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ABSTRACT

This booklet of secondary level classroom strategies was developed as one in a set of materials for studying American history in light of issues identified by the American Issues Forum. Divided into four sections, the materials emphasize the meaning of the American dream, implications of belonging to a worldwide economic system, the role of the United States as a global power, and responsibilities of being an affluent nation in an interdependent world. Readings and questions for class discussion comprise most of the activities, which are in field-test condition. Excerpts from native and foreign documents are compared to obtain a feeling for various perceptions of the American dream, in both postrevolutionary times and the 20th century. Studies of Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) politics and the energy crisis illustrate the effects of interdependence on an economic level. A case study of American business in Mexico and its effects on industry and population concentration points out pros and cons of the powers of multinational corporations. Students are challenged to consider the moral issues of individual survival and of sharing basic resources in a final section, which presents two parables about spaceship earth and the world as a lifeboat. (AV)

MATERIALS FOR USING
AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM
IN THE AMERICAN HISTORY CLASSROOM

TOPIC VII: AMERICA IN THE WORLD

Developed with a grant from

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department
Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development
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FOREWORD

The modules for *America In The World* included in this publication have been produced in consonance with the program of the American Issues Forum, under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The classroom strategies are intended to provide suggestions for examining American history in the light of the issues identified by the national committee which proposed the American Issues Forum. In view of the topical nature of the 11th grade social studies program, this can be done without seriously disrupting most teaching programs.

The materials are in fieldtest condition, so that classes and teachers may provide input concerning learning experiences which prove to be most useful. Some assessment of each strategy used by some or all of the students, and suggestions of modifications or substitutions will help the Department produce a final set of strategies which will carry the themes of the American Issues Forum into the future, as we look beyond the Bicentennial year.

Teachers will find this American Issues Forum topic closely related to the American history topic, the United States in World Affairs, in the syllabus for Social Studies 11, *American History*.

The Evaluation Form appears on page v.

David C. King, University of California, Berkeley, and Consultant for the Center for War/Peace Studies, with the assistance of Larry E. Condon, Senior Associate Editor of *Intercom* developed these materials as part of the work being done under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Donald H. Bragaw, Chief, Bureau of Social Studies Education, is coordinating the project. The manuscript was prepared for publication by Janet M. Gilbert, associate in Curriculum Development.

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TO THE TEACHER

The material in this booklet is designed to help you explore some key issues facing Americans as the nation begins its third century. We've tried to present a variety of viewpoints and to make each section open-ended--to let you and your students arrive at your own conclusions.

The occasion of the Bicentennial seems an appropriate time to consider the ideas that are central to our national experience. Consequently, the longest section deals with the topic, the American Dream--what it means to some of the early settlers and observers of the nation and what it means to us today. Parts II through IV raise questions about America's role in a rapidly changing world.

The four topics covered correspond to those developed by the American Issues Forum. The Forum is a program of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission and the National Endowment of the Humanities. Its purpose is to provide a framework of issues for Americans to consider during the Bicentennial. Each topic is assigned specific dates--during the designated week student and adult groups throughout the country will be debating the same issue, something like a nationwide town meeting. News media and organizations will present special programs for the issue under discussion.

The subtopics from the American Issues Forum which are included in this material are:

The American "Dream" Among Nations
The Economic Dimension
A Power in the World
A Nation Among Nations

We hope you'll find these topics of value during your study of our country and its role in the world.

Plan of the Study

While each of the 4 topics can be studied independently, we advise beginning with "The American Dream" since it will be referred to in later units. The work can be carried out in conjunction with the American Issues Forum calendar, or it can be part of your regular course work. The material was designed for U.S. history courses, but is also suitable for such subjects as government, economics, world affairs and problems in democracy.

Each set of readings contains a number of questions for discussion and there are numerous opportunities for formulating and testing hypotheses. Special sections called "Explorations" suggests ways of carrying the study further. In addition, you will find that a number of case studies lend themselves to role-playing--activities which can easily be devised by teachers and students.

EVALUATION FORM FOR
AMERICA IN THE WORLD

Please return this form to the Bureau of Secondary Curriculum Development, The State Education Department, Albany, New York 12234.

1. Classroom strategies used (list by pages)

2. How many students were involved in using this material?

3. Were the reading passages/statistical materials/graphics within the comprehension level of most of the students using them? (list by pages and indicate how satisfactory each was, if a single answer does not apply)

4. Were the suggested questions, and/or the learning strategies interesting and helpful to students in reaching the understandings or developing the desired concepts? (list by pages and indicate how satisfactory each was, if a single answer does not apply)

5. Please suggest substitutions of readings/statistics/graphics which you think would be more appropriate.

6. Please suggest modifications of the learning strategies to make them more effective for more students.

Send descriptions of learning strategies, with references to reading passages, etc., which you have found effective in teaching these same understandings or concepts.

Your signature and school identification is optional; we'd like to give you credit, if we use any of your ideas!

PART I: THE AMERICAN "DREAM" AMONG NATIONS

The American "Dream." What does that phrase mean? Is it the hollow slogan of a people in search of meaning? Or does it represent a realistic set of ideals that have persisted through more than two centuries of national history? And what does the American "Dream" represent to people in other countries of the world?

We will be dealing with these questions in the opening section of this topic: It would be easy enough--and maybe popular enough--to write about things that are wrong with the American Dream. We could concentrate on our long agenda of social problems and national doubts. But it's just as important to examine what lies beyond those troubles--to figure out, if we can, what there is about America that has lured millions of immigrants to these shores and has caused the rest of the world to carry on a love-hate relationship with the United States.

While we will be giving some attention to how people of other nations react to the American Dream, our major concentration in the beginning will be on analyzing just what the American Dream represents to the American people--both today and in the past.

THE VIEW THEN...

Consider 1776 as a dividing line, separating the period of colonialism from the start of a new nation. At this time of change, how did the colonists view this New Land? What was the American Dream to the people who established the original colonies and then pushed westward? Did all people share the same vision of what America represented--or was there disagreement over where they were heading, what their values were, what ideals they believed in?

You will be looking for answers to those questions as you work through the first section of readings and pictures. See if you can pick out some of those special qualities that make up the American Dream--that lured thousands upon thousands in other lands to leave their homes and risk the hardships of migrating to America. At the same time, look for indications that there was conflict over this Dream--that others saw the American experience differently.

Reading 1: Daniel Boone Leads the Way West, 1769

Even before the 13 colonies declared their independence from England, restless settlers were pushing into the western wilderness. One of the most famous of the pioneers into new lands was Daniel Boone.

In 1767, Boone set out to the West from his home in North Carolina. But the rugged mountains encountered proved too great an obstacle and his party turned back. Two years later Boone and five others tried again. Here are portions of Boone's journal account:

> On the seventh day of June (after 6 weeks of travel), we found ourselves on Red River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky . . .

At this place we encamped, and made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and explore the country. We found everywhere abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffalo were more frequent than I have seen cattle in settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage in those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every kind natural to America, we practiced hunting with great success, until the 22nd day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleasing ramble, but fortune changed the scene in the close of it . . . In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and make us prisoners. The time of our sorrow was now arrived . . . The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement 7 days, treating us with common savage usage. But in the dead of the night, as we lay in a thick cane-brake by a large fire, when sleep had locked up their senses , . . I touched my companion, and gently awoke him. We . . . speedily directed our course toward our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company dispersed and gone home. About this time, my brother, Squire Boone, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, determined to find me if possible, and accidentally found our camp . . . .

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the savages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, amongst savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves . . . .

We remained there undisturbed during the winter; and on the first day of May, 1770, my brother returned home by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me by myself, without bread, salt, or sugar, without company of my fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog. I confess I never before was under greater necessity of exercising philosophy and fortitude. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my absence and exposed situation, made sensible impressions on my heart. . . .

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy and [troubled] thought. Just at the close of day the gentle gales retired, and left the place to the disposal of a profound calm. Not a breeze shook the most tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and, looking round with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below.

On the other hand, I surveyed the famous river Ohio, that rolled in silent dignity, marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. . . .

Thus, through an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasure, I spent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother met me according to appointment at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it safe to stay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country until March, 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon after, I returned home to my family, with a determination to bring them as soon as possible to live in Kentucky, which I esteemed a second paradise, at the risk of my life and fortune.

(Adapted from Gilbert Imlay, A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America. First edition, London. Printed for J. Debrett, 1792.)

For Discussion

1. Why do you think the explorer was willing to risk such hardships?

2. What personal characteristics did Boone possess that were important to Americans then?

3. Think about Boone's descriptions of the wilderness he was exploring. What ideas do these descriptions give you about elements of the American Dream?

4. People in Europe read Boone's accounts. What image do you think they might have gained of America?

5. Suppose you lived in one of the settled coastal regions at this time. What might convince you to follow Boone's lead into the wilderness?

Reading 2: Building a Town, 1788

In the years following the American Revolution, the movement westward gained momentum. In 1788, a company of New England war veterans chose a site for a new town at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingam Rivers. One of the company, Colonel John May, kept a diary of the origins of the town of Marietta. Here are some excerpts:

> Monday, May 26, 1788 . . . The sun rose beautifully on us this morning, and the prospect is as pleasant as the imagination can conceive. . . We are passing by one lovely island after another, floating tranquilly, but majestically, at the rate of 4-1/2 miles an hour. Thus, we moved on, constantly espying new wonders and beauties, till 3 o'clock, when we arrived safely on the banks of the delightful Muskingam.
>
> Tuesday, 27th. Slept on board last night, and rose early this morning. Have spent the day in reconnoitering the spot where the city is to be laid out, and find it to answer the best descriptions I have ever heard of. . . .
>
> Saturday, 31st. All hands at work on my ten-acre lot. Took hold of it with spirit. There are six of us in all, and we completely cleared an acre and a half by sunset. The land as good as any that can be found in the universe. . . .
>
> Sunday, June 15th. A number of poor devils--five in all--took their departure homeward this morning. They came from home moneyless and brainless, and have returned as they came. . . .
>
> Tuesday, June 17th. . . . This evening Judge Parsons' and General Varnum's Commissions were read; also regulations for government of the people. . . . Officers were named to command the militia; guards were to be mounted every evening; all males more than fifteen years old to appear under arms every Sunday . . .
>
> Monday, 30th. All employed about the house. Poor Dr. M. out of provisions, and no money. Had pity on him, and took him into my family, although it was quite large enough before. I put powder-horn and shot-bag on him, and told him to live in my cornfield, and keep off squirrels and crows. . . .
>
> Tuesday, July 1st . . . We were alarmed today by a letter from Major Doughty, at Pittsburg, stating that they had just received intelligence from Detroit, that two parties of Indian warriors, about forty in each party, were started on a hostile expedition against our settlement and Kentucky. Our people were called in from labor at 11 o'clock, and a guard . . . sent to reconnoiter and scour the woods. They took a day's provisions with them. . . .

Friday, 4th. Warm, moist, and a brisk wind from the southwest. . . . All labor comes to pause today in memory of the Declaration of Independence. Our long bowery is built on the east bank of the Muskingam; a table laid 60 feet long, in plain sight of the garrison . . . An excellent oration was delivered by Judge Varnum, and the cannon fired a salute of fourteen guns. At 3 o'clock, just as dinner was on the table, came on a heavy shower, which lasted for half an hour. However, the chief of our provisions were rescued from the deluge, but injured materially. . . . On the whole, though, we had a handsome dinner: all kinds of wild meat, turkey, and other fowls of the woods; gammon, a variety of fish, and plenty of vegetables; a bowl of punch, also grog, wine, etc. Our toasts were as follows:

1. The United States
2. Congress
3. His Most Christian Majesty the King of France
4. The United Netherlands
5. The Friendly Powers Throughout the World
6. The New Federal Constitution
7. General Washington
8. His Excellency Governor St. Clair and the Western Territory
9. The Memory of Heroes
10. Patriots'

Pleased with the entertainment, we kept it up till after 12 at night, then went home and to bed, and slept sound till morning.

(Richard S. Edes & William M. Darlington, eds. Journal and Letters of Colonel May, of Boston. Cincinnati. Robert Clarke and Company. 1873. pp. 57-79.)

For Discussion

1. In Colonel May's account, what evidence do you find of each of the following:

   - a sense of adventure
   - respect for law
   - self-reliance--but also a feeling of cooperation

- belief in the abundance and limitless opportunities of the land
- courage
- belief in the mission of the nation?

2. If you asked Colonel May what the American Dream consisted of, how do you think he might answer?

3. Many feel that ideas of expansion and economic growth are parts of the American Dream. What hints of this do you find in the reading?

Reading 3: European Viewpoints

Did others see the American growth and expansion the same way? People in Western European countries were especially aware of the stories and accounts of the New Land. Many traveled to America to see for themselves. A good number of these travelers were impressed by images of the American Dream. It did indeed seem to be a land of fantastic promise and new opportunity. Others were not so sure. In fact, to some, the American experience seemed anything but a Dream, as you will see in some of the following brief accounts.

A. A Frenchman describes life on the island of Nantucket

J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur was a French noble who settled on a farm in New York. He traveled through the northern colonies and wrote glowing reports of the life he saw. Here is a short excerpt from one trip to the whaling island of Nantucket, written in 1782:

> . . . Instead of cards, musical instruments, or songs, they relate stories of their whaling voyages, their various sea adventures, and talk of the different coasts and people they have visited . . . Pudding, pies, and custards never fail to be produced on such occasions; for, I believe there never were any people in their circumstances who live so well, even to superabundance . . . .
>
> Such an island . . . is not the place where gay travelers should resort, in order to enjoy that variety of pleasures the more splendid towns of this continent afford. Not that they are wholly deprived of what we might call recreations, and innocent pastimes; but [wealth], instead of luxuries and extravagances, produces nothing more here than an increase of business, an additional degree of hospitality, greater neatness in the preparation of dishes, and better wines. Their pleasures are so simple as hardly to be described: the pleasure of going and returning together; of chatting and walking about, of throwing bars, heaving stones, etc. are the only entertainments they are acquainted with. This is all they practice, and all they seem to desire.

(Albert Busnell Hart, ed. American History Told by Contemporaries, Vol. III. Macmillan Co. : 1901. p. 19 f.)

B. Another French visitor has a different view

Perhaps the most famous account by a foreign visitor of life in the new nation is Democracy in America by Alexis de Tocqueville. De Tocqueville found much to admire in the United States, especially in its government. But he found some things disturbing, too. The very industriousness that de Crevecoeur admired, de Tocqueville described this way:

> In America I have seen the freest and best educated of men in circumstances the happiest to be found in the world; yet it seemed to me that a cloud habitually hung on their brow, and they seemed serious and almost sad even in their pleasures . . . .
>
> It is odd to watch with what feverish ardor the Americans pursue prosperity and how they are ever tormented by the shadowy suspicion that they may not have chosen the shortest route to get it. . . .
>
> Add to this taste for prosperity a social state in which neither law nor custom holds anyone in place, and that is a great further stimulus to this restlessness of temper. One will then find people continually changing path for fear of missing the shortest cut leading to happiness. . . .
>
> (Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America. Translated by Henry Reeve. New York. Adlard & Saunders. 1838-1841.)

C. Mrs. Trollope on American manners

While de Tocqueville was famous for his analysis of American political institutions, Mrs. Frances Milton Trollope, an English novelist, became well known for her sharp descriptions of the *Domestic Manners of Americans*. A sample:

> We reached Cincinnati on the 10th of February, 1828. It is finely situated on the south side of a hill that rises gently from the water's edge; yet it is by no means a city of striking appearance; it wants domes, towers and steeples. . .
>
> We were soon settled in our new dwelling, which looked neat and comfortable enough, but we speedily found that it was devoid of nearly all the accommodation that Europeans conceive necessary to decency and comfort. No pump, no cistern, no drain of any kind, no dustman's cart, or any other visible means of getting rid of the rubbish, which vanishes with such celerity in London that no one has time
>
> . . . . . .
>
> (Mrs. Frances Milton Trollope, Domestic Manners of Americans. 2d ed. London. 1832. Printed for Whittaker, Treacher and Co., New York. Reprinted for the booksellers, 1832.)

to think of its existence; but which accumulated so rapidly at Cincinnati, that I sent for my landlord to know in what manner refuse of all kinds was to be disposed of.

"Your help will just have to fix them all in the middle of the street, but you must mind, old woman, that it is the middle. I expect you don't know as we have got a law what forbids throwing such things at the sides of the streets; they must just all be cast right into the middle. and the pigs soon takes them off."

In truth the pigs are constantly seen doing Herculean service in this way through every quarter of the city; and though it is not very agreeable to live surrounded by herds of these unsavory animals, it is well they are so numerous, and so active in their capacity of scavengers, forwithout them the streets would soon be choked up with all sorts of substances in every stage of decomposition. . . .

For Discussion

1. If Mrs. Trollope were asked to describe what the American Dream meant to her, what do you think she would say?

2. Both de Crevecoeur and de Tocqueville commented on the American belief in hard work and success. How did their views differ?

3. Compare de Tocqueville's account with Daniel Boone's journal. Boone certainly has the restlessness the French author described. How do you think Boone would explain this idea of Americans constantly being on the move?

4. Which of the three European writers do you think has the best notion of what is meant by the American Dream? Give reasons for your answer.

Reading 5: The Debate Over Independence

The colonial period lasted more than a century and a half--from the first settlement at Jamestown to the decision to fight for independence from England. During that period, the colonists learned to be self-reliant and to manage their own affairs. When King George and Parliament tried to assert stronger control over the colonies, the Americans resisted.

During the 1760's and 1770's the colonists moved closer to the idea of declaring independence. In a way, they were defining what the American Dream meant to them--were they to be loyal subjects of the Empire? Or, was it more natural to be totally separate from the "Mother Country"?

In the next two selections, look for answers to these questions:

1. How do both men try to define American ideals?

2. In what ways do their views differ?

3. What is your reaction to the way Galloway was treated?

A. "What did you mean in going to fight?"*

The battles of Lexington and Concord marked the opening of the Revolutionary War. More than a half-century after the event, Mellen Chamberlain of Massachusetts interviewed a veteran of that campaign, Captain Levi Preston. Chamberlain used the interview to try to find out more about why the colonists took up arms. Their conversation went something like this:

Chamberlain asked: "Captain Preston, why did you leave your farm to go to Concord to fight?"

The old man, bowed beneath the weight of years, raised himself upright and turned to Chamberlain. "Why did I go?" he echoed.

"Yes." Chamberlain said, "my history books tell me that you men of the Revolution took up arms against "intolerable oppressions."

"Oppressions? What oppressions? I didn't feel any."

"But," Chamberlain pressed on, "surely you were oppressed by the Stamp Act."

"The old captain answered: "I never saw one of those stamps. I am certain I never paid a penny for one of them."

"Well, then, what about the tax on tea?"

"Tea tax! I never drank a drop of the stuff." He chuckled. "Besides, the boys threw it all overboard."

"Then," Chamberlain said, "I suppose you had been reading the works of great philosophers on the meaning of liberty."

"Never heard of 'em. We read only the Bible and the Almanac."

*(A fictionalized account based on documents of the Massachusetts Historical Association.)

"Well, then, what was the matter? What did you mean in going to fight."

"Young man, "Captain Preston said, "what we meant in going for those redcoats was this: we always had governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean we should."

B. Joseph Galloway: A reluctant Loyalist

Joseph Galloway was a wealthy and influntial lawyer in the colony of Pennsylvania. As a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, he often was an ally of Benjamin Franklin in promoting legislation that would aid the development of the colony.

When the crisis over the Stamp Act burst, Galloway shared strong feelings against Parliament. But he was also troubled by violence and lawlessness. He wrote and spoke of the need for law and order, and these efforts made him a good many enemies.

Despite growing hostility, Galloway continued to urge that "decent and respectful" petitions be sent to Parliament. When he was chosen as a delegate to the first Continental Congress, he accepted only because he hoped he could add a note of moderation and reason.

During an early session of the Congress, he proposed an act of conciliation, with a new constitution placing the colonies firmly in the British Empire. He called for a legislature whose president would be appointed by the King, but a legislature that would have the power to veto acts of Parliament.

But the members of Congress at this time (1774) were in no mood for plans of reconciliation. They not only voted down the proposal, but had all reference to it in their minutes removed.

Galloway still wouldn't give up. He tried to persuade the Pennsylvania Assembly to send a moderate petition to the King, separate from anything decided on by the Congress. By now he was openly being labeled as a Tory and, consequently, "an enemy of liberty." One day, he found that someone had left a box in his rooms, a box containing a threatening letter and a leather halter. He know what the halter meant--it was a current joke which defined a Tory as "a thing whose head is in England but the body is in America, and so its neck ought to be stretched."

Fearing for the safety of his family, Galloway left Philadelphia for Delaware. But the harassment continued there. Mobs surrounded his house

(A true story drawn from documents of the Massachusetts Historical Association.)

and threatened him with the favorite Tory treatment of tar and feathers. Finally giving up the struggle, Galloway sought the protection of the British troops. In 1778, he went into permanent exile in England.

Reading 6: The Debate Over the Constitution

Just as the decision to declare Independence caused people to examine their vision of America, so did the framing of the Constitution. That document, like the Declaration of Independence, is a written statement containing major features of what we have called the American Dream.

But, was there overwhelming agreement that Americans were following the right course? Were people satisfied that the Constitution embodied the ideals the nation believed in?

Look for answers to those questions in the next two selections:

A. Benjamin Franklin favors the new Constitution

When the Constitutional convention completed its work in 1787, the delegates still had to approve the final document. Benjamin Franklin, now nearing the end of his long and varied career, had prepared his speech for the occasion. Another delegate read the speech for him.

> . . . I doubt . . . whether any other Convention we can obtain may be able to make a better Constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find a system approaching so near to perfection as it does; and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence to hear that our councils are confounded . . . and that our States are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting one another's throats. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best . . . .
>
> Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion--on the general opinion of the goodness of the government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution . . . and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well administered . . . .

(Gaillard Hunt, ed., The Writings of James Madison. New York. G. Putnam & Son, 1900-1910.)

B. The doubts of Patrick Henry

The states still had to ratify the new Constitution. Much depended on how two important states, New York and Virginia, would vote. In the Virginia ratifying convention, Patrick Henry raised these objections:

> We have come here to preserve the poor commonwealth of Virginia, if it can possibly be done. Something must be done to preserve your liberty and mine. The Confederation, which is now so despised, in my mind deserves great praise. It carried us through a long and dangerous war; it rendered us victorious in that bloody conflict with a powerful nation; it has gained us a territory greater than that of any European monarch. Shall a government that has been so strong and vigorous be accused of imbecility, and abandoned because it showed lack of energy? Consider what you do before you part with this government. . . .
>
> Consider our situation, Sir: go to the poor man, and ask him what he does. He will inform you that he enjoys the fruits of his labor, under his own fig-tree, with his wife and children around him, in peace and security. Go to every other member of society--you will find the same tranquil ease and content; you will find no alarms or disturbances. Why, then, tell us of danger, to terrify us into an adoption of this new form of government? And yet who knows the dangers that this new system may produce . . . ?
>
> The Constitution is said to have beautiful features: but when I come to examine these features, sir, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints towards monarchy; and does this not raise indignation in the breast of every true American . . . ?

(Wirt, W.H. Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence & Speeches. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. Vol. 3, pp. 437; 446; and 447.)

For Discussion

1. How did Franklin and Henry disagree over the kind of national government needed?

2. Do you think Franklin would agree that government should protect liberty?

3. Suppose these two men could witness the doubts and frustrations that emerged from this country's Watergate experiences. How do you think they would have reacted?

4. Would they say the Constitution had failed, or that the American Dream had failed? What different explanations might they offer?

Explorations

Go through the early chapters of your American history text. Make a list of things you find that seem to represent elements of the American Dream. Pay special attention to pictures.

. . . THE VISION NOW

People in every age are probably more aware of their problems than their progress. In any period of history there are frequent references to "these troubled times," often combined with a nostalgic backward look at "those good old days."

The 1970's are no different. And we certainly face difficult problems, many of which seem to defy solution. Since you began your school career, we've faced such troubles as: the lingering horrors of Vietnam, the turmoil of Watergate; crises in the environment and the overuse of resources; a steadily rising crime rate; racial tensions, inflation and recession combined, and more.

It helps to keep an historical perspective on these troubles. Looking back to the founding of the nation does not offer a view of a paradise we've somehow lost. You've just read about such things as the physical dangers of carving homes out of a wilderness. Think of what striving for the American Dream meant to people like Daniel Boone's friend who was killed by Indians. You've read about the sufferings of Joseph Galloway because his image of America differed from his fellow Americans. And Galloway was only one of some 80,000 Loyalists who fled the country--many of whom had their property seized by the new state governments. You've seen, too, that there were doubts about just what America represented and how people could establish a workable government. Think, too, about what the American Dream meant to the Indians who were forced into constant retreat or hopeless battle. They, like black Americans, were not participants in this effort to build a new nation.

There were problems then. There are problems now. The problems and injustices do not mean that the American Dream doesn't exist or that somehow it has failed. Rather, the Dream means that we have a set of ideals that we <u>try</u> to achieve--a framework of goals that we keep on working toward. Is the American Dream still valid today? Are there ideals that can still serve to guide us and provide at least one model for others who don't share either our abundance or our freedoms?

In the next few readings, we've tried to select some events that might suggest that the American Dream remains important to Americans. We're not trying to gloss over our massive social problems, but rather to suggest that something positive is also happening. See if you agree.

The Continuing Challenge--

The Bicentennial has been the occasion for much soul-searching on what this nation stands for and how we can restore some of the faith in ourselves that sometimes seems rather shaky.

Here are two viewpoints developed by looking back over 200 years of the American Dream.

1. Author Irving Kristol talks about that phrase in the Declaration of Independence, referring to "the Pursuit of happiness" as one of our "inalienable rights." He sees this as a pursuit of one's self-interest, but argues that this motivation has to be "rightly understood" and is subject to political checks and balances. Another part of the idea is that pursuit of happiness also requires a sense of "civic virtue." That is, there are times one must surrender his or her personal goals for the sake of the common good. In other words, instead of fighting for our own gains, Kristol feels it is vital that we pay more attention to the goals of our society--perhaps even the very survival of that society.

2. Henry Grumwald of Time magazine writes that the ideal of self-government remains central to our system of beliefs. "What is needed for its survival," he states, "is a rigorous concentration on its meaning." This would include some things not mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. "Freedom, like the Declaration itself, is not a gift but a permanent demand on us to keep giving." He suggests that we add to the Declaration something like this:

> . . . that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inescapable duties, and that among those duties are work, learning and the pursuit of responsibility." For our attitude toward work still determines the kind of life we deserve; a willingness to learn, meaning an open mind both to the new and the old, is necessary to keep liberty real; a sense of responsibility, rather than [pleasure] alone, is necessary for that elusive goal of happiness. Finally, only the willingness to perform certain duties can guarantee our rights.
>
> (Reprinted by permission from TIME, The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time Inc.)

Reading 7: "I Have a Dream . . . "

One of the most dramtic moments of the Civil Rights movement was the march on Washington in 1963. At a massive gathering in front of the Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

As you read selections from the speech, keep these questions in mind:

1. What does the American Dream mean to Martin Luther King?

2. What other writers in this unit do you think would agree with King's viewpoint?

3. Do you feel that he takes a realistic view of the harsh realities that form barriers for black Americans?

4. If King were alive today, do you think he would feel that progress has been made in moving closer to the ideals? Explain.

. . . I say to you today, my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification--one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With

this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. . . .

But there is something I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads them to the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. They have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

Reading 8: One Person Can Make A Difference

Ada Deer is an American Indian, a member of the Menominee tribe located in Wisconsin. She was born into the proverty and hopelessness that characterizes so much of life on Indian reservations. Very early, she felt she must dedicate her life to helping her people in a society that seemed to have turned its back on native Americans.

In her determination to achieve change, she had many obstacles to overcome. She was poor, and yet felt a good education was vital to her work. She was an Indian and she was a woman. Would her own people listen to her? Would members of the larger society pay any attention?

While Ms. Deer was busy with her education (a Master's Degree from Columbia University and a year of law school), the plight of the Menominees grew worse. In 1961, the federal government terminated the status of the land as a reservation. It became a county.

The change in status meant that the tribal lands were no longer protected by the federal government. "Our land is constantly threatened," Ms. Deer says. "The National Park Service looks at it and says let's make a national park out of it. The state park people look at it and say let's make a state park out of it. The developers look at it and want to make lots out of it. Lumber companies look at it and want to chop it down."

(Background for this true account of Ada Deer was gathered in interviews with journalist Beverly Stephen and correspondence with Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin.)

Ada Deer went to work on two fronts: first, she tried to organize her people. Second, she wanted to press Congress for action.

The first task, she explains, was difficult because the people had become so apathetic and discouraged. Of the 2300 Menominee living on the forest lands near the Wolf River, roughly 50% were on welfare. The major sources of steady employment for others was an old lumber mill, badly in need of repair.

Gradually, her persuasive efforts began to bring results. When she began, for example, only two percent of the people bothered to vote in elections. Within two years, the percentage had climbed to 49 percent. The people now recognized that Ada had exceptional qualities for organization and leadership. Why not make her a tribal leader? "The tribe had a long debate about whether they could accept a woman as head," she said, "but then they voted in favor of it."

Then Ms. Deer took her one-woman campaign to the nation's capitol. She wanted a return to federal protection before the land was divided up by eager land speculators. And she wanted recognition for her tribe. One result of declassifying the Menominee lands as a reservation was a ruling that no future Menominee children could enrolled in the tribe. This was part of a government "melting-pot" plan that would, it was thought, gradually assimilate Indians into the mainstream of American culture. Ms. Deer called it "cultural genocide."

Her campaign in Washington was long and vigorous. "The reservation system was far from perfect," she admitted. "It destroyed a lot. But the advantage was that the land and assets were held in trust by the federal government. So the thrust of our effort [was] to stop land sales, restore federal services and insure Menominee participation in their own government.

She found a willing listener in Wisconsin's Senator Willian Proxmire. Proxmire introduced a bill in the Senate that would restore the tribe to federally recognized status and eligible for such federal services as health and education benefits. In presenting the bill, Senator Proxmire explained that the original intent of the 1961 law was to enable the Menominee to "develop on their own initiative." But the obstacles were too great and federal action was needed. "The present situation in the county is bleak," he said. "The Menominee will not be able to survive if the bill is not passed."

As this article is written, no final decision has been made. But Ada Deer and her followers are optimistic. A new mood is noticeable in Indian affairs, a greater concern for letting the tribes "control their own destiny," as a Bureau of Indian Affairs spokesman put it. "There is a new spirit of nationalism," he added, "and a renewed accent on Indian culture and language." Ms. Deer agrees and is modestly proud of her work so far. "I guess I've learned," she said, "that one person really can make a difference."

As soon as this campaign is completed, Ada Deer has other plans. She would like to finish law school at the University of Wisconsin first. Then she hopes to have a hand in "organizing the people into an effective tribal government."

For Discussion

1. What do you think the American Dream represents to Ada Deer?

2. Compare her tactics with the speech of Martin Luther King. Do you think they are in agreement? Explain.

3. Turn back to the section titled "The Continuing Challenge." Do you think Ada Deer's work illustrates any of the points made by Kristol or Grunwald?

4. Describe your reaction to this story. Do you find that it's too idealistic? Or, do you think it's a realistic view of the American Dream? Give reasons for your answer.

Foreign Viewpoints

You have seen that foreign visitors had mixed views of the American experience early in the nation's history. Views are still mixed in the 20th Century. Many foreign observers are highly critical of the American way of life. What are your reactions to the following samples?

H.G. Wells, An Englishman, wrote about an "inadequate theory of freedom": "The foolish extravagances of the rich, the architectural bathos (overly sentimental) of Newport, the dingy, noisy, economic jumble of central and south Chicago, the Standard Oil offices in Broadway, the darkened streets beneath New York's elevated railroad, the littered ugliness of Niagara's banks, are all so many . . . aspects and . . . consequences of the same undisciplined way of living. Let each man push for himself. . . ."

(H.G. Wells, The Future in America: A search after realities. New York & London. Harper and Brothers. 1906. p. 156.)

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. . . It is of primary importance for the very survival of our civilization that the United States enjoy the higest possible moral authority in the world . . . since our chief aim must be to restore the moral authority of the United States, it is now our task to endeavour to find out how and why it was lost. . . .

(Salvador de Madariaga, Spanish scholar, Latin America Between the Eagle and the Bear. Praeger Publishers, Inc. 1962.)

. . . Millions of Americans are losing the blind faith that has been instilled in them for so long that capitalist America and its policy are supposedly the highest achievement of world civilization. . . Broad dissatisfaction, disillusionment and deepening political polarization have worked to change this belief. . . .

(Soviet political scientist, G.A. Arbatov, Current Digest of the Soviet Press. June 1, 1971.)

One source of pessimism today is that our institutions do not seem to be responding to the challenges of the late twentieth century. All levels of government seem paralyzed by a numbing bureaucratic tangle. Business often seems controlled by profit-hungry executives who are out of touch with the needs of the people.

But institutions are flexible. They can be made to respond to change. The pressure can come from within the institution itself--as when Congress awoke to the need to exercise its watchdog function over the Central Intelligence Agency--or, the pressure may come from the people as the following story indicates.

Reading 9: ACORN: "The People Shall Rule"

Throughout the country, American people have organized into block associations and neighborhood groups. Usually some common problem draws them together--the need for a new traffic light; better school lunches; concern over business expansion into residential neighborhoods; frustration over breakdowns in community services.

In the state of Arkansas, a group called ACORN started much the same way. But since its origins in 1970, Arkansas Community Organizations for Reform Now has changed the nature of these small associations. With the help of full-time organizers it has become an almost statewide collection of smaller groups. As an association of mostly low income neighborhood groups ACORN is beginning to have considerable impact on the political and economic life of the state.

(Based on an article by Andrew Kopkind, "Community Clout in Arkansas," The Progressive. November 1975. pp. 30-33.)

Joining smaller groups together has a number of advantages. First, a single neighborhood group can become bogged down in fighting for a key issue. For example, the Centennial Neighborhood Association in Little Rock started a campaign for a $150,000 park on abandoned land. Court battles over release of federal funds dragged out over two years. This kind of frustration can discourage people from thinking that political action is worthwhile.

But, by being part of a collection of groups, the Centennial group found that they were always on the winning side of some other issue. As ACORN organizer Barbara Friedman explained: "The beauty of a multi-issue organization is its ability to get 'WINS' while one issue is dragging on for one reason or another. And no issue is unconnected to any other. All the traditional issues in neighborhoods have the ability to get to the heart and the roots of the political process."

A second advantage of uniting smaller groups is that there is strength in numbers. One neighborhood association appealing for better telephone service or lower utility rates might have difficulty gaining a hearing. A combination of organizations has a better chance. ACORN, for example, developed a community organization in a small lumber mill town of Mountain Pine. One of the chief complaints of the citizens was poor telephone service combined with high rates.

"Because Mountain Pine is poor," organizer Steve Holt explained, "the phone company ignores them. Rates are twice or three times what they are in Hot Springs, and you have to wait years even for a four-party line or a semi-private line."

ACORN arranged a meeting with 40 Mountain Pine citizens and telephone company executives. Arkansas utilities had already felt the force of other ACORN campaigns. Through publicity and election campaigns, a gas company had been forced to give a $6 million rebate to its customers. A power company had been pressured into reducing the size of a coal-burning power plant, which spared the atmosphere from added tons of sulphur emissions.

The telephone company was cooperative. By the end of the meeting, Holt reports, "the manager had agreed that it was time for rates in Mountain Pine to come down, and he had given us a commitment to equalize rates, improve service, and make retroactive refunds. . . ." In covering the story a few weeks later, reporter Andrew Kopkind wrote: "On the sunny afternoon I was in Mountain Pine, phone company trucks were parked at several sites in town, keeping the manager's promises."

ACORN members have no grandiose plans to revolutionize the state political system. And they know that they will lose a lot of contests. But the association's efforts have created

a new spirit. "We like to encourage the members to dream," Steve Holt states. "What would they like to see happen to their lives, their communities?" The successes so far have brought ACORN's thousands of members closer to the meaning of the Arkansas state motto: "The People Shall Rule."

For Discussion

1. What similarities do you find between this account and the story of Ada Deer?

2. John B. Oakes, a New York Times editor writes: "Within the past few years, we as a people seem to have lost our way, to be floundering in uncertainty, to be unsure of ourselves in our relations to each other and to the world at large." To what extent do you feel the ACORN experience answers this challenge? To what extent do you agree with the statement by Oakes?

Explorations: Discover what is happening in your own neighborhood or community. You're likely to find local groups concerned with political activities, community improvement, or environmental protection. Invite representatives to your class In discovering what people are doing, you may gain some ideas on their viewpoint of the American Dream.

Reading 10: The Foxfire Story

For Discussion

1. Earlier we mentioned that institutions can be flexible enough to respond to modern challenges. Do you think the Foxfire story illustrates this point?

2. What do you think the Rabun Gap students have learned about the American Dream?

3. Do you feel it's important to learn about different life-styles within your own region of the country? Why or why not?

Explorations: As a class, make a list of elements you feel are part of the American Dream. Use these to form a questionnaire. Conduct a public opinion survey to find out if others in the community agree with your views or if they have other ideas about what constitutes the American Dream.

PART II - THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION: THE ENERGY WEB

1) THE COMPLEX SYSTEMS OF SPACESHIP EARTH

The idea of comparing planet Earth to a spaceship is probably not new to you. On the surface, it seems like a simple idea. All living things are "riders on the earth together"--like passengers on a huge spaceship. We all depend on the same life-support systems, like land, air, water.

The Spaceship Earth image became popular in the late 1960's when we suddenly awoke to the fact that our life-support systems were in grave danger. Pollution of the land, air, and water systems had become serious enough to threaten the very survival of life on the planet. And we could see clearly that these environmental dangers were global in nature--they involved the entire craft. Air pollution does not stop at the city limits of Tokyo or Los Angeles--it affects the entire earth atmosphere. Chemicals seeping into the land went into streams, lakes, oceans and entered the food chain in lethal amounts.

In the 1970's, the Spaceship Earth idea has taken on a new meaning: the idea that the earth is becoming more and more interdependent. That is, different parts of our globe are mutually dependent with other parts. Perhaps the area where we most notice our growing interdependence is in our economic life. The way we live, the foods we eat, the jobs we have or hope to get, much of our lifestyle--all are connected to events and people far removed from us. We, in turn, influence the lives of others, whether we intend to or not.

In Part II, The Energy Web, you'll be exploring some of the implications of being part of a worldwide economic system. As you work through the material, you should get a clearer idea of what it means to be a passenger on our planetary spaceship.

Here are some of the questions we'll be concerned with:

- What is America's role in this growing world economy? How much do we depend on others, and how do others rely on us?
- How are our daily lives influenced by being tied into worldwide networks?
- Should we strive to free ourselves from these ties? Can we?

2) OIL--MEASURING THE IMPACT OF CHANGE

Background: The Idea of Systems

In dealing with the world economy, it helps to keep in mind the idea of systems. A system is anything that's made up of interconnected parts--parts that depend on each other for the whole to function. An automobile is a system. The interdependent parts must work together for the system to operate. In fact, the automobile actually is made up of a variety of subsystems--the electrical system, fuel system, and so on. Similarly, your body is a system. And it, too, includes a variety of subsystems--digestive, circulatory, nervous, etc.

When there's a change in one part of a system (or subsystem) the whole is affected. A break in the fuel line of a car is going to influence the other subsystems. Or, if a human being switches from a poorly balanced diet to one that is properly balanced, all of the body's systems will be altered.

The world economic system works according to much the same set of rules, although it's a very complex process. Today, with the aid of modern transportation, communications and industry, the economies of the world's nations tend to interlock more and more. We depend on others for raw materials, for markets for our products, and for some of the countless goods and services we use. Others depend on us, that is, on the American economic system.

As more goods are produced, more resources, energy, and markets are needed, the system becomes more tightly enmeshed. It's something like a huge and growing web, tying different parts of the world together. A change in one strand of the web can send shock waves through other parts of the network.

1973--The Oil Countries Create a Change

In October of 1973, the oil-producing states of the Middle East decided to use their huge supplies of oil as a political weapon. They had joined together in an organization called OPEC (Oil Producing and Exporting Countries)* The Arab members of OPEC were looking for a way to strike back at the industrialized countries that were providing aid to Israel. Their decision: an oil boycott. For a period of time, they refused to sell oil to the United States, Japan and Western Europe.

There was something else working here, too. The oil states had little to offer on the world market in exchange for badly needed food and manufactured goods except oil. The prices of things bought by OPEC nations kept on rising. If the price of oil remained the same, the oil states would obviously become poorer and poorer. The result was a second OPEC decision: in the space of a few months before and after the oil boycott, they began a series of increases in price for their oil. By early 1974, the price of oil had quadrupled.

The OPEC nations had given a vigorous twang to one strand of the web of world economics. Your task, in the next section, will be to try to measure the shock effect of that change through other parts of the web.

The "Multiplier Effect"

No one could have predicted the kinds of impact the OPEC actions would have. Some of that impact showed a direct link to the initial cause of

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*OPEC also includes Indonesia and oil producers in Latin America.

the quadrupling of oil prices. Americans, for example, faced the gasoline shortage. Many became aware of global interdependence for the first time when they had to sit in long lines waiting for a few gallons of gasoline.

Other results have not been quite as direct. That is, we can't say they were caused by the OPEC actions. But certainly the events were influenced by the oil decisions. This is what UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim called the multiplier effect. It really means that the shockwaves started by the oil action influenced things that seemed to have little direct relation to the Arab desire to "punish" the allies of Israel.

Study the map carefully.

The numbers on the map give examples of the multiplier effect. The arrows give an idea of how events in one place influence events in other parts of the globe.

Key to the Map

(Shaded areas indicate the world's major oil deposits. It is estimated that 53% of the known oil reserves are in the OPEC states of the Middle East.)

1. OPEC decisions: oil boycott and price increase.

2. Hunger and malnutrition grows worse in India because of higher prices for petroleum-based fertilizers and gasoline for irrigation pumps.

3. Brazil, now importing 75% of its oil, decides on a program of full-scale nuclear energy development.

4. U.S. sells billions of dollars of armaments to the newly rich OPEC states.

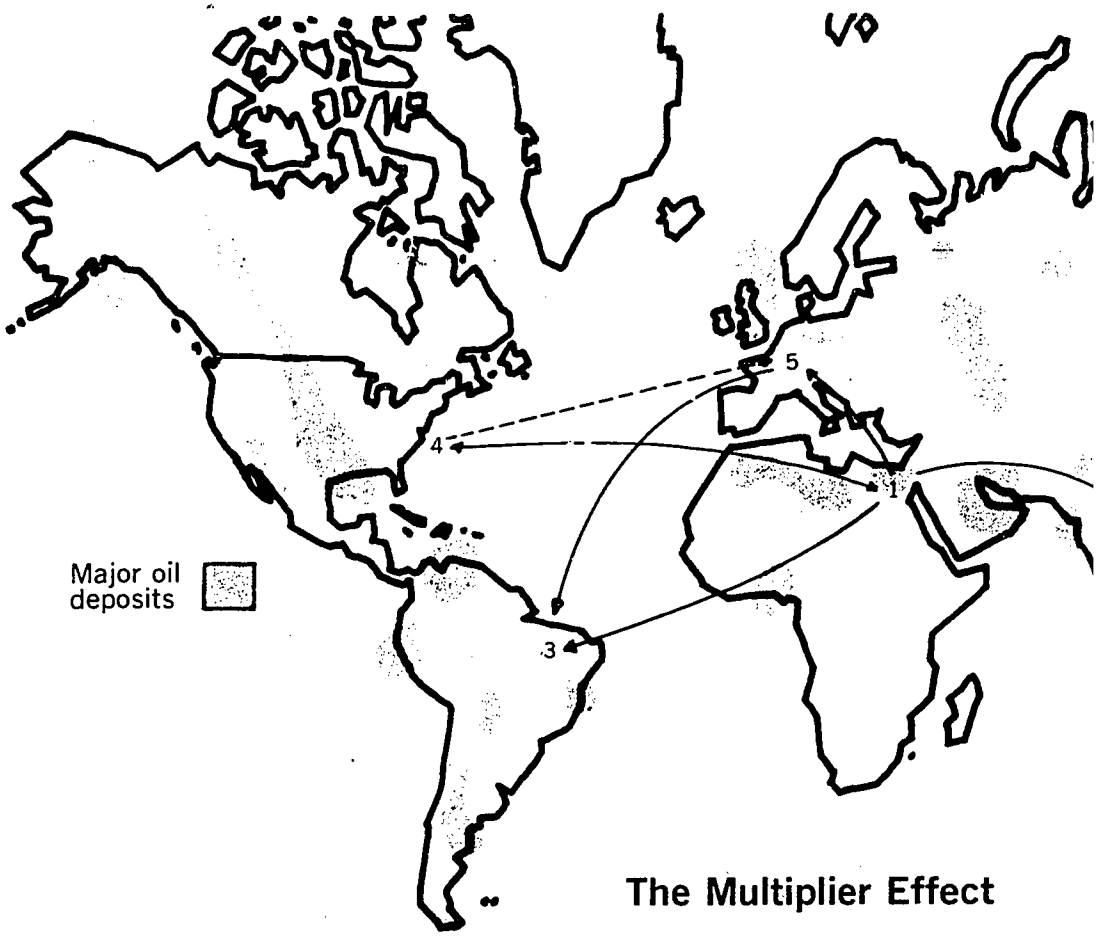
5. West Germany gets income to pay for oil imports by selling nuclear technology (originally acquired from the U.S.) to Brazil.

Assignment:

Go through the following list of events. For each item, try to answer the following questions:

- Does the event fit into the energy web?
- If so, can you explain how the "multiplier effect" is involved?
- How might the location and amount of oil reserves influence each event?

(Use colored pencil to put the letter of each event on the map. Add arrows to show relationships between events, as was done with the numbered events, above.)



The Multiplier Effect

Shaded areas indicate the world's major oil deposits. They do not show th
region. It is estimated that 53 percent of the known oil reserves are in th

A. Wheat and corn farmers in America's Midwest find that the costs of producing a crop have skyrocketed. (How is this similar to the problem in India?)

B. Detroit: auto manufacturers announce a shift to production of smaller cars.

C. Great Britain suffers from its worst inflation in history. Coal workers strike and gain huge wage increases.

D. The Soviet Union, suffering through a bad crop year, asks to buy wheat and corn from the U.S. American government considers a trade: American grain for Russian oil.

E. Seattle--large groups of the unemployed head for Alaska to seek jobs on the Alaskan pipe line.

F. Coal companies in Pennsylvania and West Virginia ask the government to end restrictions on strip-mining. Only coal, they argue, can supply the nation's energy needs.

G. Toyota, the Japanese auto manufacturer, uses a Los Angeles firm to launch its most ambitious advertising campaign in the U.S.

H. Norwegians vote not to join the European Common Market; they want to "keep Norwegian prosperity for Norwegians."

I. Referring to OPEC success, the President of Zaire calls for "a common front to fight for the highest possible prices for Africa's natural resources."

J. Led by the Arab nations, Third World countries in the U.N. call for a New World Economic Order.

K. Washington: The President announces Project Independence--to make the U.S. independent in energy production. Presidential advisers admit this may make necessary "some" reduction in environmental protection standards.

3) PROJECT INDEPENDENCE: CAN THE GAMBLE PAY OFF?

The energy crisis was a real shock to most Americans. We found it disturbing that something as vital as our energy supply could be influenced by a handful of countries we had long considered "poor and weak."

Consequently, there were cheers when President Nixon announced plans for Project Independence. We must be free of the need for foreign oil, the President declared. This would mean taking such steps as:

- getting to work on the Alaska Pipeline.
- renewal of off-shore drilling for oil. These operations had been cut back following a destructive "oil spill" off the coast of Santa Barbara in 1969.

- increasing incentives to oil companies to spur the search for new oil sources.
- exploring other energy sources, especially an increased use of coal and nuclear power.

Can the U.S. achieve energy independence? What price will we have to pay? What will it cost, for example, in terms of environmental safety? Will energy independence free us from the complex occurrences in the world's energy web?

We can't explore all of the issues, so we will concentrate on one of the key hopes of Project Independence--the Alaska Pipeline. Read through the following selections. See what answers you can find to the questions we've raised about energy independence.

Alyeska Journal

On October 3rd, we took off for Alaska: two reporters and a "bush" pilot with years of experience flying hunting parties into Northern Canada and Alaska. Our goal was to find out as much as we could about what the Pipeline was doing to Alaska. Was it a positive force for reasonable economic growth? Or was this great wilderness state going to be the scene of a huge environmental disaster?

The first stop was Valdez which was to be the southern terminus of the pipeline. The oil itself was nearly 800 miles away, at Prudhoe Bay on Alaska's Northern Slope. The great oil strike had actually been made seven years earlier, in 1968. (Technically, the Eskimos had known of the oil for far longer. They used oil that seeped to the surface for fuel to boil down whale blubber.)

But this rich deposit, by far the largest in the United States, presented problems. The oil would have to be transported to an ice-free port. Thus, the plan was made to build the pipeline across the state to a port in the South. Environmental protection groups had instantly raised a loud protest. The pipeline, they argued, invited disaster. It would cut off the migratory routes of animals. It was likely to burst and send gallons of hot oil spewing across the land.

For a time, the environmentalists had had their way. Approval of the pipeline was blocked in Congress. But then came the OPEC oil embargo and the ballooning of prices. Within a matter of weeks, the green light was given to proceed with the pipeline. It was to be an important stepping stone for Project Independence. The deposit is estimated at 10 billion barrels; by 1977 enough oil could be flowing south to reduce our imports of foreign oil by 20 percent. By 1985, it could provide 25% of the nation's total oil needs.

(A fictionalized account based on information from: "Rush for Riches on the Great Pipeline," *The Nation*, June 2, 1975; Wilson Clark, "It Takes Energy to Get Energy," *The Smithsonian*, December 1974; William Tabb, "Peace, Power, and Petroleum," *The Progressive*, November 1975; Sidney P. Allen, "Perspective on a Pipeline," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 6, 1975. Used by permission of Center for War/Peace Studies.)

The construction job was too big for any one company. The $6 billion estimate for construction makes it the largest project ever undertaken by private companies. The oil companies are going at it by pooling their resources. Eight companies (with British Petroleum one of the largest) formed a combine called the Alyeska Pipeline Service Company. Alyeska is the name the Aleuts gave to the territory; it means "the great land."

A couple of years ago Valdez was a small fishing village. Now, like just about every other town in Alaska, it has become a modern-day boom town. The population is exploding as people flood in from "the outside." Streets are crowded and confused with traffic and slush. Food and other goods that have to be shipped in are in short supply. Prices are astronomical. And of course living-space is hard to come by. A two-room apartment that rented for $250 in the spring is now up to $750 a month. Many people somehow survive in tents.

With the boom has come every kind of hanger-on and swindler known, including full-scale gambling and vice operations. Legitimate business operations have invaded too, complete with neon signs and massive profits. Later, in such towns as Anchorage and Fairbanks, we found that people had formed organizations to protect historical landmarks and to try to preserve the original atmosphere of their communities.

Our plan was to bush-hop north along the pipeline route. Work was being carried on at numerous points along the way, so there is a string of construction camps stretching all the way to the North Slope.

These camps were something special. They have to be the most luxurious frontier outposts ever constructed. A camp is likely to provide such comforts as private rooms, wall-to-wall carpeting, television lounges, heated swimming pools, and fantastic meals in dining halls that never close. The prize of the lot is the British Petroleum facility at Prudhoe Bay. Built at a cost of $21 million, the workers refer to it as the "B. P. Hilton."

A worker's stay at a camp can be up to 9 weeks before a short rest period, and Alyeska companies clearly feel efforts must be made to keep them content. Salaries help in that department. In fact, that is one of the prize lures that have brought thousands to the 49th state hoping to land a job. The unions have worked out a deal with the oil companies. The unions won't strike; in return, salaries are high and a worker is allowed an 84-hour week, with anything over 40 hours paid at overtime rates.

At one camp, we met a college drop-out from Colorado. Technically he was employed as a "handyman." Actually, he did little but run errands. For a 60-hour week, he earned $700.

"I was lucky," he told us. "I came up here and just fell into this job. I know dozens of guys who haven't been able to land work. They go through their savings in about a week and head back home."

Another worker, with a family in New Jersey, is employed as a rig mechanic. He works the full 84-hour week. "Why not?" he said. "There's not much else to do here but work and eat." His weekly income: $1,148.

There were a few women at the camps, too. They are treated as equals and with respect. One woman had as her major task keeping truck engines running when the vehicles weren't in use. In cold weather, the engines are kept running 24 hours to avoid freeze-ups. Separated from her husband, she has two children in school in Chicago. "In a year's time," she said, "I can save enough to pay for a college education for both kids."

With the high salaries comes hard work and the hazards of Arctic work. "In the summer weeks," a welder reported, "you fight off mosquitoes the size of birds and there are these black flies that crawl all over you."

The rest of the year, of course, it's the cold numbing, bone-deep cold that will whiten exposed skin with frostbite in a minute's time. "I can never tell how cold it is," one man said. "The difference between thirty degrees below zero and 60 below is pretty hard to measure."

This, then, is the work that is transforming Alaska. But what kind of state is it becoming? Some say it's the best thing that ever happened. Others say it's the worst. And feelings are strong on both sides.

In terms of the economy, the project is certainly pouring much-needed money into the state. Neil Bergt, president of Alaska International Industries, said: "Economically, right now, Alaska is the most exciting place in the world."

Another businessman said: "There are 33 minerals vital to a modern economy. We have rich supplies of every one of them right here. The Pipeline will help open up new explorations. This is just the beginning. . ."

And a third business leader put it this way: "If Alaska is ever going to be more than a step-child of the U.S. government, this is our only chance. We've always had high unemployment here, about twice the national average. Employment will double over the next few years. And that means we'll be taking in enough tax dollars to deal with our social problems."

But just as many Alaskans--perhaps more--are worried. They feel, for example, that the economic gains look better than they actually are. Much of the original treasure that came from selling oil leases has already been used up for essential services like schools and roads. And yet these services remain inadequate. "Fairbanks used to be a town of 15,000," one Alaskan said. "We got by okay. Now look at it. There's 50,000 people here, schoc are impossibly crowded, and there's no way to control the sprawl of new building. We simply can't supply leadership and facilities to cope with it." And unemployment continues at about 11%.

The optimists counter that people should be patient. By 1980, Alaska's share of oil revenues should reach $1 billion a year. That's far larger than the current state budget.

Another concern is that the "old" Alaska is rapidly disappearing. The traditional life of the Eskimos and Indians, for example, is likely to come to an end. More and more of these people are moving to the towns. The lure of jobs and the comforts of civilized life are proving stronger than more primitive life-styles. "We can't preserve Alaska as we know it," Governor Jay S. Hammond admits. "We're going to have to lose some freedoms and qualities of life here." Charles Konigsberg, a member of the Federal-State Land-Use Planning Commission, makes a stronger statement: "We are witnessing a genuine historical tragedy in the making here."

By far the most concern is expressed over environmental matters. The construction boom may slow down, but the Pipeline will remain--798 miles of steel snaking across the state. It will crawl over two mountain ranges (climbing 4800 feet to overcome the Brooks Range) and it will span more than 30 rivers and streams. The fear, of course, is that the dangerous route increases the risk of pipe bursting. An added element is the fact that the line runs through three major earthquake zones.

Alyeska engineers have worked hard to minimize the dangers. At one point, for instance, the pipe will be buried for a stretch of 7 miles to avoid interfering with the migration route of a herd of some 400,000 caribou. For about half the route, the pipe will be roughly four feet above the ground to keep the hot oil (140°) from unsettling the permafrost. Where it is buried, it will be insulated and protected by refrigerated pipes. To deal with the earthquake hazard, special rigs have been built to allow sections to move from side to side without breaking.

One Alyeska representative summed up the protective efforts by saying: "Most of the environmental issues have been worked out. We can't afford to meet all the environmental restraints to get the North Slope oil, but we also know that you don't build a pipeline by covering up the ditch and closing the gate."

Environmentalists remain unconvinced. A member of one organization commented: "Whether a big spill happens or not, the pipeline is going to have a devastating effect on the northern wilderness. If nothing else, it will open up the state to become another Yosemite."

Some scattered, but related, notes

- The U.S. has 6% of the world's population. We use about 30% of the world's oil production.
- President Ford, in his "State of the World" address (April 10, 1975) said:

> . . . Every month that passes brings us closer to the day when we will be dependent on imported energy for 50 percent of our requirements. A new embargo under these conditions could have a devastating impact on jobs, industrial expansion and inflation at home. Our economy cannot be left to the mercy of decisions over which we have no control. . . .

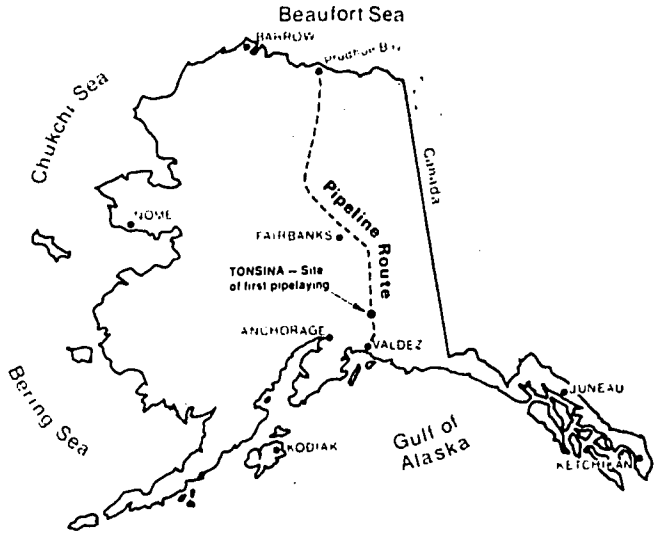
- 1969, following the great Santa Barbara oil spill, the people of that California community led the struggle to prevent further oil leases in off-shore waters. Congress agreed, and there was a halt in new drilling. In 1975, the people of Santa Barbara were asked to vote on whether or not to let a huge oil refinery be built in the county. Those in favor of environmental pretection, led by an organization called GOO (Get Oil Out), launched a campaign against the proposal. Those who favored the refinery argued that "America needs oil," and the project would produce jobs as well. By a narrow margin, the voters approved plans for the refinery.

- John Sawhill, former head of the Federal Energy Administration:

  ". . . The repercussions of Project Independence will be felt throughout our economy. It will have a dramatic impact on the way 211 million Americans live."

- Alan Greenspan, President Ford's Economic Advisor:

  "The United States should be able to supply a significant share of the energy needs of the Free World by the year 2000."



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For Discussion

1. Go back to the introduction to this section and review the questions about Project Independence. On the basis of the Alyeska story, what answers have you arrived at?

2. Suppose the decision were up to you. Consider yourselves citizens of Alaska, a state with a population about the size of Rochester, New York (330,000) and a land area twice the size of Texas. Let us say the Alaska Pipeline has been completed. But now there are other proposals. The U.S. needs natural gas as well as oil. Alaska has gas reserves worth more than $400 billion and large enough to provide the needs of the entire nation for 18 years. Two more pipelines have been proposed--one to carry the natural gas and another to bring oil from an offshore deposit in the Bering Strait. How will you decide the issue?

Explorations: Divide the class into task groups. Each is to research and present a case for developing energy sources other than oil. Your group reports should present the obstacles as well as the advantages of the source you propose.

Here are some possibilities:

- nuclear energy (either fissiom or fusion)
- geothermal conversion
- coal (either through liquifying or gasifying)
- solar--electric power
- the wind
- tidal power

THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

(From the book THE BEST OF IMPOSSIBLE WORLDS by Abel Quezada. © by Prentice-Hall, Inc. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.)

PART III: THE UNITED STATES AS A POWER IN THE WORLD

Global Companies Come to Mexacali

In Part II, we explored some of the ways the world has become highly interdependent. We are now living in what can properly be called a global community--some people call it the global village. Major happenings are now world happenings, rather than strictly local or national events. Our lives are now intertwined with those of all our fellow villagers.

How does the idea of power fit into this village setting? That is our major question for Part III, and it's not an easy one.

Military strength is just one aspect of power. There are a whole series of questions we could explore about military power in today's world. Instead, though, we're going to concentrate on another aspect of power--the idea of economic power.

The United States is clearly the wealthiest nation in the world. That means it also has the greatest economic power. And, since we've been talking in terms of a global economy, America is bound to have a strong influence on the economic webs that tie the world together.

What is the nature of America's economic power? How and why and where is it used? How does the American economy influence people's lives in other parts of the world? What kind of responsibilities go with this power?

To get at these questions we'll be focusing on one rather small corner of the total picture: what happened when American business came to a small Mexican town.

Here are some questions to use in going through the readings:

1) How have the lives of people in Mexicali been changed by American business?

2) You will find conflicting reactions to the way life is changing. What are some reasons for these different viewpoints?

3) What do you think the American Dream means to the people you are reading about?

Background: What is a Global Company

Since the end of World War II, a revolution has been taking place in the world economy. This radical change is being created by what are called multinational corporations--or global corporations. These are companies that have spread their operations to other parts of the world. They have factories, advertising offices, sales and service outlets in places other than the home country.

Just about all major U.S. firms, including banks, have become global companies. Rather than make goods in the U.S. and then export them abroad, business people have found that profits are higher if goods are made and sold in other places. The clothes you are wearing, for example, might be made by an American company. But chances are that the actual production took place somewhere else--in Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea or Mexico. For other items you buy, it's the same story. U.S. companies manufacture everything from television sets and automobiles to golf clubs and sneakers in other parts of the world.

Business in other industrialized countries has gone global, too. Look around at the varieties of automobiles, radios, television sets and appliances that come from other countries. American companies, though, are the giants in the field.

Some feel these global businesses offer a tremendous hope for the poor countries of the world. They bring capital, technology and jobs to undeveloped nations--and that means a chance for people everywhere to gain a decent standard of living.

Others see the picture differently, especially when American-based companies are involved. Critics see these global companies as an American "invasion"--"a new form of Yankee imperialism." American troops are no longer the threat, they say. Now it's the men in business suits.

Are global corporations good or bad? Different people will give different answers to that question. Many people are unsure. In the past year, committees of the U.S. Congress and the United Nations have investigated the activities of these companies. So far, no one has come up with any final answers. One thing, though, is certain: global corporations represent a major force in today's world, and they are growing rapidly.

Using the information in the chart on the following page, if you were a global corporation planner, what countries would you choose for the the location of an assembly plant?

IV: DIFFERENTIAL HOURLY WAGE RATES* IN SELECTED INDUSTRIES UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS VS. U.S.A.

Source: Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Muller, *Global Reach: The Power of Multinational Corporations* (Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1974). Copyright (c) 1974 by Simon & Schuster, Inc.

News Item: U.S. Business in Mexicali

A few years ago, Mexicali was a hot, dry and dusty town. Its life was placid and calm. The major business was that of a marketing center for the agricultural produce of the Mexicali Valley. There were a few American tourists but nothing like the activity of other border towns like Tijuana.

Today, Mexicali has changed drastically. It is still hot, dry and dusty but little else remains the same. It is now a bustling city of 400,000--about the size of Buffalo, New York--and it is growing daily. In fact, this northern portion of Mexico is one of the fastest growing regions in the world.

There has always been some poverty in Mexicali. Remnants of it are still to be found, especially in the squatters' huts strung out along the Wisteria Irrigation Canal. But there is economic growth, too--a new sense of prosperity that has brought a new way of life to thousands.

A major reason for this change has been the arrival of new industry. Most of this expansion has been financed by U.S. dollars; and most of the companies are American owned. (However, according to Mexican law, 51% of the stock of the local firm must be owned by Mexicans.)

There are now nearly 100 plants operating in Mexicali with total employment of about 20,000 workers. Most of the operations are controlled from home offices in the U.S. Parts are sent to Mexicali, assembled there, and shipped back to the U.S., or to other parts of the world. In many cases, few American managers are present. James W. Temple, of the Mexicali Subsidiary of Hughes Aircraft, says that the operation is "run by remote control" from the U.S. He reports that the Mexican workers are so capable, little supervision is needed.

The largest single employer is Mextel, S.A., a subsidiary of the Mattel Toy Company. Nearly 2,000 workers, mostly women, assemble toys from parts shipped in from the main plant in California. "They're really great people," the manager says of the workers. "They're full of enthusiasm and work hard."

As new companies move in, the variety of industries increases. Electronic components, clothing, golf bags, tape casettes and furniture are among the items assembled here.

With wages the highest in Mexico, many in Mexicali enjoy a comfortable life-style. New housing divisions--called fraccionamiento--provide modest adobe homes, paved streets, running water and sewer systems. Practically every household has a radio. Television sets and automobiles are becoming more common.

There is some debate over how much of the income from jobs in U.S. companies remains in Mexicali. According to U.S. News and World Report (March 27, 1972): "With money in their pockets, the Mexicans head across the border into the U.S. to do much of their shopping. It is estimated that as much as 75 per cent of the Mexicali salaries is spent in adjoining Calexico, Calif. Border crossings into Calexico run as high as 12 million persons each month."

Francisco Santana, Lieutenant Governor of Baja, sees the presence of U.S. companies as a positive force. According to Mr. Santana, "There are now talks going on with representatives from companies in Japan and Germany. We have great hopes that these companies will come here, too."

For Discussion

1. Every day, more people move from the countryside into Mexicali. What do you think the reasons would be for this migration?

2. You will be reading next about the resentment some Mexicans feel about U.S. business in their country. From this news report, can you make any guesses about causes for this resentment?

3. What clues does the article give about how life in Mexicali is changing? Make a list of conditions you think represent change over what Mexicali was like 20 years ago.

World Radio Network: A Panel Discussion on U.S. Business in Mexico

Members of the panel:

Arnold Scott, U.S. businessman
Silvia Fuentes, craftsperson, Mexicali
Maria Montez, magazine writer, Mexico City
Alvaro Bernardez, Government official, Mexicali
Carlos Rivera, factory worker, Mexicali

As we pick up the dialogue, Maria Montez is explaining her opposition to U.S. business in Mexico.

Montez: The Yankee influence has never meant anything but trouble. We live in the shadow of a giant and it leans its weight on us all too often. Whenever it has suited them, the "Gringos" have used their might to carve off Mexican territory. Our country is one-half its original size. The other half now has names like California, Arizona and New Mexico.

Bernardez: I don't think our discussion should deal with history that's more than a century old. Our topic is business in Mexico today.

Montez: But I am talking of the present. Only last week our President Luis Echeverria Alvarez said this: "We belong to the third world. We must defend our economy. We are struggling to survive. We would like to be friends, not servants. We have to be nationalistic or we shall perish.

Bernardez: Let's see then if others agree. Mr. Rivera, tell us your feelings about working for a U.S. company.

Rivera: The work is good and the pay is high. Before, my family were farm workers. They were always poor. Now I can send them a little.

Fuentes: My husband and I are furniture makers. This craft has been in our families for generations. We work for the Sears, Roebuck Company, but we have our own shop. We use our own designs.

Montez: But you take orders from the United States.

Fuentes: Only orders for more furniture. Our income is growing and we are still proud of our work. We now have 6 people to help us. We could not have done this before. In fact, the company lent us the money to expand our shop.

Rivera: There is much greater opportunity now. Soon, the company may send me to a training school in Chicago. This will help me to advance.

Scott: This is what I see as the great advantage of U.S. business in Mexico. It provides capital to develop new growth.

Montez: However, much of that expansion is at the expense of Mexicans. Every time a U.S. company moves in, they buy up or drive out some family-owned business.

Bernardez: There is some truth in that, but think how much worse things used to be. Mexico had little to sell but raw materials. We were like the poor nations of today. Now we can sell hundreds of products. We are not rich, but we are moving.

Scott: And Mexican business is growing just as fast as U.S. owned business. Companies owned by Mexicans or by the government are very active.

Rivera: Some say, though, that the new wealth goes to the rich. The poor remain poor.

Bernardez: Not quite. In 1960, per capita income in Mexico was $488. Today it is double that. Many of the poor have shared in this progress, although we have far to go. This country must create 800,000 new jobs every year to keep up with population growth. Could we hope to do this without U.S. companies?

Montez: Perhaps, just perhaps, U.S. companies have added to growth. There are costs involved, though; they are hard to measure, but let me speak of them.
Mexico is becoming Americanized. Enrique Lopez, the writer calls this the "Coca-Cola cultural invasion." Look around Mexicali. Everything has the American touch. Our radios blare American rock; we drive American cars powered by U.S. gasoline. Half our television shows are programs like *Gunsmoke* neatly dubbed in Spanish. U.S. firms control 60% of the commercials. . .

Rivera: Perhaps we should be upset by such things. But I think it comes with change, And much of the change is for the better.

Fuentes: I agree. Many old ways needed changing. When I grew up, you still had to have a chaperone to go out with a boy. People were afraid of anything new or different.

Rivera: When the government agent would tell the peasants how to use better seeds or tools, they would run away.

Bernardez: That's true. And with this change comes better public health, clean water, good schools, a chance for better life.

Montez: Maybe we need a definition of a "better life." If you mean cars and TV sets, you must also mean air pollution and crowded cities. After all, that's part of the American dream and we have to take the whole package. . . .

(Written for this publication based on information from: Richard J. Barnet and Ronald E. Muller, *Global Reach: The Power of Multinational Corporations* (Simon & Schuster, 1974); Allan Cheuse, "The Worship of Pepsicoatl," *The Nation*, September 10, 1973; "What U.S. Factories Are Doing for One Town in Mexico." *U.S. News and World Report*, March 27, 1972; John A. Crow, *Mexico Today* (Harper & Row, 1957); Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America* (Monthly Review Press, 1973). Used by permission of the Center for War/Peace Studies.)

For Discussion

1. What reasons are given for favoring U.S. business in Mexico? What reasons for opposition were mentioned?

2. If you lived in Mexicali, what do you think your own feelings would be on this issue? For what reasons?

3. How do you think the other panel members would respond to the last statement by Maria Montez?

Comparisons Between the U.S. and Mexico

	U.S.	Mexico
Population per square mile	57	65
Crude birth rate, per 1,000	18.2	43.4
Government expenditure of GNP	21%	6%
Daily per capita food consumption		
Calories	3,290	2,620
Cereals, gms.	145	305
Meat, gms.	243	44
Distribution per 100 population		
Motor vehicles	52	4
Telephones	59	3
Radio receivers	143	26
Television receivers	39	5
Housing		
Average persons per room	0.7	2.9
Piped water (potable)	94%	49%
Proportion of the economically active population engaged in manufacturing	23%	10%

Source: John A. Price, *Tijuana: Urbanization in a Border Culture* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1973). Reprinted with permission from the University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556.

What can you tell about the two nations from this chart?

How Shall We Build Our Future?

The following two scenes will give you a glimpse of farm life in Mexico. The scenes can either be acted out or read in story form. Whichever approach you use, here are some things to look for:

- There is conflict between father and son--or put another way, between tradition and change in Mexico. What are the reasons for this conflict?
- How do you think Diego would like to see Mexico develop? What about Paco? And Alejandra?
- In what ways do you think their lives are influenced by American economic power?

Background

Until 1911, most of the land in Mexico was in the hands of a few wealthy people and the Church. One percent of the population controlled an estimated 85% of the land.

In 1911 came Mexico's great Revolution. One of its major goals was to change the distribution of land. The government of the post-Revolutionary period divided the land, some going to individual owners, but much of it also going to the villages. This is called ejido land. It is owned in common by all the people of the village--or by a cluster of villages. Anyone can farm any portion. The plots, though, are often small, and the soil is poor.

Over the years, much of the best farm land has been acquired by wealthy farmers. Their ranches make extensive use of irrigation and modern machinery. One ranchero, for example, owns 15 ranches, each with more than 4,000 acres. He employs a labor force of about 2,000, many of them private farmers who could not make it on their own. Largely through these large farm businesses, Mexican food production has doubled in the past decade.

Characters: Diego, age 46
Paco, 20, his son
Alejandra, 18, Diego's daughter

Scene 1: A rocky hillside overlooking the Mexicali Valley, about 1/4 mile from a small village. Diego and Paco are at work in a cornfield.

Paco: (Angrily picking up a rock and heaving it down the hill) This land! What is it good for? Nothing but rocks and dust.

Diego: (continuing hoeing) The land has been good to our people. It has supported many generations.

Paco: That's exactly the trouble! Too many generations have ruined the soil. It is tired.

Diego: We get by. We must make do with what we have and we must try to improve.

Paco: (pointing to the valley) Just look down there! There is how farming should be done. The ranches have water. They can grow everything. They have tractors. They don't have to work with a coa (ancient form of hoe). This thing belongs in a museum.

Diego: (straightens up and smiles) You are too important, Paco. You could always go to the ranchero and ask for a job. If you are willing to give up your freedom.

Paco: Freedom for what? To have more debts? To go hungry if the crops fail? To live on tortillas and beans?

Diego: You have finally made some sense. It is time for comida (a large noon-time meal). Alejandra will be calling us soon.
(They walk toward the village)

Scene 2: Interior of a two-room adobe house. The floor is dirt. The furniture is sparse. Alejandra has placed the meal on the table and sits down. The men join her and for some time the three eat in silence.

Diego: (to Alejandra, jokingly) Your brother has decided to go to the ranch again. He is tired of our poverty.

Alejandra: Maybe he's just tired of hard work. Or worried that Ester won't marry him unless he is rich.

Paco: Tell me, seriously, are you happy with our life? Don't you think we would be better to move to Mexicali?

Diego: Mexicali? What would we do there?

Paco: We could get jobs, all of us. We could live for a change. There are films to go to. We could someday have a television.

Diego: Ah, that is it. The city of bright lights and excitement. Do you really think that's what city life would be like?

Alejandra: Remember the letter we received from Silvia and Felipe. They have been in Mexicali for over two years and still they are poor. Odd jobs or part-time work is all they can find. They are paracaidista [squatters; literally "parachutists."] They don't even have electricity so a television would do them little good.

Paco: They have been unlucky. Others find work. Besides, you sound like one of the old-timers who doesn't want change.

Alejandra: Oh, I want change all right. I want things better. That's why I go to school to become a nurse. But I want to see Mexicans create their own change, not General Motors or Pepsi-Cola.

Diego: Bravo! Well spoken. And, look, Paco, we have created change. The government agents are teaching us better farming. We villagers, by ourselves have brought in a water supply and electricity. We can do more.

Alejandra: And market day. That's what I love most. People from all over go to the market. Foods to buy, good things to eat, anything you could want to buy. I would much rather shop on market day than go to some big department store where everyone is a stranger.

Paco: You have me outnumbered, but I think you are both wrong. If we were in the city you could go to a fine school and even work in a hospital. That's why everyone keeps moving to the city. There is a chance for something better there.

Diego: I wish fewer would move to the city. How can we build our future if ejido lands are deserted? Villages are becoming deserted. No one cares for the life anymore, not even the fiestas.

Paco: The fiestas are one thing I do enjoy.

Diego: It is too bad you could not see the fiestas when I was a boy. People put on theatrical productions. Many bands played. But now the radio has replaced the bands. Television and films have made people forget about the plays.

Paco: But you yourself have said we must change.

Diego: Yes, but we must choose more wisely. We must blend the old with the new. And we must always remain Mexican.

(Fictionalized scenes based on extensive interviews in two studies: John A. Price, *Tijuana: Urbanization in a Border Culture* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1973); Erich Fromm and Michael Maccoby, *Social Character in a Mexican Village* (Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1970). Used by permission from the Center for War/Peace Studies.)

For Discussion

1. Do you think Paco will stay in the village or move to Mexicali? Why? What would you do if you were Paco or Alejandra?

2. Can you think of ways that American economic power influences life in Diego's village?

3. Do Americans have a responsibility toward Mexico?
To deal with that question, consider these additional questions:

- Do you think U.S. business should continue to expand into Mexico? Why or why not?
- What do you think Mexico would be like if U.S. business was not involved?

Explorations

Using sources in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, find out more about the activities of global companies. Consider the extent to which they are both a positive and negative force in shaping today's world.

PART IV: A NATION AMONG NATIONS

Two Parables: The Spaceship and the Lifeboat

Introduction

We've referred a number of times to the idea of living in an interdependent world. How does the idea of national sovereignty fit into this new world? We've long been proud of our independence as a nation. Does something happen to that independence as the world continues to shrink into a global village?

We are also proud of our accomplishments as a nation. We have achieved a higher standard of living than any society in history. Hard work, good luck, inventive skills and a wealth of resources have combined to make our life-style the pace-setter for the planet.

Can we afford that affluence in today's world? We have 6% of the world's population. We consume nearly 40% of the resources used each year. At the same time, half the world is poor. Millions die of starvation every year. Millions more have their physical and mental growth stunted by malnutrition. Should we be sharing our affluence? Or is it up to each human society to look after its own needs?

These are deep and troubling questions. All Americans are involved in providing answers. Even by refusing to face the issue, we are really giving an answer. But, let's try to face it and see what kind of conclusions you feel most comfortable with.

Instructions

For this section we suggest dividing the class into two groups. One will concentrate on the Spaceship parable; the other, on the Lifeboat.

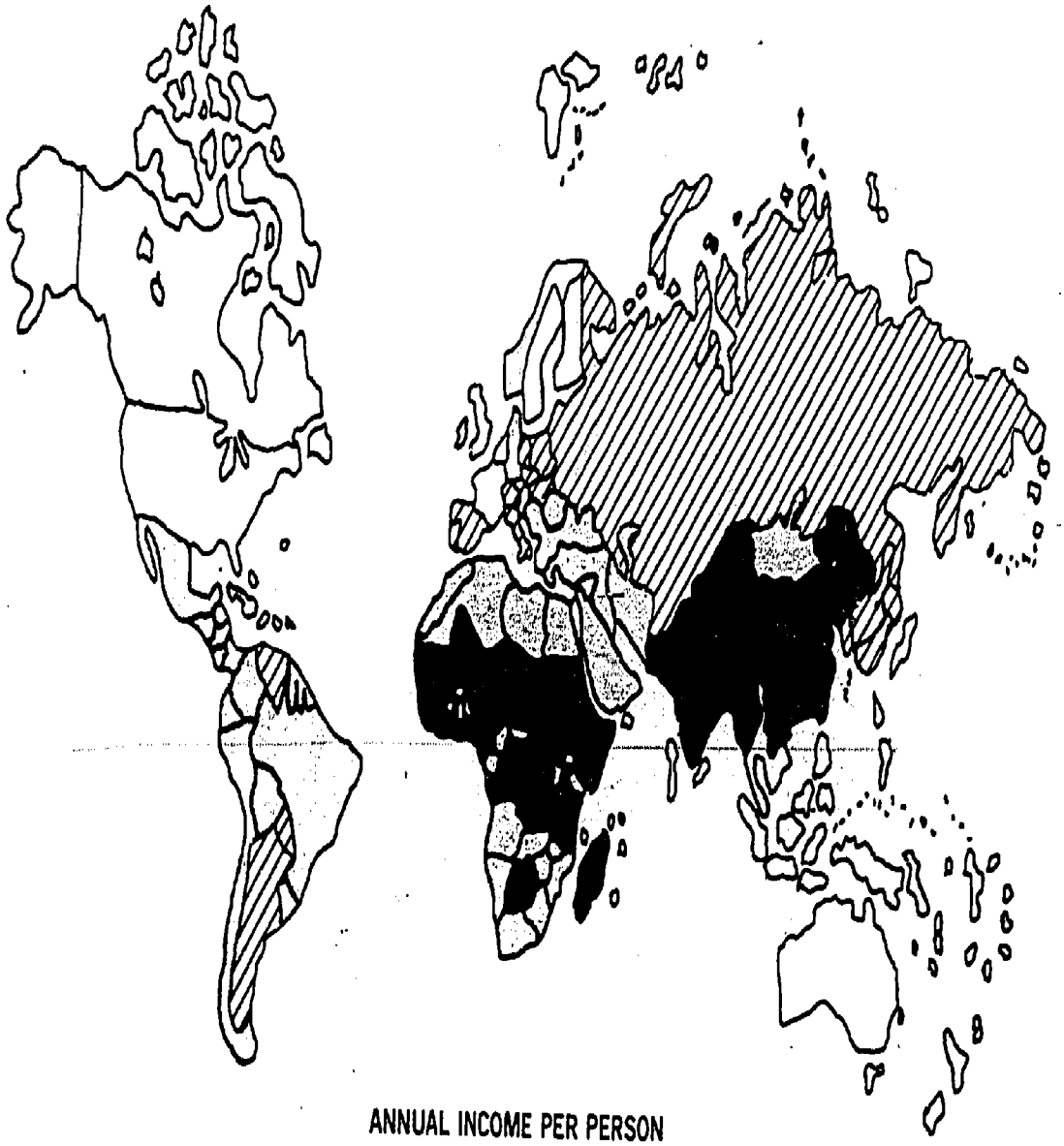
Read through the information assigned to your group. Meet together and decide what you think about the ideas presented. Do you think the parable represents an accurate description of the world today? If not, what do you think is distorted or exaggerated? What do you find in the parable that does seem accurate? What do you think Americans should do about the problems raised?

Prepare a report to the class. Tell about or read the parable. Then report on your group's findings and recommendations.

1) The World as a Spaceship

> Just for a moment, imagine that you are a first-class passenger on a huge spaceship with thousands of passengers traveling through space at a speed of 66,000 mph. You discover that the craft's environment system is faulty. Passengers in some sections are actually dying due to the emission of poisonous gases into their oxygen supply. Furthermore, you learn that there is a serious shortage of provisions--food supplies are rapidly diminishing and the water supply, thought previously to be more than adequate, is rapidly becoming polluted due to fouling from breakdowns in the craft's waste and propulsion systems.

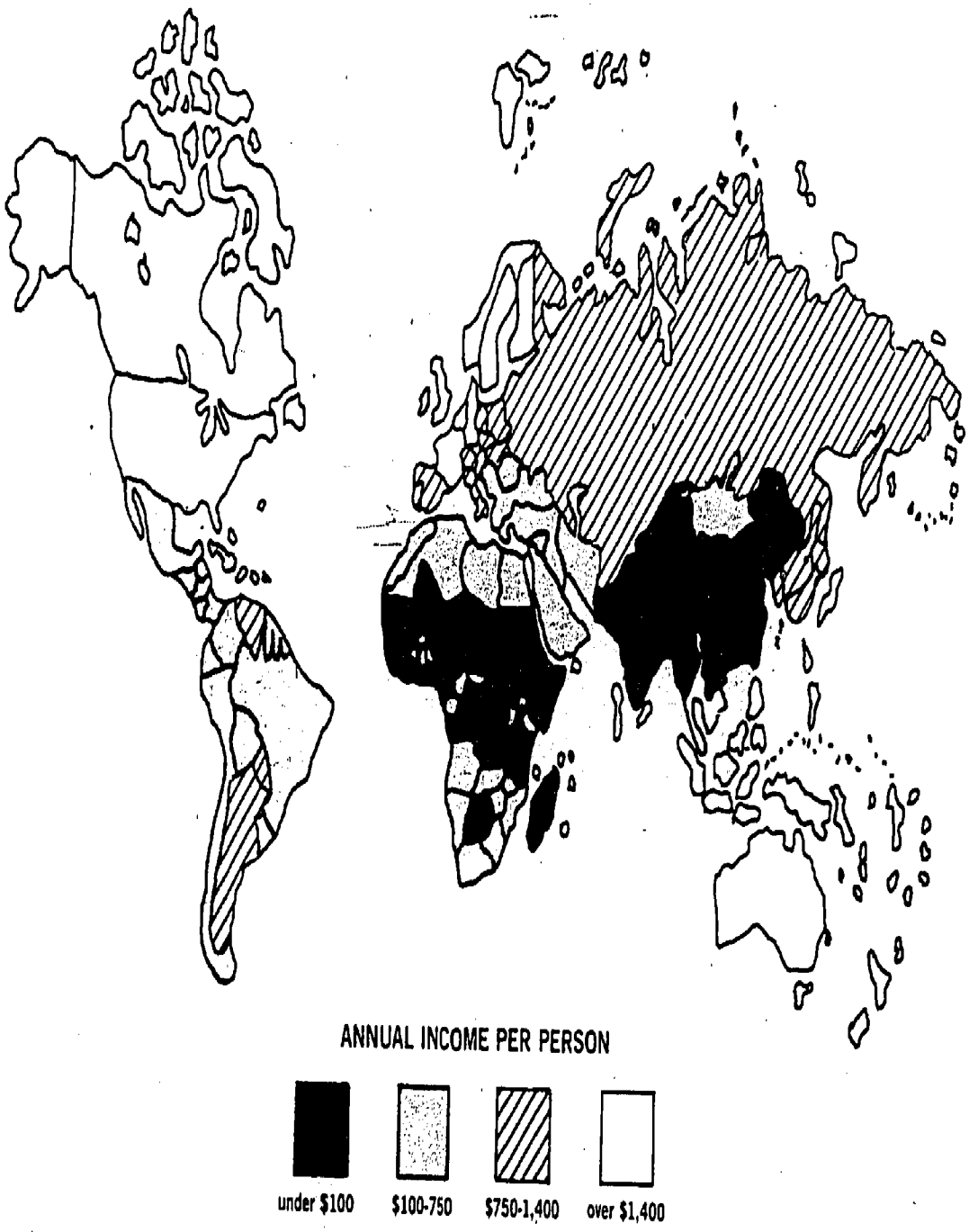
Who's Rich and Who's Poor



Source: *The Handwriting Is on the Wall*, World Neighbors Development Education, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 47.

(Used by permission of the Center for War/Peace Studies.)

Who's Rich and Who's Poor



Source: *The Handwriting Is on the Wall*, World Neighbors Development Education, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, p. 47.

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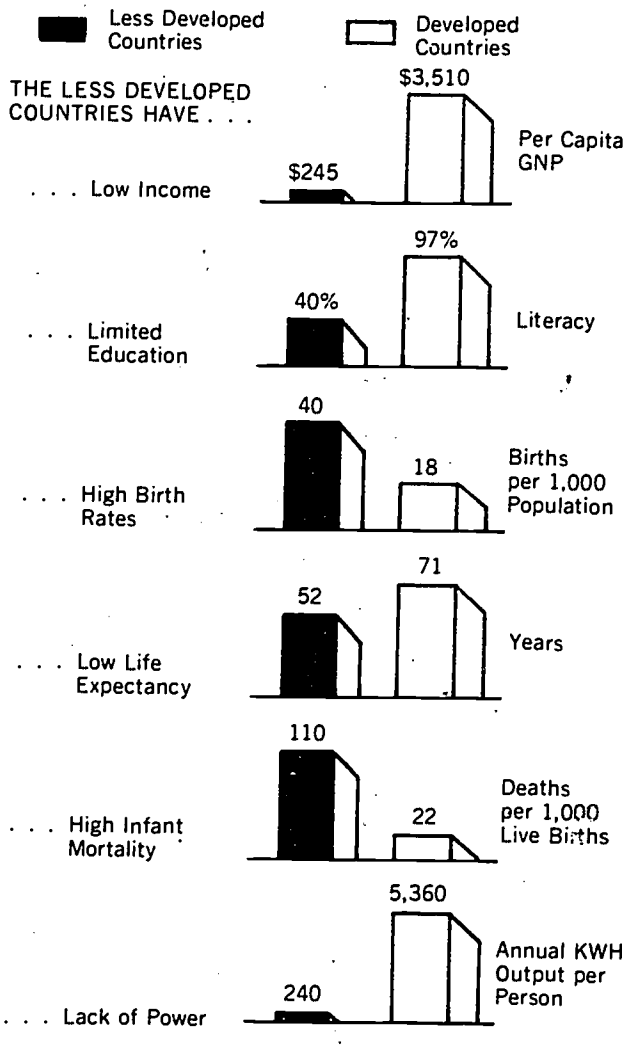
The Development Gap



Source: Agency for International Development (AID).

To complicate matters even more, in the economy sections where passengers are crowded together under the most difficult of situations it is reported that many are seriously ill. The ship's medical officers are able to help only a fraction of the sick and medicines are in short supply.

Mutinies have been reported, and although some of the crew and passengers are engaged in serious conflict in one of the compartments it is hoped that this conflict is being contained successfully; however, there is widespread fear as to what may happen if it cannot be contained or resolved within that compartment.

(Adapted from Donald N. Morris, "Developing Global Units for Elementary Schools," in *International Education for Spaceship Earth*, ed. David C. King (Foreign Policy Association, 1970.)

What will you do in this spaceship situation? Should those of you in the first-class section share your supplies of food with those who are suffering? Are there ways to get passengers in all compartments to work together to reduce dangers to the oxygen and water supplies?

Your assignment is to prepare a report to Mission Control. Use the report to present your plan of action for dealing with the spacecraft's problems. You may find the following ideas helpful.

Supporting information

a. The gap between rich and poor on Spaceship Earth

Imagine that we could compress the world's present population of over three billion persons into one town of 1,000 persons, in exactly the same proportions. In such a town of 1,000 persons there would be only 70 (United States) Americans. These 70 Americans--a mere 7 percent of the town's population--would receive half of the town's income. This would be the direct result of their monopolizing over half of the town's available material resources. Correspondingly, the 70 Americans would have fifteen times as many possessions per person as the remainder of the townsmen.

The 7 percent Americans would have an average life expectancy of 70 years. The other 930 would average less than 40 years. The lowest income group among the Americans, even though it included a few people who were hungry much of the time, would be better off by far than the average of the other townsmen. The 70 Americans and about 200 others representing Western Europe, and a few classes of South America, South Africa, Australia, and Japan would be well off by comparison with the rest.

Could such a town, in which the 930 non-Americans were quite aware of both the fact and means of the Americans' advantages, survive? Could the 70 Americans continue to extract the

majority of the raw materials essential to their standard of living from the property of the other 930 inhabitants? While doing so, could they convince the other 930 inhabitants to limit their population growth on the thesis that resources are limited? How many of the 70 Americans would have to become soldiers? How much of their material and human resourses would have to be devoted to military efforts in order to keep the rest of the town at its present disadvantage?

(From *Can Man Care for the Earth?* ed. Richard L. Heiss and Noel F. McInnis (Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 31-32. Copyright c 1971 by Abingdon Press. [Note that this source says Americans constitute 7 percent of the world's population. At present, 6 percent is the generally accepted figure.—Ed.])

b. Some statements on the need for global cooperation

(1) "If current economic trends continue, we face further and mounting worldwide shortages, unemployment, poverty and hunger."

(Secretary of State Henry Kissinger)

(2) "The simplest answer to the question (of closing the gap between rich and poor) is the moral one: that it is only right for those who have to share with those who have not."

(Lester B. Pearson, Commission on International Development)

(3) ". . . People in Maine should feel the same degree of responsibility toward the people of Japan or Chile or Indochina as they feel toward California."

(Economist Kenneth Boulding)

(4) "The pinch of resources and consumption will get worse and worse, and will have to be handled internationally. Oil already is; food, too, to a great extent. Great surplus areas feed huge deficit areas. There will have to be a global kind of approach. The national approach will no longer suffice in dealing, for example, with pollution of the seas and the world's atmosphere, which may be disasters for us all. . . ."

(Edwin O. Reischauer, Asian scholar and former Ambassador to Japan)

(5) ". . . I am deeply concerned with . . . the ability of the rich to recognize their obligations and to see that in an interdependent world--and Heaven knows our interdependence cannot be denied when we all stand under the shadow of atomic destruction--the principles of the general welfare cannot stop at the limits of our frontiers. It has to go forward; it has to include the whole family of man.

> And having said so much, I begin to wonder whether there are any forces inside our comfortable, cozy, complacent Western world that will make us accept this challenge and see that we now face thirty to forty years of world-building on a scale never known in human history, since all our forefathers lived without the community of science, the speed of transport, the whole interconnectedness of the modern globe. . . ."
>
> (Economist Barbara Ward Jackson)

For Discussion

1. How do you think creating a more equitable distribution of resources would change Americans' life-style?

2. Do you think greater sharing of America's affluence would or would not be consistent with the American Dream? Explain.

3. How do each of the quotations support the idea that more sharing and cooperation is needed?

Explorations: Use outside sources to answer these two questions:

a. How much aid does the U.S. now provide other countries?
b. How does this amount compare to aid given by other industrialized countries?

2) The World in Lifeboat Terms

Picture yourself in this situation.

You were on a luxury ship cruising the islands of the South Pacific. A sudden and devastating storm struck. The ship was blown miles off its course and then began to flounder.

Panic struck the passengers. Some leaped blindly into the dark, wild seas. Others ran directionless, not knowing what to do. You and a few others had enough sense to throw some provisions into a lifeboat and lower it over the side.

During the night, the storm subsided and you finally have a chance to take stock. There are 12 in the boat so you are far from overcrowded. Food stocks and fresh water look more than adequate--provided you are rescued within a few days. Some of your group also had the presence of mind to bring a tool chest--a treasure that will have great value if you land on some unchartered island. And you also have two revolvers with plenty of ammunition. All told, you've done pretty well, and your prospects are good.

Then, through the gray dawn mists you discover you are not alone. Three other boats appear, each crammed with people. You recognize some of the faces that had looked so helpless the previous night.

The three boats, it turns out, have very little food or water. They are without tools or weapons. Many are injured and not likely to survive. The people in these three boats ask you for some of your supplies.

Your group faces a dilemma. You want to survive. If you give up any of your supplies, you reduce your own chances. To some in your lifeboat, it seems the newcomers did not do enough to help themselves. In addition, they ask, is it wise to waste valuable food and water on those who are likely to die of their injuries?

What will you do in this survival situation? Will you share any of your supplies? If so, how much? You are 12 in number. The other boats must contain 70 people total. What will you do if they try to take your supplies by force? Would it be most wise to give help to some, but not to those who seem to have little chance for survival?

Your assignment is to make a decision as a group. Talk over your options and try to come to a unanimous decision.

Next, relate this situation to world conditions. Does one society have an obligation to help others in need? Or, should each human group be primarily concerned with its own survival or well-being. In relating the lifeboat situation to the world, the following selections may be helpful.

Supporting Information

a) A Scientist speaks of the "Lifeboat Ethic"

Garret Hardin, a biologist at the University of California, Santa Barbara, argues that the supplies available on Spaceship Earth are not sufficient to go around. We have to get away from the "spaceship ethics of sharing," he said recently. "We don't have the wherewithal to keep all the people from starving. So if we help them, we have to do it selectively."

In fact, Hardin suggests that we forget about the image of earth as a spaceship and begin concentrating on what he calls a "lifeboat ethic." The problem is, he states, that many countries do not have the resources to feed their populations. These nations lack the "carrying capacity." If we supply such nations with food, we only allow their populations to grow still larger. More population will create more pressure for food until even the rich nations find their supplies exhausted. Consequently, Hardin says, "we should not help keep alive people in an area where population exceeds carrying capacity." Only be holding back aid will the population decrease to the point where the nation can sustain itself.

Critics have objected to Hardin's approach as immoral, saying he advocates the "survival of the fattest." "They call me immoral," he responds, "because the only morality they know is the old morality."

That old morality no longer applies in a world of scarcity. We must remember, Hardin argues, that the decisions we make will influence future generations. The United States, and the other rich nations, have an obligation "to preserve the quality of life for future generations." We cannot allow our resources to be used up by other nations "for whose hunger and overpopulation we are not responsible."

b) Some statements on the need for self-reliance

(1) "The miracle seeds that created the Green Revolution were meant to give the underdeveloped nations some time to reduce their population growth and begin upgrading their citizens' nutrition. [Instead] our efforts to buy time have been frittered away because political leaders in developing nations have refused to come to grips with the population monster. . . . "

(Scientist Norman Borlaug, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1970)

(2) "The only means of developing the resources of Guyana is by Guyanese. Our success cannot be judged in terms of what aid or assistance we get. Success has to be measured in terms of what we do. The maximum national involvement is necessary. . . ."

(Forbes Burnham, Guyana)

(3) In the United States "there are now 25.5 million people officially classified as living below the "poverty line." [That means] 12.6% of all Americans, 9.9% of all whites, and 32.5% of all non-whites."

(U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970)

(4) "If all the food in the world were equally distributed and each person received identical quantities, we would all be malnourished."

(George Borgstrom, author of The Hungry Planet)

(5) "As in the case of so many liberal attitudes, the new global egalitarianism blithely disregards the world as it actually exists and as history has made it. The majority of Americans are not hard-hearted, but they assume that a nation is entitled to what its members have created. They have been generous with aid, but they certainly do not believe they have the solemn duty to bring about global equality. . . . "

(Journalist Jeffrey Hart)

(6) If present conditions in South Asia continue for 50 years, even if all available land is farmed with maximum efficiency, "in one year the region would . . . have to import 500 million tons of grain . . . (that's) twice as much as the total tonnage of all goods now being shipped overseas from the United States. Moreover, these quantities would have to be delivered every year, in ever increasing amounts, withour end. In sum, it would be impossible."

(Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Pestel, authors of Mankind At the Turning Point)

For Discussion

1. What policy do you think the U.S. is following now--the Spaceship ethics, the lifeboat ethics, or something in between?

2. Do you think it would be wise for the U.S. to provide aid only to nations that have vigorous population control programs? Why or why not?

3. How does each of the quotations support the idea of the lifeboat ethic?

Explorations:

Use outside resources to find out some of the steps that are being taken to reduce the gap between rich and poor. Examples: food storage programs; cultivating new lands; new varieties of crops, etc. In the card catalogue of the library or the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, check under such headings as economic development, food, hunger.

Conclusion

In this topic, we've been able to do little more than skim the surface of some of the key questions facing Americans in the closing years of this century. You've encountered some of the ideas that make up the American Dream. You've also dealt with questions about America's role in a world that is highly interdependent. And you've probably arrived at some conclusions.

Suppose you were writing a newspaper editorial on the subject of "America in the World" as the nation enters its third century. What would you choose to write about and what opinions would you express?