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Tom Nelson



**AMERICA'S LEADERS OF TOMORROW**  
are *Talking*



# AMERICA'S LEADERS OF TOMORROW ARE TALKING

DISCUSSION OUTLINE  
ON  
PROBLEMS FACING YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY

*Compiled by a Committee of staff members from*

RURAL PROJECT, AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION,  
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION  
(744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION,  
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE  
(405 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y.)

DIVISION OF PROGRAM STUDY AND DISCUSSION,  
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS  
(United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

YOUTH SECTION, AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION  
(744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.)

*Under direction of E. L. KIRKPATRICK*

*Using as a basis deliberations of young people  
representing different organizations at three  
regional conferences held in Iowa, South Caro-  
lina, and New Jersey during the spring of 1942.*

Washington, D. C.

October, 1942



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## WAR FINDS US YOUNG

Whether we as a nation live out the coming years in peace or war, those of us who are youth will bear the anxieties of the future, or tremble with its joys. To us will come the life or the death. By us will the problems of a nation be met, and from us must grow the way to their solution. Because of us this nation and its freedom can die; within us can burn the vision and aspiration of liberty for men which will flare over the world's water and earth.

To us who are youth at this moment comes a world of confusion and men's frustrations.

To us who are youth at this moment comes the most promising opportunity of a blinded world's history—an opportunity to make men free.

That the youth of America today are blessed by fate cannot be said too often. Because of the struggle our forefathers began, we can still battle for the rights of men, still band together to lift the blight of slavery from their heads. We can still hope to learn the way of common effort with those throughout the world to whom history has denied this chance. By our united and joint determination with them we can teach ourselves the most moving lesson that democracy can offer—that men everywhere are more closely bound by their common hopes and abilities than they can ever be divided by their differences. We can still discover that democracy exists only where we give it being by using it.

There are heartening signs that we who are youth intend to fuse warm and pulsing blood of life into the forms of democracy. No longer do we think solely of legislatures, public offices, legal structures, or leagues of nations. Sensing the disappointments of men everywhere, we dream, instead, of human aspirations and human security and people's capacities for magnificent achievement



and creation. We are finding their universal desire to have personal significance, to give of themselves to those who surround them, and above all to be free to make of their lives whatever their essential worth requires.

We are learning ourselves. We are discussing other people like us. The youth who came to the conferences from which this booklet grew typify the growing and anxious youth for whom this nation will be grateful.\*

Through this kind of thinking together we shall rebuild democracy. When we hold hostage our differences, we shall know a common stake with all men. We shall know that we are democracy, and that when we shut it from our eyes, it dies—and, that we can die with it.

DRUMMOND JONES.

\* The conferences referred to were called in the spring of 1942 to let young people present their case. In all, more than 100 delegates met to tell what youth in their localities were talking about and consider what young people could be doing about their situations. The meetings were held at Iowa State College, Ames, February 22-23; Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina, May 1-3; and Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey, May 22-24. They were made possible through the cooperation of agencies named in the frontispiece, colleges where the meetings were held, and organizations which helped to send the delegates. The materials presented in Part I constitute a resume of the questions and responses arising at the three conferences.

## AMERICA'S LEADERS OF TOMORROW ARE TALKING



War creates for those of us who are young people problems greater than any other age group faces. Most older people who go to war have already held a job so they have experience and can perhaps go back to the same job. But many of us have never had a regular job, and the uncertainties of war make it hard for us to plan our future. Although everyone is asking, "How can I make my greatest contribution toward winning the war?" we are faced with the possibility that the greatest in service today may mean the least in ability in years to come. Where we are concerned, two types of problems are uppermost for discussion:

1. What personal decisions are we having to make?
2. What are our ideas about the war and peace?

Because these questions are important to us who are young people during this war period, some of us met in conference to think about them and propose partial answers. The ideas which follow are presented to indicate the type of thinking which ensued at our meetings, to present alternate points of view, and to propose further questions to which we shall all be giving attention during the coming years and months.

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Note: At the bottom of the following pages are a few pertinent statements lifted from discussions at the three Regional Youth Conferences that served as basis for Part I of this pamphlet.

## PART I

### Types of Problems Facing Young People

**First Problem:** *What immediate personal decisions are we facing today? How are they affected by the war? To what extent do our decisions differ from those of young men and women in the city?*

Some people maintain that everyone's first concern must be the war. Others hold that the war is a "pretty bitter pill to swallow" and that we must keep up our morale by "living" as much as possible. If the war is a long one, children will be young people, young people will be adults when it's over. Naturally, all of us are working harder, under greater nervous tension due to many uncertainties and shocks. Thus, we need time for recreation—time to stand off and take stock. Specifically, we want to know:

#### 1. What should we do about school?

Should we leave school to work on the farm? go into industry? If we continue in school, what courses should we take to be ready for a job? for living? Are high schools and colleges giving the information we need? What do we need? Where can we get sound advice and reliable information?

Farm and factory, army and navy, and all the other military services need manpower. They are vying for recruits. Often, draft boards are not too helpful in advising whether there is time for us to complete our schooling, so many of us have quit and enlisted. Parents are usually willing to make great sacrifices to help their sons and daughters get an education, but now with the scarcity of farm labor, occasionally they decide "it's no use to waste the money since the army will get the boys right away anyway." Labor is scarce, particularly in farming areas where wages are low, so some schools are adapting their terms to meet the situation.

Every young person can get vocational training now if he wants it since the government is helping to provide special defense courses. But, how many of us want or can find the kinds of work we'll be

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"It's harder to concentrate in school now, because of the good chances to make money working. Why shouldn't I work and save up enough so I can get a better education later, when I can't get a job?"

"We fellows who are in college don't know just what to do. We want to make our contribution both to winning the war and to the future. We are satisfied that we can do more in the future if we finish our education, but we don't want to be slackers."

prepared to take after having welding, auto repairing, carpentering and the like? We want a school system that will give everyone a chance for a liberal education regardless of financial standing; an education that teaches us to think, to adjust to new situations; and to understand history and economics from more than one viewpoint.

Some feel that vocational guidance in schools is our greatest need in order to find our place in life. The Employment Service also is ready to help with information and counsel about jobs. Unfortunately it is difficult to get people into agriculture, because movies, books, and art usually present "the farmer as a hick". Look at school text books and see how they show progress as something associated with cities.

If democratic ideals are to be extended, how can our educational system help us know them? How can our schools be made more democratic? Is this the time to increase "learning" opportunities for those of us who are out of school? To what extent should the school be used as a community center? How can the problems caused by teacher shortages and migration of people be overcome?

## 2. Should we get married in time of war?

What are some of the questions we ought to consider? What bearing does the war have on them? To what extent are moral standards changing and how can we know the right thing to do? Should the young married couple try to raise a family when the husband is in the service or the mother has to work?

As always, the decision of whether to marry is a choice each of us has to make for himself in America. The chief difference between war marriages and those in ordinary times is that more are "for convenience", as some of us are leaving. If two people are in love and well suited to each other, then all is well in war or peace, but if marriage is entered into chiefly for a period of satisfaction, many problems are raised which would not occur in normal times.

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"But where can you find a good answer to the question 'what kind of guidance do young people need?'"

"Culture has several meanings but to me it is the best that has been said and done. Country life is rich with culture in this sense."

"But the best teachers don't stay in the country on the low pay they get. Can't we have some plan of equalization so it will be worthwhile to teach in the rural community?"

"Love is the real reason for marriage, whether it's in war or peace time. If Jack and I really loved each other and he asked me to marry him, I certainly would."

Although the money question is not as difficult as it was during the last war (for the idea of women working is now generally accepted), there are still community attitudes to think about. Many neighborhoods, especially in rural areas, look askance at the married woman who "goes out" while her husband is away, and in war time, there are special problems of emotional adjustments too. Some say that separation is harder for women than for men while others hold the opposite view. Since death and injury rates are much higher than in any previous war, many young men feel that marriage is primarily a question for the girl to decide as she is apt to have to carry the greater burden. On the other hand, women are usually ready to take all this on themselves, fearing worse the hazards of delay, with chances for marriage growing less and less as the years pass because men choose younger women.

As far as raising a family goes women know they may be left with children to support; but having a family brings much comfort. It gives something to live for and makes a loved one nearer.

Will husband and wife feel the same after the war? Even though some predict that many hasty wartime marriages will end in divorce courts, what can we do to be sure our marriage lasts? Will the boy who is in the service be more eager to come back to his wife than to his fiancée? In which case will the adjustments be easier? If American home life is degenerating, what can we do about it?

### 3. What should we do about jobs?

Should we stay on the farm or go into a defense industry? Is this the time to buy a farm? On what grounds can young men conscientiously ask for deferment? What kinds of jobs should we get ready for? To what extent can we plan our future? Where can we get the help and guidance we need?

Those of us from the country are as ready to do our part as anyone else, but we are not too sure of what that part is. Some of us enlisted early, others went gladly when called, others knew they were needed on the farm and asked for deferments, while still others rushed off to industry for high wages. Even though living conditions in crowded defense cities are not good, the pay check is an inducement.

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"Wouldn't social security for the farmer be a good thing? But will social security as we know it be workable when it is put to a supreme test?"

"How can we ever expect to straighten out a world conflict when we can't even settle our own labor problems? I don't go for unions but maybe it is because I don't know enough about them? How democratic are they?"

Boys now in the service and those of us still to go, probably will find it difficult to get back to the farm after this is over even if we want to. We realize that efficient methods must be developed in order to supply all the food needed for the army and other countries under lend-lease, but this will not make for farm openings after the war. It has grown increasingly harder for young people to start in farming because expenses are high and credit is difficult to secure unless there is some collateral. This situation probably will not be reversed. The agricultural ladder is almost a thing of the past for laborers are rarely able to lay anything by and even owners cannot always meet their obligations.

Commercial farming on a large scale may be more economical, particularly in some sections of the country. To most of us, however, the family sized farm is more the ideal, for farming is a way of life instead of just a producing unit. Independent farmers may be able to get along better by joining cooperatives. Some think that absentee owners should be taxed heavily in an attempt to eliminate them, while others feel that tenancy has good qualities along with the bad. A few of us bemoan the fact that the system of large southern plantations will be eliminated when Negroes are "helped to make their greatest contribution toward society", while others maintain that southern people will not be able to continue as they are if crimes and delinquency of low income groups continue to be a drain on tax money.

Several different arrangements, worked out in an attempt to help farm labor shortages, are to:

Use women, girls and children who are already on farms.

Encourage farm girls to stay home to help.

Use high school students from urban centers; stagger school terms to fit the needs on the farm.

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"Young men have got to stay on farms where there's no one else to depend on. Labor shortage is more acute in some sections than others, depending partially on the type of farming. In some places you can use machinery satisfactorily, but it still takes skill to milk a cow."

"The problems in agriculture can be solved by the application of scientific methods just as we use modern mechanized machinery to do the engineering tasks in a factory. The American farmer has got to learn how to streamline his practices, use modern machinery effectively, put system into his business."

"Everyone can do something. Our club formed a 'working squad' which goes out to help farmers who need it on Saturdays and after school. It isn't so much, but we did plant potatoes when they needed help." (The working squad was made up of young people who were in school at the time and not living on farms.)

Adopt labor saving machinery and keep all farm equipment in good repair.

Cooperate with neighbors on exchanging machines and workers. Guide migrant labor and diversify crops so as to keep workers on more steadily the year around.

Have skilled farmers released from the army or diverted from industries where women can do the work.

Eliminate W.P.A. pay for all who can get work because farmers are unable to compete with their wages.

How can those of us from the farm who go to the city learn about labor unions, living conditions, social and recreational groups? What will happen to persons working in defense jobs after the war? What kind of jobs will be open then? Are N.Y.A., C.C.C., W.P.A., etc., the type of programs we want in case there is another depression? If not, what can we do? If rural communities need good leaders, how can more of "the best" farm youth be encouraged to stay in the country?

#### 4. What responsibilities do we as young people have to our communities?

How much do we know of conditions in our neighborhoods—labor supply, housing, minority groups, health, crime, governmental policies? Do the churches, schools, and organizations give us enough opportunity to help improve our community? How much do we really care about what happens? What are some of the things which are being done now? What more can we do? What is the answer to people who say "It is too early to plan for the time when the war is over?" What kind of leaders can help us out of the mess we are in? Are we complacent about world happenings? How can we develop the leadership abilities we feel are desirable?

To make our democracy really effective every one of us must assume responsibility for making the wheels go round, and our greatest contribution can be made right where we are regardless of where that is. We must learn to practice cooperation in the

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"Defense jobs are developing new desires. One is never satisfied with bread once he has tasted cake. We must be prepared for an increase in crime, especially among the young."

"It takes everybody in an area to make a community. Farmers and townspeople have many common stakes in this war, so they've all got to learn to pull together."

"There is much talk nowadays about developing leadership abilities; we should also emphasize followership abilities. I am afraid the days of free enterprise and individualism are gone. At any rate leaders will grow out of followership training."

home, the school, the whole community if we ever expect to realize a world sharing in international trade and common ideals of living. We like to take part with older people in planning programs instead of always having them handed down ready made.

We can develop leadership by taking part in camps, institutes and conferences where we get actual training. We develop abilities by being active members in organizations. Those who aspire to lead should not do it all themselves, but delegate responsibility and help others by planning and working with them. In fact, leadership which doesn't include training of the next leaders soon destroys itself—this is particularly true now when people are constantly moving away.

Some communities have too many organizations; others have too few. It is important, however, to get people together, for "in union there is strength". There are those who say this is no time to experiment, for all our efforts must go toward winning the war. We answer that this is a perfect time to combine our efforts, draw in new leaders, overcome rifts, plan and really do things in the community. In fact, the war is cause for new determination. Community councils are one means of "clearing the way" since they can bring in all the different interests. Many groups and organizations are beginning to realize that we young people have a contribution to make, and by accepting appointments to boards and committees we get a lot of good experience.

Planning for the present and for the future is a good idea for every community. Land Use Planning Committees in some rural areas have mapped all the farm land according to its present use to determine what is available if more is needed. Planning needs to be done within the community and for larger areas—county, state, national and international. Many agencies and committees already are doing post-war planning. We can learn what their plans are by reading, listening to the radio and having their representatives at our meetings.

Why do some people say "young folks just fritter away their time"? How can we make more effective use of our spare time, not only to benefit ourselves but also for the good of our

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"Clubs are all right, but it's live programs we're after. Organizations are in for a hard time. They need to evaluate their activities in the light of what has to be done, get rid of those that don't count, and strengthen those that do."

"Consolidation doesn't always mean cooperation. Some centralized schools break down conflicts, while an attempt at consolidation in another place may make things worse."



community? Is everyone a leader in something, or are leaders few and far between? What do we know about our government? What is expected of each citizen? If we are not satisfied with democracy as it functions what can we do about it? What effect is migration having on rural living? What are young people doing to make rural life more satisfactory?

## 5. What can we do to win the war?

How can we young people in civilian life contribute most to the war effort? Why are some people so selfish when such great sacrifices are being made by others? Why does "labor" strike and the "agricultural bloc" hold out for parity prices? How heavily should taxes fall upon different income groups? Since we are the ones who more than others must sacrifice jobs, education, home and society—and even our lives—what voice should we have in the peace? How can we keep informed of what is happening? Is it unpatriotic to have a good time?

A large part of the job falls on us—fighting, producing food, making munitions and uniforms, helping by serving wherever we are. In civilian defense we serve as air raid wardens, airplane spotters, first aid assistants. It has taken time to make people realize the need for precaution on the home front but those of us who take our jobs seriously learn the reasons behind the requirements and help get across to others the need for cooperation.

Even with the tire and gas rationing, club meetings and social gatherings ought to be encouraged for they build morale and in addition provide a channel for young people to contribute toward the war effort. If meetings cannot be held as frequently, the mails can be used to keep people informed of what is happening. The groups which completely disband are usually the ones not very well established.

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"Something ought to be done about the moral or religious life in the Army camps. In our town which is less than 20 miles from Fort \_\_\_\_\_, it's awful the way soldiers and local girls behave. And, at the Fort the soldiers don't go to church. The government has built a nice chapel but the Chaplain gets only a handful to each service."

"Youth didn't want this war but they are the ones who have to fight, so they should be heard."

"There is a tendency toward moral let-down, particularly near camps. It must be mob psychology, strict regulations, and abnormal living which cause people to demand release. Maybe it's the idea of 'I don't care, no one here knows me', or 'I'll be gone tomorrow', or 'I've got to do something to forget'. Often superior officers don't set very good examples."

Although it is taken for granted that everyone wants to win the war, many people are selfish and interested in what they can get. When it comes to rationing (sugar, gas, and the like) the difficulty may be due to the need for facts. When officials make conflicting statements it breaks our faith in our government. Faced with contradictions like that, we should get as many facts as possible from reliable sources and draw our own conclusions. Democracy provides that all can have freedom of speech, and officials are not excluded. We can get the person who is always criticizing to study the whole situation and report his conclusions to others. It will help him develop faith and stability which is sure to have an influence on others.

To be prepared for helping with the peace, we need to know better what we are fighting for, the kind of a world we expect after the war, and the ideals toward which we strive. We need authentic information and guidance for probably we are the ones who will have to put the peace into effect. Generally, people feel they know too little to think into the future. We must get away from depending on someone else doing our job.

We are not inclined to think from the present war into the future. In fact, our primary wish is to finish it as fast as possible so we can do what we want to do. We can use forum teams, discussions, special club programs, radio and movies to help people appreciate the need for thinking of the future. There are good materials and programs available, but we need to find out about them and adapt them for use in our clubs.

Everyone is encouraged to take first aid and nursing courses since doctors are being drafted so rapidly. Some groups meet especially to work on Red Cross materials while others devote only part of their regular meetings to it. One youth leader and his wife decided with their club members that they would do something specific for the Red Cross. For a short period at the beginning of each meeting the boys make splints while the girls sew or roll bandages. Another group turned their "Scavenger Hunt" into getting things for the Red Cross instead of just silly items.

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"People are bewildered, they just don't know what to believe. They can't trust the papers. There aren't enough facts given to the public to give them faith in the laws. Public officials bungle information."

"World peace is what we need; isn't that what we're fighting for? If not, then we'll have another war in 20 years."

How can our club keep in touch with those in the service? What is the U.S.O. and who helps with it? What can we do? To what extent can our youth group serve as a "clearing house" for war efforts? How much should we spend on bonds and stamps? What place can we have in planning home front programs and activities?

**Second Problem:** *What are our ideas about the war and the peace to follow? What are we fighting for? Will we ever have world peace? How? What kind of a future can we expect?*

The last war was fought "to make the world safe for democracy". Now, we have to go through with this whole thing again because in the last war Americans quit after the fighting stopped and refused further responsibility to the rest of the world. This time it is generally agreed that winning the battle will give us only a right to have our democracy and work toward a peaceful world. This basic idea raises several questions:

### 1. What are we fighting for?

To what extent is this our war? Are youth in America fighting for the same things youth in other countries want? If we are fighting to preserve the right to have democracy, what does that mean? Do we want democracy as it is? What changes are needed? If we are merely fighting against an idea (Fascism), what will we do after the war?

The way we see things: Americans are fighting not only for their existence but also for a right to be free, with a chance to make a living, go to school, attend the church of their choice and talk without being afraid. The struggle is primarily to defend the principles of democracy as expressed in our Constitution and Bill of Rights—to get a chance to make democracy really work here in America and elsewhere.

If merely fighting against an idea, we will face no clear challenge after the war is won. Of course, we have to keep down aggressors and destroy the things which cause war. Songs and propaganda already are beginning to bring in a hate psychology which some maintain is necessary if we are to win the war. Others, however, point out that it will be more difficult to build a lasting peace if peoples hate each other.

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"Don't we still have too many people who want too much? What kind of a life will our future generations have unless we overcome the aggressors? We don't want our children to be slaves."

We cannot accept the view that this is entirely an economic war and condemn it, for there are many causes: the ambitions of people to better themselves; unequal distribution of food, raw materials, and supplies; prejudices between nationalities, races, and classes. One group cannot be allowed to dominate others. So, as we see it, we are struggling for a better world—a place where the spirit of the brotherhood of man exists.

Does this mean that Democracy and Christianity are one and the same? In fighting to be free, what will our responsibilities as Americans be? To what extent can a world federation insure world peace? What specific issues must be faced with foreign countries after the war? If we don't realize what we are fighting for, what can we do to clear our thinking?

## 2. How can we strengthen democracy?

What does democracy mean? How well does our form of government meet the needs of all of the people, such as the underprivileged third or the Negroes or Jews? Do you think that class interests are growing in this country? How can capital and labor get together? labor and agriculture? What effect is the war having on our ideas about democracy?

We think that the true meaning of democracy should be studied and practiced from the cradle to the grave. Too many native Americans take for granted the rights and privileges they have because they have never lived without them. They do little until things go wrong and then they kick. It is our naturalized citizens who really appreciate what citizenship means, because they know the difference between democracy and some other form of government.

Some interpret our Constitution as meaning that all people have a right to equal opportunity regardless of color, creed, sex or economic status. Others hold that there always have been exceptions and probably always will be. In the South, class and color

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"I am afraid of the final outcome if people are taught to hate. Will society stand the strain? Can we return to the principles of universal brotherhood?"

"Aren't we fighting for a more socialistic democracy? We probably won't have socialism after this war but there will have to be centralized controls something like the A.A.A. program used."

"Would differences between labor and agriculture be minimized if there were longer hours and lower wages in industry?" A labor union representative chimed in, "Why not have shorter hours and organization for better pay in agriculture?" A farm delegate came back with, "You can't make weather and crops go by the clock."

barriers exist which have grown up with the plantation system. To some the greatest struggle, now, seems to be between the "poor whites" and Negroes who compete for work. Others feel that the white politicians and "upper class" hesitate to give Negroes better opportunities for fear they will lose prestige.

The right to vote is often confused with citizenship, which, of course, is much more than exercising the franchise. Poll taxes, "grandfather clauses" and other voting discriminations, of course, need remedying. People also need to be helped to vote intelligently. Radios, newspapers, periodicals, rallies with opponents appearing together, discussions, good speakers who point out the "truths", all these are valuable. It is up to all of us to concern ourselves with ways of making the basic principles of our Constitution fit our changing needs. Since group thought is better than individual ideas, discussions are helpful in making plans and educating people.

The depression and the war are tending to make Americans more conscious of "the other fellow". Many social reforms have been started but there is still need for emphasizing a "go-giving" philosophy instead of one of "go-getting" which was developed during our pioneer days. Today, as never before, we must realize the interdependence of the whole world. As this war ends, we must find ways for all nations to work together. All will have to surrender certain sovereignties just as the states in this country gave up power to the United States.

If Christianity and Democracy *are* synonymous, how can people develop a truly Christian spirit? How can the ideals of cooperation, brotherly-love, honesty and all the other virtues be practiced? How would that clear up our political situations at home? our world "mess"? Does it do any good to vote or are people too lazy and trifling really to concern themselves about whether we have good government?

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"But, do we have democracy in practice? Words alone don't make democracy, it takes action. Our country must straighten up its own house so others can't criticize us for being undemocratic."

"Is there really democracy until cabins are improved and chains destroyed? Democracy's aim should be a fairer distribution of wealth and higher standards of living for all."

"If we are fighting for the status quo and to help Britain and the United States become more powerful, then it isn't worth it! We have no right to put on high tariffs and prevent people from paying their honest debts, like we did after the last war."

### 3. What kind of a world do we want?

If it is time to consider peace aims, what should they be? Can a just peace be made, or must we forever expect war? Should there be an international government? Is such a thing possible? What should it be like? How much should we know about people of other nations? If we want to learn more about foreign people, how can we do it? How can countries which have dictators fit into a world federation? To what extent should the United States encourage a disarmament program following this war? What kind of a government will the U. S. have after the war? How can "the people" get back the powers which have been turned over to the President, after the war?

Although the future depends on the outcome of the war, we ought to be ready for what comes. The United States will play an important part, and the people should understand what we are headed for. We must all get behind some constructive plan instead of resisting, as we did after the last war. The peace table should do more than "Win the Peace". It takes time for all (nations) to decide what they want to do and set up the machinery that will protect their rights. We probably shall have to help in policing the world in order to give all a chance to practice democracy if they want to.

Specialized leadership will need to be loaned to foreign countries after the war if we are to build a better society. Since there are many international groups carrying out programs in this country, it is possible for us to learn about them.

Instead of competition we must learn cooperation. Those who produce certain things to advantage must be encouraged and given a chance to do so. This will revive foreign trade. International trade, tariffs, population migrations and many related problems

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"There'll be a lot to do after this war is over to have a world fit to live in. People of the United States must be ready to help. And even though technicians are the ones to turn munitions plants back to peace-time industry, they can't unless the people will it."

"The difficulties of nations working together must be faced. Any international government means we've got to see that people are people. We have been badly misled by such ideas as 'the Japs can't shoot a machine gun because of their slant eyes' or 'the Russians can only run backwards'. We must learn more about both our allies and our enemies."

"It's true that many nations compete, but some can produce certain things better than others. Then, if we see how we depend on each other we won't want wars."

need study and interpretation for all people so that legislation can be altered when there is need for it. If world federation is the final goal, people need to become acquainted with its possibilities. The idea will develop only as we become more broadminded and willing to give and take for the good of all.

Some think that each country should be left alone to progress as it sees fit, but that is what happened after the last war. Of course, we have no right to impose democracy on countries which have or want something else, but we do have a responsibility for trying to provide for international security so each country can live without fear of invasion. Some say "never disarm again," while others contend that "as long as military dress is on, the peace is uncertain."

Are people ready to sacrifice enough to have the kind of a world we want? Is it really a question of sacrifice or is it one of investment for future security? Can the United States live in security after the war through a system of enforced self-sacrifice? Will money as we know it have value? How good will war bonds be? How can the emphasis on "the almighty dollar" be changed so that people of merit "get ahead" instead of just those with fat purses? If cooperatives are able to make life better, what do we need to know about them?

## PART II

### Pertinent Information



*Freedom From Want*



*Freedom of Speech*

In order to throw more light on the topics which confronted us and help us know better the world in which we live, a search has been made since our meetings to get certain factual materials. Many good articles and books were found. Only a few excerpts are included here, however, as space is limited but these are enough to provide a stimulus to further thought and discussion.

Although exact references are not given to the quotations, all of them may be found in the sources listed at the end of each section according to the order in which they appear. Of course, more might be given but this array indicates there are useful materials available on the topics considered. Additional sources of information are available in Part III.

The main issues which seemed to need more information are treated under the following questions:

1. Why Are We Fighting?
2. What Must We Do To Win The War?
3. What Is The Democracy We Are Fighting For?
4. What Is Our Job In Post War Reconstruction?

#### 1. Why Are We Fighting?

Today millions of young men are leaving their jobs, class-rooms and homes for military camps and overseas duty: all are asking "What are the facts behind this war? We must understand them as clearly as possible in order to do our part." Here are a few of the reasons why we are fighting for our lives today: (1) we want freedom from invasion and from domination by fascist forces; (2) it is intolerable to accept the repressive economic, political and educational system of the Axis Powers; (3) we are caught in a world revolution (a) because we—the democracies—failed to meet



the basic needs of our own peoples and of peoples of other parts of the world, and (b) because we failed to organize the economic and political relations between nations on a basis of law and order. We must learn the lesson from the past if we are to see that this war is not fought in vain.

Let us see more definitely what these mean for us. The first is forcefully described by Mordecai Ezekial, of the Department of Agriculture and Consultant to the War Production Board:

The war is worth winning solely to preserve our freedom. Every worker and every farmer who has heard what has happened in Europe and Asia knows what would happen to him if we should lose and become the subjects of the Nazis. Workers would become slaves in factories, with long hours of work at low pay. Farmers would become serfs bound to the land, required to do exactly what their masters ordered them to. Labor unions and farm organizations would be destroyed, their leaders imprisoned or shot, their funds taken over by the fascists. Everyone would be subject to being ordered off to concentration camps to be imprisoned, maimed, or killed without trial or hearing. The best that America could produce would be shipped away to feed the master races of Germans and Japs, and only enough would be left here to keep the slaves alive and at work. We fight to preserve our freedom and individual liberties.

But destroying Hitler and all he represents, and ending that threat to our free way of life, is not enough. We must not only destroy the present threat, but we must make the future secure for ourselves and our children.

The world-wide interdependence of nations makes it impossible for the United States to expect to maintain its freedom to develop business, agriculture, labor, education, or religion along lines of our own choosing, in a world which may be wholly Fascist. Avery Craven, Professor of History at the University of Chicago, points out that:

What we must seemingly learn is that the world has become so small, so interdependent, that no peoples can live to themselves; no event that hurts the least of mankind, however far removed, can leave us untouched. As Norman Angell told the British people: "If England had brought her power to bear upon the Japs when they first attacked China had she said 'no!' to Hitler's first aggressions, Englishmen today would not be digging the mangled bodies of their own children from the ruins of bomb-wrecked homes!"

The United States cannot possibly escape domination if the Axis Powers secure control of the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa,

Oceania and the sea and air lanes connecting them. Gordon W. Prange, Professor of History at the University of Maryland, states:

To those who believe that we could get on with a victorious Germany, it is well to suggest that without a drastic reorganization of our entire economy we could not expect to compete on even terms in the world market against German goods produced by Nazi conscript labor. This is not all. The American business-man who thinks that we could trade profitably with the Nazis should realize that totalitarian economics and totalitarian politics are one and the same thing. . . .

And Hitler intends to play the game according to his rules. For this we have no better authority than his own word: . . . "we will not establish our economic policy to suit the conceptions or desires of bankers in New York or London" he asserted on February 24 of this year. "Germany's economic policy is conducted exclusively in accordance with the interests of the German people."

Totalitarianism in the Far East is an equal danger, according to William C. Johnstone, Dean of the Junior College, George Washington University.

What the Japanese and Hitler want is not an equitable redistribution of the world's resources and trade, but only to turn their countries from "have-not" nations to "have" nations by taking away territory and wealth from nations which have these things now. This can only be done by force and it was not expected that it would be done without resistance from the nations who stood to lose much or all by Japanese and German aggression.

Japan's "new order," like Hitler's, however, is more than just an economic readjustment in its favor. The Japanese firmly believe that they are destined to rule the greater part of Asia and many of them believe they should rule the world.

The effect of an Axis victory upon the lives of youth has been described by a 19-year-old girl from Slovenia which is a part of Jugoslavia. In her commencement day address at Collinwood High School, Cleveland, Ohio, in June 1942, Marie Penko said:

I was a child born in a conquered country. Do you realize what that means? From the time I could remember anything there was always fear of the conqueror. I wonder if you people living here, in this America, can realize what it means to be a human being living in a territory which is juggled and tossed back and forth with each new war and each new political treaty. . . . I went to a fascist school; as a result, I never knew much about the Slovenian culture of my ancestors. . . .

Parents had no jurisdiction over their children, in fact, the school faculty didn't even ask permission to register us to the party. They didn't bother to ask us if we wanted to be fascists or not, they just told us that we were. Yes, I wore the uniform,

I saluted, I marched, and I drilled, I cheered for Mussolini, and I sang songs which I was too young to understand. . . .

What does America mean to me: It means schools where you are given every opportunity for self-expression and self-government. Where I came from they don't like it if you think too much, or if you are too curious. I remember the first time I went to a public library in America. To think that I could actually choose a book on any subject was unbelievable; up to that time I had read just what I was told. . . .

I am grateful for America—but I have not forgotten what it is to live under the shadow of the Axis. I have seen what happens to free people under what the enemy calls the New Order, and I know there can be no compromise.

We must recognize that, although we are fighting against military and economic domination by the fascist powers, we must also be prepared to offer a "New Order" to the masses of people at war's end. It has been pointed out many times that we are living in a world revolution. Frederick Schuman, Professor of International Relations, Williams College, describes our failure after the last war to organize international trade and government as the cause for scores of millions of people all over the globe to be bankrupt, unemployed, hungry and desperate.

This disaster was fatal to democracy and to peace alike. Democracy is government by talk and by free co-operation and compromise. It can work only when people are reasonable and tolerant. They can be reasonable and tolerant only when they have food, clothing, shelter, and some measure of dignity, security, and confidence. People who are jobless and desperate cannot value freedom highly, nor can they easily be patient and sweetly reasonable. As early as 1917 the mass misery produced by the First World War had led to revolution in Russia and to the establishment of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" whose leaders were pledged to giving people bread and hope through the violent establishment of a new social order. . . . The Great Depression produced similar miseries elsewhere, enabling the gangster elements in the Japanese Army and Navy to secure more and more influence in Tokyo and bringing to power in Germany, early in 1933, Hitler's Nazi fanatics, sworn to hatred, persecution, and revenge.

In Sections 3 and 4 we shall go into more detail about the democracy we are defending and our international responsibilities for the future.

#### References and Suggestive Reading

*Making the War Worth Winning*, Mordecai Ezekial. Address before Labor in War Conference, Union College, Schenectady, New York, August 2, 1942. Copy may be secured by writing the author at U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

*American Traditions and the Present Crisis*, Avery Craven, Bulletin of American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, July, 1942. (Ask your librarian to secure this for you.)

"America In a World at War Series", Farrar and Rhinehart, New York. (10c each.)

*Hitler's Speeches and the United States*, Gordon W. Prange, No. 16.

*German Youth and the Nazi Dream of Victory*, E. L. Hartshorne, No. 12.

*America Faces Japan*, William C. Johnstone, Jr., No. 17.

*Hope in America*, Marie Penko, Commencement Address from Collinwood High School, Cleveland, broadcast on C.B.S. August 16, 1942. Copy may be obtained from the Office of War Information, Washington, D. C.

*America Organizes to Win the War*, edited by Erling Hunt, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1942. (\$1.60).

This book contains articles on practically every subject treated in this pamphlet. For this discussion read "How the War Spread" by Frederick Schuman.

*This Shrinking World*, Eugene Staley, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York.

*You Can't Do Business With Hitler*, Douglas Miller, (former Commercial Attache to U. S. Embassy in Berlin) Pocket Books, Inc., New York. (25c)

*Nazi Exploitation and Occupied Europe*, and *Nazi Economic Imperialism*, Ernest S. Hediger, Foreign Policy Reports, 22 East 38th St., New York, June 1 and August 15. (25c each)

*Why We Are At War*, Preston Slosson, Houghton Mifflin, Chicago, 1942.

## 2. What Must We Do to Win This War?

**Realize This Is a Total War.** This means everybody is going to feel the pinch, everybody has a contribution to make. "The people" must let our President know we want to organize our country for Victory no matter how much it hurts. S. L. A. Marshall, Military Critic of the "Detroit News", puts the case as follows:

The tank and the airplane have produced what is known as "total war". These fast-moving weapons, striking as they do, over the heads or around the flanks of the opposing forces, have brought the battle directly to civilian populations, which, in turn, have had to find means of defending themselves and of striking back. Nowadays every highway, every means of ingress to a country, has to be guarded; every airport, harbor, factory, supply depot, and other vital objective has to be protected. Obviously, therefore, it is no longer possible for small and highly skilled professional armies to interpose themselves between the enemy and the attacking forces and thus safeguard the nation. Everybody must fight now in one way or another; that is, "total war" has become imperative.

**Increase Production.** On January 6, 1942, the President said that for a nation at war we will need to increase our output of airplanes, tanks, anti-aircraft guns, ships so rapidly that we shall outstrip all previous goals and achievements.

The 1942 goals for agricultural production compared with 1941 have been stated by Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, to include the following increases: milk 7 percent, eggs 11 percent, hogs 14 percent, soy beans 54 percent, flaxseed 34 percent, peas (for canning) 32 percent, tomatoes 18 percent, peanuts 2½ times the 1941 acreage.

**Meet Labor Shortages.** Of course, we do not know exactly how many men and women will be required for the armed services by 1943, 1944 and later. Up to 10,000,000 men have been mentioned. This means 1 man in 3, between the ages of 18-44 inclusive, will be taken out of their homes, and out of normal channels of business. Testifying before the Tolson Committee, Paul V. McNutt, War Manpower Commissioner, said:

In order to replace workers withdrawn by the armed forces and to make the necessary shifts from nonessential to essential work, we shall have to place about 18 million workers in new jobs. . . . Labor shortages in copper mining and smelting have already cost several thousand tons of this valuable war material and shortages exist also in other nonferrous metal mining industries and in logging. . . . It is assumed that there will be a considerable outflow of male workers from agriculture to industry and the armed forces.

This all means that (1) farmers will have to increase their efficiency, share machinery and labor with others, use more women, part-time high school students, and adults from nearby towns; (2) young people, women, older persons will have to utilize whatever skills they may have, take special training and find as soon as possible some war industry where they can replace a more highly skilled worker or a soldier; (3) communities will have to cooperate with government in planning for the best use of migrant labor.

**Prevent Inflation.** Many needed materials formerly purchased from overseas can no longer be secured. Transportation is overburdened. Supplies of rubber, gasoline, sugar, meat, wool, critical raw materials for industry must be used first for the armed services. Civilians must take what is left if it means *nothing*. In some cases this is what is happening and it is causing rapidly rising prices.

A recent issue of *Victory* (September 15, 1942) points out that this also happened in World War I and "the rocket carried hardships and disasters in its trail for workers, for farmers and for all."

If prices in this war get out of hand as they did in the last war, the added cost of the war due to rising living costs may amount to as much as 75 billion dollars.

David Cushman Coyle writes "Wise handling of the war finance can greatly reduce the real costs of war," and explains briefly why "Inflation" is such a desperate danger for our country:

"Inflation" is the word used for either a flood of new money or a severe rise in prices, or both. Actually prices are pushed from two sides. They are pushed up by an increase in the amount of money circulating, and pushed down by an increase in the amount of goods for sale. If these balance, no harm is done; prices stay about as they were. But if the quantity of goods for sale grows smaller while the people get more money to spend, you get inflation on both ends, and prices go up toward the sky.

Efforts are being made to control inflation through (1) heavy taxation, (2) borrowing money through bonds and stamps, (3) rationing of scarce goods, and (4) over-all price, rent, wage and farm ceilings.

**Cooperate With War Agencies.** Every individual should be his own policeman in carrying out the plans set up by such agencies as the Office of Price Administration and its rationing program, the Office of Civilian Defense for protection, the Department of Agriculture in its "Food for Freedom", the Treasury Department with War Bonds, and all the others.

Salvage everything—rubber, metal, fats or oils, paper, etc.

Conserve and repair what is available.

Subscribe to efforts which will stabilize prices by obeying regulations and know the rules about price controls and rationing.

Save at least 10% of your earnings by buying bonds.

Thus, reads the list. In addition, Red Cross, United Service Organizations, and many more non-governmental groups are making great contributions toward winning the war and should be helped in their efforts, not only with volunteer services but with blood banks, funds, and even discarded articles.

This war may not always be fought on the Russian, Chinese, or African fronts. Detroit and Chicago are within bombing range of German-held Norway. Denver, Seattle, Salt Lake City are within bombing range of the Japanese outposts in the Aleutian Islands. Furthermore, there is constant danger of sabotage within our country—explosions, wrecks, slowing up production. Our armed forces cannot be expected to protect the home fronts. We have not enough policemen to do so. Citizens must be organized—block by block, farm by farm, factory by factory—to prevent fire, destruction and panic, and to help in every necessary way in case of attack. It was the marvelous organization and morale of the British people

behind the armed forces that saved England from invasion in 1940. America can afford no less.

Finally everyone owes it to his country to fight the spread of malicious rumors, deliberately planted by Axis propaganda agents to discredit our fighting forces, our workers, our government. The best antidote to rumor and propaganda is information. Therefore, every club, discussion group, or forum that helps people to understand the issues involved is a contribution toward winning the war and the peace. General MacArthur, in talking from Australia last March, said:

People must know the truth. People will not fight and they will not die unless they know what they are fighting and dying for.

#### References and Suggestive Reading

*America Organizes to Win the War*, edited by Erling Hunt, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1942. Articles on the Army, Navy, Air Force, Industry and others are pertinent to this topic.

*What Can I Do*, The Citizens Handbook for War, U. S. Office of Civilian Defense, Washington, D. C. Obtain copy from your Local Defense Council.

Describes work of Citizens Defense Corps, and Citizens Service Corps.

*Economics of the Home Front: Consumer Prices, and War Facts*. Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.

Other bulletins explaining the dangers of inflation, anti-inflation legislation, etc., are available from your local OPA office.

*How to Check Inflation, How Money Works, and More for Your Money*, Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

These and other pamphlets are available at 10c each.

*How Rural Youth May Serve*, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. Pamphlet No. 20.

*Youth and National Defense*, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Practical suggestions for training and service available to youth of all ages.

### 3. What Is This Democracy We Are Fighting For?

It is generally accepted that we are fighting a war for survival. But Max Lerner, Professor of Political Science at Williams College, points out that this is not all:

The Nazis have told us that it is a question of "we or they", or the survival of their world or ours: and we must take them at their word. At the same time that we are fighting for our own liberty, we are fighting also for the chance for liberty in

the world as a whole. At the same time that we are fighting to preserve our democracy we are fighting also to preserve the ideas and traditions all over the world within which the growth of that democracy has been made possible, and within which America and other nations can go on to finish the unfinished business of democracy.

Every individual has his own interpretation of what we are fighting for, and of the kind of world we want to work for after this war. This is probably the most important single fact in our democracy. As guaranteed in our Bill of Rights, we are free to form our own ideas and fight for freedom to work for our objectives. After the war we shall not all agree on the way in which we can secure what our group wants, but if we are free from Axis domination, we can continue to thrash out our ideas for solving our common problems. Malcolm Davis of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace summarized this essence of democracy as follows:

The essential freedom is the freedom to modify opinions and policies, by speech and study and writing. More important than any program, this is the method inseparable from intelligent judgment. Its justification lies in the necessity to test any thinking, in the search for truth, since all our discovery comes by experiment and proof and all our enlightenment is evolutionary and progressive. This is the adventure, inescapably, in the life of mankind, and this is its dignity in the world we want.

What are some items in the "unfinished business of democracy" that we want to continue to work for during and after this war? Those who have given thought to this subject—regardless of differences of opinion on method—are agreed that we must so work out our economic life that the masses of our people have more income with which to buy the products of industry and of agriculture. This is basic—for without mass consumption we cannot have full employment; without full employment we have depressed agriculture; then come wretched housing and low health standards; and our hope of political democracy and orderly government disappears.

Our number one job now and after the war must be to work out together plans for providing higher and more nearly equal standards for all our people so that dictators can never gain a foothold in this country.

Incomes are relatively low for the majority of our people as pointed out by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation when



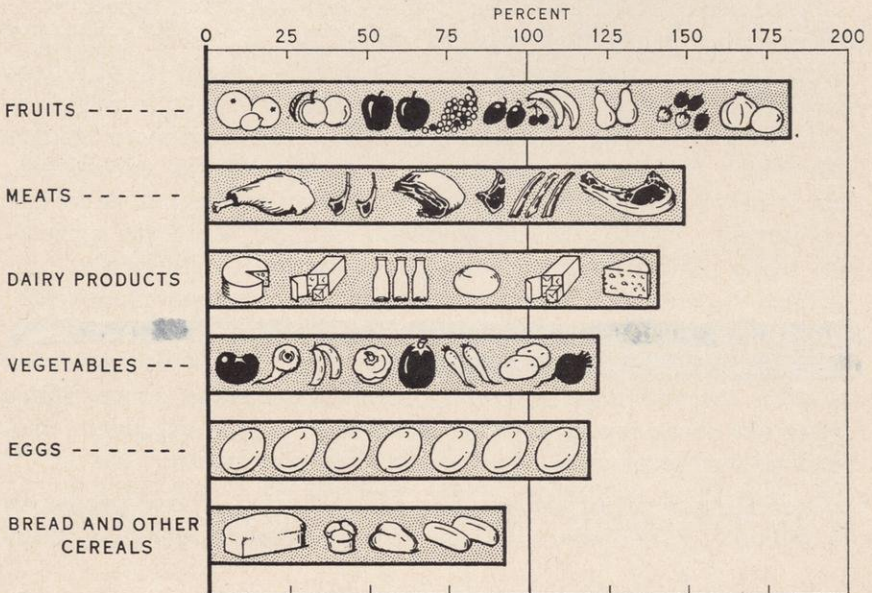
they considered 29.4 million families in 1935-36. The following information given in cumulative percentage is of interest:

<i>Families</i>	<i>Annual Income</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Annual Income</i>
14.2 percent,	under \$ 500	79.1 percent,	under \$2000
41.7 " ,	" 1000	92.0 " ,	" 3000
64.7 " ,	" 1500	97.4 " ,	" 5000
	2.6 percent,		over \$5000

Rural and urban people must cooperate for the welfare of all. Farmers can plan together (as in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Agricultural War Board program) the crops which will best meet the country's needs and insure a fair return to agriculture. They can set up and accept various temporary measures for subsidizing those farmers who make inadequate incomes. But farm people cannot solve all their problems apart from industrial workers and city dwellers. The only way to build a permanently sound agriculture, is for all to work as citizens for planning that will keep both our factories and farms fully productive. In addition, we need to cooperate with other nations to promote the highest possible standards of living around the world.

The way in which city income and employment affects the purchase of farm products is shown below.

**WHEN INCOME RISES, CITY FAMILIES EAT MORE**  
 (QUANTITIES OF FOOD BOUGHT BY A \$3,500 FAMILY, SHOWN AS PERCENTAGES OF AMOUNTS BOUGHT BY A \$1,250 FAMILY)



One major piece of "unfinished business", then, is to raise the incomes of all through increased production; and thus eliminate unemployment. Gustin and Holmes of General Electric point this out in "An Approach to Post War Planning".

Common sense dictates that it should be possible to effect a union between ability to produce and ability to consume; but that union will not be easy. . . . Full employment and full enjoyment of America's heritage will come about only through the formation of a new partnership of management, labor, capital, and government, a running team in which each partner thoroughly understands his own function and directs his energies whole-heartedly to one end. That end is a constantly rising standard of living for all people.

With respect to agriculture's role in the future, The National Planning Association states:

This is not visionary. We have a better opportunity now than ever to reach the ideal of a well-kept, prosperous countryside. The war is bringing vast changes to American farm production, consumption, prices, employment, amortization of indebtedness; many people on submarginal land are going into industry; we are eating more food. These forces may bring ills, just as the first World War hurt the farm plant, but, if recognized now, they can be diverted into permanently useful channels.

Of course, the solution to special problems will be easier if we work intelligently on the main one—that of full employment and full production. But we must not lose sight of:

**Educational Opportunity.** Less than 73 percent of our children go to high school; only 15 percent of our young people go to college; just 53 and 20 percent, respectively, of the Negroes, 16-17 and 18-19, are in school. Expenditures per child for education vary from as little as \$31 in Mississippi and Arkansas to as much as \$142 in California and \$157 in New York. Correcting these inequalities in education must be one of our continuing objectives.

**Adequate Housing.** According to the National Resources Planning Board:

. . . in more than 200 cities almost one-fifth of the dwellings were (in 1935) in need of major repairs or were simply unfit for human habitation; another two-fifths needed work done on them to bring them up to a decent standard. After the war these dwellings will be 10 years more decrepit. . . . We shall emerge from war with more skilled workers than ever before, with more power, more steel and aluminum, with new plastics—with the greatest industrial plant in our history. We must

keep it at work, because only by full employment can we be assured of that freedom from want and fear which provides the basis for the other freedoms for which we are fighting.

**Employer-Employee Relationship.** A thorough-going understanding of the part workers play in our society is needed if we are to make democracy function for all our people. The need for full realization of this is summarized in a Report of the National Planning Association, "Defense Planning and Labor Policy":

Properly speaking, there is no labor problem . . . except in the sense that there is an employer problem, a banker problem, a lawyer problem or a politician problem. There is a problem of defense, a problem of production, a problem of national welfare. All of us, including labor, are vitally concerned with the correct solution of these problems. The wage-earners constitute the largest single group in the nation, and their welfare is even more intimately affected than that of many others by the success or lack of success with which democracy is defended and fulfilled both at home and abroad.

**Minorities.** Our largest minority group, Negroes, constitutes about 1/11 of our population. In addition, there are large groups of Italians, Germans, Slavs, Oriental peoples. Many of them came here with high hopes and a wish to become a part of the great American democracy, but some have been snubbed, rebuffed, even discriminated against. Anti-semitism, intolerance for people of other races, doctrines of racial superiority are typical signs of the fascist mind, whether found here or in Germany.

The way prejudice and discrimination against minority groups work out is illustrated in an article by Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in a recent issue of *The Annals*:

Negroes do not expect attainment of utopia overnight. But they see traditional ways of life of Americans dislocated under the impact and necessity of war, and they cannot understand why there cannot be some changes, or at least the beginning of changes, so far as racial attitudes are concerned.

The hope of the Negroes that they too may some day share more fully in the democracy they are being asked and required to defend is kept alive by the outspoken pronouncements of courageous Americans. . . . But the Negro is also a realist; he knows that if the concept of the Negro as a second-class citizen is to be changed, the major part of the work to effect such a change must be done by the Negro himself.

**Health and Nutrition.** We are learning that it takes healthy people to raise an army and make planes. Draft rejections for bad teeth

and neglected eyes have revealed how careless we have been. It is just plain self-interest and common sense to organize *now* for better health. Nutritional education, with free meals if necessary so that *everybody* has enough of the right foods to eat, medical examinations and services in schools and clinics so that epidemics and venereal diseases are controlled are all essential.

**Political Democracy.** Only in a country with a free ballot can the people elect the officers they want to carry out their wishes. But if they are not informed about candidates and issues and if they fail to go to the polls, then they must not be surprised to have in office corrupt, irresponsible and uninformed persons. We need to make fuller use of our democratic right to vote. At the last national election 3 out of every 5 potential voters cast ballots. The percentage is lower than this in local elections. For young people (22-24 years olds) in Maryland, 55 percent among more than 4000 that were surveyed in 1936 reported voting at the "last election". Those living in urban centers were less inclined than farm residents to exercise their voting privilege. To maintain our freedom of choice as to the kind of country we want to live in we must see that full use is made of the franchise.

#### References and Suggestive Reading

*America Organizes to Win the War*, edited by Erling Hunt, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1942.

Read the article by Max Lerner for this section.

*Handbook for Discussion Leaders*, edited by Ursula P. Hubbard, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 W. 117th Street, New York. 1940.

Pertinent articles and reprints may also be secured. A few are:

*The Price of Free World Victory*, Henry A. Wallace, *The World We Want*, Malcolm W. Davis, *Lines of Action in Economic Reconstruction*, Mordecai Ezekiel, *Pursuit of Happiness in Wartime*, Eduard C. Lindeman.

"Approach to Post-War Planning", Gustin and Holme, *Harvard (University) Business Review*, Cambridge, Mass.

*Toward a Better Post-War Agriculture*, National Planning Association, Washington, D. C. (25c)

*After Defense—What?*, *After War—Full Employment*, *Better Cities*, and *The Role of The Housebuilding Industry*, all by National Resources Planning Board, Washington, D. C.

Send to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. (5c each)

"Farm Prosperity Depends on the City", U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Post-War Plans* No. 3, Washington, D. C.

"Minority Peoples in a Nation at War", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 1942. (\$2.00)

*Who Can Afford Health, This Problem of Food, Government Under Pressure, and The Negro and the War*, Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. (10c each)

#### 4. What Is Our Job In Past War Reconstruction?

Our starting point in reconstruction is well outlined by Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean of the Foreign Policy Association, in a recent issue of the *Survey Graphic*:

Many an American still believes that sooner or later a bell will ring; then war will be over and peace will have begun. . . . But no such bell will ring, nor will there be a clear dividing line between war and peace. One of the most tragic mistakes that the Allies made in 1918 was to think that, because an armistice had been signed, war was at an end. True, military operations did end with the armistice. But the war continued right on after 1918—on the economic front, the social front, the psychological front—all shaping up a new Armageddon.

Now, in the perspective of a quarter of a century, we realize that the victorious Allies lost the peace because they refused to take responsibility for post-war reconstruction. If we are to avoid repeating the experience of 1918, we must realize that this war is not worth fighting, that the sacrifices we are all being called upon to make are not worth making, unless we pledge ourselves to see to it that our war efforts do not remain sterile, but serve as the prelude for responsible peacemaking.

What are some of the factors people of the United States must take into account if they are to insure for themselves and their country freedom from periodic wars and world-wide depression? There is the fact that we and all other countries are dependent upon each other for raw materials, for customers, for ideas. Stuart Chase points out that:

In early New England villages, our forefathers produced upwards of 90 percent of all their needs with their own hands, and the hands of their neighbors. In Boston today, most families do not produce one percent of the things they consume.

Today, with every part of the world growing more industrialized, more raw materials, more specialized foods and more consumers for produced goods are needed. The absurd way in which we have failed to take into account the economic facts of the world we live in is well described by Eugene Staley:

One set of men build tunnels through mountains, span oceans with steamships and planes, erect industrial enterprises designed to use the products of far places. Another set of men

erect barriers to increase the cost of transporting goods from one place to another, devise new means of keeping capital within national boundaries, restrict the movements of persons, and slow down the interchange of ideas. . . . Stability and peace will reign in the world economy only when, somehow, the forces on the side of technology and the forces on the side of politics have once more been accommodated to each other. The question which must be resolved in our generation is whether our political systems will adapt themselves to fundamental economic and social forces; or whether the evolution of technology and economics will be blocked by political rigidities, even at the cost of chaos.

Because we failed to recognize the need for organizing nations on a basis for political cooperation, we are now in a situation when loss of our normal supplies of rubber, sugar, tin, hemp and thousands of other items threaten us with disaster.

And we can no longer trust our oceans to guard us. Tankers and ships sunk a few miles off-shore show how impossible it is for us to escape. Major Alexander de Seversky, in his startling book "Victory Through Air Power" issues a warning to Americans:

The entire logic of aerial warfare makes it certain that ultimately the war in the skies will be conducted from the home grounds, with everything in between turned into a no-man's land. As soon as aviation exploits its full technical potentialities of fighting range, intermediary points will be abandoned, one after the other, like so many absolute outer fortifications.

This means that Kansas City or Dallas or Memphis can be the starting point for air attacks anywhere in the world, and likewise can be bombed from anywhere. Since we cannot stop the technical progress which has made nations so bound up with one another, our only hope of saving ourselves is to organize relations between nations on the basis of government, to help meet the constant needs of people for employment, fair treatment, higher living standards, and freedom from attack. What are the prospects for such planning and organization?

First, we must be prepared for a "period of transition" after the war. How long that will be, we do not know. During that time many urgent problems will arise, calling for international solutions. If we plan now, we may be able to carry some of our emergency measures into necessary permanent international organizations. Chief emergency problems of the period of transition have been listed by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, as follows:

1. *Famine and Disease.* (Epidemics and starvation will call for rapid, drastic and international action to save those surviving the war from a slow death when peace comes.)
2. *Civil Disorder.* Terrible forces will be released when military control ceases—forces of revenge, of ambition and lust for power; of hunger and desperation. Upon the military forces of the victors the world must depend for the maintenance of order.
3. *Economic Collapse.* The opportunity to build a better system lies before the world. The task will not be merely one of repairing destruction, but of laying the foundations, during the transitional period, for a better and stronger international economic order. (This means that everywhere we must work for ways to keep people employed, industries open, farms prosperous.)
4. *Uprooted People.* Millions of people have been unrooted from their home lands, forced by the lords of war to strange lands as industrial slaves, flung helter-skelter by the waves of war. (Americans can have no peace until homeless people the world over can become settled.)
5. *Derelict Colonies.* Many of the colonies whose political and economic direction depended upon the mother country will be found at the close of the war to require continued outside assistance.
6. *Social Insecurity.* The maintenance of social security is primarily a national concern, but the ability of a nation to provide "freedom from fear and freedom from want" depends heavily upon the international economic order, and upon control over war which wrecks social security. (Our own youth and their opportunities depend upon the welfare and useful employment of youth the world around.)
7. *False Indoctrination.* The rebuilding of the international order depends upon the free flow of information for all their citizens, the re-education of those who have been misled in youth and the re-establishment of confidence, on the part of millions of adults, in civilized standards.

Although emergencies must be met there are basic long range issues that we need to think about if we are to build a more orderly and secure world. We can not expect an overnight miracle. This too is aptly put by Mrs. Vera Michele Dean.

No arrangement can be regarded as wholly just by all nations; nor will it endure for any length of time in the exact form in which it may have been reached at a given moment. The most we can hope for are periodic compromises between the conflicting interests of many nations. It should not dis-

may us in the least to live in a changing world. Our task is not to prevent change, but to see to it that conflicts—which are bound to occur—are settled by peaceful means, not by resort to war. . . .

What we need most of all today is not a detailed blueprint for a new world organization, but a new philosophy of relations between men and between nations. This new philosophy is emerging out of the war itself. We are discovering that, even to survive, we cannot act merely for our own benefit and protection; we must collaborate with others throughout the world who share our faith. The machinery of international collaboration is being forged right now in London and Chungking, in Washington and Moscow. Today we are pooling men, raw materials, munitions, ships to win the war. Tomorrow we must learn to pool our joint resources and our energies to win the peace.

Many agencies organized to win the war are doing work that can be extended on an international scale for reconstruction. Possibilities for feeding the world can be seen in an expansion of the Food Stamp Plan; the Lease-Lend program and other special arrangements, like the International Wheat Agreement, might provide ready-made machinery for continuing the production and flow of raw materials wherever needed; a world reconstruction organization, something like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the United States, could help to rebuild bombed hospitals, schools and homes. The sections on International Health and Control of Traffic in Dangerous Drugs of the League of Nations are working on a limited scale even throughout the War. The International Labor Organization to which the United States belongs, with representatives from employers associations, labor unions and governments, is laying plans for post-war reconstruction. These and many other agencies are our first lines of defense in the post-war period.

A fundamental need will be to have some kind of international government, with a parliament or congress representative of the peoples of all countries, to provide, through international agreements, for the constantly changing needs of people. This will prevent conditions which made fascist Germany possible. In addition, it will develop rules of conduct among nations to permit people to live in reasonable peace at least; and will maintain an international police to make sure separate national groups do not try to take by force what belongs to others. These principles we have accepted within our own country, they will be harder to develop between nations, but unless we insist upon them we shall commit national suicide with each new war.



The League of Nations was a first move in the right direction, if nations had only given up to it enough power to maintain international law and order. Whatever association or federation is set up after this war will be no stronger than the people of the several nations want it to be. It will reflect the extent to which people prefer to limit themselves and their activities by international law. The supreme test of our whole war effort will not be whether we win on the field of battle, but whether we use our victory to help establish world government, for the protection of the people of all lands, and for the welfare of human beings the world over.

#### References and Suggestive Reading

"Power and the Peacemakers," Vera Micheles Dean, *Survey Graphic*, 112 E. 19th St., New York, July 1942, p. 309.

She also has written *The Struggle for World Order*, Headline Books, Foreign Policy Association, 22 E. 38th St., New York. (25c)

*Series on the Post-War World*,<sup>\*</sup> The University of Chicago Round Table, Chicago, Ill.

Four radio broadcasts given during summer of 1942 which have good discussions and helpful references. (10c each)

"Toward a Durable Peace," Eugene Staley, *Common Sense Magazine*, April 1941.

"This Shrinking World: What Does It Mean to America?" Eugene Staley in *Handbook for Discussion Leaders*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York.

*Victory Through Air Power*, Major Alexander de Seversky, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1942. (\$2.50)

Reports and Study Course of Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 8 W. 40th Street, New York.

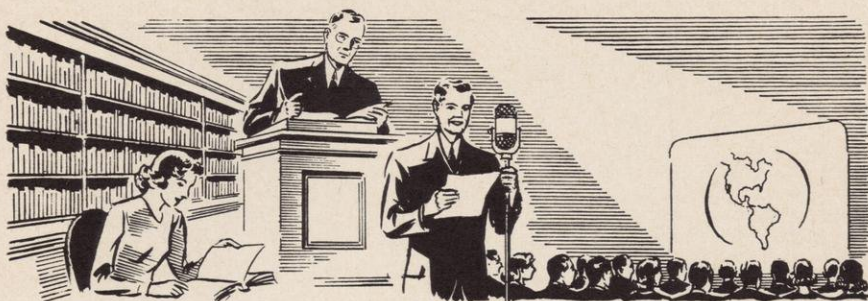
*The Road We Are Traveling, 1914-1942*, Stuart Chase, Twentieth Century Fund, New York. (\$1.00)

*The United Nations; What They Are and What They Might Become*, World Citizens Association, 86 E. Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill. (25c)

Note: This year's Handbook for high school debates is being prepared by Bower Aly, University of Missouri, Columbia, on the theme of World Organization. Copy can be obtained at your local high school.

## PART III

### Sources of Information



In making decisions on personal and public problems, we need to get as much information as possible. Today, people are confused. They distrust much of what they hear as "propaganda". The best way to detect and guard against propaganda is to read various types of information, balance ideas obtained therefrom against each other, and make up one's own mind as much as possible.

No publication or author is infallible. Therefore, it pays to learn which individuals and groups are purposely distorting facts for their own ends and take this into account when reading. Also an effort should be made to learn those that have established reputations for fairness, accuracy and a reasonable degree of objectivity and impartiality. One way to detect deliberate "propaganda" is to find out how the publication is financed, and if only one individual or "interest" is back of it, the bias may be in that direction.

By using publications from reliable sources, besides listening to the radio and reading the daily papers, we will get reasonable, fair and accurate guides to present day problems. Some of the reliable sources of information, because of their backing and due to well-trained and competent specialists in charge of preparation of material, are listed below :

#### Organizations

*American Association of University Women*, 1634 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Carries on a national study program in the fields of education, international relations, and social studies, with varied community activities growing out of study. Encourages membership and participation by young college graduates.

- American Labor Education Service*, 437 West 59th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Provides discussion and dramatic materials for members, and trade union information for any interested person.
- American Library Association*, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.  
Prepares brief, descriptive reading lists on many of the subjects touched upon in this booklet.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 405 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Provides pamphlets and discussion handbooks at nominal cost on problems relating to post-war international organization.
- Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Issued two reports on essential principles for the organization of peace, together with study materials and discussion outlines. Provides leadership for meetings from regional and local affiliated Commission members to interested organizations.
- Council for Democracy*, 285 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
Issues bulletins dedicated to the propagation of an American faith in democracy: "Defense on Main Street", "Freedom of Assembly", "The Negro and Defense", "The Public and Strikes", etc. These contain practical suggestions and are useful since they give addresses of organizations.
- Foreign Policy Association*, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Carries on research and educational activities to aid in understanding American foreign policy. Regular publications are:  
"Foreign Policy Bulletin"—4 page weekly  
"Headline Books" (popular analysis of important international problems)  
"Foreign Policy reports" (analysis of specialized subjects, semi-monthly)  
"Pan American News"  
(25 cents for each issue of last three mentioned).
- International Student Service in the United States*, 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Stimulates social, cultural, and political understanding between the students of all nations by conferences, refugee and relief assistance. Publishes "Threshold", written by students. Work Camps and other activities are of interest to youth both in and out of college.
- National Catholic Welfare Conference*, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.  
Prepares, through their departments of Education and Social Action, program materials on industrial problems, civic obligations, rural life, family relations, social welfare and international topics.
- National Conference of Christians and Jews*, 300 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.  
Strives for "justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Catholics, Jews and Protestants in America" and prepares discussion guides to further this aim.
- National Education Association*, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.  
Prepares, through its Educational Policies Commission, pamphlets on democracy and other current topics. This is one of the principal organizations to which public school people belong, and its publications can be found in school libraries.

- National Federation of Business and Professional Women*, 1819 Broadway, New York, N. Y.  
Conducts studies on legislation affecting women and extends opportunities for education along lines of industrial, scientific, and vocational activities as well as on problems arising out of the war and post-war period.
- National League of Women Voters*, 726 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.  
Prepares basic materials for study of governmental and political situations. Urges both men and women to take part in government, war work and political units; it is non-partisan.
- National Planning Association*, 800 Twenty-first Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.  
Directs research and popular summarizations of findings on national and international problems by small groups of business, labor, agriculture and government representatives. The Planning Pamphlet Series presents urgent war and post-war problems and possible solutions, under titles such as, "Defense Planning and Labor Policy", "The Crisis in Transportation", "For a Better Post-War Agriculture". (Each 25c)
- National Policy Committee*, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.  
Encourages groups of citizens, whose common desire and purpose are to work toward the development of governmental policies (national and international) by democratic means, to organize small conference discussions of leaders in business, agriculture, education, government, labor and prepare summaries of these conferences.
- National Resources Planning Board*, Washington, D. C.  
Has the official task of studying and presenting to the people post-war plans. Several short pamphlets have been prepared, such as "After Defense—What?", "After the War—Full Employment", "Better Cities", and "The Role of the House-Building Industry".
- Office of Civilian Defense*, Dupont Circle Apts., Washington, D. C.  
Fosters organization in every community for civilian cooperation with the war effort. Its Handbook "What Can I Do?" as well as information on specific subjects pertaining to defense is helpful.
- Office of Education, Federal Security Agency*, Washington, D. C.  
Issues a bi-weekly publication entitled "Education for Victory". Also has other pertinent materials: for example, a discussion guide on the "United Nations" will be available in October, 1942.
- Office of Price Administration*, Washington, D. C.  
Prepares and distributes through national, regional and local offices information on rationing, price control and inflation.
- Office of War Information*, Washington, D. C.  
Gives information on both the military and home front. Its Bureau of Special Operations will make available also discussion outlines relative to the war and its meaning for American people.
- Progressive Education Association*, 221 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.  
Publishes "Frontiers of Democracy"; each issue contains stimulating articles for discussion and suggestions for constructive community activities. (\$2.50 per year: 35c each)
- Public Affairs Committee, Inc.*, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.  
Has no program of its own; is an educational organization that makes available in pamphlet form the results of research on economic and social problems to aid in the understanding and development of American Policy. (10c each)

*United States Department of Agriculture*, Washington, D. C.

Gives attention to the future in its series entitled "Post-War Plans". "Group Discussion and Its Techniques" prepared by the Division of Program Study and Discussion is a recent publication of interest. Other useful bulletins are available from the Extension Service, Bureau of Home Economics, and other divisions of the Department.

*Young Women's Christian Association*, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. Issues publications on various subjects, including those with excellent analysis and references for various public issues. (75c per year) Has local branches and clubs with many activities.

*Young Men's Christian Association*, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Advances social education, leadership and citizenship training by promoting racial and religious tolerance and world understanding. The Association Press has recent publications of interest.

## Periodicals

*Weekly News Review* (for Junior High School age group). \$1.20 a year.

*American Observer* (for Senior High School age group). \$2.00 a year.

Civic Education Service, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., reliable weekly surveys of news, articles and reference materials suitable for discussion.

*Scholastic*, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. \$1.00 a school year.

*Christian Science Monitor*, (One Norway Street, Boston, Mass.) and *New York Times*, Sunday Edition, are both excellent journals with news and special features on both national and international issues.

*Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville, N. Y. \$3.00 a year.

On application, groups may secure free their Program Outlines which use as basic information material in current issues.

*Survey Graphic*, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. \$3.00 a year.

A monthly magazine devoted to analysis of social problems such as health, housing and war economy.

*Victory*, Office of War Information, obtained from Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 75c a year.

Weekly official publication on the war efforts.

## Films or Information on Films

*American Film Center*, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Publishers of *Film News*, a monthly publication, \$1.00 per year. News Supplement of films on Latin America and on Britain, 10c each; others in preparation.

*American Council on Education*, Motion Picture Project, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Catalogue of selected films published in Spring 1941.

*American Museum of Natural History*, Department of Education, Central Park West at 79th Street, New York, N. Y.

Numerous films on foreign countries, their life and industries.

*Harmon Foundations, Inc.*, 140 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

Films on various countries and subjects. Available for rental. (Complete catalogue giving content analysis of films, suggested plans for use of films in special programs or in study courses, data on equipment and sources 50c.)

*Institute of Pacific Relations*, American Council, 129 East 52nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Catalogue on the Pacific Area, listing Oriental films and giving information regarding possible sources and types.

*International Film Center, Inc.*, 59 E. Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.

*New York University Film Library*, 71 Washington Square South, New York, N. Y.

Excellent catalogue of documentary films for rental and sale.

*Teaching Film Custodians, Inc.*, 25 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

Distributes films that have recognized educational value even though they might have been produced for other purposes. Catalogue 50c.

*U. S. Government*, Washington, D. C.

The Department of Agriculture, Office of War Information and many other branches of the government produce or distribute films. For indication of what is available write the department along the line of your interest or get in touch with the county agent or local school official.

*Wilson, H. W., Co.*, 960 University Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Publishes Educational Film Catalogue listing over 1,000 films; available in any general library.

*Young Men's Christian Association*, National Council, Motion Picture Bureau, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Numerous films showing scenes and industries in various countries, available for transportation charges and nominal registration fees. Also films *Cavalcade of Civilization* and *The Fight for Peace* available for rental.

### Radio Programs of Note

CBS School of the Air of the Americas, Monday, 9:15 a.m. EWT.

NBC Interamerican University of the Air, Monday, 10:30 p.m. EWT.

NBC University of Chicago Round Table, Sunday, 1:30 p.m. CWT.

Town Hall of the Air, (Blue Network) Thursday, 8:30 p.m. EWT.

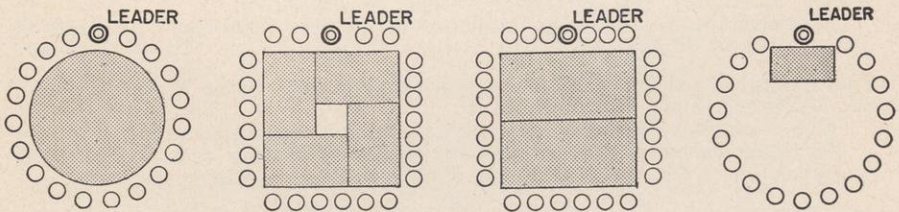
## PART IV

### Appendix

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR GROUP DISCUSSION LEADERS

##### GETTING READY

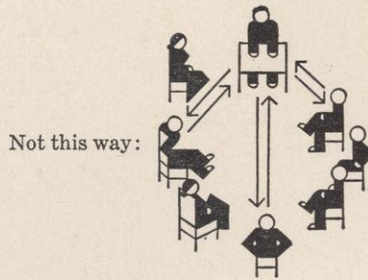
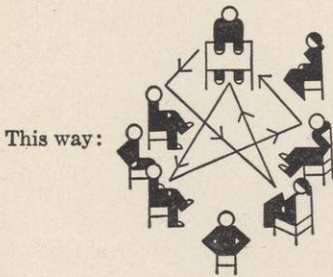
1. Arrange group in circle, so each person can see every other person.
2. Provide table space, if convenient, for leader and entire group, as e. g.:



3. Let all stay seated during discussion, including leader. Keep it informal.
4. Start by making everybody comfortable. Check ventilation and lighting.
5. See that everybody knows everybody else. At first gathering go 'round the circle, each introducing himself. As a newcomer joins group later, introduce yourself to him and him to the group.
6. Learn names of all as soon as you can.
7. Have blackboard, chalk, and eraser ready for use in case of need. Appoint a "blackboard secretary" if the subject-matter and occasion make it desirable.
8. Start on time, and close at prearranged time.
9. In opening, emphasize: *Everyone* is to take part. If one single member's view fails to get out in the open, insofar the discussion falls short.
10. Toward this, emphasize: *No speeches*, by leader or group member. No monopoly. After opening statement, limit individual contributions to a minute or so.

## CARRYING ON

1. Make your own preparation for the discussion. Think the question through in advance. Aim to establish connections between ideas of background materials, and experience and ideas of group-members.
2. Aim at outset to get a sharply defined question before the group. Have three or four alternatives put on board if you think this will help: "Which do you want to start with?" "Is this question clear?"
3. In general, don't put questions to particular group-members, unless you see that an idea is trying to find words there anyway: "Mrs. Brown, you were about to say something." Otherwise: "Let's have some discussion of this question . . ." "What do some of the rest of you think about this?" "We've been hearing from the men. Now how do you women feel about this?" "What's been the experience of you folks up in the northern part of the State in this connection?" Etc.
4. Interrupt the "speech maker" as tactfully as possible: "While we're on this point, let's hear from some of the others. Can we save your other point till later?"
5. Keep discussion on the track; keep it always directed, but let the group lay its own track to a large extent. Don't groove it narrowly yourself. Try to have it



6. Remember: The leader's opinion doesn't count in the discussion. Keep your own view out of it. Your job is to get the ideas of others out for an airing.
7. If you see that some important angle is being neglected, point it out: "Bill Jones was telling me last week that he thinks . . . . . What do you think of that?"
8. Keep the spirits high. Encourage ease, informality, good humor. Let everybody have a good time. Foster *friendly* disagreement. Listen with respect and appreciation to all ideas, but stress what is important, and turn discussion away from what is not.
9. Take time every 10 minutes or so to draw the loose ends together: "Let's see where we've been going." Be as fair and accurate in summary as possible. Close discussion with summary—your own or the secretary's.
10. Call attention to unanswered questions for future study or for reference back to speakers. Nourish a desire in group members for continuing study and discussion through skillful closing summary.





*Freedom of Religion*



*Freedom From Fear*

## THE FOUR FREEDOMS

The freedoms we are fighting for, we who are free: the freedoms for which the men and women in the concentration camps and prisons and in the dark streets of the subjugated countries wait, are four in number.

“The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

“The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

“The third is freedom from want—which translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

“The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.”

Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Seventy-seventh Congress,  
January 6, 1941

Note: The two freedoms illustrated at the beginning of Part II and those above are from OWI pamphlet “The Four Freedoms”.

# THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, have met at sea.

The President and the Prime Minister have had several conferences. They have considered the dangers to world civilization arising from the policies of military domination by conquest upon which the Hitlerite government of Germany and other governments associated therewith have embarked, and have made clear the steps which their countries are respectively taking for their safety in the face of these dangers.

They have agreed on the following Declaration :

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

*FIRST*, Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other ;

*SECOND*, They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned ;

*THIRD*, They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them ;

*FOURTH*, They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity ;

*FIFTH*, They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with

the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security ;

*SIXTH*, After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want ;

*SEVENTH*, Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance ;

*EIGHTH*, They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL



