built upon the full political, economic, and social rights of men everywhere. It is only the work of righteousness which can yield peace, and it is only upon justice and truth that peace can securely rest. Poverty and economic misery lead to internal strife and revolutionary agitation which are frequently channeled by the threatened privileged classes into international strife

and wars of conquest. Nations which are denied free access to trade and the raw material of the world live constantly in the hope that war will give them what peace denies. Minorities who suffer from political discrimination are also predisposed to welcome international upheavals which may hold for them the promise of emancipation.

#### PUNISHMENT OF AGGRESSORS

**A**SURE requirement for peace is the quick punishment of the lawless disturbers of peace. Nations which are guilty of provoking war should be punished and their leaders and military criminals should receive punishment commensurate with their crimes. This is not a question of revenge. Retributive justice is neither revenge nor retaliation, but a requisite condition of international morality. Morality is concerned with the destruction of the evil-doer. Primarily it is concerned with the eradication of the causes which lead to war. But, unfortunately, the evil and the perpetrators of evil cannot in fact be separated. Aggressor nations must be defeated, punished, and deprived of the power to do mischief a second time. Forgiveness must wait upon true contrition and full restitution.

Modern criminology is not motivated by considerations of revenge and vindictiveness, but solely by considerations of how best to protect the community against crime and how to reform the criminal wherever possible. All discussions of a soft or a hard peace for a defeated nation, guilt of war, are utterly irrelevant. The degree of punishment must be related to the just objective which is sought. If peace can be broken with impunity, if the only sin is not the launching but the losing of war, then no world peace organization will ever survive and all international law is worthless.

But it should never be forgotten that while the punishment of war-mongering nations and war criminals is morally mandatory, the durable peace must, in the last analysis, rest upon good will and universal reconciliation, upon the voluntary association of nations as equals with a world community regardless of their past offenses.

#### THE WILL TO PEACE

**T**HE task of building a world peace system is not an easy one. The ideal was first proclaimed nearly three thousand years ago by the great prophets of Israel, but its attainment seems far more remote today than at any time during these long centuries. Nevertheless religion urges



upon us an unfaltering faith in the future and in man's power to achieve the seemingly impossible, once he becomes possessed of the power and the might of the spirit of God. It is heartening to remember that the first major attempt to create an international world order was actually made in our generation, and though it failed because of certain lamentable flaws in its structure, it has nevertheless pointed the way and has aroused the determination of men to essay again and, by averting the mistakes of the past, build anew upon surer foundations.

It is necessary to create a real temperament for peace among men, a peaceful frame of mind, a will to peace. Peace is not altogether a question of economics. Nations do not make war or establish peace prompted solely by economic motives. Man does not live by bread alone, and nations do not wage war for bread alone. Many other factors, psychological and historical, enter into every situation. It is necessary to kindle the imagination of mankind with the ideal of peace. It is necessary to imbue the youth of the world with an ardent love for peace, and to touch their souls with the matchless ideal of peace.

We have surrounded war with all kinds of glamour, with every device of sight, sound, rank, and dignity calculated to evoke admiration and imitation. In the eyes of youth that which is martial is heroic, fascinating, challenging. But the ideal of destroying war can also be dramatized, so as to evoke the admiration and loyalty of our youth. War fomentors and aggressor nations can be represented in such a way as to call forth repugnance and indignation, and the resolve to exterminate them as plagues. The heroes of peace, the champions of good will among nations, the benefactors of mankind in the many peaceful arts of social life, and their struggles against disease and poverty and their adventures

into the undiscovered continents of truth—these too can be glamorized and even more effectively than the heroes of war and their deeds on the battlefield. The imagination of our youth can be captivated by the heroic epic, properly told, of the spiritual and intellectual struggle of men. The combative instincts of men can be sublimated to nobler and less primitive areas of struggle, and can be given full scope in socially constructive and challenging enterprises.

The international ideal, the universal ideal which captivated the minds of men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which has been pushed out of the minds of men by the spiritual fragmentation and isolationism of our own tragic era, must be rediscovered for the youth of the world. We must begin to speak again of humanity and mankind: the term international must cease to be suspect among us. We must begin to stress anew the common fate and destiny of the entire human race, and of the interdependence of all nations. We must expose as villainy all forms of national chauvinism, race snobbery, and religious fanaticism. We must educate the rising generation into the clear conviction that no nation can live unto itself alone or can solve its problem by itself alone, and that no basic human problems are ever solved by war. Few human hopes ever blossom among the broken corpses of the battlefields. In peace alone can human life unfold and the ideals of mankind thrive.

The glowing humanistic tradition must be recaptured, the sweeping vistas of man's boundless progress and the golden panorama of a just, noble, and peace-blessed society in the end of days must be restored. Before real peace can come to dwell among us, we must rekindle faith in man and in the sanctity of his life, and in the holiness of human brotherhood.

# Democratic Living: A School Experience

Ethel E. Price

SINCE social studies is the school area in which the determination of human conduct in terms of mutual relationships is of paramount importance, it is through the teaching of social studies, more than any other subject, that we can build a substantial foundation for democratic living in school, in the home, in society.

Democratic living involves the preservation of ideals of sympathetic understanding and mutual respect of individuals, regardless of race, religion, intelligence, or economic status. It recognizes personalities, some bright and gifted, others dull and slow, each playing a part, though sometimes a minor one, in the scheme of living. It provides for the growth of the individual according to his needs, interests, and abilities. It encourages the experimental method of inquiry, and freedom of selection, and discussion of controversial questions. It emphasizes the concept that each of us is a responsible sovereign, that we are the government, and that our government, and all that it encompasses, can be no better than we who make it.

Those ideals of democracy are, however, of little value unless practiced in our daily lives, and the classroom teacher must see that opportunities for such living are provided. Opportunities for democratic living, as provided recently by a unit in Citizenship, may prove interesting.

## A CLASS BECOMES A TOWN

IN SETTING up rules so that the class could work more efficiently, a child suggested that "it sounded like the laws of a town." Another echoed, "Why can't we have a town instead of a

grade?" And the idea of a town was born. The other children were enthusiastic, and soon plans for conducting a town were evolved. The first question raised was that of a name. Several names were suggested and Little Folks Town was chosen. The children next divided the town into sections: Kenilworth, Chevy Chase, Brookland, and Capitol View.

Who should run the town was the next problem. A discussion of form of government introduced study of democratic versus autocratic form. From their combined experiences in living in different cities with different forms of government, they decided to have a mayor and his council who would be responsible for the making of the laws; a court with judge and jury to settle difficulties; a police department to see that laws were kept; a health department to deal with all phases of health; and a cleaning department to care for the cleanliness of the town. Each department was to have a chief who would be responsible for the success of his department.

It was then necessary to find out how to assign these positions. It was decided that the most democratic way was to hold an election. Finding how an election is held gave opportunity for further investigation. Standards for each office were set up, and candidates representing each section were chosen. Each candidate naturally had his followers, and a part of each afternoon was given over to campaigning. Speeches were made, and posters advocating certain candidates were hung around the room. The teacher even discovered a petition circulating around the room.

Plans for election day were made; an election booth draped in red, white, and blue paper was built. The children divided into groups for carrying on the machinery of the election. The study had already provided information on who could vote, how to register, and how to mark a ballot. A table for registration, the booth for the voting, a table for the sorting of votes, and another for counting the votes were set up, a broadcasting

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Democratic practices in school require skillful teacher leadership, but some possibilities are illustrated by this account of a citizenship activity in the Monroe Laboratory School of the Miner Teachers College, Washington, D.C. The author is supervisor of practice teaching in the school.

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station where election news was given out from time to time was established, and a bulletin board on which latest returns were written was set aside.

When the results were in, the newly elected officials of the town made speeches, and then chose other children to work with them. This gave every child in the room a responsibility. It was interesting to note that children of poor home background or with low IQ were often more efficient as chief of police or postmaster than those of better socio-economic or intelligence levels. It was next necessary to find out how each department should be run. In order to find out how to conduct a court session, for instance, the children who were responsible for that department visited the court, took notes, and reported back to the class. Then a trial was arranged and the Little Folks Town Court became an activity to which the children looked forward eagerly. In like manner, groups visited the health department, post office, etc., and reported back to the class.

**W**HEN the organization of the town was complete, a meeting was held to discuss how every citizen of Little Folks Town could help make the town a success. The conclusion was that they must be good citizens, and that the characteristics of good citizenship are humane-ness, health, safety-consciousness, responsibility or trustworthiness, courtesy, loyalty, patriotism, cooperation, obedience, and thrift. It was further agreed that being a good citizen at school would help make good citizens of America, and that each individual should practice good citizenship in the home and community.

Other discussions centered around how to be healthy, safe, thrifty, and humane, how to practice good citizenship in the community, and how to help our country.

At Christmas time, in connection with the discussion of practicing good citizenship, the children decided that they would like to do something for those less fortunate than they. After some discussion as to what form this activity should take, it was decided that they "adopt" a three-year-old girl who would not otherwise have any Christmas. Plans were made; committees formed, and Little Folks Town buzzed with excitement. Donations of clothes, toys, and money were accepted. The girls made simple articles and dressed dolls. The boys repaired and painted old toys.

It was decided that we would have the little

girl spend the last school day before the holidays with us. The day's program was therefore planned. One group was responsible for taking her downtown to see Santa Claus; another for her lunch, which had to be particularly well planned according to our health standards; another her nap; and another group took her to our assembly program. Last of all came the presentation of gifts. There was a complete outfit of clothing in which the girls took delight in dressing her—new shoes and new snowsuit besides many dresses, underwear, pocketbook, gloves, socks, etc. The toys were too numerous to list. The little girl was not the only one that gained through this project. The citizens of Little Folks Town had gained immeasurably in the attitudes, appreciations, habits, and skills required to carry out such an activity.

**L**ITTLE FOLKS TOWN became the motivation for many other units. The children decided that they wanted other things in the town, such as a telephone office, telegraph office, a store, a bank, a museum, and a post office. It was impossible to have them all at once, because of lack of space and the need for study about each. But one by one each of these units was developed, and Little Folks Town had a telephone office with a switchboard that really lighted up when the cord was plugged in, a telegraph office where code messages were written and interpreted, a museum where things collected or made by children were placed, and a post office which functioned at Christmas, on children's birthdays, at Easter, Mother's Day, and Valentine's Day.

#### OUTCOMES AND VALUES

**I**N CARRYING out such a unit not only was the subject matter itself based upon democratic living, but also certain democratic teaching procedures were used. The organized body of information and experiences which formed the unit provided innumerable opportunities for democratic living. With the guidance of the teacher, the children selected their unit, raised questions and problems, set up criteria, worked individually and in groups, planned ways of organizing and using material gained from their research, presented their work to the group, and evaluated the success of the unit.

Many problems arose and were solved. Some of these were: Which is better, a democracy or an autocracy? How does a democracy work? How can Little Folks Town become a democracy?

How is an election held? How does the police department function? How can we become good citizens in the community? How can the citizens of Little Folks Town help their country?

These challenging problems required study and investigation, and involved such activities as reading, following study guides, committee activities, panel discussions, making reports, interviewing, and studying current events. Such projects as the organization of the town, holding the election, making trips, the activities involved in the adoption of the little girl at Christmas time, and building the post office also provided rich and varied experiences in group cooperation and democratic living.

Through the use of such techniques as the unit method, problem-solving and project methods, significant outcomes are effected which inevitably reveal themselves in children's conduct. Such procedures help to eliminate unwholesome class distinctions by allowing recognition of individual differences and corresponding degrees of ability to emerge as a matter of course. Not only were these varying abilities recognized in the example given, but they were rewarded through the approval of the group. It mattered not who the officials of Little Folks Town were, but rather

how well they adjusted themselves and were able to do an efficient job. Children were made to realize that no one can be at the top in all lines of achievement, and that one of the surest ways to win personal satisfaction is to cooperate with his associates, measure his wits and abilities against those of his classmates, and await the frank and honest evaluation of his fellows. In participation in these activities and experiences the children acquire habits, attitudes, interests, and abilities which are destined to determine the nature of their social and civic adjustment. Moreover, those techniques provide for child purposing, planning, executing, evaluating, all of which mean child growth.

Democratic living is an important phase of education, for through democratic living each young citizen finds an opportunity to feel and know that he truly belongs to a great country, that he is part of a great people, and of a great ideal, and with this privilege there is always the corresponding personal responsibility. He learns that "persons do not live as foot-loose individuals; they carry on as members of functioning groups playing significant roles in human society. . . . no time has this lesson been more important than it is today in this world of chaos and war.

Fortuitous factors of the most indefensible character, rather than capacity to learn and willingness to work, now determine the kind and amount of educational opportunity provided millions of American youths. Educational opportunity, instead of being a solvent of class lines based on hereditary wealth and position, threatens to become a cement which sets and perpetuates these distinctions.

Some of the outcomes of this situation are that nearly a million children are not enrolled in any school and many more are attending schools of the poorest quality. Only a minority of the youth of the nation complete their high-school education. At least a third of those who leave school at an early age do so primarily because of financial limitations. Many of those eliminated for this reason possess superior intellectual capacity and other qualities which justify further schooling. . . .

A democratic school system will not treat all students alike. The difficulty with present practice, from the economic point of view, is not that different persons are given different amounts and kinds of education. It is proper that different amounts and kinds of education should be given to different individuals. The real source of the difficulty lies in the fact that our educational opportunities are not closely enough correlated with individual abilities and social needs. We are making it possible for some persons of limited intellectual endowments to waste their own time and that of others in the pursuit of unsuitable advanced education, while at the same time some persons of great potential abilities are given only meager educational opportunity. This maldistribution applies both to amount and kind of education given. (*Education and Economic Well-Being*, Report of the Educational Policies Commission. Washington: National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, 1940. Pp. 2, 158).



# The Schools and American-Soviet Understanding

Corliss Lamont

THERE has been a growing realization that one of the prime objects of American schools and colleges should be to acquaint students with life in other countries and to reach out beyond the mere facts to encourage cooperation with other nations for peace, disarmament, and international trade. Unless we have specific education for peace, not war, in America and other nations, there will be war, not peace. And that education must go far beyond well-meaning generalities and formal learning. For let us remember that two Americans who did most to hamper international cooperation were Senator Henry Cabot Lodge the elder and Representative Hamilton Fish, both of whom were highly educated.

Clearly it is up to American educators to implement the recent agreements at Dumbarton Oaks toward international cooperation and in particular to help carry out that expressed purpose of the new United Nations organization: "To develop friendly relations among nations." A world organization to preserve peace is supported not only by the Roosevelt administration, but by Governor Dewey and other leaders of the Republican Party as well. In working for and educating for international cooperation and security, Americans can combine both hard-headed practicality and their natural idealism. For a world of truly united nations is an imperative of good business, wise statesmanship, and the moral precepts of New Testament Christianity and related philosophies of life. The highest sort of American patriotism is that which seeks the welfare of our

people and all the rest of mankind through a warless world.

In this picture of one united world and one united humanity, good American-Soviet relations must be considered a cornerstone, perhaps the most fundamental cornerstone. But those relations will not remain satisfactory without mutual understanding. And America's general surprise at the magnificent Soviet showing against the Nazis proves how misinformed we in the United States were about our Soviet ally. In his speech of October 22, 1944 about foreign policy, President Roosevelt made an interesting interpolation which was reported in only a few newspapers. He told how in 1933 a certain lady, I believe Mrs. Roosevelt, went on a trip during which she attended the opening of a school house. The President said:

And she told me that she had seen there a map of the world with a great big white space on it. No name, no information, and the teacher told her that it was blank, with no name, because the school board wouldn't let her say anything about that big blank space. Oh, there were only 180,000,000 to 200,000,000 people in it! It was called Soviet Russia, and there were a lot of children, and they were told that the teacher was forbidden by the school board even to put the name of that blank space on the map.

Well, now more than ten years later American schools still have the job of filling in that map. Although since 1933, the year of American recognition of Soviet Russia, progress has been made in educating American students about Russia, especially in colleges and universities, there is still a long way to go, especially in secondary schools. Students on the secondary school level have not been getting even the elementary facts about the Soviet Union, partly because inadequate time, or no time at all, is given to that subject in the curriculum and partly because what has been taught is chiefly misinformation gleaned from hostile sources. It might be said that the schools of the United States are only just beginning to grant recognition to the Soviet Union.

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This brief statement of the case for study of Soviet Russia in American schools was presented at a session of the National Council for the Social Studies in Cleveland on November 24. The author is Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and has taught courses on the Soviet Union at Cornell and Harvard Universities.

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## NEW UNITS AND MATERIALS

THIS situation must be rectified if American schools and school teachers are to play their proper role in education on other countries besides our own, on world cooperation for peace, and on the important topic of American-Soviet relations. Significant steps forward have, in fact, already been taken. The Intensive Studies of Contemporary Russian Civilization at Cornell during the summers of 1943 and 1944 have influenced many school teachers. And the Workshop on the Soviet Union at the Harvard Graduate School of Education last summer had far-reaching results.<sup>1</sup>

I know that on the whole it will not be possible to introduce separate courses on the Soviet Union into the secondary schools, except possibly on the Russian language as such. Hence study of the U.S.S.R. must be worked into courses on literature, the arts, science, current events, and the social studies. I believe the accepted word for all this is *infiltration*. That also includes infiltration of basic Soviet materials into the school libraries. Here there has been a great lack. And I am afraid that most of the books on Russia already in such libraries are either bitterly antagonistic or out of date or both.

In teaching about the American Revolution we do not depend to any large extent on Tory sources desperately opposed to the independence of the Colonies; nor in teaching about the Civil War do we rely on the memoirs of slaveowners who favored secession. How absurd it is, then, to feel that only those who hate Soviet Russia are qualified to write objectively about it. These are precisely the authors who so misled America about the U.S.S.R. for almost 25 years, from 1917 to 1941. And, incidentally, there is room for much more utilization of original Soviet sources like the writings and speeches of Lenin, Stalin, Litvinoff, and others. I do not mean for a minute that I wish to exclude criticism of the Soviet Union. In fact, I refuse to recommend any general bibliography on the subject that does not include some of the classic critical books like those of Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman, or William Henry Chamberlin.

In the field of Soviet studies what are some of the main topics, both simple and significant, that might well be taught in our schools?

1. The history of American-Russian relations.
2. The fundamental similarities between the United States and the Soviet Union.

<sup>1</sup> See the appended bibliography.

3. The different races and nations of the U.S.S.R.
4. Soviet geography, physical and economic.
5. The various kinds of democracy in the Soviet Union.
6. Literature, the arts, and science in Soviet Russia.
7. The Soviet search for peace and collective security.
8. Bibliographies and other teaching materials.

MISUNDERSTANDING and distrust between Soviet Russia and the Western democracies was a prime factor in bringing on this Second World War. We must never let those old suspicions become renewed. Neither America nor mankind at large can afford the material and spiritual and human costs of another vast international conflict. It must not happen again. And so important is the United States in the world situation that it will not happen again if American education plays its proper part during the years of postwar reconstruction.

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## MAIN SOURCES OF TEACHING AIDS

- American Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, New York. Recognized center in United States for factual information on Soviet Russia. Has large library and extensive research facilities.
- National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., 232 Madison Avenue, New York. Carries on broad, popular educational work. Has photographic exhibits, publications, speakers' bureau, special cultural committees.

# Twelve-Year-Olds Can Think Critically

Edward Darling

**T**HAT children of grade-seven-age are not too young to achieve the critical, scientific attitude in discussions of opinion the writer proved to his own satisfaction during the presidential election, and would like to demonstrate the fact.

The text on which we stand during class discussions of work in a unit on the election of a President comes from Paul: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." To this we add an observation of Solomon: "Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar."

And in proving all things we admit the wisdom of John Godfrey Saxe as a good attitude towards evidence produced. Everyone remembers:

It was six men of Indostan  
To learning much inclined

who came upon an elephant and found, in their blindness, but each to his own complete satisfaction, that the animal was, (1) a wall; (2) a spear; (3) a snake; (4) a tree; (5) a fan; and (6) a rope.

And so these men of Indostan  
Disputed loud and long,  
Each in his own opinion  
Exceeding stiff and strong,  
Though each was partly in the right,  
And all were in the wrong!

## STUDYING NEWSPAPER POLICY

**O**NE of the first jobs the youngsters were asked to do in the unit on the presidential election was to discover evidence to show the editorial opinion of the newspaper the family reads at home. Which candidate is favored?

Before they were sent home that night to work on the assignment, there was a discussion of the

question, How does a newspaper show its opinion? The following agreements were reached:

1. Since it is men and not machines that write news stories and make up the papers, some judgment must be used on every story.

2. An editor cannot touch a story at all without showing some judgment, and therefore some opinion.

3. Aside from the obvious evidence of the editorial columns, therefore, the place allotted to the story (page one or page 25, and the position on the page), the space given it, the headlines interpreting it, and the style in which it is written (e.g., "Governor Dewey headed confidently and aggressively into enemy territory")—all tend to give the slant of the editor and of the reporter.

4. Letters, cartoons, and features, such as columnists, do not necessarily reflect editorial opinion, although they may. That Winchell writes for Hearst is a case in point.

Left to the pupils themselves were the answers to the questions, What is good evidence? What is conclusive evidence? Is this evidence acceptable?

**T**HE following day the thirty pupils returned to class with handfuls of clippings, and were asked to write their findings.

These papers were represented: the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Boston Record*, the *New York Times*, *P M*, the *Boston Herald*, the *Boston Traveler*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Boston Post*, and the *New Bedford Standard-Times*.

Upon the next meeting of the class, the results were discussed, with critical evaluation. The best sample of that work was the case of a girl who wrote that the *Boston Traveler* was definitely pro-Dewey because there was a statement on the editorial page, "You owe it to your country to vote for Thomas E. Dewey."

Immediate reaction was shown in the class—violent objection demanded an opportunity for expression. And the girl's evidence was quickly thrown out on the grounds that the statement was made in a column provided for an election

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The author of this account of a seventh grade study of newspaper evidence and opinion is a social studies teacher in the Belmont, Massachusetts, Junior High School. A companion article will appear in a forthcoming issue.

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featured by the National Republican Committee and that opposite it was one from the National Democratic Committee expressing exactly the reverse. Hence the statement was not acceptable as evidence of editorial opinion.

On the other hand, evidence by a writer who stated that the *Christian Science Monitor* seemed pro-Dewey was accepted because the student quoted the editorial, "Alphabet vs. Policy," and the words, "The main cause is just what Mr. Dewey said—administrative failure in Washington. It stems from personal qualities in the President. . . ." That was deemed adequate proof by the group.

So, too, was the three-column editorial in the *New York Times* of October 16, reading, in part, "Although we opposed Roosevelt in 1940, we support him in 1944." That was accepted without question as final proof of the paper's favor.

The statement of the *Boston Post* editor, "The *Post* cannot conscientiously support a fourth-term candidate for President," was also sufficiently definite to be accepted without further evidence.

In many cases, however, readers of the same paper, who had the same evidence available, came in with different interpretations of the evidence, and it was here that "prove all things" came into its own.

Hotly debated, for example, was the statement that a passionate letter to the editor, signed by a reader, showed editorial opinion. The affirmative pupil avowed that the editor was under no compulsion to print the letter; the negative pupil said that by looking farther in the letters section it was easy to find a communication showing the opposite view, and that, besides, maybe the writer was a businessman with money to spend in advertisements and thus did in a way compel the editor.

That all of this give-and-take, which was realistic in view, came from the seventh grade pupils and not from the instructor showed that these people can develop the ability to judge critically from evidence produced and that they can learn to differentiate between partial evidence and conclusive evidence.

#### SOME CONCLUSIONS

**C**ARRYING this idea to its logical conclusion, the experience in the classroom shows that

pupils can go into a world seething with confused opinions and adopt the attitude that opinion without evidence and without good evidence has no right to existence.

While these students obviously cannot go about the world's dinner tables demanding instant proof of every opinion, at least they can have mental reservations about accepting opinion before there is objective evidence to support it. They can also learn to develop their own opinions based on evidence.

If Daddy says the President failed miserably to warn the nation before Pearl Harbor, it is hoped that his offspring will know the reasons before accepting the statement; if the evidence is good, then hold fast to the opinion. And if not—not.

What the instructor is trying to do is teach the pupil to avoid stereotyped "thinking" which makes an elephant a tree on the basis of one leg; to escape from the cartoon-trap in which a nation or a person is represented repeatedly as a figure of evil and accepted as such, uncritically, symbolically, thereafter.

Finally, the class came to one conclusion about evidence: that unless anybody can find the same evidence, it has no value as evidence. For example, if Aunt Effie's sister recently came from Mexico on a train carrying many soldiers and reported that they were all eager to vote for the President, that is not evidence, because it cannot be produced by anyone else. However, if a newspaper story on such a date and such a page and in such a column prints the quoted opinions of those soldiers, that can be accepted, because anyone can buy that paper and find that story.

Therefore, undated editorials in the class discussion were thrown out as poor evidence; and dated matter was accepted.

Of course the instructor cannot be positive as to the amount of help pupils receive at home in such an assignment; but he affirms that such help is no detraction if the pupil can stand and defend his opinion in his own words and cite his own proof. Who cares where he learns it? The writer's point is that at age eleven, twelve, and thirteen the youngsters are able to adopt the scientific attitude. If they continue and do not let it drop—

Well, if they keep it up, this country is in good shape.

# Education and Canadian-United States Relations

Arthur A. Hauck

**I**F A *New York Times* survey showed that 86 per cent of our soldiers did not know the name of the leader of the German State in World War II and 74 per cent could not accurately describe the Nazi form of government, there would be considerable mortification among educators. Unlike Germany, Canada has not given the world a jolt that would call particular attention to her. But she is the nation closest to the United States in space, political ideals, customs, and trade. Yet a study made some years ago revealed that a vast majority of the seniors in our secondary schools—in fact, the percentages suggested above—could not name the Canadian Prime Minister or accurately describe Canada's form of government. Unfortunately there is no reason to believe that a new study would yield substantially better results.

A few facts show the importance of Canadian-United States relations. In peace times it is estimated that there are thirty million border crossings a year. Americans have invested nearly four billion dollars in enterprises of their northern neighbor. Canadians have invested more in the United States than in all the other countries of the world. The United States supplies about 60 per cent of Canada's imports and takes 40 per cent of the Canadian exports. These economic facts, not to mention the present close and successful collaboration of the armed forces of the two nations in defense of their freedom, seem to

justify the assumption that Canadian and American citizens should be well informed about each other's history and contemporary living. The investigation here briefly summarized was undertaken to explore the extent of such mutual knowledge and understanding.

## WHAT WE KNOW OF EACH OTHER

**A**PPROXIMATELY twelve hundred students from each nation were selected for the experiment. They came from New England the Midwest, and the Southwest, from California, and from the deep South—where some considered Canada synonymous with the North Pole—and, on the other side, from all the provinces of Canada. In short, every region of each nation was represented. In addition to an information test, brief compositions were written—by 805 American students about Canada, and by 890 Canadians about the United States. Finally, an examination was made of the 83 United States histories and geographies most used, and of 17 similar Canadian texts, to see what information the schools were formally giving.

The tests were most useful in bringing out the gaps in knowledge. Students of each nation were asked to name five important historical characters of the other nation, to describe the form of government of their neighbor, and name the presiding official, to give the population of their neighbor, to name the capital, to tell what they knew of the trade between the two countries, to explain the Rush-Bagot Agreement which established the unfortified border, and to name the permanent body which settles disputes between the two countries (The International Joint Commission). On this factual material, the Canadians made an average score of 21 to the American boys' and girls' 9. In addition to these questions, the students were asked to jot down first thoughts about the other country, and to mention other sources of their information such as books, newspapers, magazines, and movies.

Only 18 per cent of the American students

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In 1932 Dr. Hauck, now President of the University of Maine, published a study of "Some Educational Factors Affecting the Relations between Canada and the United States." The publication is no longer in print. This summary of the findings is now published in view of current interest in education in Canadian-United States relations and because there is, unfortunately, no reason to believe that the limited knowledge of each other possessed by Canadians and Americans has increased very substantially in recent years.

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answered the question calling for names of five prominent living Canadians, and they presented mainly Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, a sprinter, and a hockey player. For five prominent historical Canadian characters, American students—the 27 per cent who answered—had to go back to the age of exploration, naming Champlain, Wolfe, Montcalm, Marquette, and Cartier. Of the Canadians 95 per cent listed Lincoln, Wilson, Edison, Theodore Roosevelt, and Monroe from our history. Students of both nations tended to overestimate the population of the other—roughly 10 per cent of each group gave a figure close enough to be called correct. Only 14 per cent of the American students could name the Canadian Prime Minister, and only 21 per cent selected Ottawa as the capital city, whereas over 90 per cent of the Canadians correctly named our President and capital. Worst of all, perhaps, only 24 per cent of the American students could describe Canada's government, one fourth of them calling her "a British possession, ruled from London."

On the Rush-Bagot Agreement, which went into effect on April 28, 1813, calling for a limitation of naval vessels on the Great Lakes to not more than four vessels, each under 100 tons, and terminable by either party with six months' notice (never given), 2 per cent of the American students knew the provisions of the treaty; only a handful could date it. No student in the United States taking the test could name the International Joint Commission, established by a treaty signed January 11, 1909, as a permanent body to handle certain problems arising between the two nations; 5 per cent of the Canadians did name it. In view of this ignorance of basic legal documents providing for peaceful solution of mutual problems, it is interesting that 37 per cent among the American students and 20 per cent of the Canadians thought forts and guns should be placed along the border. Nevertheless, the great majority—75 per cent and over—of each national group felt that future disputes between the nations could be settled peaceably, and knew that Canada and the United States have not been at war with each other for over a hundred years.

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

SO FAR as sources of information are concerned 64 per cent of the Canadian students had first-hand knowledge of the United States from visits; 28 per cent of the American boys and girls had been to Canada. About one third of

each group gave the movies as an important source for their impressions about the neighboring nation. Most of the Canadians read American newspapers and magazines (72 per cent), but few of the American students reciprocated (only 4 per cent). The Canadian boys and girls read chiefly our magazines—such as *The Saturday Evening Post* (at the top), *American*, and *Ladies' Home Journal*. Much farther down the list in popularity came the more reflective monthlies like *Harper's* and the *Atlantic*, and at the bottom of the list were juveniles and religious publications. In books, American students read chiefly fiction (outside of Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*)—Jack London, James Oliver Curwood, tales of the Mounties and of the "frozen North." (For years the *American Boy* ran a series, "Renfrew of the Mounted," which must have given many boys their first and chief account of Canadian life.) Canadian students, on the other hand, read our fiction and biography—which makes a difference. Their favorites were recorded as Zane Grey, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, Gene Stratton Porter, and biographies of outstanding historical characters, especially Lincoln.

These sources probably go far to explain what the majority of American students jotted down as their "first thoughts" when the word "Canada" is mentioned: severe climate, French-speaking inhabitants, natural resources, beautiful scenery, the "control" by Great Britain, winter sports, hunting and fishing, and "Mounties who get their man." Canadian students thought of our great wealth, lawlessness, large cities, immense population, opportunities for sport and amusement, trade, and international relations with Canada.

#### IMPRESSIONS OF EACH OTHER

IN THE 1935 compositions, which furnished material for the second part of the investigation, the first thoughts given above were expanded. The Canadians liked us and praised our friendliness and hospitality, but were not uncritical. The following quotations are typical of attitudes and opinions freely expressed:

"The United States is a hot-bed of hustling, flag-waving, gum-chewing men and women whose dignity is conspicuous by its absence."

"The information of the average American about Canada is appalling. They seem to think that we bundle ourselves in furs, live in teepees and crouch around the Arctic Circle."

"The crime in the States is astounding. Weapons are easy to obtain and anybody out of a job joins a gang and becomes a gangster. The people have much too high an opinion of themselves and do too much talking. They

are really just ignorant of the rest of the world and think the States is the one and only place to live."

"Americans know very little about Canada as a country and very little about her history. The people seem to be friendly but uninterested.

The American papers were equally friendly, but owing to the authors' frequently confessed ignorance of the subject, less critical. Our students thought Canadians friendly, hospitable, law-abiding—in fact, "like Americans." (Canadians returned the compliment—many citizens of the United States were "like Canadians.") Papers from the United States contained some amusing misconceptions. One student wrote: "I have always thought until this year that Canadians were a fierce warlike people, somewhat like savages. I have found that they are civilized and have a good government." Another championed the Canadians: "The people are O.K. They can't help it if they are Canadian born." More characteristic is this comment: "Most moving pictures deal with the mounted police and their efforts to apprehend criminals, so one is apt to gain the impression that these are the only types of Canadian people. But I am sure there must be many good and worth while people. The life there is exciting." About the only criticism was of the Canadians being "too British"—e.g., "I would like living there if Canada got its independence from England." Many writers agreed that "The United States is lucky to have a nation like Canada for its neighbor," that "the United States couldn't choose a better and more friendly neighbor."

One point that goes to the heart of the question of relations between the United States and Canada was brought out. An examination of compositions written by the 25 American students who had the lowest scores on the factual test reveals that 13 were unfavorably impressed with Canada—whereas among the 25 highest scorers only 3 were unfriendly. And the Canadian papers, though not so sharply, showed the same division—13 of the low group were unfavorably impressed with the United States, but only 5 of the high group were unfriendly. We do tend to "shy away" from what is strange and unknown.

#### WHAT THE SCHOOLS TEACH

THE responsibility for our citizens' knowing and understanding the basic facts of Canadian-United States relations rests largely with the schools. That is what the third part of the investigation, the survey of textbooks indicated. Not the occasional distortion and sensationalism

of current periodicals and movies, but specific omissions in textbooks explain most of the gaps in knowledge among the students on both sides of the border. This part of the investigation consisted of an examination of 59 histories and 24 geographies in use in schoolrooms of the United States and of 12 histories and 5 geographies used in Canadian classes. With one exception no books written earlier than 1923 were examined.

In brief, while histories on both sides of the border showed a commendable lack of prejudice in describing the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and border disputes, the American texts were deficient in their treatment of the settlement of American Loyalists in Canada after the Revolution, the Rush-Bagot Agreement, Canadian Confederation in 1867, and the International Joint Commission. Nor do they, like many of the Canadian texts, include a chapter on United States-Canadian relations.

Only 27 out of the 59 mentioned the significance of the settlement of Loyalists in Canada, a corner-stone in the foundation of English-speaking Canada. Only five mentioned the Rush-Bagot Agreement by name, and only a few more give its provisions. Ten per cent of the American authors considered the Canadian Confederation of 1867 worthy of mention, and not a single author names the International Joint Commission of 1909. The Canadians, on the other hand, in the majority of cases give full discussions of the settlement of Loyalists, of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, of the International Joint Commission, and, of course, of Confederation. The Canadian treatment of the War of 1812, which involved an invasion of Canada by United States troops and a heroic defense by the Canadians, differs from that of American historians, who often fail to name Canada as an opponent. Thus 35 per cent of the American students answered a question on the test as to whether or not we were at war with Canada in 1812, in the negative.

A criticism that may be made of both American and Canadian texts is the amount of space devoted to the boundary disputes in comparison with that allotted to the record of arbitration and collaboration. A dispute makes better narration, but these quarrels lack the importance of the cooperation. An analysis of United States textbooks shows the emphasis placed upon these disputes and other matters of early history in the relations of the two countries. The emphasis on differences and difficulties rather than common bonds is clear.



<i>Topic</i>	<i>Number of texts discussing it</i>
War of 1812	57
Oregon Boundary Dispute	52
Maine Boundary Dispute	51
American Loyalists Settle in Canada	27
Fisheries Disputes	26
Provisions of the Rush-Bagot Agreement	16
Failure of Reciprocity in 1901	16
Provisions of the Treaty of 1818	14
Alaska Boundary Dispute	14
Unfortified Canadian Border	8
Canadian Trade with the United States	6
Canadian Confederation in 1867	6
Rush-Bagot Agreement by Name	5
Fenian Raids and Caroline Affair	5
Canada's Part in World War I	4
Canada's Present Status in the British Empire	4
Immigration of Canadians to the United States	4
Reciprocity in 1854	3
Canada and the League of Nations	3
Appointment of a Canadian Minister to the U.S.	2
Canada as Signatory to the Kellogg Pact	2

Finally, the geographies, nearly all of the twenty-four examined, contribute to the students' lack of information as well as to their knowledge of Canada by the brevity with which they dispose of important matters of Canadian commercial and political life. Unlike the histories, they do not err by omission. Most of the important topics are covered—the physical features, industries, resources, cities, and people. But when an author states that Canada's "government is much like that of the United States but the highest officer is appointed by the government of Great Britain," without explaining that the Canadian Prime Minister really rules, the student is not likely to figure out the real situation for himself. Consequently, when he is given a test about Canada, he writes, "Canada is to be pitied as she is still under British control." And United States-

Canadian trade relations are similarly disposed of. A series of influential elementary and junior high texts, in which history and geography are combined, gives scant space to Canada, usually referring to it as a part of the British Empire and directing the student to other sources for fuller information.

#### BY WAY OF RECOMMENDATION

WHETHER the majority of adult citizens would make the same record on the tests, and similar observations relating to Canadian-United States relations, as the boys and girls in the last year of high school is hard to say. Whether three fourths of the voters of the United States, at least in peacetime when the leaders of nations are somewhat less in the limelight, would fail to name correctly the Prime Minister of our closest neighbor nation, there is no telling. But certainly it would be unreasonable to expect them to do *much* better now than they did when they were in high school.

If, however, United States histories treated pertinent topics in the development of North America as an entity, with a chapter on United States-Canadian relations; if American geographies did more justice to Canadian government and trade; if both Canadian and American texts stressed the record of cooperation between the two nations as much as or more than the disputes—then we might know a friend and neighbor at least as well as we now know our enemies. This would be to the benefit of both nations, and, indeed, to the benefit of the world. In the chaotic times in which we live, every inch of frontier left undefended through mutual trust and respect, every example of friendship and understanding, is precious.

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"American schools and colleges do appallingly little to teach about Canada, and most of this little, especially in the high schools, seems poorly organized."

"In the elementary schools not more than one eighth have specific units of study on Canada, and these are nearly all geographical units."

"The High Schools give much less attention to Canada than do the elementary schools, probably less than one-fourth of them offering units or partial units on the subject, and less than 10 per cent of them offering units. Only 13.8 per cent of 2031 students questioned in 23 communities recalled any study about Canada in high school. Probably not many more than one-fifth of our high school students make any study of Canada, and only one-eighth of them do that study by units or partial units. Only about 6 per cent of the students are required to study a unit on Canada (a unit being two to three weeks study). In 19 states including four border states (not far from half the country), no high school teaching at all was reported."

"The neglect of Canada in American textbooks is glaring."

[From an unpublished dissertation at the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, by Kenneth Gell, Charlotte High School, Rochester, New York.]

# Study of the United States in Canadian Schools

Charles E. Phillips

**I**N NO grade in any province of Canada is the United States made a distinct theme for study during a year or a term. That is to say, there is no course anywhere exclusively on the "History of the United States," or on the "Geography of the United States," or on "The United States." There is one obvious reason why Canadian schools give less time than might be expected to the study of the United States. Because the development of the Canadian nation has its roots in the history of the British people, Canadian children are virtually in the position of having to study the history of two native lands—and this intensive study of both Great Britain and Canada preempts a large proportion of available time.

Thus in Ontario, Grade VII studies Canadian history (and geography), Grade VIII British history, Grade IX British history, and Grade X Canadian history. A similar condition applies in the Maritime Provinces, but not in provinces from Saskatchewan westward. Catholic Quebec has naturally a special interest in the French regime and French Canada, and this additional interest also limits the amount of attention given to other countries. Accordingly Canadian children study the United States only incidentally, in connection chiefly with courses in elementary social studies (Grades I-VI), in geography, in Canadian history, in British history, and in modern world history.

*In elementary social studies.* In most provinces of Canada, elementary social studies (Grades I-VI) deal not only with the child's environment today but with the period of exploration and settlement in America. Although this latter study calls the attention of the pupil to what is now

the United States, it gives little or no understanding of the United States today. In the study of other peoples today teachers of these grades usually select countries of some quaint and distinctive appeal, such as Holland and China.

*In geography.* Geography is receiving more attention insofar as history has developed into social studies and also insofar as formal courses in geography have been introduced in junior and senior high school grades. Thus in Ontario regional geography of the Americas is compulsory in Grade X for academic high school students, and this gives some knowledge of the people of the United States today; there is also an optional course in Grade XII which for some few students would increase this knowledge. British Columbia senior high school students may select a course in political geography which contains a unit (one of eight) on the United States.

*In Canadian history.* Courses in Canadian history which most pupils study at two or three different grade levels inevitably mention the United States most frequently in connection with disputes and wars, although recent textbooks emphasize and illustrate our developing friendship.

*In British history.* Courses in British history for the same reason are not the best means of giving a knowledge and understanding of the United States today.

*In modern world history.* Courses in modern world history provide a good opportunity for study of the United States. Such courses are offered chiefly in the senior high school grades, as follows: Nova Scotia XI, Catholic Quebec XII, Protestant Quebec XI and XII, Ontario XII and XIII, Manitoba XII, Saskatchewan XII. Consequently a relatively small percentage of students study such courses. New Brunswick, however, places modern history in grade IX. The proportion of attention to the United States in such courses might be expressed as about 5 per cent of the year's work.

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This informal and unofficial statement was kindly prepared by a professor of education in the Ontario College of Education, who is also editor of *The School* and co-secretary of the Canada-United States Committee on Education.

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In Alberta and British Columbia the social studies approach is extended through both the junior and senior high school grades. Thus Alberta students, from Grade IX to XII, study problems of contemporary society in a way that brings them into touch with the United States and most other countries, past and present. The unit plan

followed in British Columbia, especially in the senior high school courses, is similar in effect. Although this approach is probably most effective in giving an understanding of other peoples and of the world, it is almost impossible to measure the amount of attention which may be given to any one country.

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Ever since two gentlemen named Rush and Bagot gave their names 127 years ago to a treaty which proclaimed that all war vessels on the lakes should be disarmed, not only to avoid unnecessary expense, but as the treaty quaintly said, "to diminish the chances of collision and prevent any feeling of jealousy," one of the possible sources of war between us has been outlawed, and a fruitful century of peace has followed. It has taken the turbulence of a world run amok to find ships of war being built on our inland waters again, but this time, from the inland shipyards of both our nations, they slip by in happy company, urging forward to the sea to fight a common foe.

The years of peace have not only brought closer and closer together two peoples with a common language, common culture, common customs, and common ties, but they have shown us how important we are to each other. Although happy to be an independent self-governing nation within the fabric of the British Commonwealth, Canada is a North American nation, North American in its orientation. We share with you the common background of two pioneering nations in a young and vigorous Western world; we have a common heritage of democratic form and ideals; and our culture is similar when not the same. Our people intermingle, are taken and mistaken for each other. It is even true that people from one part of Canada are frequently more like those of adjoining districts of your country than of remoter parts of their own land. I should venture to guess that the people across the lake from Cleveland resemble Clevelanders more than Bostonians or Texans do. We visit back and forth with little let or hindrance. In normal times, on a given day in Canada, one can find 300,000 American tourists drinking in our scenic beauty—and sometimes other things as well. The American tourist industry is one of our most thriving. Your students attend our universities; your hunters and fishermen sample the wild life of our streams and forests.

And on our part. Like the poor you have us with you always. You know, in becoming one of the world's greatest exporting nations, we have somehow managed to export to you on large scale certain commodities that we really need ourselves. In particular, one of our greatest exports to you have been *people—people*, and, for the benefit of this audience, college professors. As far as people go, it might interest you to know that of a country which is the third largest in the world, in point of size, larger than the United States, but which has in that vast space of land only 11,506,000 people—little more than in New York City—one third of all people of Canadian stock now live in the United States. As far as college professors go, I find from a survey which I have made that in only twenty of your universities which I tested, I found that an impressive total of 350 staff members are Canadian born.

We have grown closer and closer as the years have gone by, and former disputes have passed into the limbo of unpleasant things. We have a relationship now which is a model among the nations of an unsettled world, and cast in sharp and clean relief by the strife and strains between other countries . . . (T. F. Newton, McGill University, at the National Council meeting in Cleveland, November 24, 1944).



# Labor's Need of a Public Relations Program

W. Roy Buckwalter

THE educational director of one of the older and more progressive unions recently commented that "Some of our unions, in their attitude toward the public, follow the example of Commodore Vanderbilt's 'The public be damned.'"<sup>1</sup> Almost simultaneously, an important national union official was declaring that, "... the American labor movement should employ one of the best advertising firms in America to tell the world what organized labor has done in the interests of the general welfare of all the people of America. America should be told of our long battle, during the past sixty years, to increase the wages, shorten the hours, and improve the working conditions of the workers in mine, mill, factory and on the railroads."<sup>2</sup>

From a different point of view the director of an Eastern radio station also notes labor's shortcomings with respect to its public relations: "I feel that labor is thoroughly justified in its criticisms of the manner in which some radio commentators have overplayed strikes and labor differences. However, labor itself should have done much more to make available facts on which its point of view was based. These commentators have all too often been compelled to rely wholly upon newspapers and wire services, which screen labor news through their own interpretations."<sup>3</sup>

That unions are here to stay is not seriously questioned. The question is, how long will it take to make unionism as much a part of our system as it is a part of British life? When the public is persuaded that the union movement is

democratic, honestly operated, and is contributing to our economic and social advancement, then will the threat of hostile labor legislation diminish.

## NEED FOR POPULAR EDUCATION

POLLS of public opinion taken in 1942 have shown that much needs to be done by unions in educating the public. (1) Of the office workers polled, 59 per cent were poorly informed or uninformed concerning labor unions; (2) of persons polled in the Middle Atlantic states, 65 per cent were poorly informed or uninformed concerning labor unions; (3) 31 per cent of white collar workers, 48 per cent of farmers, and 29 per cent of unskilled workers polled were not in favor of unions; (4) in reply to the question, "What bad things do you think labor unions do?" 40 per cent replied, "Cause strikes"; 24 per cent replied, "Have bad leaders, racketeers, etc."<sup>4</sup>

Examination of textbooks in economics and problems of democracy used in high schools show that much essential current material on labor and labor relations is missing. A survey of several high school economics books shows that about 3 per cent of the contents deal with labor.

Annually an educational institute, attended by several thousand teachers, is held in a large Eastern city. Examination of the proceedings of this institute for the period from 1933 to 1943 failed to show a single program devoted to labor or labor relations.

The writer personally inquired of high school social studies teachers whether unions sent mate-

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If the public is to understand labor unions and their policies and programs the unions must help through an intelligent public relations program. Such is the thesis of the Impartial Chairman of the Full-Fashioned Hosiery Industry, whose office is in Philadelphia. The author is a former teacher of economics in secondary schools and universities.

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Starr, "Worker's Education," *American Federationist*, vol. L, no. 6, pp. 27-28, June, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> *American Federationist*, vol. LI, no. 6, p. 23, June 1944.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Fortune*, vol. XXV, no. 2, pp. 99-100, February, 1942; *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. VI, no. 3, p. 480, Fall, 1942.

rial for student or teacher use. The replies were in the negative. Some teachers had written to unions, pointing out that if the students were to receive both sides of the picture it would be necessary for labor to furnish information. Not infrequently the teacher's request was unanswered, or he was informed that no material was available.

#### PRECEDENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

IT MAY be asked whether the effort and financial outlay required for an extensive program of public education will yield an adequate return to organized labor. To this question two answers can be made. First, so long as large segments of our people are not informed as to union objectives and contributions, the labor movement will fail to be considered a basic American institution. If an appreciable portion of our people are not convinced of the essentiality of organized labor, the opponents of labor, through propaganda, will be able to retard the development of the labor movement. Second, numerous trade associations are apparently firmly convinced that it pays to educate the public. The public relations activities of trade associations are concrete evidence of their belief that it pays to tell their story to the public. They employ full time speakers, at ample salaries. They publish and distribute hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature, including booklets on "The Closed Shop" and "Wartime Strikes in American Industry." They publish booklets for distribution to high school students. And they hold conferences attended by business men, ministers, and representatives of women's organizations.

What topics and types of information should be presented to the public? In the writer's judgment, some of the ideas to stress are: (1) The union member is about like the general run of workers; he desires to improve his income, and working conditions; he wishes sufficient leisure time; he is interested in community problems, such as education, and better government. (2) Basically, the union is a democratic organization; the absence of unions would make possible the use of autocratic methods, such as the company-dominated union, discharge of workers without recourse to arbitration, and the change of wage rates and working conditions without any voice on the part of the workers. (3) The unions have an excellent record in abiding by their collective-bargaining agreements. (4) Labor's cooperation with management has resulted in the solving of

industrial problems advantageously to employers and the public as well as employees. (5) Organized labor does not object to regulations, as such, but it does strongly oppose control which is discriminatory and aimed at weakening unionism.

#### IN DEFENSE OF UNIONS

A VERY effective way of injuring one's opponent is to make a broad statement without offering supporting evidence. For example, it has often been stated that, in its dealing with management, organized labor is irresponsible and fails to fulfill its obligations. Actually, however, there is abundant evidence of labor responsibility. As early as 1916 it was pointed out by the Commission on Industrial Relations that: "Joint agreements, on the whole, are well kept. There is a constant increase in the sense of moral obligation on the part of both employers and unions."<sup>1</sup> In 1938, an official of the United States Steel Corporation reported to the stockholders that: "The Union has scrupulously followed the terms of its agreement and, in so far as I know, has made no unfair effort to bring other employees into its ranks."<sup>2</sup> Cyrus Ching of the United States Rubber Company advised employers in 1937 that: "If, in dealing with labor organizations, we are ethical, are entitled to the confidence of people, use fair tactics and use friendly attitudes, we will get that in return; if we are going to be militant, use underhand tactics, and fight all the time that is the type of organized labor leader we will get. So I think we all recognize that, where we are dealing with organized labor, we are going to get about the type of leadership that we are ourselves."<sup>3</sup> In 1938, an authority on labor drew attention to the fact that "less than one-half of one per cent of the contracts between American unions and their employers have been violated over a period of thirty-six years."<sup>4</sup>

A second illustration of statements made without factual basis is the frequently heard charge that absenteeism during the present World War is due largely to union labor. What do the facts

<sup>1</sup> U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report* (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1916), vol. I, pp. 119-120.

<sup>2</sup> Myron C. Taylor, "Ten Years of Steel," Address before the Annual Meeting of Stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation, April 4, 1938, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrus C. Ching, "Problems in Collective Bargaining," *Journal of Business of the University of Chicago*, vol. IX, part II, p. 40, January, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Harris, *American Labor* (New Haven: Yale University Pr., 1935), p. 418.

reveal? Accurate studies show the persistent causes of absenteeism vary from accidents to "hang-overs," but it is not shown that union labor is particularly to blame. In fact, a study made by the United States Department of Labor, indicates that organized labor has cooperated fully in the drive to reduce absenteeism. This conclusion was based on testimony made by officials of various companies at hearings on absenteeism before the House Labor Committee<sup>9</sup>

#### SOME POPULAR MISCONCEPTIONS

NOT infrequently the financial practices of unions are criticized. What the public does not know is that the better unions publish complete financial statements, audit accounts, and bond officials who handle money. No specific proof has been produced to show that unions as a whole have financial practices inferior to those of other organizations.

Few laymen are cognizant of the extent to which organized labor has cooperated with management in the solution of industrial problems. Publicizing of such cooperation would serve to show that the more far-sighted unions have adopted a long range view of their functions—the view that the ideas and experience of the workers are helpful both in the solving of problems of industry, such as the elimination of waste, the improvement of quality, and also in the formulation of policies. The statement of a prominent labor leader concerning the importance of labor-management cooperation, is worth repeating: "Utilizing the work experience of wage-earners is just as essential to the operation of our system as is the function of management."<sup>10</sup>

Among the illustrations of cooperation which should be publicized by labor are: the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad plan for the elimination of wasteful and inefficient production methods in the shops; the 1938 agreement wherein the American Federation of Hosiery Workers accepted a reduction in wage rates in order that the mills might install up-to-date equipment; the cooperation of the pressmen's union with management, which resulted in the annual saving of thousands of dollars; and union assistance to management

in the men's clothing industry. This aid includes lending funds to save firms from bankruptcy, advising on sales policies, and the supplying of technical experts to improve management policies. Among the permanent benefits of cooperation which should be stressed are the stabilization and increase of employment, higher wages, improved working conditions, and the stimulation of greater efficiency on the part of management.

THE public is well informed on the use of violence on property and persons by strikers. However, the public knows little concerning violations of the right of free speech and assembly, and interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. The Senate Committee on Education and Labor spent four years in investigating all phases of the violation of the rights of labor. Among the subjects investigated were: "Industrial Munitions," "Industrial Espionage," "Strike Breaking," "Labor Policies of Employers' Associations," and "Private Police Systems." Organized labor would do well to present the findings and conclusions of these investigations to the public.

The following findings with respect to "Industrial Munitions" should be quite illuminating to the general public:

"Resort to arms by workmen is a rare occurrence, whereas the practice of industrial munitioning on the part of employers is widespread and commonplace.

"The possession and use of industrial munitions by employers is the logical end of a labor-relations policy based on non-recognition of unions—in opposition to the spirit of national labor laws. The principal purpose of such weapons is aggression. Their use results only in violence, embitters industrial relations and hampers peaceful settlement of industrial disputes.

"Industrial munitions jeopardize public peace. Further, and more important, their irresponsible use constitutes usurpation of public police functions."<sup>11</sup>

A rather commonly held belief is that the labor movement, as a whole, is infested with racketeering. That racketeering has existed in certain unions cannot be denied. However, it is not generally realized that racketeering is not confined to the labor movement, but is also found

<sup>9</sup> U. S. Department of Labor, Labor Standards Division. Special Bulletin no. 12, *Controlling Absenteeism, Record of War Plant Experience*. Prepared by Lucille J. Buchanan. (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1943. Pp. 57).

<sup>10</sup> Robert J. Watt, "Management-Labor Cooperation in Wartime and After," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. VII, no. 3, pp. 354-363, Fall, 1943.

<sup>11</sup> Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, Report no. 6, 76th Congress, First Session, 1939, Part III "Industrial Munitions," pp. 4, 5, 189.

in government and business, or that where racketeering is found in a union it is also found throughout that industry, such as the building and service industries. The following conclusions of an impartial group, the City Club of New York, in its "Report on Certain Aspects of Labor Union Responsibility and Controls," 1937, are significant: "Nor is racketeering in any proper sense typical of the labor movement; on the contrary, it is merely an invasion of that movement by a relatively negligible element. . . . Indeed, there appears to be a tendency to exaggerate the problem in order to lend weight to proposals for union regulation."

THE essential point to keep in mind is that misinformation on the part of the public can be more injurious to the labor movement than lack of information. It has been aptly observed that, on matters of public concern, the populace frequently suffers not so much from too much information as from an excess of misinformation.

In order to do an efficient public relations job, the various unions would do well to pool their resources. A top notch public relations director should be selected. If such a man can't be found within the ranks of labor, then someone outside the labor movement, for example an educator, should be employed. The selection of an advisory board, consisting of leading educators, clergymen, and public officials, would serve to assure the public that labor's public relations program would be conducted ethically.

The securing of a friendly public is a cardinal task of organized labor. As an official of a national trade association has explained, "Attitudes are important, not only because of what they indicate at a given moment, but also because they may indicate what is likely to happen. If the public or employees continue to have a certain attitude on particular things, then we may expect that that attitude will be reflected in actions, either legislative or otherwise. . . .

The attitude may be misinformed, may be unsound, or may even be ridiculous, but that does not destroy the fact that the attitude is extremely important."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Noel Sargent, *Public and Employee Attitudes on Labor Problems* (Washington: National Association of Manufacturers, 1942), p. 4.

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Labor-management committees and industrial democracy will come into their own when labor is secure in its job and can meet with management as an equal.

It is our conviction in the CIO that if the magnificent teamwork which has been developed by labor, management and government during the war can be carried over from the transition into the peace, we can perpetuate the high levels of production we have achieved and can guarantee every American, irrespective of race, color, or creed, a lifetime job at a living wage; and furthermore, an abundance of food, clothing and shelter, plus security and leisure. For the first time in history, we will have eliminated poverty. . . . (Kermit Eby, Assistant Director, Research and Education, CIO, at the National Council meeting in Cleveland, November 24, 1944).



# Management and Labor in the Social Studies Program

William B. Barton

SUCH enactments as the Railway Labor Act in 1926, the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933, the National Labor Relations Act in 1935, and the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938 are among the events of our time which typify the increasing importance of management-labor relations. They represent, moreover, such pronounced changes that large segments of the public have been thrown into confusion. The developments which preceded the War, when coupled with the activities of the National War Labor Board and the numerous other governmental agencies which have dealt with labor problems since Pearl Harbor, have left much of the public almost in a state of bewilderment.

In all the confusion, however, of one thing we may be certain: labor unions and collective bargaining are here to stay. For that reason management-labor problems, as we have come to know them, are permanent factors in our national life with which we must hereafter reckon.

CONSIDER how interwoven with everyday life are management and labor relations. Let's be concrete. Mr. John Citizen buys a loaf of bread. After the wheat that goes into that loaf of bread leaves the farm, it is handled, the chances are, by some grain storage elevator in a rural community. There occurs the first impact of management-labor relations on the future loaf of bread. The employees of the elevator may or may not work under a collective bargaining contract, but in any event there are all the manage-

ment-labor problems incident to every employer-employee relation.

The grain leaves the elevator and is shipped by rail to a milling company. The crews which run the railroad trains belong to some of the railroad labor unions. Their wages and working conditions are controlled by collective bargaining agreements between their unions and the railroad company.

The wheat is manufactured into flour by the milling company. The milling company's employees very likely belong to unions and work under collective bargaining agreements between their labor organizations and the milling company.

After the flour is manufactured it may be stored in a warehouse. The chances are that the truck drivers and helpers who haul it to and from the warehouse, and the warehouse employees who store it, are organized and dealing with their employers through collective bargaining agreements made by their unions.

The flour, after various shipments and other storings in warehouses, ultimately reaches a wholesaler, and then a bakery. The employees of these distributors not unlikely are organized and work under collective bargaining contracts.

Thus, when Mr. John Citizen ultimately buys a loaf of bread, whether he knows it or not, he is on the receiving end of a whole series of management-labor relations. Often he would be surprised if he knew how many of these transactions involved collective bargaining contracts and other dealings between employers and unions.

The illustration about the loaf of bread is no isolated case. Recent statistics show that 8½ millions, or 60 per cent of all employees engaged in manufacturing industries, are covered by collective bargaining contracts. In some industries the percentage is even higher.

So the subject of management-labor relations as it presently exists is not something in a vacuum. It rather involves everyday life, the everyday life of all of us. This fact makes it

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Social studies classes, urges the secretary of the Labor Relations Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, should prepare youth for enlightened participation in management-labor relations, and should help to inform the public about problems involved in such relations. This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies in Cleveland on November 24.

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imperative today that if the schools are to represent life they must deal with this subject.

#### NEED FOR STUDY IN SCHOOLS

**B**ECAUSE of the vitality of the subject I am not one of those who would softpedal the treatment of it as a part of the social studies program. I would not shy away from it because it is controversial and difficult. I postulate rather that the problems which the subject presents have much to contribute to the social studies, and the social studies have much to contribute to them. Such problems are inherently interesting. They are discussed everywhere—in places of business, in the family circle, in newspapers, in magazines, on trains, and on airplanes. Why not let the social studies capitalize on this inherent interest? Why not use the subject to add life to the classroom?

Of greater importance, however, is the contribution which the social studies can make to the solution of management-labor problems. The classroom which deals properly with such subject matter plays a major role in preparing students for citizenship. Think of the opportunity that exists today to use for this purpose current subject matter arising out of management-labor relations.

For example, a topic of vital concern just now to both business and labor is the future of that tripartite body, the National War Labor Board, which was established early in the war as the best means of preserving industrial peace during the war period. Both management and labor are concerned as to whether the Board or some modification of it will continue after the War. Several possible answers present themselves:

- that the W.L.B. in substantially its present form be made a permanent institution;
- that it be discontinued entirely;
- that a body similar to the W.L.B. be set up to handle labor disputes after the war, but without compulsory powers;
- that an enlarged conciliation service be substituted for it;
- that there be a complete reorganization of the various labor agencies, centralizing them and providing them with a uniform set of policies to be applied generally; or
- that the principles of the Railway Labor act be extended to industry generally.

The point I wish to make in mentioning these possibilities is that all of them open up vast fields of study. Such questions as how the War

Labor Board happened to be created; the differences between the War Labor Board in this war and World War I; the theory of the tripartite system—its advantages and disadvantages; how cases come to the War Labor Board; how they are handled, and what happens after they are handled; whether the plan would work in time of peace—these and many other problems arise out of this one question of the future of the W.L.B. All of them can be interesting subject matter for social studies classes. They could do much to enrich the curriculum.

Of vastly more importance, however, is the fact that such subject matter will train the student to face problems with which he will have to deal as soon as he leaves school. Only by a thorough study of industrial relations problems in the social studies classroom can the schools be playing their part in the preparation of the future leaders who will handle these problems.

#### NEED FOR BETTER LEADERSHIP

**I**F WE are to solve them we must have better leadership. This is true of both business and labor. The fact is no reflection on either group. The dealings between the two as we know them today have developed so fast during the past few years that both groups were caught unprepared to meet the situation. Most of the leaders of business, for instance, were rushed into this new era with little or no background which prepared them for doing such things as dealing with representatives of unions, negotiating collective bargaining agreements, and handling grievances. Similarly the unions, whose membership grew from less than three million in 1933 to almost nine million in 1940, and almost thirteen million in 1944, found themselves ill-equipped in leadership experience with which to face such problems from their side. Proper use in the social studies of materials taken from the field of management-labor relations can do much to elevate the leadership of both management and labor.

#### NEED FOR INFORMED PUBLIC OPINION

**O**F EQUAL importance with the training of leaders is the development of a sound public opinion in such matters on the part of the rank and file of the American people. Only a few of those who have their day in the classroom will develop into top-flight leaders of either management or labor. Most of them, however, will hold positions of trust as wage earners,



salaried employees, and people in business who constitute that great imponderable known as public opinion.

The policies of both business and labor are guided in a great degree by public opinion. That is why the intelligent leaders of both groups strive vigorously to enlist the support of public opinion. A public opinion which is poorly informed may actually do harm. Opinions based on prejudice cause people to become more excited and rash than opinions based on a carefully considered knowledge of the facts. Public opinion, to be a dependable guide in the matter of management-labor relations, must be an enlightened public opinion. What greater service can the social studies classroom render than to give students such a background of material as to enable them to have an enlightened opinion about management-labor matters?

#### CLASSROOM APPROACH

WHEN I talk about using the social studies as an instrumentality by which to form public opinion, I do not mean that the social studies classroom should undertake to hand its students a mass of fixed conclusions about these controversial problems. Any such approach would arouse resentment and be injurious both to the social studies program and to the field of management-labor relations. Rather students should be stimulated to view all sides of the many problems involved, do their own thinking

about them, and draw their own conclusions.

For example, a present issue of great importance is the controversial question of a guaranteed annual wage. Let the social studies explore all sides of this question: what are the arguments for and against it? Why does labor want it? Why have some businesses been able to use it and others not? Would any changes in our methods of doing business make it more generally possible? Let the students explore all the facts, and draw their own conclusions about the proposal.

A proper use of such subject matter as part of the curriculum is not easy. Because most labor relations problems are by their nature controversial, ten well-informed people are likely to have that many shades of opinion on each such problem. That very situation, however, tests our faith in democracy. If we really believe in democracy, we will believe also that the sum total of informed public opinion will be dependable.

Management-labor relations problems furnish the social studies a wealth of vivid illustrative material from the laboratory of life. It is the responsibility of the social studies to use this material in training the most capable students to be leaders of industry and labor, and in helping all to form enlightened opinions.

Any other course means that the social studies are missing a genuine opportunity to help solve one of today's most vital problems. It also means that business and labor are losing assistance which they ought to have.

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Certainly, one of the things which we all have learned [from the war] is that a generous and open-minded cooperation between management and organized labor through union-management committees and in government agencies and the like pays real dividends in production. The CIO is committed to that sort of cooperation and believes it can be carried forward from the war into the peace.

On April 12, 1944, there were a total of 4,165 labor-management committees in operation. Cleveland, Chicago, and New York are the cities most active in labor-management relations. The number of labor-management committees is increasing almost daily. And through them, production has increased phenomenally. . . .

There is another thing, however, which everyone in this country has learned from this war experience: America is capable of turning out goods and services at rates which no one ever before had supposed possible. We have added tremendously to our industrial plants and equipment—15 billion dollars worth of plants and 6 billion worth of equipment. And yet these additions alone do not account for the huge increases in production volume. Even with nearly twelve million of our best producers drawn off into the armed forces, we have doubled—in fact, more than doubled—our production rates. . . .

The combination of technological improvement and manpower can give the American people unlimited goods and services. Furthermore, the American people are going to insist, and rightly so, that if this sort of thing can be done in war time, it can be done in peace time. And if we can produce in such huge quantities for the purposes of death, we can and must do so for purposes of an abundant life for everyone . . . (Kermit Eby, Assistant Director, Research and Education, CIO, at the National Council meeting in Cleveland, November 24, 1944).

# Notes and News

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## NCSS Planning Committee

At a meeting of the Board of Directors in Cleveland in conjunction with the 24th Annual Meeting it was voted to establish a Planning Committee to map out a program of publications for the coming year, and in so far as practicable to project plans for several years ahead.

This committee met for two days in New York City on December 26 and 27 and devoted the entire two days to planning an expanded publications program for the National Council. Those present at this meeting, with their official National Council positions, were: Mary G. Kelty, President; W. Linwood Chase, Chairman of the Curriculum Committee; Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary; R. O. Hughes, Chairman of the Publications Committee; and Erling M. Hunt, Editor of *Social Education*.

Provisional plans were made for topics in the Yearbook series, additional publications in the bulletin and curriculum series, and to add two new series to the National Council's publication program. These new series are to deal with teaching materials in the social studies with periodic supplements, and with practical classroom techniques. Both of these series in the projected plans are to cover a wide range of materials and methods prepared so as to be of maximum practical use to classroom teachers.

## Middle States Council

The Middle States Council for the Social Studies held its annual fall meeting at Teachers College, Columbia University, on December 8-9. Miss Frances Sweeney of Horace Mann-Lincoln School and Teachers College arranged the program for the elementary section. One session dealt with developments in the elementary social studies program of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, and of New Jersey, and the other with intercultural education in the elementary school with Hortense Powdermaker of Queen's College as speaker.

The secondary school sessions, arranged by the president, Erling M. Hunt, were concerned with world history, American history, and with attention to Latin America and the Far East. The speakers included Helen J. Wildes, Bartram In-

dustrial School, Philadelphia, William H. Hartley, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland, L. Paul Todd, State Teachers College, Danbury, Connecticut, Samuel Steinberg, Stuyvesant High School, New York City, Clara V. Braymer, Central High School, Trenton, New Jersey, Frank Tannenbaum, Columbia University, W. Harry Snyder, New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair, Ethel E. Ewing, New York State College for Teachers, Albany, and Elmina R. Lucke, Horace Mann-Lincoln High School. Leaders and participants in discussion groups were drawn from six states and the District of Columbia. The papers and summaries of discussion will appear in the 1944-45 volume of the Proceedings, scheduled for summer publication.

The 1943-44 volume of Proceedings, *History in the High School and Social Studies in the Elementary School*, edited by Morris Wolf, Jeannette P. Nichols, and A. C. Bining is now available from Dr. Morris Wolf, editor, Girard College, Philadelphia 21, at \$1. It includes papers presented at meetings of the Middle States Council in New York and Philadelphia dealing with world history, and American history in the secondary school and with the social studies program of the elementary school. Several plans for organizing secondary school courses are blocked out and the discussion of them in several sessions is fully summarized.

Subject to cancellation if ODT policy so requires, the spring meeting of the Council is scheduled for Baltimore on April 27-28. Local arrangements are in charge of a committee chaired by Harry E. Bard, second vice-president of the Council.

## Minnesota Council

The Board of Directors of the Minnesota Council has authorized the editor of their official publication, *The Bulletin*, to conduct a survey of the social studies offerings of American secondary schools. This survey is planned to get a composite picture of what is actually going on in the social studies classrooms in all parts of the country. Questionnaires and letters requesting specific information have been sent to the social studies supervisors of fifty cities and to the state departments of education of the forty-eight

states. The cities were selected in such a way that all parts of the country are represented and so that cities of different sizes are included. (D.M.)

### Missouri Council

The Missouri Council for the Social Studies has prepared a 48-page publication entitled *Constitution Making in Missouri*. This bulletin was prepared to give a concise background of constitutional development in Missouri and an insight into the new proposed constitution for the State of Missouri. Major sections of this bulletin deal with: Constitution Making Today, The Constitution in a Modern State, History of Constitution Making, Meeting Needs by Amendments, The General Assembly, The Executive Department, The Courts, Local Government, Education, and Taxation.

### Greater St. Louis Chapter

The new officers of the Greater St. Louis Chapter of the Missouri Council for the Social Studies are as follows: Erwin Urch, University City, president; Edna Fisse, St. Louis, vice-president; Floyd Welch, St. Louis, treasurer; Martha Barkeley, Maplewood, secretary. (J.C.A.)

### New Jersey Association

The New Jersey Association of Teachers of the Social Studies has undertaken an inquiry to discover the extent and character of education in the field of the social studies, grades seven to twelve, inclusive, in the State of New Jersey. A questionnaire has been sent to high school principals in the state and also to district superintendents. The findings of this survey will be published in *The Docket*, the official organ of the New Jersey Association. (E.M.B.)

### New York State Council

The New York State Council for the Social Studies met in Syracuse on December 28. The topic for the morning session was "Evaluation in the Social Studies." Howard R. Anderson, Cornell University, gave the opening address which was followed by a panel discussion led by Lloyd McIntyre of Lockport. Panel participants were Mildred McChesney, state supervisor of social studies; Marcia Chatfield, Cornwall; Robert Getman, Ogdensburg; Frederick Price, Van Hornesville; Roy A. Price, Syracuse University; and Howard R. Anderson.

The luncheon speaker was George B. Cressey of Syracuse University who reported on a recent stay in India, China, and the U.S.S.R. on a mission for the State Department. In the afternoon group meetings for junior and senior high schools were held with Seward Salisbury of Oswego, and Harold Long of Glens Falls as leaders.

At the business meeting the following officers were elected: Lloyd McIntyre, Lockport, president; Edith E. Starratt, Sherburne, first vice-president; Kathryn Hefferman, Marcellus, second vice-president; Roy A. Price, Syracuse University, secretary-treasurer.

### New York City Association

The *ATSS Bulletin* for November of the Association of Teachers of Social Studies of New York City contains an article by Paul Balser on "Why I Belong to the National Council for the Social Studies." Other articles describe a joint meeting of the ATSS with the Institute of Pacific Relations, a joint meeting of the ATSS with the Biology Teachers Association; a discussion of the social studies teachers licenses in New York City is continued from a previous issue. A prize contest for social studies teachers in the field of human, or intercultural, relations is announced, and a discussion of the planned city-wide examination for modern history is reported.

### Secondary School Planning

*Planning for American Youth*, setting forth an educational program for youth of secondary school age, is a 64-page publication prepared by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. This pamphlet, attractively illustrated in color, is based on a recently published report of the Educational Policies Commission of the NEA, entitled *Education for All American Youth*. This publication presents descriptions of two examples of secondary school programs—Farmville and American City—which can serve as the basis for discussion of secondary school programs for all kinds of communities, rural and urban. Considerable emphasis is placed in this report on education for citizenship. Copies of this report can be secured from the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, at 25 cents a copy.

### Geography

As a result of a recent checkup of their mailing list the *Geography-Science Bulletin* editors are

able to accept a limited number of new requests for the *Bulletin*. Teachers, or other persons interested, may secure the *Geography-Science Bulletin* each month without cost by sending in a written request. The requests should be addressed to: *Geography-Science Bulletin*, Rhode Island College of Education, Providence 8, Rhode Island. (J.G.J.)

The November issue includes "Topography and Rhode Island," by Basil E. Gilbert; the December issue, "China Rising," by J. Granville Jensen.

*Map Reading: A Series of Lessons for Use in the Junior High School*, by Elaine Forsyth, has been published in the Geographic Education Series, edited by George J. Miller (Bloomington, Ill.: McKnight and McKnight, 1944. Pp. 62. 60 cents). Latitude and longitude, great circles, scale, and projections are treated, with effective illustrations. A test of map reading skills is included. The material is reprinted from the *Journal of Geography*.

### Biographical Leaflets

A series of biographical leaflets covering political, religious, and humanitarian leaders of international significance is being prepared by Leonard S. Kenworthy. Leaflets have been prepared on Abraham Lincoln, Toyohiko Kagawa, William Penn, John Woolman, George Fox (founder of the Quaker movement), Jane Addams, Leo Tolstoy, and John Wesley. Each of these is an eight-page booklet; the first page is devoted to a brief biography, and the remaining seven pages are direct quotations from these persons arranged topically under such themes as race relations, democracy, education, religion, etc. The price of these leaflets is 5 cents per copy, \$1.50 for fifty, and \$2.75 per one hundred. Order from Leonard S. Kenworthy, Fairmount, Indiana.

### Junior Town Meeting

New officers of the Junior Town Meetings are Allen Y. King, Cleveland public schools, president; W. Linwood Chase, Boston University, vice president; and Byron B. Williams, former national moderator, secretary-treasurer.

The League's handbook, *Make Youth Discussion Conscious*, is intended for members of the League but is available to others while the supply lasts. Edited by I. Keith Tyler and Allen Y. King, it gives detailed suggestions for adapting radio forum techniques to discussions by youth—with

four nationally-broadcast discussion programs as examples. It lists the services of the League as follows:

- (1) A weekly bulletin, *Civic Training*, which outlines the League's "topic of the week."
- (2) Makes available the services of its National Moderator to conduct demonstration discussions in high school assemblies, whether League members or not.
- (3) Maintains an advisory service to schools, youth groups, or radio stations which wish to set up forum discussions.
- (4) Conducts an annual national conference on youth discussion techniques in cooperation with the Institute for Education by Radio.
- (5) Assists organizations in training discussion leaders for school or other youth groups.

C. W. Pettegrew, former program supervisor of WOSU, the Ohio State University radio station, has been named as National Moderator. His services are available to high schools as guest moderator for Junior Town Meeting demonstration assemblies.

### Student Councils

The National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, has issued a 240-page handbook on *The Student Council in the Secondary School*. The handbook deals both with purposes and questions of organization and procedure. Its price is \$1.

### Compulsory Military Training

Several educational organizations are conducting studies of compulsory military training in peacetime. As already noted in this journal, the American Council on Education last summer commissioned George Fort Milton to study the experiences of several European nations and of Japan with such training. The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver has issued as its Report No. 23 its findings on public opinion relating to *Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime*: 79 per cent of the public would favor a law requiring one year of military training for boys over 18; 71 per cent believe that such a requirement would encourage similar legislation in other countries; 79 per cent of adult civilians believe that compulsory military training would not in itself lead to future wars. The returns are broken down by sub-groups. The findings of other polls are summarized including the returns on Gallup polls in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia.

The Research Division of the NEA published in December a summary of *Superintendents*



*Opinions on Compulsory Youth Programs.* The bulletin, which is available for 25 cents for a single copy, deals with various proposals for national service as well as strictly military training.

### International Relations

The International Relations Committee of the National Education Association has assembled a "Source Kit in International Relations" which is available free on request to local social studies associations who wish to plan meetings built around any, or all, of five topics covered by materials in this list. Also available on loan are five fifteen-minute recordings (which can only be used on a 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  r.p.m. playback) on which the NEA will pay all carrying charges. This material is available only to leaders of organized groups who will use it in promoting discussions on vital topics of international relations. Topics on which material has been assembled are: (1) The Social Significance of the Air Age, (2) The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and Plans for International Organization, (3) The Treatment of Germany and Japan, (4) The Problems of World Trade and Prosperity, and (5) The Need for an International Office of Education and Cultural Reconstruction. For full information write at once to Edward G. Olsen, Committee on International Relations, NEA, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6.

The *Foreign Policy Reports*, issued twice each month by the Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York (25 cents a copy, \$5 a year), continue to deal with topics of interest to teachers of modern world or American history, world problems, and current events. The issue for November 15 includes "What Kind of Peace With Germany—Terms Proposed by Liberated Nations of Europe," by Winifred N. Hadsel; for December 1, "Italy's Struggle for Recovery—An Allied Dilemma," by C. Grove Haines; for December 15, "Anglo-American Caribbean Commission—Pattern for Colonial Cooperation," by Olive Holmes; and for January 1, "China as a Post-War Market," by Lawrence K. Rosinger.

A new monthly publication, *Postwar Information Bulletin*, made its first appearance in October. Published by the Postwar Information Exchange, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, at \$1 a year, it calls attention to new publications of importance, to films, recordings, and broadcasts relating to postwar topics and issues.

*Postwar Notes*, issued monthly by the United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, at 5 cents a copy or 50 cents a

year, provides digests of official information on the activities of international agencies, on agreements and policies of governments, and on international conferences.

Four bibliographies concerned respectively with China, India, Thailand, and the Philippines, compiled by C. O. Arndt of the U.S. Office of Education, are available free of charge from the Division of Comparative Education, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25. The lists annotate books, pamphlets, maps, films, recordings, and plays.

### History Teaching in Mexico

"Study of Certain Social and Nationalistic Attitudes as Revealed in a Group of Mexican History Textbooks," by J. H. Webb, Jr., a 95-page manuscript, has been accepted as a master's essay (1944) at George Washington University. It deals with aims and philosophy and attitudes toward class society, religion, the church in history, the United States, and Mexican-American relations.

### Individual Differences Yearbook

*Adapting Instruction in the Social Studies to Individual Differences*, edited by Edward Krug and C. Lester Anderson, the Fifteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, has been mailed to all who were members of the National Council in November. The volume may be purchased at \$2.00 a copy (bound copies, 30 cents additional) from M. F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6.

### Helpful Articles

Connell, F. G. "Vocational Education and the Social Studies," *Education for Victory*, III: No. 12, 17-18, December 20, 1944. Address before the National Council for the Social Studies, Cleveland, November 24.

Ford, Pearl C. and Bryan, Roy C. "A Student Council Grows in Responsibility," *Clearing House*: XIX: 151-56, November, 1944. A report from Western State High School, Western Michigan College, Kalamazoo.

Williams, Chester C. "UNRRA and the Problem of Educational Rehabilitation," *Education for Victory*, III: No. 13, 8-10, January 3, 1945. Problems, and plans.

All social studies teachers and social studies organizations are invited to send in material for these columns. Send in notes on the activities of your school or organization and other items of general interest to social studies teachers. Mail your material as early as possible to Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington. Contributors to this issue include: Julian C. Aldrich, Edwin M. Barton, J. Grenville Jensen, and Dorothy Merideth.

# Pamphlets and Government Publications

Leonard B. Irwin

## Postwar Problems

Although international arbitration as a means of settling disputes may seem to some to belong in the idealistic days before 1914, there can be no question but that it must have an important part in settling many types of postwar problems. *Arbitration in International Controversy*, by Frances Kellor and Martin Domke (American Arbitration Association, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. Free) issued in cooperation with the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, discusses the role which arbitration will play in dealing with such problems as rehabilitation, enemy property claims, blocked funds, and many other things. The authors discuss the various processes for international arbitration and the provisions for it in the work of the Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks conferences. They go on to describe specifically the steps which they believe must be taken to make arbitration an effective tool for peace. The booklet is too technical for high school use.

Financial issues will not be the least of our postwar problems, and they represent a type of problem most difficult to grasp. A very worthwhile contribution to the analysis of the subject is *Fiscal and Monetary Policy*, by Beardsley Ruml and H. Chr. Sonne (National Planning Association, 800 Twenty-First Street, N. W., Washington 6. 25 cents). Divided into eight main sections, such as national policy, the federal budget, taxation, and foreign investment, this pamphlet states the basic principles of each topic, and then presents a series of definite recommendations with the reasons for each. The value of the discussion lies not only in the important nature of the content but also in the economical and efficient way in which it is presented. Perhaps finance will always remain a closed book to many citizens, but this pamphlet, if carefully read, can do a great deal to lift the veil of mystery from the subject.

A more technical but nevertheless interesting booklet on the problems of taxation is *Postwar Taxes: The Twin Cities Plan* (Twin Cities Research Bureau, 332 Cedar Street, St. Paul 1, Minnesota. Free). It presents the result of an

exhaustive study by a group of Minnesota business men who undertook to analyze every known plan, or combination of plans, of federal taxation, applying actuarial methods to determine their ability to meet two prime requirements: maintenance of a healthy private enterprise system as supported by venture capital; and the production of sufficient revenues to balance a reasonable postwar budget.

*Surplus War Property* (Public Affairs Press, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington 8. 50 cents) contains the full text of reports by the OWI and the Surplus War Property Administration on the basic facts and basic procedures connected with surplus war property. It is an essential reference for anyone concerned with this widely-discussed question.

The same agency has also issued *Going Back to Civilian Life* (25 cents), a very useful reference for servicemen and their families. The first part is based upon official information from the War Department, and provides authoritative and explicit data about the privileges, opportunities, and rights of returning soldiers. It tells the serviceman or his family what he is entitled to with regard to pay and allowances, education, vocational training, employment, legal aid, medical care, and other matters. It tells him, also, exactly how to apply for any of these benefits. The second part of the booklet contains the complete text of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly called the "G.I. Bill of Rights."

*The Future of Education in England and Wales* (British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. Free) is a pamphlet that should be of wide interest to educators. It gives a summary of the British Education Act, passed August 3, 1944, and of four important government reports on educational policy issued during the past eighteen months. Together they comprise a far-reaching program for public education which is worth close study.

Plans for the future of education in another European nation are found in *The Proposed Educational Reconstruction in People's Poland* (Journal of Educational Sociology, 32 Washington Place, New York 3. 25 cents). The program



contained in this booklet was formulated in Warsaw by the Polish Underground Labor Movement and the Polish Teachers' Underground Movement, and was transmitted to supporters in this country on microfilm. Thus in addition to its intrinsic interest, it has a peculiarly striking historic importance. The program in substance calls for a thoroughly democratic system of education, including vocational guidance, special training for gifted children, health service, and adequate economic standards. It may be many years before Poland can hope to attain such goals, but it is encouraging to see that in the midst of devastation the desire for free and democratic education has not been lost.

Education for the future is also the subject of another important pamphlet—*A Program for the Education of Returning Veterans* (Educational Policies Commission, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, 10 cents). This contains valuable suggestions by which American education can meet the challenge of the provisions of the "G.I. Bill of Rights." The recommendations are both specific and practicable.

A subject of perennial interest to most people is that of home-owning, though to many citizens it has thus far been only a dream. There is little question but that home construction will be one of the vital postwar industries, and new methods of construction and financing may enable many families to realize their cherished hopes for the first time. A very interesting discussion of the possibilities is found in *Houses for Tomorrow*, by Thomas R. Carskadon (Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, 10 cents). In plain and practical language, the author explains the factors which enter into the choice between buying, building, or renting; the outlook for new types of dwellings such as prefabricated houses; the proper steps to take when planning to build a house; the barriers which exist to better housing, such as outmoded building codes, trade restraints, and restrictive labor union practices; and the importance of public housing and government aid to home-builders. The booklet will be of value to school classes and adults alike.

That international trade is one of the foundation stones for permanent peace and prosperity is axiomatic. A serious and challenging analysis of the needs of the future in the light of the past is *America's New Opportunities in World Trade* (National Planning Association, 800 Twenty-First Street, N.W., Washington 6, 25

cents). This is the report of the NPA's Committee on International Policy and should be carefully studied by economists, business men, and statesmen.

### Current Problems

*The Displaced Japanese-Americans* (American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington 8, 10 cents) is a reprint of an article which recently appeared in *Fortune*. It is a very readable discussion of an extremely controversial question. It will not be appreciated by many Californians upon whom much of the blame for the "protective custody" policy is placed. That the government's treatment of Japanese-Americans has not done much to increase respect for democratic procedures is the conclusion reached by this article.

One of the more unfamiliar Asiatic problems is the subject of *Korea Looks Ahead*, by Andrew J. Grajdanzev (American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, 25 cents). The Cairo Declaration promised Korea eventual independence. It is an almost unknown country to Westerners, and this pamphlet serves a real need in acquainting American readers with the people, customs, history, and problems of Korea. It is clear, readable, and attractively printed, and forms a welcome addition to a notable series of booklets on Asiatic peoples and problems.

*Life of a Family in India* (East and West Association, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, 50 cents) is another in the excellent series of picture portfolios of family life in other lands. Others in the series deal with Russia, previously reviewed, and China. Each page contains an excellent photograph and a brief explanation. The set makes a splendid piece of material for elementary school classes, emphasizing as it does the fundamental similarities of family life the world over.

*Make Youth Discussion Conscious!* (Junior Town Meeting League, 400 South Front Street, Columbus 15, Ohio, Free) is an excellent handbook for any teacher who wishes to improve his techniques for sponsoring forums, class discussions, and panels. The League is an independent association of educators who seek through it to encourage free discussion of public problems by American youth. This pamphlet makes many suggestions as to how it can be done successfully. It includes ideas for school assembly programs, the art of asking questions, evaluating a discussion, training speakers, and preparing for a forum.

# Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

## Motion-Picture Idea Contest

What motion pictures in the field of Problems of Democracy are most needed in the schools of America today? This is the question which the Commission of Motion Pictures in Education of the American Council on Education has asked the National Council for the Social Studies to help answer. The initial surveys in this area indicate that new motion pictures dealing with vital problems in American life are probably needed more than in any earlier period of our history. How can we best determine which films are needed.

The Audio-Visual Aids Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies will sponsor a contest, open to all high school students in the United States, in the hope of thus obtaining fresh ideas as to what problems young people believe to be most in need of vitalization through films.

To participate in the contest, the high school student should submit an idea for a film relating to democratic ideas, traditions, or problems. A synopsis of approximately 300 words should be submitted setting forth the problem to be filmed, and suggesting the kind of treatment which the idea should be given in the film. What, for instance can we do about such problems as intolerance, isolationism, insecurity, unemployment, malnutrition, irrationality, and fear? How should the problem of the differences between labor and management be handled in a film? How can the race problem be dealt with fairly and dispassionately? These and hundreds of other problems will serve as the topics for the contestants. What the committee wants is a specific paper stating briefly yet clearly what problem the student would like to see made into a motion picture and how this problem should be presented to the audience.

Prizes totalling over \$500, all in War Bonds, are offered. For the synopsis judged best the judges will award \$150; the second prize will be \$100; the third prize, \$100, and special awards of \$25 will be presented to the next ten outstanding papers. The Audio-Visual Aids Com-

mittee of the National Council for the Social Studies will serve as the board of judges in this contest.

Synopses should be sent to Commission on Motion Pictures in Education, American Council on Education, School of Education, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. All papers will become the property of the American Council on Education.

This contest offers an experience to the high school youth of America which is in harmony with the educational objectives of every social studies teacher. It is the hope of the sponsoring group that every high school will submit a number of papers.

## Motion Picture News

*New Health Films* is a selective and descriptive list of 25 new films in the field of public health. The list is available for 20 cents from Section on Health and Medical Films, American Film Center, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

Brandon Films, 1600 Broadway, New York 17 publishes a free list of "Public Affairs Films" for use in film forums, discussion groups, classrooms, and adult education centers. The films deal with industrial relations, cooperatives, full employment, housing, and postwar economy.

Walt Disney's most recent feature-length film, "The Three Caballeros," brings to the screen an entertainment technique that may prove to be as revolutionary as sound or color. Live personalities appear in this film in the same scenes with animated figures or backgrounds. The story is a musical about three boon companions—Panchito, a Mexican rooster; José Carioca, a Brazilian parrot; and Donald Duck—who sail about Latin America on a Flying Serape and visit with the natives. A booklet describing the film may be had free from RKO Radio Pictures Inc., 1270 Sixth Avenue, New York 20.

The H. W. Wilson Co., 950 University Ave., New York 52, announce that bound annual volumes of their Educational Film Catalog complete with monthly supplements are available for \$3.00 a year.

A complete and free list of the motion pictures available from the Film Division, British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, is contained in "Britain at War, a List of 16-mm. Sound Films."

The Radio Corporation of America, RCA Victor Division, Camden, New Jersey, will send free a pamphlet by Francis W. Noel entitled "The Navy Turns to Training Aids." This is a reprint of an article published in *School Executive*.

The *Aviation Films Directory* published by the Air Transport Association of America, 1515 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, presents a valuable and useful list of films for teachers interested in the various phases of education for the air age.

### American Council Publications

For the past ten years the American Council on Education has been vitally interested in the use of motion pictures as teaching tools, and has been carrying on studies in this field. Two recent publications of this organization are of special interest to social studies teachers.

In *Motion Pictures for Postwar Education*, Mark May, Chairman of the Commission on Motion Pictures in Education, presents the philosophy of his Commission and the several objectives toward which it will work. In planning its program of films for postwar education the Commission has set up the following general pattern of procedure: "(1) The educational objectives of schools, colleges, and other institutions in the post-war period should be stated as specifically as possible. (2) We must study in detail their concrete problems and ascertain the extent to which films will aid in the solutions. (3) Series of films for specific purposes must be planned. (4) They must be produced according to educational specifications. (5) They must be followed up through programs of utilization." The last half of the bulletin analyzes the various school subjects "in terms of education for democratic citizenship, implemented by knowledge, skills, and attitudes achieved in part through the use of motion pictures."

*A Measure for Audio-Visual Programs in Schools*, by Helen Hardt Seaton, provides a much needed summary of current problems and recommended practices in the field of audio-visual instruction. Such problems as the improvement of utilization practices and the overcoming of physical difficulties are dealt with in a practical, down-to-earth fashion. An interesting checklist for

minimum essentials in audio-visual equipment is included, and suggestions are made for organizing and financing the audio-visual aids program. This bulletin is based upon the findings of an informal survey of six unnamed cities, coupled with advice and recommendations received from the corps of audio-visual experts serving with the armed forces.

Both bulletins may be purchased from the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6. *Motion Pictures for Postwar Education* (Series I—Reports of Committees and Conferences—Number 21) costs 20 cents. *A Measure for Audio-Visual Programs in Schools* (Series II—Motion Pictures in Education—Number 8) costs 40 cents.

### Recent 16 mm. Films

Bureau of Motion Pictures, Office of War Information, Washington 25. (Write for address of nearest depository.)

*Freedom Comes High*. 19 minutes, sound; loan. A woman at home and a man at war. The man dies for those at home.

*It Can't Last*. 20 minutes, sound; loan. It's as hard to die at the end of the war as at the beginning.

*Normandy Invasion*. 19 minutes, sound; loan. The remarkable story of D-day.

*Photography Fights*. 15 minutes, sound; loan. Shows how photography is helping to win the war.

*Target for Today*. 35 minutes, sound; loan. Comprehensive story of an air bombing mission.

*The 957th Day*. 9 minutes, sound; loan. Activities of the Fifth Fleet somewhere in the Pacific on the 957th day of war.

*We Said We'd Come Back*. 20 minutes, sound; loan. The navy's fight in the Pacific.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Films Inc., 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago 6.

*The Atmosphere and Its Civilization*. 10 minutes, sound; sale, \$45. (May be rented from many local film libraries.) The structure and dynamics of the atmosphere.

*Colombia and Venezuela* (Caribbean Region-III). 10 minutes, sound; sale, \$45. (May be rented from many local film libraries.) Describes human and economic geography, topography, and climate.

*Housing in America*. 10 minutes, sound; sale, \$45. (May be rented from many local film libraries.) Contrasts the "dream" home of modern technology, fitted with every device for comfort and convenience, with the inadequate houses in which most of us continue to live.

Film Division, British Information Services, 300 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

*Lessons from the Air*. 14 minutes, sound; loan. How Britain plans and uses educational broadcasts.

Graphic Services Section, Bureau of Mines Experimental Station, 4800 Forbes Street, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania.

*Sand and Flame*. 18 minutes, sound; loan. The story of glass. Emphasis on manufacture of safety glass; but historical treatment is also given.

Walter O. Gutlohn Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York 19.

*Liberty*. 10 minutes, sound; rental, apply. The contribution and place of the immigrant in American life.

YMCA Motion Picture Bureau, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

*Freedom Rides on Rubber.* 35 minutes, sound; loan. The processes by which synthetic rubber is made.

### Radio Notes

*FM for Education*, a primer of facts and ideas about the educational uses of frequency modulation broadcasting has just been published by the U.S. Office of Education. The pamphlet, illustrated with photographs, charts, and diagrams, details suggestions for planning, licensing, and utilizing educational FM radio stations owned by school systems, colleges, and universities. *FM for Education*, written by William Dow Boutwell, until recently Director of the Information and Radio Services of the U.S. Office of Education, may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, for 20 cents.

At a hearing before the Federal Communications Commission recently, John W. Studebaker, U.S. Commissioner of Education, reported that 500 educational FM stations were expected to be in operation within five years after the end of the war; educators have petitioned the FCC for ten FM channels in addition to the five already allocated to education.

Handbooks for NEC University of the Air 1944-1945 fall and winter courses, entitled "Music in American Cities," "We Came This Way," and "The World's Great Novels," may be obtained from Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, at 25 cents each.

*The American Story*, by Archibald MacLeish, is the title of the collection of a series of radio scripts published in book form by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York. These scripts deal with the early settlement of North and South America and constitute one of the outstanding pieces of modern radio writing.

NBC's "University of Chicago Round Table" received first place among educational programs in a poll recently conducted by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. This program is broadcast every Sunday from 1:30-2:00 P.M., E.W.T.

### Free and Inexpensive Materials

*Our Forest Resource and Its Conservation* is a free bibliography which tells you how to obtain, without cost, interesting illustrated educational material relating to American forest resources, including illustrated booklets, wall posters and charts, and motion pictures. Address American

Forest Products Industries Inc., 1319 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6.

Real silk samples, colorful historic prints, picture posters, and product charts are among the illustrative materials which may be obtained from Teaching Material Service, Pleasantville, New York. Wall size charts (34x22 inches) cost 50 cents each. The silk samples, mounted on cardboard, are sent postpaid for 10 cents.

The Educational Publishing Corporation, Darien, Connecticut, has published two poster books with designs for elementary school classroom decorations, posters, booklet covers, border designs, and the like. *Classroom Posters and Decorations* and *Decorations for the Classroom* sell at 50 cents postpaid.

A list of free and inexpensive materials available to schools may be obtained from George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee.

A poster entitled "This is Democracy," with a reproduction of Grant Wood's painting of Paul Revere's ride, will be sent to interested teachers by the Council for Democracy, 11 West 42nd Street, New York 18. The poster lists eight of the ideals and forms of democracy.



### Maps and Atlases

A "Picture Map of Southeast Asia," over 4x3 feet, showing in outline the countries and islands, with their principal cities, rivers, and mountain ranges, and a picture border carrying 36 illustrations of the important natural resources, modes of transportation, and types of food, clothing, and shelter of the natives is published by Friendship Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. With this map comes a large inset sheet containing 25 cut-outs to be colored and posted on the map by pupils, informative notes on the people and natural resources, and instructions on how to use the map. The complete map costs 50 cents.

A stimulating, up-to-date survey of cartography, designed for the general reader, is *Down to Earth, Mapping for Everybody*, by David Greenwood, published by Denoyer-Geppert Co., 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40. This book offers the layman a comprehensive view of the science and craft of mapping. Its generous 262 pages results in complete clarity and truly pleasurable reading. Over 250 diagrams and original drawings help to illustrate the cartographic concepts. *Down to Earth* is well worth the price of \$4.00.



The new Denoyer-Geppert catalog of maps, globes, charts, and atlases is well worth writing for. In its 65 colorful pages are many effective teaching aids. And when you write for the map catalog, request a copy of Booklet B5, "Teaching Geography for World Understanding and Cooperation." This is a handy, practical, and vital teaching manual. It is yours for the asking.

The outline map has long constituted the backbone of many school social studies programs. With the world's political boundaries in a state of confusion these "work maps" become more important than ever. In view of this condition the recent list of nine series of desk and wall outline maps published by Rand McNally and Co., 111 Eighth Avenue, New York 11, is especially welcome.

### Lantern Slides

William H. Dudley, 2169 West Wilson Avenue, Chicago 25, is now disposing of a library of approximately 60,000 educational slides at the extremely low price of 15 cents each in lots of 200 slides or more. Many of the slides are hand colored. No obsolete slides, claims Mr. Dudley, are included in the offerings. Any slides not found suited to the needs of the purchaser may be exchanged. A 14-page list of available slides may be had upon request.

### Slide Films

"Seeing the Airport" is the newest slidefilm on aviation produced by the Department of School and College Service of the United Air Lines. This strip of pictures is prepared for use in Grades 2 to 5, and gives a personalized over-all view of the Chicago Municipal Airport facilities and activities. The slidefilm has an accompanying manual, illustrated with pictures and printed in type suitable for reading by primary pupils. Prints of the slidefilms and manual are free to teachers having suitable projectors.

### Helpful Articles

- Ahl, Frances N. "Disney Techniques in Educational Films," *Social Studies*, XXXV: 34-36, December, 1944. How the Disney studios are making films for the government suitable for the classroom.
- Brunatetter, M. R. "Housing an Audio-Visual Materials Center," *Nation's Schools*, XXXIV: 34-35, December, 1944. Plans for a center of objective curriculum material.
- Cavanaugh, Marion. "Pathway to Cathay," *Grade Teacher*, LXII: 39, 62, January, 1945. An example of a creative project on Kubla Khan.
- Durr, Clifford J. "Education's Opportunities in Radio," *Education for Victory*, III: 5-9, December 20, 1944. The

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commissioner of the FCC points out the opportunities which FM radio offers the schools.

Elliott, Bernice. "The Mountain Goes to Mahomet," *Nation's Schools*, XXXIV: 51-54, December, 1944. How traveling loan exhibits serve schools.

Herr, Selma, and Reeve, Frank. "Mexico, Our Good Neighbor," *Grade Teacher*, LXII: 46-47, 58, January, 1945. A unit on tropical study with appropriate activities.

Hertzberg, Max, Ed. "Radio Education Number," *Education*, LXV: entire issue, December, 1944. Among the excellent articles are Max Hertzberg, "Radio and Education"; George Jennings, "Radio in Chicago Schools"; Harrison B. Summers, "Value of Radio Listening"; Tracy F. Tylor, "Radio in our Schools: a Forecast"; William Lewin, "Standards of Radio Appreciation"; Carl G. Miller, "Education Versus Radio."

Hollopeter, Vivian. "Maps for Today's Children," *Instructor*, LIV: 20, 52, January, 1945. A discussion of the various projections and their suitability for use in the elementary school classroom.

"NEA Journal War Guide," *Journal of the National Education Association*, XXXIV: 23, January, 1945. A complete list of sources of films, recordings, kodachromes, and other teacher aids.

Zorbaugh, Harvey W., Issue editor. "The Comics as an Educational Medium," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XVIII: Entire issue. Among the articles are Hayden Weller, "The First 'Comic Book'"; Harvey Zorbaugh, "The Comics—There They Stand!"; Sidonie Gruenberg, "The Comics as a Social Force"; Josette Frank, "What's in the Comics"; W. W. D. Sonos, "The Comics and Instructional Method."

# Book Reviews

PLANS FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH SIX CENTURIES. By Sylvester John Hemleben. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. Pp. xiv, 227. \$2.50.

In 182 pages the author has bravely undertaken to summarize all the plans that have been made for world peace between the middle of the thirteenth century and 1919. Then, in a final chapter entitled "Reflections," the author has attempted to give an all too brief estimate of these plans, furnishing a concluding statement as to the reason for their failure. The slim text is supplemented by an index and rounded out by a fine 28-page bibliography.

A summary of the ground covered is the best indication of the magnitude of the job undertaken by Mr. Hemleben. Chapter I, "Early Peace Plans," outlines those formulated between the middle of the thirteenth century and the early seventeenth century—notably the plans of Pierre Dubois, Dante, Marsiglio of Padua, George Poděbrad, Erasmus, Emeric Crucé, and ending with the famous "Grand Design" of Henry IV and Sully. Chapter II deals with "Projects to 1800," beginning with Grotius and then summarizing in turn the various plans for a general confederation of European States proposed by William Penn, Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Bentham, and Kant. Chapter III attempts to cope with the multitudinous "Plans of the Nineteenth Century," beginning with Saint Simon and the Holy Alliance. The earliest American peace plans have their rightful place here, with William Ladd's as the most justly famous American name. Later European plans and projects, such as those of J. C. Bluntschli and James Lorimer, are discussed; and so is the work of the two great Hague Conferences. The Permanent Court of Arbitration is not forgotten, and neither is the Central American Court of Justice that had a ten-year span of life (from 1908-1918). Chapter IV is written with a different emphasis: "Programs of the Great War Period (1914-18)." In this is given a glimpse of most of the preparatory work that went into the creation of the League of Nations—including the programs of various organizations such as "The American League to Enforce Peace," the "British League of Nations Society" (later to become "the League of Na-

tions Union," after amalgamation with another British association), the "Fabian Society" of England, the unique "Union of Democratic Control" (also English), the "American League of Free Nations Association," the "French League of Nations Society" and the "Association de la Paix par le droit," and the "Dutch Anti-War Council," which resulted in the creation of a genuinely international "Central Organization for a Durable Peace." The work of individuals, such as Viscount Bryce and Woodrow Wilson, is also included. Individuals, however, are rather summarily treated, and the specific contributions of such men as Lord Robert Cecil and General J. C. Smuts are practically ignored.

The most notable omission in the book occurs in Chapter III. A vast and golden source of nineteenth century peace literature is passed over in complete silence: the Quaker Friends of Peace and the influential group of English Economic Liberals. For example, neither John Bright nor Richard Cobden are mentioned; nor does one find any reference to them in the Bibliography. This omission is the more noteworthy in that the author signalizes, in his chapter on the programs of the Great War period, the "influence upon the peace movement" of "the Socialist party in the different countries" (see page 177).

Mr. Hemleben makes some interesting points in his final "Reflections." He comments on the fact, for instance, that "Political philosophers of recent days held that any adequate design for international organization must include separate and distinct legislative, administrative, and judicial organs. The early writings did not make this division; but . . . the more modern works, without exception, incorporated this feature as essential" (see page 183). Again, he points out that the nations relied, for the preservation of peace, upon a system of alliances coupled with the balance of power, and upon the Concert of Europe, supplemented (in the eighteenth century) by the use of mediation and (in the nineteenth century) by the use of arbitration; but that—even though "the conception of union to maintain peace" existed and was sound, the idea was nevertheless "nullified in large part by a philosophy which gave full vent to exaggerated



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nationalism, to selfish imperialism, and to almost unbridled militarism" (see pages 188, 189). Mr. Hemleben closes his final chapter with a statement of his own belief: that "the moral foundation for any international structure was not sufficiently stressed by many of the recent peace plans; and the needed moral basis for the 1919 League of Nations was not, perhaps, fully appreciated. Not until we regard the state as a moral person and not until we place international relations on a moral basis shall we have permanent peace. . . . If permanent peace is to be attained, men must turn to God for guidance and strength" (page 194).

This is a timely book, and Mr. Hemleben's study is so intrinsically interesting and important, that one feels any criticism of his work to be ungenerous. The present reviewer, however, out of deep interest in the subject, cannot refrain from wishing that Mr. Hemleben had seen fit to organize his material differently. If, instead of providing a mere outline of all the principal peace plans and projects, nearly abstracted, he had made a comparative analysis of the provisions of all these plans, the material so painstakingly collected would be much more usable.

Had Mr. Hemleben summarized all given causes for war and obstacles to peace, had he analyzed plans for the formulation of international laws and methods of international arbitrament, and had he contrasted all projects for a confederation of nations, provision by provision, he would have made a signal contribution to the literature and the study of international organization. Such a study could still be built upon this basic text.

CHRISTINA PHELPS GRANT

Bryn Mawr College

●  
APPROACHES TO WORLD PEACE. Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and Robert M. MacIver. Fourth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. New York: Harper, 1944. Pp. xviii, 973. \$5.00.

This volume comprises the papers prepared for the fourth meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life which was held at Columbia University, September 9-13, 1943. Fifty-nine persons, including anthropologists, economists, historians, psychiatrists, sociolo-

gists, men of art and letters, political scientists, philosophers, and theologians presented their views. The essays cover a wide field; the following are a few of the subjects—Historical Adjustments in the Concept of Sovereignty in the Near East, Federalism in Antiquity, American Federalism, Anthropological Research and World Peace, Neuropsychiatry and Culture Behavior, and, of course, various aspects of philosophy, of education, and religion.

The central theme is well stated by the editors: "These various discussions are different approaches to the same central issue; by following these approaches, it is believed that the Conference will contribute effectively to the solution of the problem. World conflict is inherent in certain aspects of western culture; the effort to overcome the tendencies toward conflict inherent in our culture continues to require the type of concentration of thought represented by the Conference."

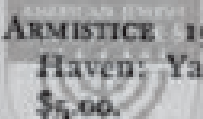
It is impossible within so brief a review to do justice to the great amount of information and learning contained in this book. Some of the great thinkers of the various divisions of thought were present and must have stimulated each other in a remarkable manner. Without question, the need of re-examining the values and methods of modern civilization is very great, for many ideas which once proved to be clarion calls to high endeavor have lost their compelling power, and other ideas, some of relatively recent birth, have soon stood revealed in their inadequacy. In this busy age we have lost the ability, it would seem, to see life steadily and to see it whole, and we cannot have too much reflection upon the deeper meaning of the contemporary crisis. And as a record of what important people are thinking, the volume will rank high, as one would expect from the caliber of the contributors.

Having paid tribute to the excellence of the book and the service rendered by the editors and the contributors, the reviewer would venture a minor note of criticism which will not be construed as lack of appreciation of the undoubted merits of *Approaches to World Peace*. The very number and diversity of subjects treated tends to leave a feeling that the trees have obscured the wood and that many things have been touched upon rather than adequately analyzed. Particularly did I feel this judgment to hold true in the sections dealing with the social sciences where some outstanding authorities attempted to handle very broad subjects on a too limited can-

vas. I am inclined to think that a more restricted field treated in more thorough fashion would produce a greater unity of impression and judgment in the reader's mind. And the vocabulary of many of the contributors might well confirm a Lin Yu Tang in his criticisms of Western scholars who have built a "fortress of academic aloofness from human life" around themselves by means of professional terminology. This volume is not couched in the language of the market place, such as is the case with the Chinese philosophers who use "the market slang of the plebeians." It will serve to attract the fellow scholar, and was probably so intended. But is it a fair question to ask if philosophers, social scientists, and theologians can make the *average citizen* feel the urgency of philosophical questions, and whether the failure thus far to do so has not in some measure resulted from the overloading of wisdom with learning? Insofar as this volume is designed for the intellectuals, the reviewer's query has no relevancy at this point.

LINDEN A. MANDER

University of Washington

 ARMISTICE 1918. By Harry R. Rudin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. 442. \$5.00.

Have any peace overtures been considered by the Nazis and their military leaders during the recent months of their aerial battering and reverses? What disposition in case of a peace should they make of Hitler and his henchmen? On what terms would they propose to accept a negotiated peace? These are questions the answers to which we would all be interested in today. None of these are considered in this well-documented, highly factual work of Professor Rudin, Yale University. But they are suggested by similar questions that were asked in the late summer of 1918, when by early October Ludendorff suggested to the Reich's Chancellor, Max von Baden, the necessity of ending the war, and thereby possibly himself stabbed the army in the back rather than others who were blamed. The Chancellor, staunch defender of the Kaiser, accepted Ludendorff's conclusion and set out to have the Wilson armistice program accepted only to have Ludendorff and the army chiefs blame the government for a premature (in their opinion) initiation of peace negotiations.

Writing a review of a lengthy treatise dealing with the armistice phase of World War I is at this moment not easy. The reviewer is tempted

to draw too many analogies, which the author studiously avoided, and the reader will be forced to a thorough reading of the text for descriptions of German scenes of confusion and despair during 1918 by a feeling that similar dismay may be working today. This between-the-lines inference may be regarded as the lodestone of interest in this book.

For the student of history who demands the facts there is of course much more: Wilson's disregard of the Allies in drafting terms, Pershing's belief that the war should have continued, the dismissal of Ludendorff, Chancellor Max's difficulties with the Kaiser over abdication, the mutiny of German sailors, the many defections on the German home front, and the story of the political struggle to organize a government recognized at home and abroad. There is very little room for disagreement with the armistice story as here recorded, except for a few differences on the part of the author with Colonel House's judgment. The numerous German sources quoted in the first person convert what might have been "dry" reading into an interest-sustaining intimate account of what the German mind thought when it saw itself facing defeat in 1918. Even the Kaiser then rejected as "nonsense" Foreign Minister von Hintze's suggestion of a dictatorship as the way out of a military situation that demanded an armistice.

MELVILLE J. BOYER

Allentown High School  
Allentown, Pa.

**THE ROAD TO TEHERAN.** By Foster Rhea Dulles.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944.  
Pp. vi, 279. \$2.50.

*The Road to Teheran* is a brief and readable account of Russian-American relations from 1781, when Francis Dana, accompanied by John Quincy Adams, went to St. Petersburg in hope of securing recognition for the new United States from Czarist Russia, until 1943, when the leaders of democratic United States and Great Britain met with Stalin of Soviet Russia in Teheran to make plans for cooperation in war and peace.

Attention is given to the effort made by the United States to gain Russian recognition, which was not granted until 1809, and to the recent struggle made by Soviet Russia for United States recognition, which was withheld until 1933. In taking up these two periods Dulles shows that the Russian delay was due largely to the place occupied by Russia in the shifting scene of European

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events, while American delay was due to apprehension concerning the new Soviet government and its influence in world affairs.

In the nineteenth century relations between the two countries were generally good; their interests were similar, tending toward emphasis on freedom of seas, national security, and maintenance of peace. The refusal of Russia to recognize the Confederate States of America in conjunction with France and England early in the American Civil War represents a time when Russian policy helped the Americans, while carrying out their own aim of maintaining a strong potential rival for Britain's navy.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a slightly similar set of conditions led the United States to offer assistance in negotiating peace at the end of the Russo-Japanese War. The United States was concerned with trying to establish balance of power (Japan against Russia) in the Far East which would not threaten American interests there.

Mr. Dulles devotes over half the book to the period from the Revolution of 1917 down to the Teheran meeting. He gives considerable attention to the intervention policy followed by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan,

ending with the final withdrawal of Japanese troops in 1922. Though Mr. Dulles does not specifically discuss the underlying motives of these nations, the imperialistic ambitions of Japan are apparent and the whole policy seems to have had little in common with the democratic principles sponsored by the allied nations.

The story of the struggle of Soviet Russia to secure a place among nations, of its eventual recognition but continued rebuffs in international affairs, even at Munich, is well and clearly told, without unnecessary details to confuse the main thought for the average reader. Mr. Dulles suggests that Russian foreign policy between 1939 and 1940, particularly with regard to Germany and the Baltic States, was governed by a search for national safety. Duranty's *U.S.S.R.* develops the same motives for the Russo-German pact and the attack of Finland and Poland.

The author here has made it his purpose to describe a certain phase of international affairs, he has limited his subject to nation and time, and has told the story clearly and in a chronological way. He has taken up both the low spots and the high points of relations between the two countries.

Probably the chief thing to be noted is his attempted impartiality, his evident desire simply to relate events as they happened without trying to draw many conclusions. He does, however, make one with which any reader may agree, "The road which has led to Teheran should in the future link Washington and Moscow even more closely."

MARGUERITE SKILLING

Boone High School  
Boone, Iowa

**RUSSIAN CAVALCADE.** By Albert Parry. New York: Washburn Inc., 1944. Pp. vi, 334. \$3.50.

This book is a military history of Russia beginning with the three-day occupation of Berlin by Russian armies in 1760. This Russian army was under the leadership of a German general, Gottlieb Tottleben, whose total incapability or lack of desire to act decisively against the Prussians led to its premature withdrawal and robbed the Russians of their victory.

As Parry continues the story of Russia's armies through the major wars up to, and including, World War II and the siege of Stalingrad, he points to similar incidents where ineffectual and poor leadership has been responsible for their defeat. The Crimean War and the slaughter at

Sevastopol under Nicholas I and the overwhelming defeat of the Russians at the hands of the Japanese in 1904-1905 are illustrative of this.

On the other hand, the leadership at some periods has been of the very highest type, as notably, in the cases of Suworov, who won Italy just at the beginning of the nineteenth century; of Kutuzov, who mapped the strategy against Napoleon, and was responsible for his eventual defeat; and the men who have occupied important posts in today's war, Tukhachevsky, Blucher, Shaposhnikov, and Voroshilov. Some of these latter leaders have been removed from positions of trust but each did make a contribution to the success of the Red Army and so deserves to be included in the "cavalcade."

Throughout, however, Parry makes the common soldier the hero of Russia's army. His initiative, modesty, simplicity, great courage, and stubbornness are and have always been outstanding characteristics. Parry feels that the morale is particularly high in the present army for the men are deeply imbued with pride in their achievements (civil and military), love of country, and faith in their new society and its leadership. Perhaps it is this combination of factors which has led to the great advances on the Eastern front.

*Russian Cavalcade* is a colorful account and is written in an interesting manner. The sketches of the campaigns are good, as that of Tottleben in Berlin, Tolstoy in the siege of Sevastopol, Admiral Roghstvensky in the Straits of Korea, the Cossacks of World War II, and Stalingrad, the "turning point" of the Nazi invasion.

From the American standpoint, the chapter on John Basil Turchin, a Cossack and a colonel in the army of Nicholas I, who came to the United States and later served in the Northern Army in the Civil War is interesting. This is particularly true because the general accounts of the Civil War period fail to mention Brigadier-General Turchin.

Mr. Dulles in *The Road to Teheran*, when discussing the same period, brings out the fact that there were several Russian officers who served in the Union Armies. He says this is indicative of the generally good feeling existing between the United States and Russia at a time when the former was badly in need of foreign friendships. Since *Russian Cavalcade* is a military history, this view is omitted.

Reading Parry's book would do much to clear up the reasoning of the people who commented in the summer of 1941 that the Russian armies,



being traditionally poor, could not withstand Nazi attacks for more than six weeks or two months and who, today, are still unable to comprehend how the Soviet was able to build such a powerful military machine in a twenty-year period. Because it thus contributes to a greater understanding of a relatively little known ally, it is valuable reading to the American public.

MARGUERITE SKILLING

Boone High School  
Boone, Iowa

WESTWARD THE WOMEN. By Nancy Wilson Ross.  
New York: Knopf, 1944. P. 199. \$2.75.

Professors Wilson and Spaulding in their volumes resulting from the Regents Inquiry suggest that usually history has been taught in terms of the interests of boys. Perhaps this is because, as Miss Ross says: "It is men who have written the world histories, and in writing them they have, almost without exception, ignored women." In this study of pioneer women in the Pacific Northwest she has provided a significant contribution toward the understanding of women's part in our national history. Material such as this—in her first chapter, for instance, Miss Ross has drawn on a variety of journals, diaries, letters, old newspapers, and reminiscences, to provide a panorama of pioneer women—can do much to help round out the content of American history courses.

High school girls will enjoy the stories of Narcissa Whitman, Eliza Hart Spalding, and Sacajawea, among the better known women who receive adequate attention in succeeding chapters. They will, perhaps, be even more interested in the Belgian nuns who made the long sea voyage to Oregon in 1843—"the names of the six intrepid Sisters ring a pleasant little tune in the head: Aloysia, Loyola, and Albine, Catherine, Cornelia and Norbertine"—and their difficult but courageous adjustment to the wilderness and their varied tasks. Or in Mary Richardson Walker who had eight children and whose workday consisted of "sixteen hours of washing, ironing, sewing, mending, painting, carpentering, baking, repairing roofs and chimneys, helping the invalid Mrs. Eells, . . . milking six cows morning and night, making soap and butter." In addition she made all of the family's clothing and shoes, and their candles (she wrote in her journal of staying up all night to dip twenty-four dozen of them). She learned the language of the Spokane Indians, taught her own and the Indian children, and translated hymns into the Spokane;

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corresponded with missionaries in Africa, kept an excellent journal of her activities, and studied botany and geology.

There is a thrilling chapter about Abigail Scott Duniway who became the champion of women in their fight for legal and political rights in the Northwest. No less dramatic was the life of Bethenia Owen who married at fourteen, and left her husband at eighteen, taking her small son with her. She became an expert milliner, later traveled East to Philadelphia to attend medical college. Back West she had to face condemnation and derision, and the antagonism of fellow doctors. The later years of her life, with her substantial contributions to the development of the West, will prove equally exciting to 'teen age girls.

The book would be better for school use if two chapters had been left out. The final chapter, a discussion of modern American women, seems controversial, and extraneous to the rest of this excellent book. More questionable to the teacher contemplating school use is the chapter which describes certain of the girls of the parlor house and the hurdy gurdy hall. These may have been "'good' women," yet they are far less interesting, as individuals, than were their more moral sisters. Collectively they played a part in the development of the West; as individuals they are not worthy of such notice. Some communities would resent the presence of this book in their school library because of this one chapter.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

United States Coast Guard

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PROBING OUR PREJUDICES: A UNIT FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. By Hortense Powdermaker and Helen Frances Støren. Bureau for Intercultural Education Publication Series. New York: Harper, 1944. Pp. viii, 73. \$1.00.

Here, at last, is a book for young people whose significance can only be evaluated in terms of the pressing need it answers: Our newspapers show us that racial discrimination is rampant. History books prove that it's not new. Yet unfortunately such facts have not appeared in textbooks. Thus, the very place where prejudices become manifest, namely in early adolescence, has hitherto been met with a dearth of information.

In simple, direct language, with sufficient dramatic appeal, the students are guided to an understanding of prejudice. Miss Powdermaker points out that "it is naïve to think that prejudices, racial and otherwise, will be wiped out by

teaching anthropology to more people, necessary and important as that is." She shows how important emotions are in forming stereotypes which make for bias.

Too frequently, educators are confronted with textbooks which supply verbiage alone. Such facts merely add lip service to an already too word-conscious school. This little book—and it is little, only 77 pages—is packed full of living material, material that will act like dynamite unless properly used.

Subtly Miss Powdermaker leads the child to recognize his own prejudices first. "There are prejudices which do no harm but there are also prejudices which affect very much the lives of people against whom they are directed." And she illustrates with harmless and harmful prejudices. This book is a fine example of a functional unit which can easily serve to integrate the child. Through a history of prejudice, through examples in literature, through practical suggestions for classroom use, she shows how such integration can take place.

Interesting also are the references to the use of the scapegoat—English, German, and Irish—in American history, and the author's explanation of the American Ideal, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

Frequent summaries tend to fix important facts in the minds of readers. Particularly valuable are the final suggestions which urge children to get the facts, think them over, convince friends that prejudice is unjust and to stop practicing the prejudices.

Though this book was designed for high school students, it can be equally effective in a junior high school. Incidentally, that's where the writer of this review teaches and it was very well received there.

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## Publications Received

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- Dorosh, Harry. *Russian Constitutionalism*. New York: Exposition Press, 1944. Pp. 127. \$2.50.
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- Knight, Frank H. and Merriam, Thornton W. *The Economic Order and Religion*. New York: Harper, 1944. Pp. viii, 275. \$3.50.



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