

This age is truly engaged in a race for "survival of the fittest" and education's role in this contest is paramount. That it should and must win the peace for all time by means of awaking minds to the urgency of working for world unification through mental rather than martial materiel is the theme of this disturbing (as well it should be!) article by Harold Hand, professor of education, University of Illinois, who has returned to the field of education after duty with the Armed Services.

"EDUCATION IS NOW the only instrument of survival," says William Benton. In this Year II of the atom bomb, no other conclusion is possible from a careful analysis of our world. Descriptive of this world of 1946 are the following eight propositions. In any consideration of education's role in civilized survival, such facts must be recognized before effective action can result.

1946—Atom Bomb II

I. Science and technology have made all the peoples of the earth closely and increasingly interdependent; this is evidenced by such facts¹ as these:

- ¶ In the long run, no nation can be prosperous unless other nations are prosperous.
- ¶ If there is a serious economic depression anywhere, all nations eventually suffer.
- ¶ If any great nation attempts to make itself economically self-sufficient, the level of living will be lowered in other nations.
- ¶ If any great nation sets up high tariffs, other nations are forced to do likewise.
- ¶ If any great nation devalues its currency, other nations are obliged to follow suit.
- ¶ If any great nation has bare subsistence wages, or forced or slave labor, labor everywhere will eventually suffer.
- ¶ If a dictatorship is established in any great nation, the freedoms of men everywhere are threatened.
- ¶ If any great nation raises a large army, navy and air force, stockpiles,

atom bomb, etc., other nations are forced to do the same.

¶ If war breaks out anywhere, it soon involves or adversely affects all nations—peace is indivisible.

¶ If education or the dissemination of information in any nation is perverted, the other peoples of the earth suffer in consequence of this fact; the ideas men carry around in their heads can be as dangerous to the peace of the world as the weapons they carry in their hands.

II. The result is that there are today few if any national problems of any magnitude which are not also international problems.

III. Yet, because the peoples of the world still cling to the outmoded institution of unlimited national sovereignty, a state of almost complete international anarchy obtains on this earth today. Individual nations have the uncontrolled power to make trade agreements, raise tariffs, devalue currency, submerge labor, establish dictatorships, oppress minorities, suppress the press, silence the radio, chain the pulpit, pervert the schools, raise huge armies, navies and air forces, stockpile atom bombs, commit acts of aggression, and declare war—regardless of the effects on other nations.

IV. This was frightful enough in a world dominated by a technology based on steam, internal combustion, electricity and chemistry. It cost the people of the earth

¹ Reves, Emery, *The Anatomy of Peace*, Harper & Bro.

a global economic depression and two wars in the short space of twenty-five years. These penalties were of our own making; we refused to act on the evident fact that we lived in "one world."

- V. Now we have in our hands a completely new and vastly more potent type of energy, too completely revolutionary in character "to consider within the framework of old ideas."²
- VI. If properly controlled and used —i.e., if we and the other peoples of the earth can develop a new "common sense" appropriate to the new situation—atomic energy will bring great benefits to all mankind.
- VII. But if atomic energy is not properly controlled and used—i.e., if an adequate new "common sense" is not created and made operative, and that very quickly, say in less than twenty years—the odds are overwhelming that man will by his own hand destroy himself and his works. "One world or none" neatly epitomizes the educational imperatives to which we must henceforth be dedicated.
- VIII. This desperately needed new "common sense" can only be created upon the basis of understanding. This puts the problem squarely in the laps of all who educate, whether through the press, radio, or motion pictures, or from the pulpit, or in the schools. "*Education is now the only instrument of survival.*"

Unlimited National Sovereignty Is Lethal

"The release of atomic energy constitutes a new force too revolutionary to

consider within the framework of old ideas," said President Truman. There are *many* old ideas which must be eradicated if we are to live securely and happily in the presence of atomic energy. But there is one so pregnant with the threat of the imminent destruction of mankind as to rate the top educational priority—this is the idea of unlimited national sovereignty—an idea solidly, if not fanatically, rooted in the inherited "common sense" of mankind, be it noted. It is to a consideration of the educational imperatives associated with the eradication of this now lethal idea and practice that I shall restrict myself in this discussion.

As Reves has so convincingly demonstrated, all national groups have long since learned that peace, physical security and freedom are possible within the nation state only on the basis of law backed up by a police power adequate to coerce. He who transgresses makes himself an enemy of society and is dealt with accordingly, in consonance with predetermined safeguards and procedures, by societal machinery provided in advance for exactly this purpose. Under law, all freedoms are limited—one's rights end where the other fellow's nose begins. Further, under law one may not engage in personal war when his nose has been violated. Instead, society in its own name steps in to punish the offender, and redress the injury.

Patently, this is what must obtain at the international level if we are to have societal good health at that level. Diplomacy and treaties have always failed us, and always will. Only true international law, now non-existent, will suffice. Albert Einstein, in *One World or None*, puts it succinctly—"There is, in my opinion, only *one* way out. It is necessary that conditions be established that guar-

² President Truman.

antee the individual state the right to solve its conflicts with other states on a legal basis and under international jurisdiction. It is necessary that the individual state be prevented from making war by a supranational organization supported by a military power that is exclusively under its control." Walter Lippmann, in the same work, added a necessary additional element: "The principle is to make individuals, not sovereign states, the objects of international agreements; it is to have laws operate upon individuals." The alternative, he says, is to attempt—"to achieve peace through law by calling upon great masses of innocent people to stand ready to exterminate great masses of innocent people. No world order can be founded upon such a principle."

If, as the price of survival, the idea and practice of unlimited national sovereignty must give way to the idea and practice of world government, if this must be sanctioned by a new "common sense" before it can be effected, and if the creation of this new "common sense" is exclusively a function of education, what must educators do? What enabling objectives must they accept and translate into learning experiences?

Education's Tasks Are Legion

We must be awakened to the fact that we live in an interdependent world. First and foremost, and basic to all the rest, is the necessity of insuring that everybody realizes how completely every important aspect of his future well-being is conditioned if not shaped by peoples in other lands—by what they believe or do not believe, what they do or do not do and vice versa. To reach most people, this must be personalized. It must be demonstrated to them that the realization of their hopes for a de-

cent life is thus conditioned—their hopes for steady employment in good jobs; for the material good things of life which can be theirs only if there are goods and only if their wages can command them; for economic security in old age; for a life of peace; for physical security; for freedom to come and go, speak or be silent; for freedom from the prying of secret police, and so on.

This realization of the interdependence of peoples must be instilled not only into the minds but also into the emotions of the children, youth and adults of this and all other lands. Men who know, but do not feel, that a serious fire hazard exists in the house next door are not likely to do much about it.

The facts of international anarchy must be taught. All who educate must aid children, youth and adults in gaining a clear-eyed view of the international anarchy which is our inheritance from the past. The hurtful things which nation states are now legally entitled to do—and *do* do—to one another with no thought except for their own short-run benefits should be detailed, documented, and appraised. The microscope should be trained on our own as well as all other national states. Again, "social conscience" as well as intellect should be educated.

The consequences of international anarchy must be made apparent. The past and present consequences of international anarchy should be traced in terms of its economic, political and social effects on the common people of the countries of the world, our own included. The chief emphasis should probably be focused on documented past and especially present consequences. But the future should not be left out of account; the probable consequences of the projection of present trends should also be

assessed, again in personal terms whenever possible. Will these lead to prosperity or depression, peace or war, the extension or the negation of freedom, a better or a worsened life? Let the emotions be touched.

We must teach that the devil theory of war is an opiate. Educators must point out that the devil theory of war explains little or nothing; it merely affords the victors a specious sense of innocence. Unless and until we all see, accept, and act upon the fact that wars are a consequence of international anarchy—for which we and all the other peoples of the earth are jointly responsible—we shall not progress very far along the road to peace. This, too, must be felt as well as known.

The need for true international law must be made known—and gotten into our emotions. Even prior to the atom bomb, it could be demonstrated that security, peace, freedom and prosperity were possible in this highly and ever more interdependent world only under true international law; i.e., law backed up by a supranational police power capable of enforcing it anywhere, at any time. This should be demonstrated in the schools (and through the press, radio, and pulpit), along with the fact that diplomacy and treaties are of but illusory value and hence no substitute—they have always failed us and must always be expected to do so. Again, feeling is no less important than knowing.

We must teach that unlimited national sovereignty is in reality a myth. One of the easiest imaginable generalizations to document and demonstrate is that effective, unlimited national sovereignty is today a myth. When national states are forced against their will to rig their currency, raise tariffs, create huge armies and go to war, they can scarcely be said

to be sovereign. The myth of sovereignty is also evident when nation states are swept by economic depressions or epidemics of contagious disease which originate elsewhere. This myth can and should be exploded beyond repair by all who educate, whatever their medium, and wherever they may be.

We must demonstrate that atomic energy makes world government imperative. All children, youth, and adults should, of course, be helped to acquire at least an elementary knowledge of the fission process and related matters. Equally obvious, all should be helped to visualize the great possibilities for the betterment of mankind which atomic energy promises if properly controlled and used. But what especially concerns us here is that all educators everywhere with all possible speed lead youth and adults to understand and appreciate the lethal consequences certain to flow from the atom bomb when compounded with unlimited national sovereignty. The awful destructiveness of this weapon of saturation must be made clear, and felt. The fact that there is no secret, that in a very few years other powers will also be stockpiling atom bombs, must effectively be taught. That there is no military defense, that the present ongoing atomic armament race can only end in a tie, and that destruction can be avoided only by the establishment of at least a limited world government, must be injected into the nervous system of every youth and adult. The urgency of this need cannot be over-emphasized; the peril is so real and so imminent as to defy exaggeration.

Teaching loyalty to one's national state as the highest possible form of patriotism is now education for self-destruction. As a necessary condition for survival in a world in which all powers,

not-so-great, as well as great, will soon be stockpiling atom bombs and in which all major cities are within bombing range of any country, all educators must now teach that there is today and henceforth a higher loyalty—loyalty to the ideal of the universal brotherhood of man and its concomitant, world government.

Antidotes must be provided for other poisons spread by radio and press. The allusion here is to those columnists, editors and radio commentators who are more intent on inducing our people to distrust and hate other nationals than on building understanding and good will. Many educators have taught us how pupils can be helped to inoculate themselves against such enemies of world peace—this “know how” we must apply more widely and vigorously. World government cannot be based on distrust and hate.

Cultural barbarians must be civilized. We use the term “cultural barbarian” to designate the person who confidently assumes that a difference implies an inferiority—on the other national’s part, of course; a belief based on the naive assumption that “we” (whoever “we” may be, whether Americans, French, British, Russians, or whatnot) are the “chosen of God” to whom has been revealed the one and only correct way of thinking, believing, and doing. If the overseas behavior of our troops, officers and enlisted men alike, was any criterion we are to an appalling degree a nation of “cultural barbarians.” Anything thought, believed, or done either by our allies or by native populations which differed appreciably from “our way of doing it” instantly and indelibly stamped the ally or native population as inferior—an evaluation which our troops did

not hesitate to announce to the world, too frequently in an ingeniously offensive manner. This characteristic—an attitude of mind not at all foreign to other national groups as well—is anything but conducive to that international understanding and good will without which world government is impossible. Since we know that all attitudes are learned, here is an educational problem of the first order of magnitude and significance which must be attacked by all who would educate for civilized survival.

We must teach that America cannot expect to have everything her own way. It is an axiom of social psychology that people who live differently think differently, believe differently, value differently, and hence conclude differently from the same set of facts. Given the extremely wide diversities in the experiences of the peoples of the earth—which we should realistically teach in our schools—it is absurd to suppose that “they” will conclude as “we” do in any but a relatively small number of instances. It is equally absurd to assume that the peoples of the earth can live together in peace on this drastically shrunken globe on any other basis except that of compromise. We must teach accordingly, not overlooking the disciplining of our students’ emotions in this regard.

An international history is an imperative necessity. In his *This Poison Called History*, H. G. Wells tells us that the nationalistic—that is to say biased and distorted—teaching of history is one of the important causes of wars. There can be little doubt that this is true. For some misguided reason, every national group seems to feel that its youth must be taught half truths and myths which make “us” appear always

to have been wise, right, and virtuous; the other fellow not so. Yet we profess to believe with Charles A. Beard that a nation cannot safely live by lies and deceit. Now that the world has become a small neighborhood, an objective international history to be used in the schools of all nations is desperately needed—and that very quickly. At the moment we do not even have a history which can be used in Canada and the United States—two friendly neighbors if ever such existed.

Erroneous stereotypes of other nationals must be eradicated. Every national group seems to have its stereotypes of all other nationals of which its members are aware. These stereotypes are unflattering to an extent exceeded only by the degree to which they are untrue—which is very considerable. Say “Englishman” to the average American and he immediately sees a somewhat ludicrous person (inferior, of course to the American) who is cold, aloof, and “stuck up”; who lacks a sense of humor, is a bit slow-witted, inclines to stupidity, and is always plotting how he can get other people—especially Americans—to pull his chestnuts out of the fire. Say “Yank” to the average Englishman, and he immediately sees a somewhat ludicrous person (inferior, of course to the Englishman) who lacks not only good taste, but proper inhibitions of any sort, gives offense by bragging and exaggerating; throws his money away in a conspicuous manner; knows gadgets, but is otherwise not too bright; and gets rich out of war, while other people do the fighting. The distorted lenses of these stereotypes do not permit the people in either group really to see those in the other—as was evidenced so disastrously by American and

British troops in both world wars. Instead, they can perceive only what their stereotypes, operative on their senses since birth, will permit them to see in the other nationals—be they British, American, Russian, German, or what you will!

Obviously, if educators are to lay the foundations of reciprocal understanding and good will so necessary for any advance along the road to world government, they must eradicate these maliciously erroneous stereotypes. This means that serious work must be done to substitute reality for the “Lord Plushbottom” characterizations in our comic strips, radio skits, motion pictures, vaudeville, and the like.

Educators must wage war on a particularly vicious species of international illiteracy. All who saw military service around the globe—as I happened to do in the recent war—must have been appalled by the almost complete degree to which “we” were ignorant of “them” and vice-versa. Each national group was observed to be woefully innocent of any knowledge or understanding of the traditions, economic, political and social conditions and problems, folkways, mores, hopes, ambitions, fears, frustrations of any of the other nationals. Narrowly provincial education was reflected everywhere, in the American group to a degree perhaps greater than that in any of our English-speaking allies. But everywhere was mirrored a curriculum totally inadequate to the needs of a world faced with the necessity of establishing international government and law as the only alternative to destruction.

Language barriers must be overcome. Not only are the interdependent peoples of this earth ignorant of one another;

most are prevented from effective intercommunication by the barrier of language. I shall never forget the frustration I experienced when a brother officer and I vainly tried to converse with three or four Russian air-force officers in Cairo in early 1943. How this language dilemma can be resolved is anything but clear to me. Perhaps a small number of our more capable students should be encouraged to study the languages of at least the major national powers. Translators, if not interpreters, will, I hope, be put to work increasingly. Perhaps Esperanto or some equivalent will prove to be the answer. It is inconceivable that the present barrier will be tolerated once the peoples of the world awaken to the necessity of communicating with one another.

Mental health is a survival need. If one may judge from the recent sad history of the world, particularly from the sorry story of racial and other minority persecution both abroad and here at home, a great many people obviously have had built into their nervous systems aggressive drives of such vigor and savagery as to require scapegoats for purposes of emotional catharsis. These people are emotionally sick, the products of viciously mis-educative life experiences in home, school, and other environments. Educators, particularly those concerned with infants and young children, have a tremendous responsibility in this respect. Emotional illness, especially of this type, must be substantially reduced as a necessary condition for peace through world government.

We must keep youth and adults abreast of the work of the new Atomic Energy Commission, help them to criticize it constructively, and to be helpful to it in every way. The passing of the

Atomic Energy Act is a historic step forward. As the Federation of American Scientists said in an August 1946 press release:

The men of the atomic (energy) commission will be our pilots as we move forward into a new world. It is as if a new Columbus were telling us of a new era, and we were appointing a new commission to study and plan and guide us through epochal changes. . . . For atomic energy is a world problem, a world peril, and a world promise.

Only on the basis of an informed and active popular consent can this commission chart our course through the troubled waters which lie ahead. The engineering of this consent is one of the most crucially important tasks confronting all who educate.

Through education, we must support, utilize and strengthen UNESCO. It is within the power of those who educate either to reduce this agency to a skeleton through the starvation of indifference and neglect, or to make it a robust agent for international understanding and peace through the red meat of patient understanding, constructive criticism, and active, full support. Only as it is everywhere understood by children, youth, and especially adults, can the great potentialities of UNESCO be realized.

Plans for world government must be formulated and appraised. The structure of world government must first be created by and in the minds of men. No Moses is likely to come down from any mountain bearing the blueprint of an ideal world state. Instead, this design will have to be constructed through the processes of proposal and debate. The former task will necessarily be performed by a relative handful of excep-

tionally imaginative self-dedicated men. These we can confidently expect to come forward wherever on this earth men are free to think and speak. Indeed, a distinguished group has already done so here and in Canada. Debate must be carried forward on the widest possible basis in order that true consent may be engineered in support of whatever modified proposal emerges from the total process of inquiry. These total processes of inquiry should deal with all proposals wherever originated, and utilize all media of education in all countries.

Shall We Sleep This One Out?

Education all over the world was caught napping when the steam engine, the automobile, the airplane, the radio, and other revolutionary inventions or discoveries put in their appearances and

quietly began to transform society. No systematic effort was made to predict their probable social effects; no careful attempt to ferret out and act upon their resultant educational implications was undertaken. The effects proved to be revolutionary, but the school curriculum slumbered on. Little wonder, then, that many investigators have been forced to conclude that the schools typically educate in reference to "the educational, social and vocational realities of an era that is past."

Now we stand in the developing presence of atomic energy. Its revolutionary consequences give every promise of dwarfing all that have gone before. If we elect to sleep this one out, we shall in all probability be killed in our beds. Those of us who visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki can attest how awfully complete, and how completely awful, that end is likely to be!

TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

We present the following report of the World Conference of the Teaching Profession because we believe it is particularly pertinent to this issue and because we realize its great significance for all people concerned with international unity. This conference was held in Endicott, New York, August 17-30, 1946, and the recommendations cited were adopted by representatives of thirty-six teachers associations from twenty-eight different nations.

I.

The teaching of international understanding rests upon the cultivation of ideals and the development of a sense of personal responsibility for cooperation with others in all matters affecting human welfare. It does not involve the sacrifice of national culture or national citizenship, or the subordination of one to another. It requires thorough study of world problems, including the knowl-

edge of economic forces and historical backgrounds.

This Conference, therefore, declares that teachers should instruct the youth of all lands to act upon the following principles and should strive, alone or with others, to make these principles prevail in all areas of human relationship:

1. The fundamental needs of mankind for food, clothing, shelter, health, recreation, and security should be satisfied.

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