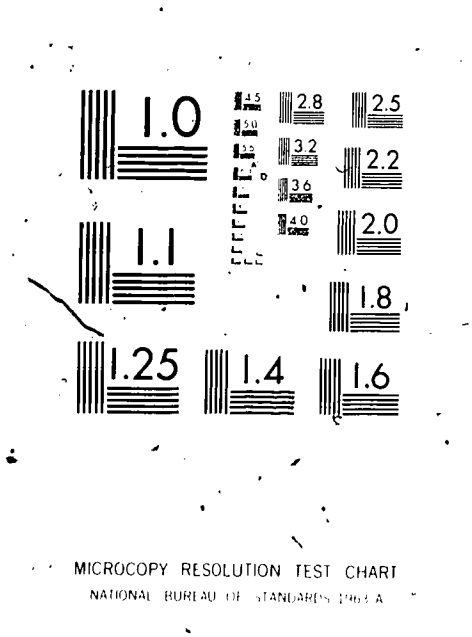

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ABSTRACT

The proceedings contain the papers given and digests of group topics discussed at the 1949 National Conference on Citizenship held in New York. An introduction by the chairman of the conference committee identified the conference theme as "Responsible American Citizens" and noted that discussion would center on citizens in politics, in the world, and in their communities. Opening speeches focused on issues such as responsible roles in national, state, and local politics, good government, and common problems that beset political organizations on all levels. Speeches with a global approach have the following titles: "Today's Challenging Opportunity," "Our Job in the World Today," "Enriching America," and "What Should We Do about the Communist Threat in Asia?" Concluding speeches explored the role of the public schools in developing American citizens and described municipal political experiences in Cincinnati, (Ohio), Richmond, (Virginia), and Brunswick, (Maine). Speakers included the mayor of New York, educators, senators from Vermont and Minnesota, government officials, media representatives and spokespersons from citizens groups such as the League of Women Voters and chambers of commerce, Thumbnail reports summarize information presented in each of the major topic areas. (DB)

FOURTH

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Under Auspices
of the
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
and the
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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May 12, 1949

We are all interested in American citizenship and, in a broader sense, in the citizenship enjoyed by every people in every nation of the world. In America, we have enjoyed the rights of citizenship, carrying with it responsibility in local and national political affairs, for such a long period that we take citizenship as a matter of course.

Too often those who enjoy the rights of citizenship do not appreciate the responsibility that rests upon them. Even in our national elections to decide the personnel and the policies of our government, scarcely more than fifty per cent of the people who have the right to vote exercise that right.

In these modern, complex days, when government of one sort or another must exercise supervision and guidance in so many matters that affect every person within the republic, it is more essential than ever that those who live in a democracy, like ours must acquaint themselves with the conditions under which they live and with the policies of the government which they must observe.

In ancient Greece, it was said that every citizen was so well qualified that he could perform any duty which his government might call upon him to perform. That was possible because the right of citizenship in ancient Greece was limited. While it is not necessary or desirable that every citizen should aspire to or hold public office, it is essential that every citizen know what the issues are and know the conditions which give rise to the issues upon which they must pass. This is especially true because politics and economics are handmaids. They are almost inseparable and one may affect the character of the other to a degree not readily understood.

I, therefore, am happy to urge that all American citizens feel the responsibility under which they rest, qualifying themselves to understand and assist in the guidance of our political institutions, as well as all of the agencies, governmental and private, whose activities may affect the rights of the people and the character of our government.

Alben W. Barkley

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THE CONFERENCE BEGINS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1949

It again affords me deep pleasure to extend greetings and good wishes to the participants in the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship.

America, in today's world, demands an alert, faithful and forward-looking citizenry, alive to the precious privileges and vital responsibilities of citizenship. A nation is only as good and strong as the individuals who make it up. Therefore, it is gratifying that we have a conference such as yours where representatives of all phases of our life may come together and discuss how best to meet the problem of these challenging times.

Yours is a noble objective—to seek the betterment of our country, to implement your Government's efforts for peace, to bring about freedom, justice and opportunity for our own people and for all mankind.

May your deliberations, symbolic of our democracy, be blessed with the utmost success!

Harry Truman

WELCOME TO NEW YORK

WILLIAM O'DWYER
Mayor

YESTERDAY at the "I Am an American Day" ceremonies with 1,250,000 other New Yorkers, I welcomed 20,000 new citizens to the brotherhood of freedom that we enjoy here in the United States. Today I am happy to join the Department of Justice and the National Education Association in this Fourth National Conference on Citizenship.

This is a meeting where we Americans gather to examine our rights. This is a place for us to refresh our knowledge of the great freedoms that belong to us and to no others.

You who are here understand that. Your duty is to make it clear to others that our freedoms are worthy of our interest in government. You know that we will have those freedoms only as long as we remain alert to our responsibilities as citizens. These responsibilities consist of taking an active part in public affairs. By voting not only in general elections, but in the primaries as well. By knowing what our government is doing, and trying to find the reasons behind its actions. By discussing public local, national, and international affairs with our fellow citizens. By gathering in discussion groups such as this one.

In welcoming you to New York City I want you to know that here you are among friends who understand your way of thinking. We have here, I believe, one of the most enlightened electorates in the world. This is an electorate that knows its powers, and knows that it will remain powerful only while it remains free. Such people are your good friends. They join me in wishing you and your conference the happiness that comes of good work well done.

THE CONFERENCE, ITS PLAN AND THEME

EARLE T. HAWKINS

President, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland, and Chairman of the Conference Committee

THE National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice welcome you to the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship with a feeling of gratification at being able to sponsor such a meeting and a feeling of humility in realizing the responsibilities involved in convening several hundred representative American citizens.

At the previous three national conferences—Philadelphia in 1946, Boston in 1947, and last year's great conference in Washington—various phases of citizenship have been considered and discussed by the participants. All of the conferences have had the following three objectives:

To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world.

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective.

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

All of the conferences have been *working conferences*. Your planning committee has again so arranged the schedule that a major part of the conference sessions will be spent by the delegates in small discussion groups. The committee places a great deal of faith in the outcomes of the work-group discussions and feels that the conference will succeed to the extent that these meetings stimulate creative thought and effective action.

The organization has the following characteristics:

1. Each delegate is assigned upon registration to a specific group.
2. All of the twenty groups will discuss simultaneously the same topic.
3. To each of the discussion groups there have been assigned two carefully selected group leaders.
4. Each of the three group sessions will be preceded by a presentation of the assigned topic at a general conference session.
5. Each of the group sessions will be followed by a thumbnail sketch of the discussions, gleaned from the reports submitted by leaders.

Since assignments to discussion groups have been made with a view to representing varied interests in each group, it is important that each delegate attend regularly the discussion group to which he has been assigned.

In arriving at the theme for the conference your committee had the benefit of the very helpful advice given by the distinguished citizens on the planning committee whose names are listed inside the front cover of your program. After several sessions and much serious discussion, the topic selected was that of RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN CITIZENS:

1.—Their Job in Politics; 2.—Their Job in the World Today; 3.—Their Job in the Community.

In a few moments you will hear the first phase of the topic—*Responsible American Citizens—Their Job in Politics*—discussed by two United States Senators and the national president of the League of Women Voters; this afternoon the discussion will concentrate further upon this topic.

This evening, at the second general session, the second phase—*Responsible American Citizens—Their Job in the World Today*—will be presented by a university president; and the group discussions tomorrow morning will center around that topic.

The third phase—*Responsible American Citizens—Their Job in the Community*—will be presented at the noon luncheon meeting tomorrow by a panel of outstanding American citizens; and the discussion groups tomorrow afternoon will turn their attention to this third and final topic.

In selecting the theme, *Responsible American Citizens,* the members of the conference planning committee wanted to stress the challenge facing America today—that of having the great body of our citizens realize that in a democracy each liberty has its corresponding loyalty, each privilege its accompanying duty, and each right its parallel responsibility. We need to remind ourselves constantly that our rights, our privileges, and our very freedom are secure only so long as enough of us accept and exercise our loyalty, our duties, and our responsibilities. Last year's conference had as its symbol a balance scale—one side of the balance indicating rights, the other side responsibilities. This year we are emphasizing even more strongly the importance of accepting responsibility—and we are indicating the three areas of responsibility: in the field of politics, in the world today, and in our own local community.

The several hundred delegates at this conference represent important national organizations aggregating millions of persons in membership. It would not be too great an exaggeration to claim that the organizations represented here touch fifty percent or more of the adult citizens of America.

As delegates you may have come with one or more of the following aims in mind:

First, you may expect to be stimulated by the variety of personalities you will meet, the variety of viewpoints you will hear.

Second, you may be hoping to gain some practical suggestions for improving the success of citizenship programs.

Third, you may have two or three particular problems in mind which to you are basic, and to which you hope to find definite solutions.

Fourth, you may be hoping that a conference like this will come to some definite points of agreement—will make some basic and far-reaching pronouncements.

Fifth, you may have in mind consciously or unconsciously using the conference as a sounding board to publicize things about your organization.

Sixth, you may be here for the first time as a delegate and may have only very hazy ideas as to what you really expect from the conference.

It is obvious that in a brief three-day period it will be impossible to satisfy completely all the expectations all of you may have. What may we expect, in all fairness? and what may we not expect?

First, let us say that the Conference cannot be expected to make pronouncements. It is a discussion conference, a working conference,—not a meeting of a board of directors. It is not the policy of the Conference to pass resolutions.

Second, it is not expected that the Conference will give complete answers to all the problems you have in mind. It may help in that direction. On the other hand, your particular problems may not be ones to which your group wishes to give a lot of consideration.

On the positive side you may well expect to learn something about group processes in the discussion groups. You may gain more appreciation of democracy at work. You may expect to learn a great deal about successful procedures from other participants and you may sometimes be reassured to find that your own problems are not unique. You may expect the inspiration that comes from associating with other interested delegates representing several hundred leading organizations of America. You may be assisted in clarifying your thinking on some basic issues through the addresses you hear and the groups in which you participate. And finally, and far from the least important, you may derive the satisfaction that comes from making contributions which play their part in the general success of the Conference.

Knowing of our responsibilities, caring about our responsibilities, and, above all, exercising our responsibilities—these three form the triumvirate of American citizenship today. May we expect that both our general sessions and our group discussions will broaden our vision, sharpen our sensibilities, challenge our imagination, and through our own efforts and those of the organization we represent play a significant part in developing more and more *Responsible American Citizens.*

RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN CITIZENS

Their Job in Politics

THEIR JOB IN NATIONAL POLITICS

GEORGE D. AIKEN

United States Senator from Vermont

THE cross currents of our national life and of world affairs are such that there was never a more urgent need than now for American citizens to assume a responsible role in national politics.

Too often laymen take too lightly not only their responsibilities as citizens but also their job in politics.

Whether we admit it or not, the trend of events on the national political front shapes the course of our welfare.

We have come to associate government with politics and vice versa. I am not speaking of politics in the narrow sense but rather in the broad sense of government, involving the enactment and administration of laws.

It is a fact, nevertheless, that governmental policies are projected, tested, and weighed in the political arena. It is in the political arena that the spotlight is turned on the stand taken by parties and by candidates.

It is in the political arena that citizens endorse or reject the policies espoused by parties and candidates.

As our nation increases in population, there is the danger that control of government may become further and further removed from the people.

This danger takes on added significance when we realize that big government, by comparison with previous standards, is here to stay. Our government is one of the largest enterprises on earth.

The complexity of our domestic problems and our increased responsibility in international problems have given rise to greater centralization of government than we have heretofore experienced in this country. The problem now is to keep government from getting so big, so unwieldy, and so powerful that it will get out of hand.

The best way to prevent this from happening, or from letting it topple of its own weight, is to streamline it and operate it efficiently.

We must either mold government and shape it so that it will serve the people or the time will come when the people will be serving the government.

So long as we have government somebody will be running it. It is up to the citizens of the nation to decide whether they want to take more responsibility in politics and have a say in how things are run, or whether they want to give bureaucracy a free and unfettered hand. If the citizens make the latter choice, they can blame only themselves for what happens.

I do not mean to disparage or belittle those whom some choose to call bureaucrats, because I think nearly all federal servants are honest, hard-working citizens truly seeking to improve their government and their country.

Let us keep them that way. Let's not tempt them by giving them too free a hand or too much power. Let us make them even more responsible and more responsive to the will of the people.

In considering this question of good citizenship, we should bear in mind that there is a vast difference between being just an American citizen and in being a *responsible* citizen.

The responsibility that goes with citizenship in this country is what distinguishes democracy from totalitarianism. In the latter ideology, responsibility is usurped by the state and is not reserved to the citizen.

In the United States, we cherish the philosophy that the government is responsible to the citizen instead of the citizen being responsible to the government.

This philosophy is inherent in our Declaration of Independence which held that ". . . Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

At the time that these words were written, the rights of the citizen were little respected in the world. It was not popular or safe even to talk about the rights of the individual. To work for the founding of a government based upon the protection of such rights required the courage of deep conviction and fearless disregard for personal welfare.

Fortunately, our forefathers had the courage to found a nation that was conceived in the spirit of freedom and nurtured by the ideal of democracy, where the rights of the individual still reign supreme.

Lincoln, in his Gettysburg address, expressed the same philosophy when he said: ". . . we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The liberty and freedom which have been our proud heritage—and which have been kept alive by Jefferson, Lincoln, and the other towering figures of our history—are still the bulwark of our democracy.

This is an inheritance that we must preserve and perpetuate and never take for granted.

We must never get into the rut of accepting the privileges of being an American citizen without sharing the responsibility of that citizenship.

The fact that we have grown into a nation of great influence, with one of the highest standards of living the world has ever known, does not mean that the responsibility of the individual has diminished in any way.

Speakers at the Conference: Anna Lord Strauss, president, League of Women Voters of the United States; George David Aiken, United States Senator from Vermont; Hubert H. Humphrey, United States Senator from Minnesota; Robert Burton House, chancellor, University of North Carolina.

The individual is still the cornerstone of our way of life.

To be a good citizen enlarges and enhances the scope of the individual.

Being just a halfhearted citizen not only retards the development and growth of the individual but it also serves as a brake on the progress of the nation.

The problem of fulfilling one's responsibility in the field of national politics is admittedly a challenging one and one that is not easy. It does not mean just dropping a ballot in the box every two or four years and then shifting the entire responsibility to those who receive the highest number of votes.

It means almost daily study of the issues by each citizen so that conflicting viewpoints can be weighed and public opinion formed, which will bring about proper decisions.

In order for public opinion to be intelligently formed, the people must have access to information upon which an intelligent opinion can be formed. Government itself must be made to assume its share of the responsibility for seeing to it that the citizens are frankly confided in, and consulted with, in the operation of the government.

There have been too many cases when our own government has exceeded the bounds of security caution in withholding information from the people.

How can the citizens of this country arrive at proper conclusions, no matter how much they try, if they cannot get the basic facts of a situation—or if the facts are one-sided or biased?

The difficulty of obtaining basic information often arises in connection with foreign policy issues, but is by no means confined to this field.

Concealing expenditures, misinterpreting laws, using funds appropriated for other purposes for the spread of propaganda are other evils of government which grow progressively worse unless corrected by a generally aroused citizenry.

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An aroused public opinion is the most potent influence in our democracy. That opinion, when marshaled, is the majority voice of the American people.

An indifferent public permits the unscrupulous executive, political or pressure group to attain selfish objectives.

If democracy is to be strong and meet the challenge of other forms of government, it must have an alert, intelligent, and unselfish citizenry.

It is incumbent upon the citizens of a democracy to be well enough informed to see the proper relationship between the welfare of the individual and the welfare of the nation.

I am fully cognizant of the citizen's responsibility to his community and his state. It is entirely proper for him to fulfill that obligation. But that does not free him from his responsibility as a citizen of the United States.

Our federal tax laws, our federal courts are examples of our legal identity as citizens of the United States. Our obligations in the national political field, while not legally imposed, are equally binding if we discharge our duties as good citizens.

The reason the political decisions we make are so important is that these decisions influence and permeate our whole national life. We cannot segregate the political from the economic phases of democracy. A democracy cannot remain strong if the economic structure of the nation is weak.

Neither can the social problems of the nation be partitioned off from the economic and political problems. Each must mesh with the other in the gears of democracy.

We know from our experience in the depression years of the thirties what it means to have people denied the opportunity of being useful citizens because of lack of employment, training, health, or morale. It is incumbent upon us as good citizens not to permit a repetition of that sad experience.

In world history if we ferret out the root of political upheaval, it is trace-

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able in most cases to economic or social maladjustment.

So the scope of the citizen's responsibility is broad. The challenge for him to keep informed, and to do something about what he knows and believes, is ever-present. It is a sad spectacle to see a citizen, who might wield constructive political influence in the nation, sit back and wait for his fellows to do the job.

The first and foremost way to demonstrate that we are responsible citizens is to go to the polls and vote. We have never exercised anything like our voting potential in this country. In the last national election, the President of the United States was elected by only about one-fourth of the people who could have qualified as voters. By this failure to vote, nearly forty-five million Americans have disqualified themselves of any moral right to criticize the present administration of our government.

Discussion of the topics of the day with our neighbors is another earmark of good citizenship. I am thankful for the privilege of growing up in the atmosphere of the New England Town Meeting. That is a tradition that Americans everywhere can well afford to emulate.

Group action, through affiliation with some worthwhile organization, is almost a necessity in this day of bigness. The voice of the individual may be a voice crying in the wilderness unless it is backed by the force of numbers.

I should like to sound this warning note, however. Careless citizens and careless groups can be used for bad purposes.

The forces of evil do not dare to organize as such. They cannot afford to be open and above board. Their strategy is to bore from within, and thereby to use respectable fronts for less respectable purposes.

It is extremely important that good citizens and desirable groups be on guard against letting themselves be used to provide the cloak of respectability for schemers and plotters. If you cannot take an active interest in the organization to which you belong, you had better keep out of it.

I would also warn groups against the endorsement of resolutions without having accurate knowledge as to the content and real purpose of the petition. Sometimes Chambers of Commerce, and even state legislatures, endorse resolutions of which they do not know the full meaning.

In this day of organized groups, and a flourishing business in the lobbying field, it is difficult for a member of Congress to separate the wheat from the chaff. There are so many pressures and so many viewpoints.

No one can tell how many groups are formed for the purpose of giving lucrative jobs to enterprising and sometimes unscrupulous men. These men frequently organize and solicit funds on a commission basis, establish lucrative incomes for themselves, and make sure that the purpose for which the organization is ostensibly set up is never quite achieved. Very busy businessmen are

sometimes the most susceptible victims in this field of questionable group operations.

The problem of the legislator is to weigh the different viewpoints, in the light of the national welfare, and then decide how to vote. I may say that it is a soul-searching experience in deciding how to vote on vital and controversial issues. Of course, if the legislator is too often at variance with his constituents in his stand on these issues, his exit from the political scene is a very likely consequence.

One of the most important problems confronting the responsible citizen is to be able to draw the line between vested local, and perhaps personal, interests and the national welfare.

This problem is particularly noticeable in connection with matters involving money. There is a tendency for each group or each class of petitioner to want all it can get, apparently with little or no thought that somebody has to pay for it. The theory seems to be that everybody is getting, so let's insist on our turn at the grab bag—the grab bag in this case being the federal treasury.

This is a dangerous trend. We should realize that, in the long run, we get only what we pay for. If we, for very long, get more than we pay for, that means deficit financing and increased national debt. We cannot build a lasting nation on the sands of paternalism.

To help maintain a solvent and responsible national government is a cardinal requirement of good citizenship. In all that we do, in all that we strive for in our role as good citizens, let us not sacrifice liberty and freedom on the altar of expediency or selfishness. Let us remember that liberty and freedom are not only to be talked about but also to be lived.

The seeds of good government are always rooted in the fertile ground of responsible citizenship. We are not just citizens of a state or political subdivision; we are citizens of the United States.

National politics is the medium through which American citizens can work in building a stronger, happier, and better nation. It is through this medium that we can meet the challenge of assuring "one Nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

There is no other nation on earth where the individual has as many privileges and as much responsibility as has the American citizen. To realize and appreciate this is the first step toward becoming a responsible citizen. From this realization will come the inspiration and the impelling desire to keep America, as a nation, strong politically, economically, and morally.

That is our job in national politics.

THEIR JOB IN STATE POLITICS

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
United States Senator from Minnesota

LYCURGUS once said that "Citizens are the best walls of a free city." It is strange how true the words of this great Spartan lawmaker of the ninth century B.C. are today. Today we live in a world which has no physical barriers. It is a world which can be traversed in a matter of hours. National boundaries are no longer safe. National interest is no longer secure. In a world such as this, where physical weapons no longer have any meaning, the only dynamic, yet constant, force upon which a nation can rely is its citizenship.

Yet this thing which we call citizenship is capable of many qualities. Citizenship can be a prison, or it can be a portal. It can enslave man in his loyalty to a totalitarian state, or it can free man through a realization that government and loyalty to a democratic ideal can provide for him the opportunities for individual growth and the expression of individual personality.

The state is an invention of man. It has neither intellect nor conscience nor morals. Yet our world is characterized in the minds of many by a conflict of states one with another. Why this conflict? Is it sensible that man should allow his own invention, the state, to destroy him and his possessions in conflict? Is it sensible that man should allow a doctrine of citizenship to lead him and his civilization down the road to chaos and to the destruction of that civilization?

It must be, then, that the conflict the world faces is not a conflict between states. It must be then that this conflict has another interpretation. The interpretation I suggest is that the conflict is not one between states but rather is one between ideals and ideologies. The state, as an invention of man with no intellect, conscience, or morals, is an inanimate machine. As such, therefore, it relies upon fuel provided for it by the loyalties of citizenship to give it strength, purpose, and direction.

With this perspective, we can better understand the differences between the ideology of democracy and the ideology of totalitarianism. The democratic state is one which is mastered by man; a totalitarian state is one which is master of man. The struggle our world faces is a struggle between these ideologies.

The forces of totalitarianism which we face are not quiet. The very nature of their principles calls for agitation, activity, and fanatic dedication. Their philosophy is not an attractive one. Man does not willingly submit himself

to mastery by a machine of his own creation. Yet the bitter lesson we have learned is that those of us who believe in democracy cannot remain passive in the confidence that totalitarianism has no future because man desires freedom. Man desires freedom, but man also desires security. Self-government is not a luxury on which men may grow fat and indulgent. Rather it is an instrument by which men can, if they have the wisdom, safeguard their individual freedom and employ that freedom in the pursuit of happiness. It is true that democracy cannot be defeated in the theoretical struggle of ideologies, but democracy can be defeated by default. Democracy can lose if those of us who believe in it remain indifferent and neglect our personal responsibility for its security and growth. The strength of totalitarianism lies in the indifference of its people. Democratic self-government tries its people with a stronger challenge than any other system in the world. Scorning the brutal coercion of totalitarian states, it asks justice and brotherhood of its people; it asks that they cooperate well and voluntarily for their common welfare in order that each may benefit equitably according to his merits.

Democracy is an easy ideology to take for granted. We seldom consider its basic principles in a critical light, in order to formulate our reasons for upholding it. It is a tragic fact that American youth which went abroad in the war to save democracy was totally unprepared to spread its message of democracy. General Bradley, in a recent article, said that throughout Europe, wherever our armies were stationed, the people of Europe were bewildered by our American soldiers who appeared indifferent to the political and philosophical origins and nature of our democracy. Unhappy when driven into a corner intellectually, our soldiers were forced to fall back on American wage scales, on automobiles, on our refrigerators, and, eventually and triumphantly, on the American bathroom, for their defense. Here then is the danger signal. Here then is an indictment of the indifference which has led our nation to permit this vacuum to remain.

Our democracy is much like a tall stand of timber. We cannot cut from it more than we plant in it without imperilling its survival, and forests like gardens cannot be bought. They must be cultivated by toil and nourished by the sweat of those who would keep them. We quickly forget that if freedom is to flourish, our society must re-examine its principles of education and rededicate itself to the conviction that education is that strength for freedom of democracy. It must take strength from the understanding that an educated people is easy to govern, difficult to lead, impossible to enslave. Only the educated man is a free man.

In 1945 your distinguished organization, the National Education Association, issued a statement which said:

Citizenship implies the effective use at every level from childhood

through adulthood of the rights and responsibilities of democracy. It is based upon clear understanding and purposeful skilled action in attaining democratic goals. It is based on faith in the power of people to work together toward the solution of common problems. Democracy seeks to provide increasingly equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, national origin, or social and economic status.

Education as a major social institution is the medium through which citizenship can be translated into loyalty to democratic ideals. Education for democratic citizenship means the practice of democracy. Education for democratic citizenship in the school means democratic practices in the school. Education for democratic citizenship in the community means democratic practices in the community, in the homes, churches, businesses, industries, labor organizations, community agencies, patriotic and service groups. It means direct participation in social and civic affairs. It means the training of young citizens with service responsibility in running for office, voting, jury duty, and the study of our institutions.

Education for democratic citizenship means the development of knowledge and understanding for increased participation in local, state, national, and world affairs. If America and democracy are to come of age, it means that we must expand our concept of the school to include not merely the formal periods of classroom instruction but also the training of the whole man, the whole individual. It means that our schools must be directly tuned to the need for vocational guidance and aptitude. It means that our schools must relate themselves to the need for psychiatric assistance even on the school level. It means that our schools must indeed be laboratories for democracy.

A generation ago Americans had a philosophy of personal and public life which said, "Take care of number one." This idea was very simple. If everyone devoted himself to his own success, if everyone took care of number one, then obviously the sum total of the success of all numbers would be prosperity and happiness for all people. This would bring an end to poverty, not only in the United States but everywhere else in the world.

How wrong we were. We were wrong and that philosophy was doomed to failure because it ran counter to moral law in its glorification of selfishness; its failure was foretold by the teachings of the Bible. That philosophy is wrong because it ran counter to the democratic principles of human brotherhood, to the declaration that all men are created equal. It was wrong because it ran counter to the true nature of Americanism and American democracy.

Our country was the first to present to the modern world a coherent political faith based upon the dignity of the individual, the equality and fraternity of mankind. We were the first to pattern a structure of government and to form a society which denied selfishness as a pattern for behavior, and

which emphasized democracy and human solidarity. This ideology was more powerful than the arms of conquest. This ideology upset thrones in Europe and convulsed a continent. It is now convulsing another. This ideology put into the hearts and breasts of Colonial people, the underprivileged, and the subjected, a consuming desire for liberty, a desire which today is emphasized by such rebellions as those in Indo-China and Indonesia, and in the fact of India's freedom. We never moved a battalion or a regiment, in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, yet the idea of the Declaration of Independence produced the doctrine of the rights of man, the equality of man, and broke the back of oppression and the power of kings.

For a period we in the United States have forgotten the basic roots from which this democratic idea has come. We forgot that to take care of "number one" is a principle which runs counter to the principle of human brotherhood and of mutual obligation one to another, which is the basis of democracy.

We forgot and thus we failed. Proof of that failure was the frustrating depression followed by a terrible war.

Part of our neglect was translated into an indifference to political life. Why bother with veterans hospitals, government research laboratories, public administration, public works, or government-paid education?

Yet when depression and war came, the whole science of self-government, the whole process of government which had seemed so irrelevant and so inconsequential to us who thought we had found the golden way, became suddenly the center of our greatest concern. Many of our leading citizens who had never before given a thought to government except as a minor irritant, volunteered or were forced to give up their business to devote themselves entirely to government in order to pull us out of economic havoc and later in order to win a war.

Let us not repeat the errors of our generation. Instead of "Take care of number one," I propose this phrase: "Take care of all." Take care of human brotherhood; take care of democracy; take care of self-government.

By that I suggest that our young men and young women be trained to qualify to spend a part of their life in some form of public service. I suggest that the youth of our nation be educated so that they can be qualified to set aside a number of years voluntarily for service in legislative or executive branches in our local or national government, for service in our engineering, medical, administrative, social, educational, or foreign services of our government. I am proposing that out of the best and most productive years of each man's life he voluntarily carve a segment in which he puts his private career aside to serve a community and his country and thereby his fellow men and the cause of democracy and freedom. I am

proposing that throughout his life each citizen dedicate himself to active political participation. Aristotle once said that the truest definition of a complete citizen that can be given is probably this: that he shares in the judicial and executive part of the government.

We face a crisis. This crisis is not one which military forces alone can conquer, that military forces alone can protect us from. Nor is our crisis of brief duration. Our crisis calls not only for steadfastness and faith but for great skill in self-government. We must summon all of our talents for citizenship, for self-government, for public service.

I am not urging that everyone pursue public service in some form as a life career. Not at all. What I do urge is citizen participation in politics. Only in this way can democratic institutions continue to prosper and flourish.

I have stated above that citizenship can be a prison or a portal. Citizenship can confine a man within the narrow limits of the customs and traditions of his own community, or it can make him an active, productive, and responsible part of a political entity much larger than the community with which he has physical contact.

In the Middle Ages, the obligations of citizenship controlled a man's relationship to the city in which he lived. By collaborating with a man from a neighboring city he could be in violation of his citizenship obligations and thus be guilty of treason.

As modern society grew more complex, and as means of communication and transportation cut distances and eliminated frontiers, the concept of citizenship and responsibilities of citizenship has grown and developed. When the American colonies federated themselves and formed a United States, citizens of several states expanded their loyalties to include the new federation. A Virginian was no less a Virginian when he became an American.

Today our concept of citizenship is further expanded. It is further expanded because of our realization that democratic citizenship is a loyalty to an ideal and not just to a state. Democratic citizenship is a dedication to the democratic ideal, to the ideal of human rights, civil rights, freedom from insecurity for all people.

Out of every bitter experience of history, out of every tragedy, man learns

Mabel Studebaker, who, as president of the National Education Association, spoke at the closing session of the conference; Earle T. Hawkins, as chairman of the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association, served as conference chairman and explained the purpose and the plan of the conference to the delegates; Harold Benjamin, chairman of the National Education Association's National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, presided at the luncheon panel on Tuesday. Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States, who, as one of the hosts of the conference, spoke at the dinner session on Monday night; Watson B. Miller, commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice, was host at Saturday's session; Justin Miller, chairman of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship, spoke at the closing session of the conference.

in his sorrow. Out of the sacrifice of two world wars we again come back to the immortal idea of the oneness of man, of his essential unity. It was out of this conviction and out of the recognition of this eternal truth that man, with all of his limitations, his prejudices, and his inabilities, created the United Nations. The United States of America is dedicated to the United Nations. The world is moving closer to one, becoming a true United Nations. It seems likely that within the next few weeks the Senate will give force to the Atlantic Treaty which by implication throws our lot in with the fortunes of the nations of Europe. And while discussion of the Atlantic Treaty is dominating our press and air waves there is even now a most serious and specific discussion of European federation—of the political and economic federation of Western Europe.

Overshadowing and running through the discussions of European federation, alliances, and plans for internationalism, there is a rapidly increasing volume of discussion about something called world citizenship and world government. The idea of world citizenship is beginning to take form in the minds of men everywhere. The people of the world are coming to realize that they are one, that their interests are one, that our law must be one. The people of the world are coming to realize and must come to realize that if we want a society free of the agonies of war and preparation for war, free of devastation and the fear of tomorrow, then they must accept the principle that every American, every Russian, every Indonesian, every South African is in a real though limited sense a citizen of the world, and hence should be subject to a world law.

Democratic citizenship means a realization that democracy is not a fixed, a static, and an unchanging stereotype, but that it is a vital, dynamic, and constantly growing force. Democratic citizenship must mean concern with the community and, as our community has grown to encompass the world, so must the concept of democratic citizenship grow to encompass the world.

The idea of a world order and the United Nations is not new. It has its own immortality. Mankind from the very beginning has sought a society in which he can live in peace and security. The United Nations is a summarized expression of the desire of mankind to live in a world of law and order. American participation in the United Nations is proof of the fact that America is ready to accept its world obligations and that American citizens are ready to accept their responsibilities as world citizens, because world law is the only ultimate hope for the survival of our ideal, and because Americans understand that democracy is an objective as a world of free and equal men who will, in their freedom, create and secure a just and enduring society.

THEIR JOB IN LOCAL POLITICS

(A Digest of the Address)

ANNA LORD STRAUSS

President, League of Women Voters of the United States

GOOD local government is usually the result of many positive preventative measures rather than one spectacular "house-cleaning" campaign.

The slow but continuous building of good schools, good streets, adequate playgrounds, and a clean city hall is not something that just happens—it is the result of concern on the part of the people who live in that community. It is brought about by the process of turning that concern into *action.*

To many people the word "government" is a rather vague but overpowering concept. We who are concerned with building better citizenship must find ways of showing these people that government is involved in practically every move they make every day of their lives. We must help people to understand that government is only the body to whom they delegate the job of supplying services which they as individuals cannot provide for themselves. Government is necessary: It will always be with us. Making our local government the kind of government we want is in the hands of those of us who are citizens of each community.

First, we should *learn* what is going on. That is not nearly so difficult as it might sound. It may only mean some visits to the city council or the town meeting, trips to schools and school board meetings, a little study of tax rates and tax rules, an inquiry here and there about expenditures. Just that much interest on the part of even a few people will soon be noticed.

Second, we should get out and take part in the local elections for officers, bond issues, and in action on other civic questions.

Third, we should get some other people to go along with us in our quest for facts and our zeal for building better government in our community.

FIRST THUMBNAIL REPORT

ROBERT A. LUKE

Assistant Director, Division of Adult Education Services, National Education Association

DISTINGUISHED Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: I share your regret that Dr. Cunningham is unable to give the Thumbnail Report today. Those of you who have attended previous citizenship conferences know how she has distinguished herself in precisely and picturesquely reporting back the preceding group discussion sessions. As you know from your program, we can look forward to her return tomorrow.

In the group conferences today there was deep conviction, carrying over from the keynote speech this morning, that the problems before us are urgent and that we must bend ourselves to our tasks without delay.

In doing this I think we came to feel that the participation of all of us was significant and meaningful and that important contributions could be made only in terms of specific problem solving.

A significant aspect of the group sessions was that the participants first looked for common problems that cut across the whole area of trying to build effective citizenship in our communities. We looked not at the problems that affect us, or the problems that affect "my" organization, but at the problems that confront every one of us regardless of our status in life, our position, the age we have attained, the experience we have brought to the conference, or any other personal consideration.

After we identified the common problems we began to explore what we might do about them. We tried to understand these problems, to diagnose them, to ask how can these problems exist. Then, with that kind of understanding, we began to reach some conclusions.

Many of the groups decided that politics, as a term, needs to be brushed up a bit. It now has some unpleasant connotations and there is a responsibility upon all of us to bring back the real and the true significance of the term. This must be done if we are going to make politics effective, encourage citizen participation in politics, and give the profession status and importance in our communities.

I think most of us decided that all of us are in politics whenever we join with others in trying to do a job that has civic or community goals. We decided that politics is not a job for others; it is a job for all of us.

In all of our groups we were deeply concerned about the problems of citizen apathy. Why is it, we asked, that barely half of our adult population

manages to get around to the voting booths at election time? One reason given was poor election laws: election laws which, in some cases, actually discriminate against people being able to vote. Other reasons given were the lack of information about the mechanics of voting and the fears that exist that politics, graft, and corruption are inseparable. Finally, we decided that apathetic citizenship is a result of the lack of clear definition of what it means to participate in politics. Those of our groups which discussed this topic decided that people in our communities would participate if they had a clear understanding of their responsibilities and the opportunities open to them and access to information as to how they can participate.

We gave a number of means of overcoming apathy—in the schools, by exercising our own leadership, and through our organizations. Let us first look at our discussion as it related to schools. We want to see our schools give more emphasis to local problems and local government. We decided that we need community inservice training for our teachers so they may bring community realism into the classroom. We decided that the student government of schools and colleges provides good training ground for the future politicians—politicians in the sense of the definition we have given the term in this conference. Finally, we believe that we, as adults, have an important contribution to make in backing up our school officials in their efforts to deal with realistic, down-to-earth, concrete local problems. The schools that want to make the classroom a living laboratory for effective participation in democracy can do so only if we uphold them.

Turning from the responsibilities of school to our own responsibilities we said that we must be four-year-around politicians. We said that elections are not all that is of importance and that we must take the responsibility of continuously informing ourselves.

We felt that as citizens we should take the initiative in trying to get the kind of action which will raise the salaries and better define the responsibilities of public officials, particularly on the local, county, and state levels. Some felt (but not all) that we have a responsibility—to belong to political parties, to be actively identified with them, and to make our influence count within the organized structure of American politics.

As representatives of organizations we discussed the need for some kind of community organization whereby all of us could, in the community, do what we are doing here in this conference. We expressed the need to find ways whereby we could come together irrespective of organizational affiliations and irrespective of any partisan political objectives we might have, in an endeavor to work out programs whereby we can actually make it possible for people to gain the information, to find the understanding, to experience the enthusiasm required to bring intelligent participation

into local governments. (One member of a group described this kind of civic activity as a result of participation in the Third National Conference.)

The over-all impression that came to me from reading the reports of the group meetings is that we feel that our basic responsibility is overcoming citizen apathy toward political participation. But overcoming apathy, we decided, means more than substituting enlightened self-interest for apathy; more than acquiring information; more than merely being generous with our automobiles and gasoline in carrying people to the polls.

What it does seem to mean, if I interpret these reports correctly, is understanding what is taking place in formal education and enlisting community support for community-centered school programs. It means working with school officials and backing them up when they need it.

It means, too, that effective citizenship is not something only for others. It may mean our helping in placing people's names on ballots. It may mean getting our own name on the ballot. It may mean counting votes at election time. It may mean working within the framework of community organizations and the constituencies we represent in trying to give community focus to issues and to goals, rather than only to parties and personalities.

On closing this report I wish to make a brief acknowledgment and to point out an opportunity.

The acknowledgment, of course, is to express my appreciation to Dr. Ruth Cunningham, to Dr. Mildred Fenner, to the Reports Chairmen from every one of the groups, and to the secretarial help made available by the headquarters staff—all of those people did the many routine and hard jobs that had to be done before this report was presented.

The opportunity is to remember that we still have two more group discussions ahead. The opportunity—and the responsibility—is to not stay where we are, but to continue from where we are.

Today we began to limber up to where we can begin this job of problem solving. We made a threefold approach to our job. Briefly, the pattern that we seemed to have worked out was, first, to identify common problems; second, to diagnose the problems in terms of why they exist; third, to work out, concretely, ways in which we, as individual citizens and as representatives of organizations, can do something about them back home.

If we place our level of aspiration high, if we use the printed materials that have been made available to us, the information given in the general sessions, and draw on our own background and experiences between each one of the group sessions in preparing for the next, we can come even more realistically to grips with problems, and report decisions that will mark the important findings of the Fourth National Citizenship Conference.

RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN CITIZENS

Their Job in the World Today

TODAY'S CHALLENGING OPPORTUNITY

TOM C. CLARK

Attorney General of the United States

IT IS good to be here with you tonight to meet again those with whom I have had the pleasure of working during the first three National Conferences on Citizenship, and to meet new participants. It is gratifying, too, to note the growth of the Conference and the increased interest in its activities.

The tremendous challenge of this gathering is not surprising to those of us who have been privileged to take part in its earlier meetings. I feel that you who are attending for the first time are enthralled as you become familiar with its vast possibilities. We who have been active in the work know the good that can grow out of this inspiring assembly of patriotic citizens.

You have at heart the future well-being of our own country, and the betterment of the world, or you would not be giving of your time and thought to this undertaking.

This National Conference on Citizenship is a milestone in our democratic life. Here, people with diverse interests and from various localities come together, representative of the great galaxy of American institutions. You come to counsel on how best to translate the American heritage into a dynamic reality for the common good, and to bring home to all our people what United States citizenship really means.

As we meet, all of us recognize and accept honest disagreement; that alone is one of democracy's strong cornerstones. We do not fear that honest differences of opinion mean national disunity. On the contrary, we well know that freedom to express such disagreement is basic to a firm and healthy democracy.

Did you ever watch a farmer make a heavy and strong rope? First, he twists fine fibers of whatever material he has into twine. Then with a special tool he twists several strands of this fine cord together. He doesn't twist them in the same direction, but in opposite directions so that when they double back on each other they spring into a tightly wound rope. If he twisted all the strands in the same direction, the rope would unravel the moment it was cut.

Democracy, too, is the product of many fibers of opposing strands. Its exponents pull in dozens of different directions at once, but when the strands are ultimately woven together, they make a strong rope of national unity such as this Conference is endeavoring to do.

In the words of an old proverb: "The goodness of the string is from the fine strands of the fiber." A democracy is just as enduring as the people who make it up—no more, no less.

A personal responsibility, therefore, rests upon each of us to see that our democracy has no vulnerable spots. Our duty is to give it vigor and meaning—to keep it vibrant and alive to expanding needs, both at home and abroad.

Ours is the responsibility to make democracy work every day of the 365 days in the year. The duties are not vague. We don't have to go on an exploring expedition to discover them. They are everyday tasks, right before us, in our homes and in our communities—matters not only affecting the individual generally, but also affecting the welfare of our immediate neighbors. As democracy is made to work in the home and in the community, its total good effect, multiplied, will spread to national and world horizons.

As we face the future we must be a generation of Americans awake to our traditions, conscious of our local needs, aware of our world obligations and ever striving to find a way to live in peace with all humanity.

We have a great heritage and must keep it girded with all of our spiritual, educational, and economic strength. When this mission is accomplished, vicious ideologies that seek to undermine our democratic form of government will vanish like mist before the sun.

The ideals of democracy never die. They are as old as time itself and everlasting. Often, however, the workings of democracy are impeded through the neglect and abuse of its principles. People fail democracy. Democracy never fails the people.

As individuals, we are the product of our inheritance, our parental training, our religion, our education, and other associations—molded by the currents of our time.

In like fashion, our nation is what it is today as a result of similar influences—the product of its inheritance and the wisdom of its founders. It has been shaped by the lasting contribution of an unbroken line of great statesmen, those "doers of great deeds and thinkers of great thoughts." Also, by the countless millions of ordinary people—men and women unknown and unsung, who form the solid foundation of every good society.

Our forefathers built wisely. Their wisdom lighted the way to the development of our present leadership for the good of humanity.

Outlining the aspirations of freedom-loving people, the Declaration of Independence put the revolt against tyranny on the highest possible plane. Today it stands as a beacon for darkened lands.

As we study the nations of the past, we find that each bore the torch

of civilization along some peculiar path of its own and contributed to the world's culture and learning. Each had its ideal of power and its separate notion of progress. But each was directed by a central authority which was sustained mostly by armed force. Depending for security only on military might, each was ultimately overthrown by a stronger military power.

The American way of life has its roots of liberty and opportunity in something deep and permanent—not in just for power. The divine rights of man were indelibly written into our sacred documents. They became not merely a concept of government, but the bedrock upon which our government was established. These rights are as inseparable from our democracy as is the heart of man from his body.

Yes, into the Constitution, the basic law of our land, went a philosophy of government drawn from ancient and modern sources—the best thinking and experience of man since he began to make history.

The peace of America was not easily attained. It was forged in the furnace of hardship, danger, and death.

Always our nation has demonstrated its willingness to expend to the utmost material and human resources that peace may reign and men may be free. We poured forth blood and treasure in two world wars for this noble objective, and asked for nothing material for ourselves in return.

Whenever liberty-loving human beings anywhere in the world suffer under a political system founded on a lack of freedom, humanity-conscious America feels the impulse to respond to their need.

Our responsibility, our destiny, is crystal clear. We must ever champion the cause of liberty in the world. Today, our position calls for us to serve as a protector to peoples who are weak, and who alone cannot defend their freedoms.

The brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God and the infinite worth and dignity of the individual soul make us all members of the same family.

During World War II, the destruction of half of a race of people because of greed and hate left a charge on the conscience of America that brute force shall never reign again! America struck against Nazi Germany, cruelly treating minorities in its black holes of torture. Likewise, today, we cannot overlook human injustice imposed in dark corners of the earth. The fight for human rights is not limited to local and national levels, but is on the international plane.

For example, in spite of solemn guarantee of human rights in a treaty of peace with Hungary, fundamental rights and freedoms have been flagrantly violated by the communist government of Hungary in a deliberate pattern of suppression. Freedom of political opinion has been extinguished

through the destruction of opposition political parties and the establishment of an insidious network of police. Freedom of expression has been suppressed by restrictive press decrees, control of printing establishments and newsprint, and the exclusion or expulsion of foreign correspondents. Freedom of public meeting on political matters has been denied to all except communist groups and their collaborators. And freedom of religious worship has been drastically and barbarously limited.

There could be no clearer evidence of the need for international guarantees of human rights, clearly and explicitly written.

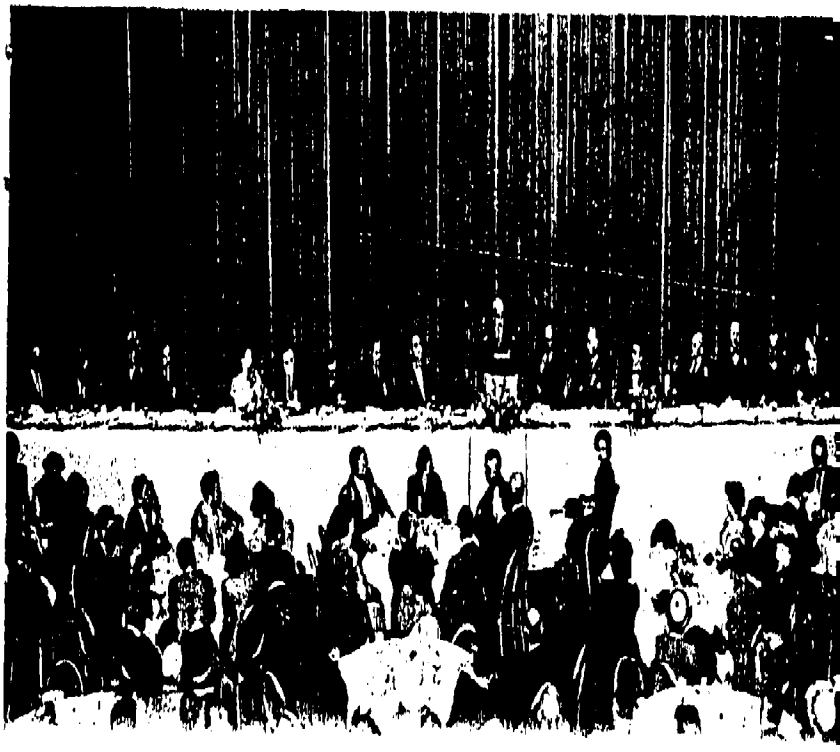
What we need is a World Bill of Rights, comparable to our precious Bill of Rights. This is not a brand new idea. The need for a World Bill of Rights was recommended by Thomas Jefferson in 1787, when he said:

> "A Bill of Rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular; and what no just government should refuse. . . ."

The philosophy of Thomas Jefferson was right then! It is needed now. Such a Bill would enable man to live and grow under God, and provide an indestructible bulwark for the peace and happiness of peoples everywhere.

A ray of hope is penetrating the ominous clouds that envelop some parts of the earth. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights is again wrestling right here in New York City with the task of drafting an international Covenant on Human Rights. With Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as chairman, the representatives of eighteen nations are meeting

Dinner Session, Monday, May 16: Presiding, George Maurice Morris, past-president, American Bar Association.



at this very hour on this vital subject. We all earnestly hope and pray for the success of this covenant on individual liberty.

In our search for peace, we want nothing of any people anywhere except their goodwill.

I feel sure that the vast majority of the people in all countries share our own hatred of war. I wish that all the peoples of the world had television. Then they could see that here in the United States we have a convincing example of how those of every race and creed can live and work together in harmony.

We come from all the countries of the world—originating from over 120 nationalities—fused into one nation by our common faith in the principles by which this country was founded. The great truth that people so united can live together has been thoroughly tested in the laboratory of America.

Here all the 120 nationalities live side by side and in peace. Millions of words, volume after volume, could be written to substantiate this. But to see how democracy functions, all one needs is to go to a baseball game in Brooklyn.

If all these groups can live together in harmony in one country, why can't all nations live together in harmony all over the world? And there is where education must play its determining part in world affairs.

I believe the time is nearing, if it has not already arrived, when there should be established a world university to which would come outstanding students of all the countries, to be educated in an atmosphere of truth and freedom.

I often surmise what would be the effect on future generations if enlightened men and women, upon returning home from such a university, would assume active public roles. Who knows what untold good for the world would result?

In speaking of our charters of liberty, President Truman gave us inspiring words with which to rededicate ourselves to TODAY'S CHALLENGING OPPORTUNITY, when he said:

> ". . . with faith in our hearts, we shall make our land a happier home for our people, a symbol of hope for all men, and a rock of security in a troubled world."

With God's help we shall achieve this noble goal.

OUR JOB IN THE WORLD TODAY

ROBERT BURTON HOUSE
Chancellor, University of North Carolina

MR. TOASTMASTER, Attorney General, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am delighted to be here. I was embarrassed by my friend Carl Hyatt when he requested me to come up and talk on such a large topic, and I protested that I did not know enough about the world to talk to an intelligent audience—or an unintelligent one—about the world. "Well," he said, "Bob"—(we are college mates)—"if we had wanted somebody to speak about the solution of the problems of the world, we would have brought Frank Graham. We want you to go up there to illustrate the difficulties and the size of the situation."

I should like to participate in the conference as a whole. The job of the citizen in his community, the job of the citizen in politics, the job of the citizen in the world today—these almost solve the problem that I deal with, because the things that make a person are the things that make a community or a state or nation or world. . . .

I believe that not all communication is in terms of discourse. We learn in many ways. I have a manuscript which I have turned in to show that I have done the proper intellectual work for this address. Now, I, too, want to make a talk and I want to present my "notes" to you in rough form. They will be a part of my speech. (Dr. House, amid laughter and applause, played three songs on the harmonica.)

Now, I am an amateur artist and a school teacher. I want to make an artistic illustration on a pedagogical point. I love music, but I had to study it and I would hate to tell you how many thousands of hours I have spent practicing on that harmonica. I believe, in all sincerity, that whether we are talking about an easy, humble sort of thing like the enjoyment of a little folk music on a simple instrument, or whether we are talking about our homes, our schools, our churches, our culture, our citizenship as a whole, or of the entire world as we try to extend our genuine neighborhood in a world which is now arbitrarily a small community, we would do well to bear in mind that the only extension of neighborhood is through the genuine positiveness of love, as it nerves our minds to study; of thought, as it illuminates our minds; and of action, as it integrates our love and thought.

I believe with all of my soul that where we get into trouble is by overestimating our powers in this sort of spiritual, intellectual, moral, and

political growth. And the Nemesis of it is that we fall into hate, confusion, frustration, so many times.

It is so easy in the delightful atmosphere of this conference—we are all more or less of one mind—to go through the beautiful exhibit of literature and other teaching devices. It is like an ordered mind with a subject-matter laid out, beautifully expressed and easily understood.

That is not the problem of the average American citizen in the world today. The problem of the average citizen in the world today is back in his own self, which is disintegrating by disease, by ignorance, by hate. It is a far more explosive problem than the atomic bomb. It lies in the quality of the culture and the conversation in his home with his wife and children and with his friends. There is the area in which fundamental attitudes are created, developed, and expanded.

It is in such things as these that we begin our work as average citizens trying to increase our neighborhood to include the world. It might help under the idea of responsibility and task, to ask what are we mainly responsible to, in America? What is the task that grows out of that responsibility?

I would unhesitatingly say that we should feel and practice and propagate the sentiment that we are responsible to God. That, of course, has been said, but I mean a sentiment that inspires our hearts should be followed through with our minds. We are not studying religion enough, and so much of the indifference to religion comes out of an ignorance of the Jewish, the Catholic, the Protestant tradition out of which America came, out of which the Western World came—the ideals, the sentiments, the purposes, that are the salvation of the world today.

I am not speaking in terms even of the great religious families. I am not speaking in terms of any denomination whatsoever. I am trying to say that we should grasp what Alfred North Whitehead brings to us (it is hard to read but tremendously important to understand)—that God is that unity by which we understand each other as individuals, by which we, as communities, can be tied together, the only means by which our spirits may expand and enrich and deepen to embrace the problems of the sentiment even of a world neighborhood.

And then one of our greatest historians, Arnold J. Toynbee, puts the problem this way: Of course we recognize that economic and political order is the first necessity, as we look out on the world today. But that sort of order waits on a governmental order, so that we may, indeed, have an atmosphere and a means by which we may work together. But world government waits on the conquering of those selfish attitudes, those explosive attitudes, which drive people apart in their purposes and then

lling them together in wars—two of which our own generation has had to weather.

He said it all waits on that universal church, not in any denominational sense whatsoever, but that spirit by which men, women, and children may be schooled exactly in love, in thought, action, love of God, with all of our minds, souls, and strength, the love of our neighbor even as we decently love ourselves.

Yet, though that is the tradition of America, though that is the form of America, though there is no fundamental difference of opinion with that idea, we give lip service to that sort of thing in America. There ought not to be sixty-five million Americans with no affiliation with any religious organization whatsoever. And it is well known that most of us, as laymen, within our own churches are absentee and lazy members.

I firmly believe that the bedrock must be laid before we can rear any structure of citizenship that can possibly reach to world proportions.

My second point is that I think it should be emphasized that we are responsible under God for America. Of course, we are responsible as citizens to our own country. I have in my mind and heart no place for the traitor, however he may be called, whose allegiance is elsewhere. But we are not considering that, tonight.

The positive thing in responsibility is to love America, to study and know America; know her history and traditions, know her structure, know her government, and know America in her relations with the world—(that is no easy task)—and then, politically, as has been mentioned, to follow through on that knowledge. We have an educational task of no mean proportions. I endorse everything that Mr. Luke said about our schools. I endorse everything that could be said about the importance of our schools, our colleges, our universities. That is my work. That is where my life is dedicated.

I noticed in this morning's paper that we have nine million citizens who are either illiterate or so rudimentary in their ability to read, to write, to speak, that they cannot handle even the beautifully simple organization of material which we have exhibited in this conference. But I am not concerned much with absolute illiteracy in America. That is not our chief danger. Our danger is functional illiteracy. I mean by that, men and women who have been schooled, who do know how to read, to write, to speak, and who do not read anything other than the headlines; who write not at all except "Yours of the last date received," and so on; and whose speech betrays them as being under an emotional tension and an intellectual starvation that is disastrous.

We must get fundamentally back. I have heard in so many conversa-

tions, programs and plans of actions suggested for parts of the earth about which the speakers could neither call the names nor give the history, or anything concrete about them whatsoever.

But I would go deeper: There are millions of our citizens who consider the radio, as wonderful an instrument as it is, a substitute for reading; who consider the movies a substitute for reading books. While they are wonderful, they are not in any sense of the word devices for feeding the mind and extending our power in time and space in a way to compare with a book. We have to feed our minds more. I would put it this way: If we had more passion for history, we would indulge in less hysteria!

I will say, also, that, as wonderful as the radio or the movies or the newspapers may be, each and all of them, we need some critical apperception of these devices. The newspapers by nature are controversial and excitable. That is all right; we will never stop that. But the citizen reading the newspaper should have some grounding in history, in social science, that would give him a basis of criticism.

Have you ever taken even one of the great papers which is giving an account of something which you yourself know exactly? And have you not noted how many inaccuracies there are where you yourself really know the facts? That is a significant thing.

And then the unctuous voice of the radio commentator. His facts may be sound; I do not know. But his interpretations are frequently diabolical! And there is no protection from that except a point of critical apperception in the mind of the hearer—and that is our job.

Then, not to belabor ourselves too much, I want to make this point: I am absolutely certain that we Americans know how to work and know how to fight. We have proved that twice in one generation, and, under God, we can prove it again. But I am not sure that we know how to play. When we use the word "play" in America, it has a connotation of triviality and dissipation.

And that is the effect of so much of our play time. Read the headlines after a holiday and you will know that nine-tenths of the tragedies in America occur when people are at leisure looking for a good time and not knowing where to find it.

I firmly believe that more artistic, more musical, more literary, more philosophical depth and enjoyment of culture is a sort of food that our bored and tense and scared minds need—and need desperately. I think the mood of innocent enjoyment, I think the ability to conduct a civilized conversation is a thing of the past. I am despairing of hearing many more conversations. I hear a lot of noise. Get a dozen Americans around a dinner table and you will have six conversations going on at the same

time. We seem to be incapable of sustained thought together.

And if we cannot do it for fun, how can we do it for work on behalf of the whole world? I could go deeply into this, but I believe I have indicated what I mean.

Just one final point: I believe that if we had more reverence for representative government, if we knew the distinction between "representative government" and "direct democracy" in our thinking, we would do more good at the level of world affairs. People in one nation do not very successfully speak to people in another nation in direct terms. Nations speak to nations. And we have to speak through our representatives. I believe that we should inculcate in ourselves, in our children, in our students, more reverence.

We should have reverence, in the first place, for our elected representatives. Each one of us votes for a Congressman, for two Senators, directly for the President. There are appointive officers; there are policies that the Congress, the President, the Judiciary Department have direct authority over. Sometimes we bypass this in our thinking and expect by group action, and particularly by pressure groups, to run Congress or the President that way.

I make bold to say that I want a representative who will play the man, whether he takes my opinion or not. I would much prefer to have a Congressman or a Senator who will use his best judgment when he has really studied what is before him, whether he agrees with me or not, than to be successful at any time in a pressure group that would put over what I think to be a good thing.

I do not have his point of view. Now, you may say that we would have more respect for our Representatives, our Senators, if they were more worthy of respect. I grant that. But what we forget is the other half of that idea. If we had more respect for them they would ultimately become more worthy of respect.

We are, I think, an irreverent sort of people in America. We pretend too facilely to cynical knowledge of the make-up of our responsible leaders. We do not possess that knowledge any more than we possess the constructive knowledge. My hat is off to the politician, to the man who takes enough interest in our country to run for office and get elected.

I want to get the best. I rejoice that North Carolina, having had a chance, sent her best to the United States Senate. I am not trying to praise an individual. I am rejoicing in a social and political phenomenon; it may mean something.

I believe that whether other countries of the world are as truly representative as we are, or not, they must speak through their representatives.

I believe that I am not responsible for the world. I would rather put it that I am "responsive" to the world. This thing of world peace, world order, world government, is a mutual affair. When we say that we are responsible for the world, that way lies madness!

Germany felt very responsible for the world. Before World War II a Dane remarked that the Germans were good neighbors until they began to think about who was going to rule the world—and then they promptly went crazy.

I do not want Americans to begin to go crazy about their responsibility for the world. I would rather for them to be diligent and intelligent and religious in their responsiveness to all men, anywhere, who, themselves, have a decent self-respect, who work through their homes and communities, their states and their nations, to the level where they may join hands with us. I believe that sort of thing is genuine.

I come back to my fundamental thesis, in closing. I believe that only by genuine love, thought, action, in the self, in society, and under God, do we extend our neighborhood in this world at all. And that when we fool ourselves by over-reaching ourselves in our pride and haste—because we are an impatient people—we are asking for what we get: hate, confusion, frustration.

We recognize that political information is important, but we deplore the lack of reliable information about people and affairs abroad that is available on a level that can be understood by average American citizens. We therefore recommend that:

a. A greater emphasis be placed upon personal correspondence between American citizens and the citizens of foreign nations.

b. Increased attention be given to exchange of personnel in schools and colleges, social welfare work, and industry.

c. Greater use be made of the information services provided by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

—Discussion Group 14

ENRICHING AMERICA

WATSON B. MILLER

Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service
United States Department of Justice

OUR beloved country is a composition of the world's peoples, and in this lies her almost mystical strength. We, her children, are tied together, not by any philosophy of blood or common ethnic traits, but by an idea—the idea of individual freedom, of liberty under law, of justice before which all men stand equal.

It is this idea of individual freedom—so aptly portrayed by the magnificent Statue of Liberty here in New York harbor—that, like an unquenchable thirst, drives the peoples of the earth to seek admittance at our doors. You and I know their longing, we know how easily the pathway to their heart's desire can be barred by false moves made under the guidance of those who seek only their own material gain.

Our job is not only to prevent this sort of thing, but, within the confines of the law, to assist those who qualify for admission to find their proper niche and become contributing members of our citizenry.

We are justly proud of the contributions that have been made to our culture and economy by those who through the years have joined us from foreign lands. They, like our own ancestors, came seeking bright new horizons of opportunity or a haven from tyranny and persecution, and stayed to enrich with their own, the blood stream of this spiritual reality that is America.

On October 30 of last year, I was in the Attorney General's party which flew up to New York to greet the first boat load of displaced persons arriving in this country. In presenting the President's greetings to them, General Clark called them "The Pilgrims of 1948."

And that is what they and the others who are following them are. To quote our great President, Harry S. Truman, "We have thrived on the energy and diversity of many peoples. It is a source of our strength that we number among our people all religions, faiths, and national origins."

The "Pilgrims of 1948," as were the Pilgrims of the 1600's, are Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, and come from all walks of life—farmers, domestics, doctors. They, like the rest of us, will get out of their life here, that which they put into it. They are taking on the great responsibility of proving to the world that America's confidence in them was not misplaced. They can—and I am certain will—contribute much to America.

We are, it is true, the strongest, wealthiest, most powerful people in the world. But to combine wisdom with power—to stay level-headed, to keep our perspective, and yet to move steadily forward in strengthening our democratic processes—that is the challenge and the acid test of good American citizenship.

It is not without purpose that our children give daily in school the "Pledge of Allegiance" to these United States of America.

On Armistice Day all over our country, great machines stop, cities pause in their mad rush, school children cease their work, the very countryside seems to hush, as for two minutes the whole nation lifts its heart to God in silent prayer—prayer of consecration for its noble dead, of thanksgiving for each year of peace.

That is right! It is good!

But I am looking forward to the day when by Congressional action a time will be designated during "I Am an American Day" for the whole nation to pause—while each American, whether at an observance or elsewhere, voluntarily in the presence of God and each other, renews his allegiance, so that all the world may know that a free people who may disagree and express their differences are, at the same time, loyal to the country that preserves for them their liberties.

America is strong because many races and religions, many voices and many features, have been blended into her democracy. We are proud that our ideal works because it is grounded in human tolerance and friendliness and faith. We have learned that only by a rational analysis of the things for which we are willing to live and die and by protecting the rights of the individual, which are the very heart of our democracy, may we realize our common purpose as a nation—our joint brotherhood, our joint dedication, under God, to the freedom of men.

Today let us hope that we here assembled will strengthen yet more this bastion of freedom, that we will through our joint efforts make possible in the days to come a continuing enrichment of America's blood stream—a continued growth of her spiritual and moral fibers.

Provincialism takes in geographic, racial, cultural, intellectual, economic, religious areas of life.

—Discusson Group 13

WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT THE COMMUNIST THREAT IN ASIA?

(Introduction to the 560th Broadcast of AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING, May 17, 1949)

Moderator George V. Denny, Jr., speaking:

Good evening, neighbors. We are happy to be presenting tonight's program in cooperation with the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship sponsored jointly by the Department of Justice and the National Education Association which is meeting here in New York this week. We are happy to welcome so many delegates to this Conference here in our audience tonight.

Participants in the Town Meeting Program, May 17: Harold Isaacs, foreign correspondent of Newsweek; *H. R. Knickerbocker, newspaperman and foreign correspondent for International News Service; George V. Denny, Jr., president, The Town Hall, Inc.; John M. Vorys, United States Congressman from Ohio; J. J. Singh, native of India and president of the India League of America.*

Summaries of the Discussion:

CONGRESSMAN VORYS: We must help the people of Asia overcome communism and imperialism with the third way—the American way of the open door of independence and interdependence, mutual aid, and respect.

Communism in Asia is world communism, spreading by lies, terror, force, and violence—a threat to our own security. It must be stopped by force—economic, moral, military force. We must help stop it by aiding those who are struggling against it, for their cause is our cause.

MR. ISAACS: There is no military solution to this problem any more than there is to the broader world problems that assail us. If we are driven to the point of military struggle, then we have been defeated, whatever the outcome. We have to use the time that remains to learn how to develop a bold and revolutionary spirit in world affairs, to help put an end to the national barriers that are strangling Europe on the one hand, and to help the peoples of Asia shape a new kind of life for themselves on the other. This is the only way to buck communist totalitarianism.

MR. KNICKERBOCKER: This is the one thing that I'd like to have remembered, and our survival depends upon our realizing it: that the communists put bullets first, ballots next. They use bullets on everyone who would use ballots against them. Then they give the survivors the ballots.

Let's give the free peoples of Asia arms, leadership, moral support, and economic backing to defend themselves now against communist imperialism. Save China, and Asia will be saved. It's not too late to save China. It is not too late to prevent World War III.

MR. SINGH: I come from a country where a great man, a great teacher, lived until about 15 months ago. I am referring to Mahatma Gandhi. Among other things, Gandhi taught us to respect the means to the end. He told us never to give up principles just to achieve an end, because then the end itself is likely to be destroyed.

Let us by all means fight this accursed communist totalitarianism, but let us not adopt its unclean methods. Let us stand by the true principles of democracy and wage a fight with a full and devout belief that truth will succeed in the end.

Single copies of the full broadcast can be ordered at 10c each from *Town Hall*, Inc., Town Hall, Box 56, New York 46, N. Y.

SECOND THUMBNAIL REPORT

RUTH CUNNINGHAM

Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship: This is the second report from you to you, highlighting the accounts of our thinking together during our meetings this morning.

On one thing we are all agreed: That this business of developing world citizenship is not a matter of "Wouldn't it be nice if we did?" It is a matter of "We must!"

Developing world citizenship is not an easy matter. We all know that there are problems, of course. The important thing is that we do not let these problems get us down, but, rather, that we identify them and list them, analyze them and face them squarely, so we can see our way clear to constructive action.

These are some of the problems we have identified in our small groups: Petty and trivial as it may sound, "name-calling" is one of our big problems. Honest, democratic, social action sometimes is interpreted by "respectable people" as "communistic."

Fear is another one of our troubles. Fear leads us to do foolish things, sometimes. Sometimes we are afraid of people. Keeping people out—out of our organizations, out of our neighborhoods, out of our country—is not going to solve the problem. The American tradition is to welcome the friendless and oppressed. Let us practice it through establishing legislation to reflect this great American tradition.

Confusion of thought is another one of our barriers. One group tells us that Americans should realize that some of the rest of the world resists us, not because of our democratic ideals, but because our economic practices are not always in line with our democratic idealism.

The fear of minority groups that they will be deprived of economic necessities because they are "different" must be removed from act as well as deed and word.

Let us not get the idea that we cannot be loyal to community and country while being citizens of the world. These various loyalties should reinforce each other. And being "world-minded" does not mean that everyone needs to think alike and believe the same things. We do not expect that in our home towns; why should we expect it in our world communities?

Let us be informed. The implementation services of the United Nations can be of great help. One group suggests: Let us break down our problem

of world responsibility into small pieces which people can understand; also, let us start early in life so the children grow up understanding world problems. Another group reports that the State Department prepares monthly written and radio interpretations of State Department policy in terms we can all understand.

Identification and analyses are important, of course, but they are not enough. We must be prepared to move into constructive action. These are some of the suggestions that have come from our groups: knowing people helps. Some people seem to think that they are too busy taking care of themselves to help anybody else. Let us help them to realize that they are not only leading narrow lives for themselves but they are helping to make a narrow world. Everybody needs us and we need everybody.

Let us write letters. We may never know how important exchange correspondence between United States citizens and other countries can be. Let us exchange personnel with other countries—students, teachers, welfare workers, people in business and industry.

One way to become acquainted, according to one group, is to invite people from other countries, particularly from the United Nations, to spend a weekend in the community as guests in our homes. We get to know them and they get to know us.

We recommend, says another group, that business and general organizations admit to membership and encourage full participation in all activities on the basis of individual abilities regardless of race, nationality, or religion.

As we learn to know people they learn to know us. We become ambassadors-at-large of the United States of America. Let us make sure that we and our representatives abroad conduct ourselves so as to reflect credit on our country. Knowing people helps, but working with them toward mutual goals may be even more important.

One group suggests that citizens of the United States can increase their information and effectiveness in world affairs by affiliating themselves with organized groups of like-minded interests in other parts of the country and in other parts of the world. We should seek common interests around which we can organize activities in which members of diverse national and cultural groups in this country can participate.

Some groups suggest drives, such as the Red Cross and cancer drives.

Of course, one action front is education. We in education are going to have to lift our eyes from the narrow pages of a book-bound curriculum and help our students to see, think, and feel as students of the world. But education through schools is not enough. Education is everybody's business—in lodges, unions, organizations, service groups, and clubs of all kinds.

And let us nor overlook the tremendous educational influence of radio, films, television, and the press. And, by the way, let us insist that we get our facts straight. However, rather than slapping their fingers when people do not do as we like and do not give us the facts straight, let us get behind them and help. Let us let those in authority know that we want world-minded information and world-minded citizens.

Incidentally, while we are about it, let us not overlook the human resources that many of us have close at hand. How about the travel experience of the men and women who have been in the armed forces? Education cannot stand alone: It needs the support of strong and sound legislation which will make it possible for us to practice what we preach.

Regional, state, and local conferences similar to this conference, suggests one group, will help people think through their problems. And they insist that in such conferences we have small groups such as those in which we have been meeting.

One group sums up the whole area this way: Until each individual, young and old, opens his mind and his heart in an earnest endeavor to know, understand, and appreciate other people as individuals and as groups, the world around, and refrains from enforcing his opinion on others, we cannot hope to get along with ourselves or with other people.

To repeat: The one thing on which we are all agreed is that this business of developing world citizenship is not a matter of, "Wouldn't it be nice if we did?" It is a matter of "We must!" And we are doing it, too.

Legislation should be teamed with education.

Labels should be avoided in the interest of community cooperation.

Intercultural understanding as an approach to international understanding was particularly stressed. . . . World understanding must begin at home.

—Discussion Group 2

A person who participates actively and intelligently on the local level will inevitably be a better citizen in politics and in the larger, international aspect.

—Discussion Group 12

The Luncheon Panel: Presiding, Harold Benjamin, dean, College of Education, University of Maryland. Reading, left to right: Ed P. Phillips, president, Richmond Citizens Association; Arthur L. Thexton, associate professor of political science, University of Bridgeport; Charles S. Johnson, president, Fisk University; Ruth Cunningham, associate professor, Teachers College, Columbia University, and thumbnail reporter for the conference; Angelo Patri, author, consulting educator, and honorary sponsor for the four national conferences on citizenship; Harold Benjamin; Richard Barnes Kennan, executive secretary, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, National Education Association; H. Roland Frickenhaus, member, National Board of Directors, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce; Mrs. Jesse M. Bader, member, Executive Committee, United Council of Church Women; Mitchell Sviridoff, president, Connecticut Industrial Council, CIO; Ernest O. Melby, dean, School of Education, New York University; Emily Seiling, vice chairman, Young Adult Council, National Social Welfare Assembly; George E. Arneman, national patriotic instructor, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN CITIZENS

Their Job in the Community

THE CINCINNATI STORY

ARTHUR L. THEXTON

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Bridgeport

UNTIL about a year and a-half ago I was just a businessman in Cincinnati. Since that time I have been studying. So you might say that I am in my post-industrial and pre-professorial period. I have now had the pleasure and rather peculiar feeling of being introduced as a professor, which is really quite something new.

The Cincinnati Story is a very heartening story, and I think an interesting one, not primarily for its success, but for its continuity. It has often been said, and facts will usually bear it out, that reform political parties may be born, but they will usually die in infancy. And they have.

The City Charter Committee, or the Charter, as it is now known, is more than a quarter of a century old. This makes it, I think, without any question the only continuing successful reform political party in the history of American municipal politics. I should like to give you a quick picture of what happened, within the time limit which has been set.

The Charter Party was born in 1924, and upon the typical basis of a reform party in the city. There was an extremely bad local situation. The machine in this case happened to be a Republican machine, but, as you well know, it makes very little difference what kind it is—a machine is a machine.

The city was in an extremely bad condition. The financial condition was bad; everything was bad, as it usually is when reform movements are born.

First, the new Charter was adopted in 1924 by an overwhelming vote of two and one-half to one. Then came the time of the decision: Should the City Charter Commission, originally formed for the purpose of getting a new charter in the city, become an advisory organization, an endorsing organization, or retreat into the background and say, "The job is now done. We have reform, and we trust the substance will follow." Or should it become a politically active organization? The details of the history of that decision are interesting, but, again, they do not fall within the limits of the time. Let us only say that the Commission did become a political organization, a political party.

The basis was the usual basis—that citizens who believed in good government were anxious to see men elected to office who would implement the Charter. It was a fusion movement built on the basis of a weak

Democratic party which existed, and the independent Republican group.

I might say, on the matter of basis, that I would also attribute its success in future years to these elements: In the first place, to the women of Cincinnati who bore by far the largest share of the political burden during the following years.

In the second place, to the young people—an important factor and an important point to realize, because I am told so many times that young people do not find an interest in this type of effort. It is not true, and our experience in Cincinnati proves the young people carry a great deal of the burden all the way down through the years.

In the third place, the same experience which you so often have, happened here—the busiest men gave the most time. It is never the people who have time to do things that you can get to do a job. It is always the people who are already too busy, who will do it. But we did have a corps of lawyers and businessmen who carried the ball right from the beginning and who did a wonderful job.

We also had, fortunately in the beginning, a fairly good press report. Out of three newspapers we had the very vigorous support of one, and the somewhat grudging support of the other two.

And then another factor—and I will speak about this in greater detail if I have more time—the people said they stopped being afraid of a political machine. It is a strange thing, but there seems to exist always the idea that a machine is insurmountable. Any time it is suggested that a political machine be opposed, it is felt some dire consequence will follow.

This is usually pretty fictitious. There are some circumstances under which an existing, entrenched machine can bring some pressures to bear; but usually it is a fictitious fear, and in this case it was. Once it was dismissed from the people's minds, it no longer existed. Here is what happened, to give you quickly the story:

A ticket was run in 1925 and 1926 called the Charter ticket. And the lineup, in Cincinnati, ever since that time, has been the Charter versus the Republican organization. In 1925 six men were elected to the Council; again in 1927 and again in 1929 they were elected. In the beginning the vote was about 65 percent Charter and 35 percent organizational Republicans. Then we began to see the picture which is always predicted—that soon after the first flush of great enthusiasm is over, people will go back to their homes and offices and the machine will again come into control.

To some extent this is true in Cincinnati, but the Charter stayed in power for twelve years—up until 1937. They were really in power for ten, and then, through a coalition which was a little complicated, for two more years. In other words, in power for twelve years and then defeated.

The voting having gone down from 65 percent to a little less than 50 percent, it continued to go down. The organization came back into power and the Charter vote dropped steadily, until it went down to 33 percent in 1941. And this is the thing which defies all the Newtonian laws of politics: The trend turned back upward, and in 1943 we got 40 percent of the vote; in 1945 we received 47 percent of the vote; and in 1947, having been out of power for ten years, the Charter again won a municipal election and elected five out of nine councilmen.

The reasons for the maintenance of the Charter as a vigorous political entity during those ten years of defeat are obviously somewhat diverse. I should like to speak of one factor which we found tremendously important. That was proportional representation. P. R., which has been in effect in Cincinnati ever since the beginning, has been opposed by the organization for fairly obvious reasons.

There have been three special elections—in 1933, in 1936, and again in 1942. In two of those the party was defeated by an unbelievably close margin, but the last time by over eighteen thousand. It is the feeling of everyone connected with the Charter movement that P. R. has been a tremendously valuable factor in maintaining the minority as an entity. Not so much in winning the elections. We would have won the elections under any voting system. But the maintenance of a vigorous minority during the years of defeat was unquestionably due to P. R. I do not have the time now, but if anybody would like to tangle with me on the issue of P. R. I shall be very glad to meet you in the next room.

Now, I should like to speak of one other factor in Cincinnati, and that is the strictly amateur standing of the organization. This is extremely important from several points of view. In the first place, it is important because we must realize that being amateurs is not a great drawback.

When you get into politics, which, as you can guess, I was during many of these years, you find that the opposition is not nearly as tough as you thought it was. You find that the men on the other side are not extremely skillful; they are often very stupid. They do, however, do the work. They go about their business. They know all the people. They have the organization, and they spend a lot of time with it.

We did not find them of any great ability, but we did find that they did the work. And we find that amateurs can compete with them very successfully.

The other important factor about being amateur is the fact that, when you are defeated and you no longer have anybody in office, and if your officeholders did not have the strength of your original organizers, you have lost nothing. You did not get anything out of it when you were in power, and you do not get any less out of it when you are in defeat.

Because of your amateur standing, because of your continuing interest in the principles of good government, you have lost nothing and you just simply keep on working. After a while you find the means of winning again. I almost think this discovery of maintaining amateur standing in politics comes under the heading of "contribution to political theory. . . ."

Now, in this brief moment, let me, if I can, draw a few conclusions from these twenty-five years of reform—political success and defeat, but on the whole most remarkable success. I would draw them as follows:

In the first place, the acceptance of the concept of being political, of being politically active and effective. I find this extremely important. I recently attended a conference of people interested in good government, and I should like to mention two things that happened there. . . .

One man was telling of the work of an organization in the Middlewest, in the field of international affairs. It is an excellent organization and has done a wonderful job in educating the people in its community in international problems. Toward the end of his speech he said, "But we cannot wait for an informed citizenry; our time is immediate. In this Atomic Age we have to elect now. The first thing we have to do is to elect to Congress men who are informed, international-minded, men who are not isolationists, men who can do something for us; otherwise we may all be dead before we are educated."

At the end of his speech the question was asked from the floor, "Well, since you feel that our position is so urgent, may I ask what did your organization do a year ago when you had running from your state one of the worst examples of bigoted, isolationistic senatorhood in the United States?"

He flushed slightly and said, "Well, of course that is true, but we did not take any position because we have always felt that we should not be political."

The other episode that happened was that a woman was telling a very heartening story about the development of a community organization in a small city. She told about perfectly wonderful plans for the physical development of the town by the group. . . . At that point someone said, "How does your city council feel, and how are you aiding them?"

"Well," she said, "they seem to be opposed and we do not like to be political."

These are excellent organizations, but the net results, added up, make zero.

The second point is that I think we have to get rid of the dictum that all divisions in local affairs have to be dictated by elephant and donkey;

that Republican-Democrat is the only division that you can make in local matters—which I do not believe to be true.

The third is that, without in any way deprecating the work that has been done under the words "non-partisanship," I very much advocate partisanship in behalf of good government.

The next is the amateur standing, which I spoke of before.

The next is the realistic appraisal of our opposition as well as of ourselves.

And the next, which is perhaps the most important, is that any organization, to be effective in this field, must get its roots down far into the people; whether they are grass or sidewalk roots, they must go well down into the people.

I should like to quote something, in conclusion, to show my academic standing, of Alexis de Tocqueville, when he was writing 114 years ago, in what I think is still the greatest book on American democracy.

He said, "They found their strength in American democracy in three things: First, in the federal form of government. Second, in the independence of their judiciary. And, third, in those municipal associations which impart to the people a love for freedom and a knowledge of the art of being free."

The group attempted to define the minimum political activities of a responsible American citizen. They included: keeping himself thoroughly informed on basic social issues; participating in group (e. g., neighborhood) discussions on public matters; and voting intelligently, not just for the sake of voting.

—Discussion Group 15

THE RICHMOND STORY

ED P. PHILLIPS

Past-President, Richmond Citizens Association

SEVERAL months ago I had an opportunity to accept an invitation to attend a world conference in Europe. We had a delightful flight up to Gander. We took off in late evening from Gander and after flying for several hours, about four hundred miles out, I noticed a difference in the feel of the plane. The vibration, all at once, was different. I felt in my heart that something was wrong.

Then the steward came out. . . . As he passed my chair I looked up and as he looked at me, he said, "We are in trouble."

I said, " I thought so. How far out are we?"

"About four hundred miles."

I said, "How long will it take to get back?"

"About two hours."

I said, "How bad is it?"

"We are not sure; we have motor trouble and we cannot make it!"

Well, friends, that was a pretty bad feeling, to be twenty thousand feet up in the air over the Atlantic Ocean. I am not kidding you, but I am delighted that it happened to me, and for this reason: I had an opportunity of taking inventory of myself. And do not think for one moment that is not a good place to take inventory! That ocean was pretty deep, and twenty thousand feet is pretty high. But my sense of values changed, and that is what I wanted to tell you about. Then I am going to take you to my home town, Richmond, Virginia.

Things were different. The things that were important to me before were not too important then. I thought of my family, my wife, my children, my mother, my friends, my church, my school, and my country. They were the important things. Not how many dollars I had in the bank, how much inventory I had. That was not at all important any more.

Well, we got back. It was a long, long trip and when we landed all the equipment was out ready for a crack-up. We repaired the motors and went to Europe.

I am glad that I had that experience. I am glad, too, that I had a chance to see some of the conditions in Europe. It is not a beautiful picture and there is a lot that can be done by the American people. A lot is being done, but more can be done. You heard something about that the other day.

Well, as you see Italy, France, England, and the suffering over there—

little girls of six, seven, and eight years of age with their little legs not much larger than your thumb—it gets close to your heart. It makes you stop and think of what can happen when things go wrong inside—and that is what happened in Richmond.

Old man apathy crept in, and he hit some very effective punches there. For example, our voting habits got bad. People lost interest in the affairs of the city and affairs of the state and affairs of the nation. They did not care any more. All they were interested in was one thing—making that almighty dollar.

Then things started happening in Richmond. For example, in one of our elections prior to 1946, with a city of almost a quarter of a million people, we elected a mayor of our city with less than three thousand votes, when we had 2975 city employees. Let me repeat that: We elected a mayor of our city of almost a quarter of a million people, with less than three thousand votes, when there were 2975 city employees!

Well, you draw your own conclusions as to where our problem was. People—businessmen, nurses, doctors—I could quote some figures if time permitted; they were not interested. The small businessmen in all elections participated less than 2 percent. That is shocking. Nurses participated less than one-half of 1 percent. Big businessmen participated less than 50 percent. The firemen voted 97 percent, and city employees averaged almost 90 percent.

Well, something had to be done and Dr. Douglass Freeman, editor of our Richmond paper, started the fireworks with an editorial. He challenged the people of Richmond to do something about it—and they did. They got together. One of our local clubs decided it was time to call all the civic organizations together, the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, League of Women Voters, and Negro organizations, the churches, the schools, the children, the Boy Scouts. They did not stop; this was a fight not for any one organization, not for any one person, but for everybody. We had a vision, and we had a vicious enemy to fight and to lick—old man apathy—and he was pretty powerful. His waistline was pretty big and his hat was pretty high.

Most of you know the story. With all those organizations together we formed what was known as the Richmond Citizens Association. Things started happening from there on out, and much was done. There were two basic things we were interested in—good citizenship and good government. That is what we fought for. We fought hard, too.

Here are some of the things we were able to do: We increased the voting habits of Richmond from three thousand to thirty thousand. It took a few campaigns, but it was done.

We increased the turnout at the polls. We initiated a charter reform

with a referendum, and then the fight for the charter was begun. We had the city hall crowd fighting us from every possible angle. We were called everything that could be called, that could be printed, and that could be said over the air. We were told that we were catering to "big business," we were catering to the communists. We were called the "bluestocking" group. We were called all of those things, but we kept plugging away.

Well, finally they adopted a charter and we gave them an awful shellacking, one they will never forget—three to one! Do you realize that with a modern form of government we had to have friends to put that over? So another campaign was put on, and we beat them again; three to one, again. When I say "we" I mean all the people in Richmond. And there, again, we broke another record of turnout at the polls. We elected a council that was friendly to this form of government. They are in there today pitching and doing a grand job.

There is just one other thing I want to tell you, and that is about our Gold Feather Day program. That came out of the program there in Richmond. We knew we had to have something around which we could rally the people. So we created what was known as the Gold Feather Day in Richmond, by proclamation of the mayor. Everybody who voted got a gold feather. That gold feather meaot something; they were proud to wear it. I was proud to wear mine. We had hoped to have one here for each of you, but they did not arrive in time. You will receive yours in the mail.

Everybody who voted received a gold feather and anybody who did not vote did not have that gold feather. Those who did not have that gold feather in their hat or lapel, well, they knew that they had not assumed their responsibility. And that is what we wanted them to know.

We had the newspapers, the radio stations, the churches, the schools, the clubs, and all of them together in this fight to get out to vote. The League of Women Voters put calls across the city to sixty thousand homes, to every man, woman, and child to go to the polls or take an interest in this program. And that gold feather meant a little bit more, too.

That night, when the returns were coming in, we had a big rally. We could see that we were winning, that we were going over the top, and that we could look forward to good government.

One of our auditoriums in Richmond seated six thousand people. Anybody with a gold feather was entitled to bring his wife, his children, his loved one, to the rally there. Prizes were given away. All the radio stations participated in putting on a performance that was well enjoyed by everybody.

As the returns came in we could see our men going down the field and reaching the goal, forming a team to go over the top. It was a real sensation and everybody had on a gold feather. It paid dividends.

It is time for Gold Feather Day, I think, across America. Today when you take part in a community chest program, you are proud to wear that red feather. Old man apathy is still in Richmond. He has been hit several hard punches and he is going to be punched some more. We do not want to drive him from our town to somebody else's. He can be driven out altogether if we make up our minds; we have to mobilize, we have to organize, in order to fight him.

We talk about "isms" in Europe, but we have an "ism" here that is pretty vicious. That is "apathyism." That is the thing we have to fight here, and we can lick it.

Let me quote a little thing that happened not too long ago, as the eyes of the nation looked west, which proves my point. In a little town in California we were all trying to fight and save a little girl, Katherine Fiscus, from death. Hundreds of men dashed to that scene hoping that that child's life could be saved. For fifty-two hours everything we had was put into that. Some twenty-five thousand people visited that scene and thirty-five million people across the nation had their ears glued to the radio, listening, waiting, hoping, that we would get there in time.

They did not, but it proved one point: We were all interested in that little girl. We did not know her before, but still we were all interested in our fellow man.

The job can be done if we make up our minds to do it.

Too frequently we read and listen to only those with whom we agree in the first place.

The attitude of an inquiring mind and of healthy skepticism will not emerge full-blown. Our schools, homes, and youth organizations have a heavy responsibility to help children develop it in early years.

—Discussion Group 3

THE MAINE TOWN STORY

LAWRENCE PELLETIER

Professor, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine

IT IS rather difficult to tell "The Maine Town Story." It should not be told in terms of institutions or committees or individuals, but I am going to do that primarily because I do not know any other way in which to do it.

The town in my mind is a warm institution, such as New York could never be. The town is an intimate institution, where you know your officials, where you know your fellow citizens, and where you know their faults and their virtues to a "T". That does not prevent us, it is true, from electing many people without many visible virtues, but, nevertheless, we know deep down what we are doing.

Town government is deceptive, in fact, even to the trained observer. Its social cohesion, its geographical compactness, its governmental institutions encourage an exaggerated perception of the romantic in the democratic characteristics of this unit of government. The novelist, for example—and I have a long-standing feud with a neighbor to the northeast of me, John Gould, whom some of you may have read—is inclined to paint a romantic picture of the Maine town and to stress its democratic society, to tell us that it is a place where all men are equal and where the cracker-barrel philosopher is king.

I am afraid that New Yorkers apparently live on such illusions, for every year, in the New York press and especially in *The New York Times*, articles appear on the "democracy" of the town meeting in the New England town. I must say that it is usually written by a very naive individual who has very real limitations as far as an observer of the New England town is concerned.

The facts of life are quite different. As you would probably guess, the town is very similar to the metropolitan area. It has many of the same problems which it must face. There is popular apathy, and that certainly has been a theme of this convention. There is inefficient government. There is social disintegration and there is oligarchic control in the town as well as the city. In fact, a rural community may have all of these evils, may have an even more acute case of these maladies than the metropolitan center, but, interestingly enough, it may go undiagnosed because, for the moment, no one is interested.

But we are not here to tell the seamy side of town government. We are

here to tell the story of citizen action, and it is my province to discuss it with special reference to the town. I want to do that by a couple of illustrations.

First, let us consider the citizen as he acts through the formal institutions of government which, to most of you, consists of going to the polls and voting, but to those of us who live in the town consists of going to the town meeting and not only voting, but talking—and we can talk!

Now, in the latter respect, in respect to the town meeting, the town, of course, is unique. Except for the Swiss mountain cantons and the Isle of Man, there is no other assembly in the world, no other unit of government in the world, where we have direct democracy. It should not occasion any surprise, therefore, to discover that the story of the town is usually told as the story of citizen action in the town meeting.

Yet with all the generalizations and panegyrics which have been ventured, there is no adequate study of it as a dynamic instrument of government. The assumption has usually been made that, since all the citizens may attend these meetings, it is usually a semi-holiday and that they do attend and they are the example of democracy. The fact is, of course, that, without conscious citizen support, the town meeting is both undemocratic and ineffective.

It is undemocratic because it is usually controlled by a minority. I should say it is only rarely that more than 30 percent of the voters turn up for a town meeting—although that is a generalization that will not always stand, because the smaller the town the more people who vote.

It is ineffective because the issues which come before the twentieth century town meeting are not as simple as those which faced the town meetings twenty or thirty or fifty years ago, when the popular assembly was at its peak.

Decisions as to highway construction cannot be made very well by a farmer who lives out a piece, where the road has not been repaired for five years. Welfare practices cannot be determined in town meetings; we want decent welfare practices. Educational requirements cannot be determined by a group of citizens who decide willy-nilly they are going to spend twenty, forty, or sixty thousand dollars on town schools.

An undirected town meeting is chaotic—and I have seen a lot of them; where they go, no one knows. And, when you add up the results at the end, even the citizens are astonished at what they have done. More and more towns recognize the limitations of the popular assembly and have created a finance or budget committee to overcome some of these difficulties.

The citizens, in other words, have tried to control their own actions.

I think it is rather interesting to note that in the hour of need citizens have turned to citizens in establishing these committees, which are lay committees, made up of nine or twelve interested laymen who are elected by the town meeting or appointed by the moderator. These committees have been known by various names but their purpose is always the same—to consider the articles of the warrant calling the town meeting and to make recommendations as to their disposal. Where there is an active finance committee, it is only in very rare instances that the recommendations of that lay committee are overturned.

Usually the recommendations are accepted, often without any real debate, and the old timers are heard to mutter that the town meeting has been destroyed. There is no doubt that the spontaneity of free and uninhibited debate has disappeared; but debate, although amusing and stimulating, does not insure that all the facts will be presented and that the full repercussions of a proposed act will be made evident to the town. On the contrary, past experience indicates the vital necessity of the type of leadership provided by the finance committee.

In the town of Brunswick, for example, we have followed their suggestions in all save two cases. In one case the lay committee had recommended that we not appropriate $700 for recreation; we, as citizens, felt that that was a good investment and proceeded to make it.

They also recommended that we not spend $500 on a school yard; we felt that that was a good investment and we proceeded to make it.

On the administrative side, the story of citizen action in the Maine town is very similar to that which we have already related in our discussion of the town meeting. Under the town form of government—and this, I think, is sometimes hard for us to understand—as many as forty officials may be elected and at least twenty or thirty officers are actually chosen. I have known towns of a hundred people with forty elected officials. You can have an official in your own family—maybe only the dogcatcher.

Naturally, under such conditions there is no integration in the administrative structure. Selectmen on the board, part-time officials except in the very large towns, are the municipal officers of the town in name only. They are not able to supervise the treasurer, the tax collector, road commissioner, or the other elected officials. The result is an administration in which there is literally no over-all supervision, no consideration of an administrative act as it affects the town as a whole.

Again, citizens have evolved a solution. They find it in the finance committee and in the manager plan. The former introduces an over-all viewpoint into administration by providing that the citizen finance com-

mittee shall meet periodically, usually quarterly, with the administrative officials of the town. The officials explain what has transpired in their respective departments, and the committee makes suggestions.

In Brunswick, for example, no major expenditure can be made without first consulting the finance committee. So through this lay committee the citizens are providing for an integration of the administrative structure.

But probably the most outstanding development in Maine government is the adoption of the manager plan, the second attempt to improve town administration. That, of course, is an interesting study in itself. We now have 102 manager plans out of 493 communities. Unfortunately, the adoption of the manager plan does not always bring the results that we hope for in terms of citizen interest.

As we shall note later, the adoption of the plan usually is accompanied by an interesting and encouraging story of citizen interest and participation. However, once the system is firmly established and has proved its worth, the story at the town level is the same as elsewhere: Citizen apathy becomes greater. One might well anticipate this phenomenon.

Under the old selectman system, a substantial portion of the citizenry can hope to hold office some day, and there is always the incentive of direct participation through office-holding. But when a manager is employed, the duties of these offices are usually combined in the person of the manager. Where formerly there was an elected board of selectmen, treasurer, tax collector, road commissioner, board of overseers of the poor, and clerk, there is now only a manager plus one or two of these officials, depending upon how many offices were placed in the manager's office. The multifunction manager represents an interesting adaptation of the manager plan, which was originally designed for larger communities, to the small rural community. The results have been most salutary as far as administrative efficiency is concerned, but they have not encouraged long-range citizen interest—the impetus of direct participation as an officer of the town has been destroyed.

The adoption of the manager plan has, I think, produced an interesting study of citizen action which occurs outside of the formal institutions of government. At the town level, it is comparatively easy to arouse interest of the voter in local matters when a vital matter is at stake, because it is usually a question which will affect all who live in the community. This is not to say that the average citizen takes a deep and understanding interest in local government—in general he does not. In this, the local citizen is simply duplicating the attitude of the state and the national citizen. Yet when there is a vital issue the citizen can be counted on, and it is my contention that we can expect no more than this.

Even if the citizens are apathetic, the town has one advantage over Cincinnati or Richmond. When you really get angry at your officials or when you really want to do something, it is quite easy to do it. You do not have to create a committee, you do not have to raise $100,000. You go down to the corner and you build up your own little group. And if you are persuasive, and if you tell a good enough story, you may hope to go before town meeting and to win.

I want to illustrate this phase of citizen action by a description of what happened in Brunswick a year ago when we put in the manager plan. I say it not for a brief of the manager plan, but just to show you how the manager plan operates in a community of say ten thousand—these remarks might as well be applied to Bath, Old Town, Rockland, or any other community in Maine.

The original impetus for a campaign to adopt the manager plan usually comes from one man who is, of course, a leader in the community. In Brunswick the president of the Chamber of Commerce got half an idea one day that he thought it might be a good idea for the town to have a manager plan. Rarely are first efforts successful; almost all communities can boast of several failures before the plan is finally adopted. Let us assume, however, that we are dealing with a successful campaign as we did in Brunswick in 1948.

All right, the idea is born in the mind of one citizen. He discusses the matter with several more and he is encouraged to go on. Next he seeks some expert advice, either from academic or manager circles. Once the plan of action is clear, a citizen committee is appointed—in Brunswick this was composed of fifty prominent citizens.

He then talked to some of us. He financed the campaign entirely himself—a matter of some three or four hundred dollars, which indicates how easy it is. Then he set out.

Most of the committee members will not be active in the campaign, but will lend the use of their names. Some will contribute financial support, but most likely finances will come from the individual who fathered the idea. The traditional campaign now gets under way. Meetings are held, and if possible one or two outside speakers testify to the merits of the manager plan. A college professor, a member of the board of selectmen in a manager town, a manager—they are all useful for they appeal to different voting groups.

The Chamber of Commerce, the service clubs, church groups, the Grange—to mention only a few of the possible groups—are, of course, approached. They are encouraged to devote a meeting to the manager plan.

The newspaper is employed. News stories are placed, and paid adver-

tisements are used. Then we are ready for the election. Rumors are rife. The Democratic Party is making a party issue of the manager plan; it is against it. Many Republicans are lukewarm because it seems to threaten the control of the finance committee. The Democrats have a clear majority and there is no occasion for rejoicing. You frankly do not expect to win.

Then the results: The largest vote in the history of the town and the plan is in by a majority of 100 votes—roughly, 1700-1600. It is close, but you wonder how you won with so many things against you. You won because you presented the merits of the manager plan, you resisted every impulse to attack the officers in power who have done their best to discredit you at every turn. You won because citizens want a better town, because they think that a manager will lower the tax rate, because their common sense and innate critical reactions are stronger than you thought.

But all is not over, for the opponents of the plan call a special town meeting to vote it out. You remain calm, refuse to indulge in personalities. Approximately seventeen hundred people appear for the town meeting, but only a few votes are cast to rescind the action of the annual meeting. The opponents of the manager plan are roared down, decisively defeated. You could not hear the opposition.

Now, in conclusion I should like to say that the citizen derives great satisfaction from living in a town, for he fancies that he is closer to the center of the process of government than he would be in a larger community. He often is not, but the fault is his because he does not choose to take an active share in town affairs.

It is important, however, that it is easy for him, if he so desires, to participate in town government, often as an official, and moreover visibility is greater. He can see the results more distinctly than his city cousin.

The town is, therefore, a good place to live in. It gives civic as well as social satisfaction. One's only regret is that it is not a better place in which to live—but that is our fault, for we are not better citizens.

The Maine Town Story is simply this: That where the citizens have a will, a way can be found to mold the formal and informal institutions of the town to the requirements of the twentieth century.

Travel through the next town or even farther. Know people from other communities.

—Discussion Group 1

FROM THE QUESTIONERS

(Excerpts from the Panel Discussion)

Chairman: Harold Benjamin, dean, College of Education, University of Maryland.

Questioners:

Church—Mrs. Jesse M. Bader, member, Executive Committee, United Council of Church Women.

Industry—H. Roland Frickenhaus, member, National Board of Directors, United States Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Labor—Mitchell Sviridoff, president, Connecticut Industrial Council, CIO.

School—Ernest O. Melby, dean, School of Education, New York University.

Veterans—George E. Arneman, national patriotic instructor, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Youth—Emily Seiling, vice chairman, Young Adult Council, National Social Welfare Assembly.

Labor and Municipal Reform

MR. SVIRIDOFF: I think I must first preface my question by explaining that I have nothing against good government people. I have the utmost respect for them.

I should like to comment briefly on two other stories, the Bridgeport Story and the Hartford Story—particularly the Bridgeport Story. Perhaps Mr. Thexton, who will soon be a native of that town, would care to comment on that.

In Bridgeport, as some of you may remember, there was a very serious problem of corruption in government. It was a two-party problem; both parties had their hands in the public till and were doing a pretty good job of it. A reform movement started, led by Mr. MacLevy, who calls himself a "socialist," but whom socialists call a "municipal socialist." He won the election by an overwhelming vote and has repeatedly been elected mayor of the city of Bridgeport.

But he won primarily, and keeps winning, because he introduced "clean" government and "cheap" government. His main bulk of support comes from the small home owner and the large home owner. It is the home owner who is back of him. He has very little support from the industrial workers. As a matter of fact, industrial workers do not get excited about the municipal elections. They have to choose between the

cheap, clean, economy government and the two political parties that once smelled and still smell.

So there you have cheap government and clean government, but you have no social progress. You have bad schools and low wages, and you have everything that you call reactionary in municipal government, except that it is cheap and economical.

Then you move to Hartford where there also was a strong reform government. The people won out and they have a new charter. There is good government there, too; nobody will argue about that. But there the union people complain they no longer are represented on the city commissions and that the democracy of the town has sort of lost its vitality.

Now, why is it that in these days—and I do not know whether it is true in other cases—good government people are usually economy-minded people. They are good people because they want clean government, but why do they place social progress second? Why shouldn't that at least be on an equal plane with good, clean, cheap government?

CHAIRMAN BENJAMIN: Mr. Thexton, would you care to answer that one?

MR. THEXTON: Yes, I should like very much to comment on that. I do not want to do it from the Bridgeport point of view, as a matter of fact, because I do not know anything about it. Ask me a year from now and maybe I will know a little more.

I should like to comment from the Cincinnati point of view. I think it is true that, in a great many cases of good government movements, they become identified with the building and loan associations, and real estate interests, the economy-minded group, which I think is extremely unfortunate. I will put two bases of responsibility for that. I will tell you what happened in Cincinnati.

First, of course, it is very likely to happen that the people who are interested in good government are the people who would be interested in lower taxes. It is simply a situation that you meet. There is no moral judgment applying here that anything is good or bad. That happens to be the fact.

The second is that the failure of this type of group or organization to represent labor is usually, again, due to two factors. In the first place, they may very likely be anti-labor; the second, of course, is the failure up until very recent years of labor groups to be politically active.

Going back over the history of labor, the failure of labor groups to be politically effective has been astonishing in this country.

In Cincinnati, during the time the Charter was dropping down in its vote—when it went down from 65 percent to 33 percent—it was perfectly obvious that new bases of support would have to be found. One new basis was found in Cincinnati in 1945 when we elected a representative of the CIO on a Charter ticket. He was an excellent candidate and has been an excellent councilman.

The reason the Charter won in 1947 was that we elected a member of the AFL as the fifth candidate. The Charter has seen the handwriting on the wall, has believed that no reform organization can ever have real roots in the people, can ever mean anything as a political organization, as long as it confines itself to the real estate groups. It has gone out to seek a new basis of support and a new basis of power, which it has found in the two primary labor organizations.

I believe the marriage has been reasonably happy, and will probably have as good a record as most marriages, in the future. . . .

What Is Industry's Part?

MR. FRICKENHAUS: Because of my representation of industry here today, and also because of the fact that I am deeply concerned with good government through my affiliations with the Junior Chamber of Commerce movement in the country—which, as you may or may not know, is defined as "constructive action through young men's activities"—I should like to ask a question.

We believe in civic development of the individual, civic consciousness, and the leadership training of the individuals, themselves. We have a particular problem in my home city of New Haven. At the present moment our problem is similar to that which the panel has discussed here today. We are in the throes of a charter movement, a change by a civic charter committee group.

I should like to hear from the panel their comments on how industry has participated in these movements. What can industry do to assist in bringing about better government in the city, not only through the business of organizations which are represented, but through direct activities of their own, through employee relationships and employee education as well as through union levels?

CHAIRMAN BENJAMIN: Mr. Thexton?

MR. THEXTON: That is a little broad; I will have to break it down a bit.

Frankly, industry as industry would expect a great deal. I am not sure it is the proper function of industry. I am not sure it is the proper contribution to ask of industry. I am sure they would not get much, with the possible exception of money. And there you will get it from individuals.

If you break the problem down further, for example in this field of employee relations, I think you might get this from industry. You will

certainly get a general statement from heads of industry that voting is a very good thing and citizenship is a very desirable thing.

Sometimes the questions are asked, "Will you hold a meeting? Will you encourage meetings? Will you encourage our having a speaker and will you give us any introduction and tell your people we would like to talk to them about getting out and voting?" Having been in industry most of my life, and for a time having been at the head of a company, I am frank to say that I do not think that is the place to go.

Now, maybe that is not a very satisfactory answer to your question. If you want to pin me down in a little more detail, I should like to be so pinned.

MR. FRICKENHAUS: Have the individual leaders of industry, other than through their own company affiliations, taken an active part in bringing about these reform movements?

MR. THEXTON: I think the leaders of industry in my own city have broken down just the way the rest of the people in the community have broken down.

I think you would find X percent on the side of the machine, X percent on the side of reform movements, and X percent perfectly indifferent. I do not think that, because they are in industry, they will break down any differently than will those in any other pursuit.

MR. PELLETIER: I was going to say I think the gentleman would find a good example in the Cambridge Civic Action Committee, which is heavily loaded.

MR. PHILLIPS: I am a businessman and I am not defending our position so far as the businessman is concerned.

As a matter of fact, in Richmond the businessmen did come forward and they took their part. Labor took its part. All the parties took part in our program down there. I think if you will give the American people something to rally around, you will find the businessmen will stand up and take their respective parts in this fight.

I am confident of that, not from the standpoint of money alone, but from the standpoint of time as well. But it takes something to get them stirred up. I have had to fight that problem in our program in Richmond, where we did have the Chamber of Commerce. They took the bull by the horns. They endorsed the Charter and they fought for it.

Many people were surprised to see an organization of that kind take an active part. The Junior Chamber took a part. The Rotary, the Kiwanis, the Lions, all the clubs took part. But we had something around which we could rally the interest of those people.

The average businessman is not too keen in getting wrapped up in

"dirty politics," but if it is on a high level, with a high objective, the businessman will be there. . . .

And Where Does Education Come In?

MR. MELBY: I think any teacher would be in an extremely uncomfortable position on this panel. I do not feel like asking the good government people here questions. I do not want to put them on the carpet for what they have done.

I think they ought to put the whole American educational system on the carpet for what it has not done. You know, I sat here this afternoon thinking about that problem. I have the background of having spent two weeks in Germany within the last month where I saw plenty of people who know much more than most of us here, today; who, in book learning, are superior to American boys and girls and men and women.

And yet, they have practically no competency when it comes to democratic citizenship or democratic behavior.

You know, democracy is losing in its battle for the minds and the hearts of men around this globe. Not because it is not good theory, but because we have allowed it to become a stereotyped ideal. There are millions of people whose primary interest this afternoon is not in political theory, but it is a question of whether they are going to have a square meal, whether they are going to have something to wear, whether or not they are going to have a place in which to live.

And these millions of people are going to choose their way of life largely in terms of those primary necessities of life. If they can get those necessities of life and also have freedom, well and good. If they cannot, they are going to take the necessities of life.

I am convinced that the job of education is to give boys and girls and men and women a vital conception of democracy. I do not think you can do it through book-learning. We have millions of people who have this book-learning, and it has not contributed very much to their effectiveness as citizens.

If education is going to undergird the good government movement, education has to become the kind of enterprise that lets boys and girls and men and women share in the big job of making our country a better democracy, and making our world a better world.

All over this world people are disillusioned about fine phrases and beautiful words. They are looking for results in terms of the things which are meaningful to them. You and I may say they are wrong, that they are ready to sell their birthright of freedom for a mess of pottage. We may be right, but we are not going to commend freedom to these people

unless we can show them that freedom carries with it also human well-being on a widespread scale.

And I do not believe we can build that kind of education and prepare for the kind of good government that these three gentlemen have discussed with us today, unless somehow we can make of education a more vital participatory experience than it has been in the past.

CHAIRMAN BENJAMIN: Mr. Pelletier?

MR. PELLETIER: I just want to make a comment on that: I do not know whether the two gentlemen with me would agree or not, but, frankly, I am not interested in good government and I do not like to be spoken of as being interested in good government.

I am interested in simple government and I am interested in good citizens. I am interested in simple government, and it will be good or bad depending upon the citizens!

MR. THEXTON: I should like to comment on it because I so thoroughly agree with one of the conclusions, and somewhat disagree with one of the others.

There is no question in my mind that democracy will fail or succeed during the coming years—and to the extent that this country or any other democracy meets the challenge of political economy or political inequality which cannot go on forever hand in hand. I think that is the fundamental challenge, and I think that is where the decision will rest.

On the other hand, I cannot quite agree that the educational process must be given up. I have two sons in college and I find that, from an ideological point of view if from no other, they have, and many of their classmates have, a very great interest in these problems. Both of them happen to be political science majors, and from the conviction of political theory they have faced this problem in their own young ways. I think they have faced it fairly and have come to good conclusions.

I still believe that education can do much—certainly not the whole job but it can do a great deal of the job—if in nothing else than building in the minds of young men and young women this concept: That, unless we face the basic fact that we must do something about more inequalities than just political inequalities, democracy may lose out.

CHAIRMAN BENJAMIN: Thank you. Is there one more question from the panel of interrogators? Is there any comment from the board?

I should like to say in closing our session, if I may be permitted a personal observation, that I felt a deep conviction of sin as a school teacher, when Dr. Melby made that statement with which we all, I think, agree.

However, I felt even a deeper conviction of sin as a taxpayer, as a citizen, as a veteran, as a parent, because I believe this great problem is

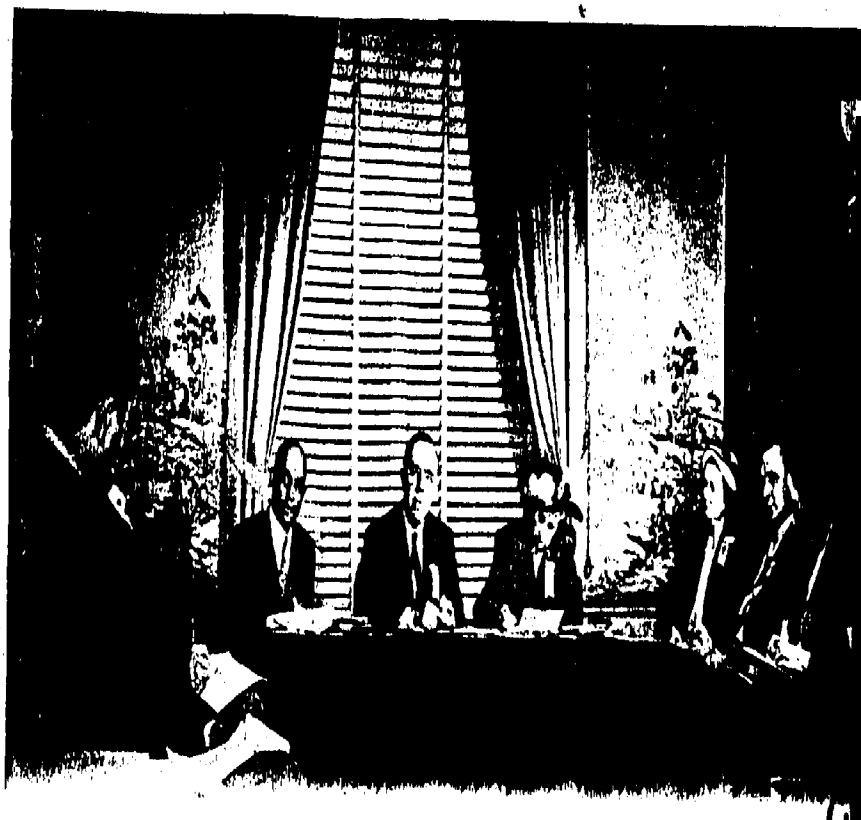
fundamentally an educational problem. It is not one, however, that can be solved by school teachers in a corner. It has to be solved by every one of us, not as this, that, or the other thing, primarily, but as American citizens primarily and first of all.

These schools, these educational programs, never become dynamic until they are a burning "cause" for all the people in the communities. They just do not work with a few schoolmasters or preachers or a few members of any particular group. That is why I have so great a feeling of respect for and confidence in this kind of a group meeting. I have had a great deal of pleasure in having this small part.

We should change thinking from "giving" or "contributing" to someone else to "investing" in education and welfare groups as we do with insurance.

—Discussion Group 4

Discussion group chaired by John W. Davis, L. Paul Winings, and Alice Scott Hyatt.



THIRD THUMBNAIL REPORT

(Presented with Accompanying Slides)

RUTH CUNNINGHAM

Teachers College, Columbia University

LADIES and gentlemen of the Fourth Annual Conference on Citizenship: This is the third report from you to you, highlighting our thinking in our small group sessions yesterday afternoon.

Before we get under way, and while the lights are being put out and the slides focused, may I make an announcement? No session is complete, certainly, without at least one announcement. The thing I should like to ask of you is this: If there are any artists present will you please meet me at the door of this room at the close of this meeting and I will be glad to pay you hush money. Even if you do not like my brand of art, I can at least ask you to keep quiet about it.

(Slide) I am a great believer in research, myself. They tell us that advertisers have done a great deal of research on how to focus attention. They have discovered that the three things to present to focus attention are a baby, a pair of pretty legs, and a dog.

Well, I decided if that was a good way to focus the attention of the general public, it ought to be a good help in focusing attention on the slides on the screen. That is the purpose of this slide. It is exclusively for the use of Mr. Moreland, who is running the slide machine, and it has absolutely nothing to do with anything I am going to say here from here on in.

(Slide) I have read a great deal recently, as who hasn't, about the use of visual aids. But, in my opinion, the authors have overlooked one important asset of these media. The asset to which I refer is this: With the room nicely darkened, there is no reason why most of the audience cannot leave under the convenient cover of darkness. This, I believe, may be a great advantage to all concerned.

(Slide) I must admit, however, that it may be a bit disconcerting to discover, when the lights come on again, that no one is present but your reporter, Ruth Cunningham, the slide machine operator, and one little old gentleman who fell asleep before the general exodus took place.

So, in case I never see you again, good people, may I say it has been a pleasure to be your reporter, and I hope we will meet again some day.

(Slide) Our groups yesterday were in amazing agreement about this

matter of community citizenship. One and all, we agree that the community is a V.I.P.—a Very Important Place, or can be, toward developing the type of citizen, the type of government, we all want.

(Slide) But before we can start talking about communities, maybe we need to have a look at the people in them, like Mary and Joe, and you and you and you.

According to our group discussions there are some pretty important things for us to think about and do if we are to be good citizens of that V.I.P., of our community, either as individuals or as members of groups in our community.

(Slide) I. Know your community: Study it. Community surveys are a good way to start, but sometimes good old-fashioned friendly calls on your neighbors are more meaningful than pages of statistics. But, by whatever means, know your community and the people in it—their problems, their successes, their hopes for their children, their ideas about what a good community should be, what a good community ought to look like.

(Slide) II. Get into the swim of things: Spectators may make a lot of noise, but it is the ones who are really in it who decide what will really happen. And, as with that first spring plunge into the old swimming hole, it is never as bad as you think it is going to be, once you are in it. In fact, you may find a lot of enjoyment in it.

(Slide) III. Use your vote wisely: And encourage others to do so. One group points out that it may be a sad commentary on our democracy when we have to give out little feathers to reward citizens for doing what is their right, their duty, and their privilege.

Maybe such tricks are necessary, maybe we will have to resort to such tricks, but first let us try to find more constructive ways to help citizens realize their responsibilities.

(Slide) IV. Get together: Join current groups or organize new ones, if necessary. The power of joint action makes real sense in a democracy. But, first and foremost, join with your neighbor, regardless of race, creed, or socio-economic status.

As one group puts it, unless you can greet any man you meet as your brother, you cannot be a good citizen, and you have a feeble chance of doing much to better your community.

(Slide) Well, those phrases roll out easily, but look out for the punch behind them. No doubt the group that phrased these statements did so only after careful deliberation.

Before you easily and self-righteously agree, do some careful thinking. Can you honestly say that you can greet any man you meet as your brother? If you cannot, says this group, you are not a good citizen and have little

chance of influencing your community. (Such statements pack a wallop!)

(Slide) Think of people in groups: It is too easy to think of citizens and voters merely as one person after another, like toy soldiers on parade, or statistics one following another. But that is not the way people are; that is nnt the way they live.

If we try to treat them as toy soldiers we will never be able to achieve community unity.

(Slide) Nobody is anybody at all, all by himself. A voter may show up as Sam Smith, but Sam is somebody because of other people and his relationship[illegible] them. If we are smart, we will treat him that way.

(Slide) The family is not the only social unit, of course, but it is an important one. As we think about better communities, let us think about better families and how to help families to make better communities.

(Slide) Age groups, too, are important—the young, the middle-aged, and the elderly. The middle-aged tend to monopolize things. When they do get around to thinking of other age groups, they tend to think first of the young, for they are our future. But let us not forget our growing group of elderly people who may have experience and leisure to give significant community service.

We who are middle-aged have no monopoly on energy or wisdom. Let us elicit the he[illegible] of kids and older people. We might be surprised at the help they can give.

(Slide) While we are on the subject of age groups, one of our discussion groups points out that the children and youth of a community can often be the focus for community action.

If your community suffers from apathy, maybe it can be made into a working team by focusing attention on the needs of children. There are many possible points of focus, but if you are looking for one that has dramatic and universal appeal, there is nothing to surpass children.

Kids are wonderful catalysts.

(Slide) Many people do not seem to fall into the easy categories of our society—as families, as age or ethnic groups. They feel left out for some reason or other.

If we are to build strong communities, we must put out the welcome mat for everybody (and that means *everybody!*) That is not easily achieved, but evidently the group that made the statement really meant it, for "everybody" was underlined.

(Slide) These, then, are the recommendations made to us:

1. Know your community.
2. Get into the swim of things.

3. Use your vote wisely and urge others to do so.

4. Think of people in groups, not merely as toy soldiers. Think of them as members of families, age groups, clubs, and other types of groups. Give a welcome to everybody.

(Slide) And from our discussion groups come some words of caution:

1. The job is not easy. Do not expect quick success in community organization for better citizenship. Good citizenship is a long-time job. As one group said, work as though it had to be achieved tomorrow, but when tomorrow dawns and it is not accomplished be ready to keep working for the next tomorrow, and the next, and the next.

(Slide) Caution 2. Do not get into a squirrel cage.

(Ladies and Gentlemen: I will have you know that that is a squirrel cage with a squirrel in it. And before you laugh too heartily, I challenge you to try drawing a squirrel. You have no idea how I struggled with this creature.)

It is so easy to fall into the old fallacies of we cannot do anything until the state acts; and the state cannot act until the federal government acts; and the federal government cannot act until the local groups act; and 'round and 'round and 'round it goes.

Face it! The circle has to be broken somewhere if we are to have any action. Maybe the local group is the best place to start. At least it is worth a try, isn't it?

(Slide) Caution 3. Do not dwell on defeats. Everybody has 'em. Interestingly enough, it is the defeats that seem to make the news. But maybe we need to make "news" of our successes—our group endeavors, our cooperation, our achievements. Why shouldn't "no fires for ten years" be as dramatic as "fire in loft last night?" It is as dramatic—that is, it can be if we make it so. Maybe we need to learn to "accentuate the positive."

Superimposed on these recommendations and cautions were two themes which could be heard throughout the conference. Or maybe they are two verses to one theme song.

(Slide) 1. A good community is a combination of many things. No one person, no one group, no one service, no one result can be achieved alone or can alone achieve what we want. For a good community is a combination of many hopes, of many aspirations, and of many types of achievement.

(Slide) Theme song 2. A good community is achieved by a combination of many people. It is probable that people representing many interests, pooling their thinking as we have been doing in this conference, is the best method for achieving a good community.

(Incidentally, that handsome gentleman at the far side of the circle is

Mr. Kennan, and the efficient and attractive lady on the left is Mrs. Ellison.)

(Slide) O.K. little man, you can wake up now, I am about through.

If they should ask you what our groups said in their sessions yesterday afternoon, you can report on the various action suggestions and cautions they give, but if that is too much to remember, just say that we all agree that, in the area of citizenship, communities are V.I.P.—Very Important Places!

It was agreed that responsible American citizens cannot do an effective job in politics unless they are clear as to what the specific goals of American democracy are. Unless goals are well defined, it is obviously impossible for the citizen to know whether or not he is voting or otherwise acting consistently with the achievement of those goals. It is imperative that Americans agree on and argue for their way of life just as emphatically as the proponents of other doctrines advertise theirs. Some goals suggested included: shared power (in the sense of the opportunity of all citizens to share in the right to make important decisions through voting and other means); shared enlightenment; shared respect; shared security; shared well-being; and shared loyalty.

—Discussion Group 15

In order to avoid discouragement, it was felt that we must first know our community, its needs and its resources. Then we must set our goal, step by step, to avoid tackling a project too large for successful accomplishment. It was felt that nothing is more encouraging to citizens than success, no matter how small; and that a series of successful activities inevitably leads to the larger goal originally anticipated. At this point, it was felt that at future conferences, successful methods used in various communities should be sifted and presented to the Conference, not as a series of personal "success stories" but as examples of how some communities have attacked certain problems and brought them to a successful conclusion.

—Discussion Group 12

THE FINAL CHALLENGE

THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING AMERICAN CITIZENS

MABEL STUDEBAKER

President, National Education Association

DR. HAWKINS, Members of the Citizenship Conference and Guests: The National Education Association is pleased that there are so many of you who are willing to take time from your busy lives to spend a few days pooling your thinking, concerning citizenship, because it is one of the major interests of all people at the present time, and one of the utmost importance.

I shall not take your time this morning to talk about the technics of citizenship in our schools, but to say some of the things that I think need to be reaffirmed concerning what we are doing.

It was my privilege this last holiday season to be in Puerto Rico at the time of the inauguration of Governor Luis Munoz-Marin. The thing that impressed me over and over again was the fact that they did not say, "This is our Governor; this is the person whom we have just elected."

No, they said, "This is the First Governor we have elected in 506 years."

I began to question that statement. It seemed that they were going back to the time of the discovery of the islands. For a long, long time they had their leaders given to them by the Spanish. Then they were appointed by our government.

The enthusiasm of a people that they could finally choose their own leader was something that I wish could be seen by every American citizen —because it gives a recognition of what it means to a people once more to get that feeling of "Yes, this is our own leader; we have confidence in him."

Then, at a social affair, I saw part of the charm of his leadership. At the inauguration, people had come from all over the island. Many of them had walked many, many miles and had stood in a tropical sun for hours. In the evening at a reception it was not just the great from the Western Hemisphere who were the guests; they were there, yes, but there were the poor farmers from the hills who came in, most enthusiastically. They said, "Now we have seen him. We have met him. We know the palace. We shall go back and tell our people of him."

Now, there was an example of the thrill of being a part of something that many of us lose, because we have had a chance for so long to vote.

The opposite value was expressed by a Pennsylvania Dutch woman who was stopped one day and asked if she had voted. Her arms were laden with baskets of food as she had come from the market. She said, "Thirty years ago when I married, my husband said he did not vote. He wanted no part in politics. So we do not vote; we do not mix into it."

Here on her arms were all the good things of our country, which she was taking home. She had taken from the plenty of our country, but, no, when it came to voting there was no time for it. And she did not believe in it!

In another situation, people in a certain town were discussing an election and they did not like the particular local leaders who had been chosen. The talkers were businessmen, all of whom were successful, competent in their own endeavors. Finally one of the men present in that group of fifteen said, "Did you vote?"

Out of the fifteen he found that only six had voted! Such negligence shows how we think, whether we value this ballot of which we are speaking.

Still another thing that was done by a group in a midwestern town might be of interest to you. A group of high school boys decided that they would ring doorbells and ask people to go to the polls. They were not asking them to support any particular candidates, any issue; they merely were inviting people to accept the ballot as they should, and to use it.

One of the cynical ones a day or two afterwards said, "Do you think your going around that block that day did any good?"

One of these young people, who could not be discouraged easily, came back to school the following day and reported, "I went back to every door where I had previously been and asked just one question: Did you vote because I came there or would you have done so anyway?"

He came back and reported with enthusiasm that twenty-seven people in the area where he had called said that their reason for going to vote was because he had made the personal contact and had asked them to, and that otherwise they probably would not have taken care of that duty.

Now, we realize that voting is only one of the qualifications of citizenship. Therefore, in our public schools we hope to proceed in ways which will definitely develop citizens from the elementary schools until the time they leave. You see that pattern evolving as you go through the schools of our country, because more and more we recognize that it is no longer an autocratic system. The teacher is not one person behind the desk, giving orders or laying out the type of work to all. Frequently you cannot even find her as you first enter the room. You have an organized community, each one accepting his own responsibility, and that responsibility is repeated throughout the school.

In fact, sometimes we see ourselves better when we consider how we appear to people of other nations. We have had, in this country in the past few months, many people from other lands. When we ask them to report to us what they notice about the way we work in our schools that is different from what they expected it to be; time and again it is the human relationships, the democratic way of working, that impresses them.

One German educator who was here told about the fact that he went into a school and was met by the principal and the president of the student government. The principal said to him, "We have planned to show you certain things in the building."

When he had finished, the president of the student government turned to him with enthusiasm and said, "Don't you think they would be much more interested in what we are doing in photography developing for our yearbook?"

The principal said, "Why, of course they would."

There wasn't time to carry out the plan as the principal had outlined it, and also do what the president of the student government suggested. Without any hesitation at all, the idea of the president of the student government was accepted. That was what seemed unusual, but it is the philosophy that we are trying to develop: that each one as an individual has something to contribute. And we want to see that it is carried out in many of our activities, in our forms of student government that actually are

Discussion group chaired by Alice Keliher and Mrs. Arthur L. Ransohoff.

student governments, not suggestions that may be pigeonholed.

This reality of government was shown in another school in a rather interesting fashion, I thought. The student government had voted that all people in a school cafeteria would wait and be served in turn. It had been the custom, previously, that the faculty would break into the line at any place and be served earlier—I do not know whether it was age or just precedent. It had become rather irksome to some of the students, and in a joint meeting they made the rule that each would wait his turn. It was accepted by the faculty as well as by the students.

A few days later it happened that one of the teachers, coming through in a hurry, followed the old custom of going to the head of the line. One of the students stepped up to her and reminded her of the new rule. With her face a little red, she went back to the end of the line and took her place.

The thing that I like about the incident is that the procedure having been adopted as a rule to which everyone was to comply, the student then had the freedom to speak and say, "This is the rule, let us all abide by it."

More and more we find that sort of practice—the acceptance of majority rule. And if schools do it in everyday living, if all realize that what is being done is for the benefit of the whole group, it is the type of practice that will carry on into life.

In one further field that is bringing up much discussion at the present time, I should like to make a point: We need to bring before our students controversial subjects. That is one of the things that needs very careful handling, because we must deal with principles and with issues.

I think if we can present our way of life and the benefits accrued thereby, if we admit some of the problems that we have not solved as yet in many parts of the country, our democracy will stand compatison with any other form of political government in the world. And I think young people are the first to recognize that. In other words, we need to develop a faith in our way of doing things, because our enemies' ideologies are not from without—they are from within.

If people begin to doubt, if they become cynical, if they become fearful and apathetic, they are prey for other ills. Into a vacuum will always come something. So if we can fill our students with faith—and we cannot give them faith unless we as teachers have it—if we can provide that faith in the democratic process, I see no trouble for future democracy in this country; for the very things that have helped make this country great are still in the hearts of its people. . . .

TODAY'S AMERICAN CITIZEN

JUSTIN MILLER

President, National Association of Broadcasters

NOT long ago I heard a surgeon speaking of a difficult operation which he had performed, which had been televised. He made the astounding statement that the people who saw the operation by television saw more of the detail of it than he did. He said the lighting, the way in which the camera was placed, the way in which the transmitting was done, gave a better view of the detail of that operation to those who witnessed it by television than he could see, himself, working at close range to it.

Perhaps we can think of ourselves as being in a laboratory discussing in pathological terms some of the problems of citizenship, and preparing ourselves to do the job which television does, in discussing these problems with other people, the folks in the communities, the groups, the individuals, the families, and so on, about whom you have been hearing during the conference.

Today's American citizen—is he like or different from the American citizen of 1776, 1860, or 1914? I picked those dates as being illustrative of times of crises in American history, times when the response to crises brought out the best in American citizenship. Of course the answer must be yes or no, one of those equivocal answers.

I should like to examine some of the "alikes" and some of the "differences" with you this morning and see where we have gone. In the first place, the American citizen of today is like the one of these earlier years in the fact that he is an amalgam of many races, an amalgam which is even more mixed now than it has been at any time in the past—and it is becoming even more so.

I was interested in the statement attributed to some German labor leaders who have been visiting here, and who are reported to have gone home with the feeling that they had seen, in this country, the greatest melting pot in the world and marveling at the fact that we had been able to bring together representatives of so many races, so many groups, into common interest in the form of government and of social and economic life which we enjoy. We are alike in our interests, our curiosity concerning how the world is put together and what makes it tick. We are the greatest inventors in the world in spite of the allegations which have recently been made by the representatives of one of the nations—that each

of the great inventions of the world has taken place in other parts of the world. I think that characteristic itself is one of which we should take particular note.

I sat on a court bench which had more cases involving patents than any other subject, being located in Washington, D. C. . . . One of the questions frequently presented was, "What constitutes an invention; what are the characteristics of an invention?" It is an intangible tenuous thing. . . .

Various definitions were given and the one that was constantly cropping up in the writings on the subject, the one that to me seemed to give the best hold on the problem, was that the inventor does something contrary to the teachings of the art.

In other words, he does the unconventional thing. The man who merely carries on, step by step, the investigations of others who have gone before him, is called a "routineer." He is a research man who fills in the interstitial areas. He carries on from the obvious to the less obvious, but does no more than build one thing on top of another. But the man who comes along and does something so completely different that those who have gone before him, who are experts in that particular field, have said that it could not be done that way—that is one of the characteristics of invention.

And that is one of the characteristics of the American people. They are willing to try, they are willing to do the unconventional thing, both in the field of invention and in fields of government, of economics, of life as we live it in all its aspects.

Of course the American also, fortunately, has a balance which guides him usually in doing the unconventional. He does not want to be too unconventional; he does not want to upset the apple cart. That is equally important. That is a characteristic of good citizenship. He must know or be able to feel or at least to read the warning when he gets too close to the edge, that he must strike a balance between the two.

I should say that we are like the Americans who have gone before us—and that we are a good-natured people. I read occasionally of people who tell us we are overwrought, that we live on the basis of high tension. We know that isn't true because we know American people generally are people who like a bit of humor.

American people like to tell stories. They are good-natured, they are humane in their reactions. The American G.I. in other parts of the world was known as a friendly sort of person. He was a man who made friends with the children and with the families whom he met. Sometimes it was quite a problem to his superior officers to maintain discipline, to see that he did not become too friendly with people of enemy nations.

Another story which recently appeared in the papers is of the man who invented "little vittles" in connection with the air lift. He was the man who dropped candy to the German children by little balloons. He has been given the award of merit by some one of the many organizations which make awards of merit. It is a recognition of certainly one of the most outstanding characteristics of our American people. They are good-natured, happy, friendly, sociable—and perhaps sometimes a little bumptious in the doing of it.

A similar characteristic is that the American is slow to anger. He may carry a chip on his shoulder, he may be contentious, but he does not get up to the fighting stage easily. It takes quite a while for him to feel like going to war. But when he gets there he is a very dangerous foe. . . .

I should say we are alike, also, in the fact that our thinking is still fluid about many of the problems of government and of life under which we live. We reconcile a high degree of democracy with a representative form of government under very complex and difficult situations. We maintain a federal and a state system of government, a widespread municipal system of government, one which takes a lifetime of work and of research to understand in all of its details.

I always feel sympathetic toward the average citizen or below average citizen when speakers tell him, "You must be a good citizen and know all about these things," when I know how utterly impossible it is for him to know all about these things. It is very difficult, even for the man who specializes in just one particular field, to know enough to act wisely in that field.

Now let me discuss a few of the differences between the citizens of today and the citizens of a hundred years ago, or fifty, or seventy-five. For one thing, we are an older people. I mean that not in the sense of being an older nation. There is a great deal of nonsense spoken about older nations. Some of the nations which are youngest in point of their actual governmental organizations are older in their concepts, older in their approach, than nations which have had a much longer period of official life.

We are an older people. Our age span is increasing. I think that some of these days the middle-aged people will be thinking considerably about us older ones now and better begin to consider whether we older ones are not playing too large a part in the picture. As we get older we get more mellow, we assume that it is not quite so necessary to do so many things that we thought were terribly important when we were younger.

Old men—and I will not say this of old women, because I do not know so much about them—who have gone through life promising themselves that they were going to write about certain subjects, reach a point

where they say, "Oh, well, I do not really think it is necessary after all." . . .

I had a conversation with an old retired Senator just the other night about that very subject. They just do not think it is very important any more to write about the things that seemed so vital at twenty, at thirty, and at forty. And as the years go by that seems to become more so.

Now, fortunately, there seems to be an increasing number of old folks who are maintaining the vital spark. They seem to feel the necessity of doing a lot of things of this kind. I hope there may be more of them. . . .

However, my point is we are an older people, and younger people have less part in the activities of government. Older people, let us say the older middle-aged group, are inclined to monopolize government. It is frequently very discouraging for young people to try to break into these community situations. It is much more difficult even to try to break into the national level. Now, that was not true and has not been true during the last decade for a very peculiar reason. I was very much aware that this was particularly true in the legal field.

A good many lawyers disapproved so thoroughly of the Roosevelt administration policies that they would not have anything to do with them; so an opportunity was presented to a lot of young lawyers to go down to Washington and take part in affairs of national government.

I suspect there were, perhaps, a few too many of the young ones and not enough of the old ones for a while. In my own case I left university teaching at that time and went up to work in the Solicitor General's office. It was an assignment which, prior to that time, any lawyer would have been very jealous to have. A good many of my friends reprimanded me and said, "I wouldn't have anything to do with that bunch in Washington. I wouldn't give them any comfort at all."

Granting the fact that the [illegible] of this nation depended upon good work being done in these various organizations, the old men, the old lawyers were not persuaded and would not go down to Washington and have any part of it. They changed their minds after several years had gone by, and a good many of them did go down, but, generally speaking, I should say there was a tendency not to go down. And that was in direct opposition to the general tendency of the old people to hold on too long, and the tendency of the middle-aged people to monopolize too much.

My argument would be more in favor of giving the younger people a greater chance. We should take advantage of the youth, of their enthusiasm and energy. They need a little channeling, a little direction, but they have a chance for the expenditure of energy, and they will make good use of it.

I participated recently in a conversation in the United Nations Com-

mission on Unesco. The discussion took place as to whether or not Unesco was being led, let us say, in the various communities by too many organizations, and was being helped by too many community organizations. One person complained that in a city of twenty-five or thirty-thousand there were forty-eight different organizations working on various phases of Unesco work.

But the very theory of Unesco's organization is that as many as possible representative organizations on the national scale shall be brought into the councils of Unesco in order that the representatives of these associations and organizations may take the message out to the communities and get as many of them as possible working on these various subjects. This was merely the reflection of that old monopolistic point of view, "We don't want so many people interfering. We have nice little staked-out areas of vested interests, which we have preempted for ourselves. We are having a nice, happy time. Some of us are holding offices in these organizations and we would rather not have competing ones." And so the young fellows are shut out.

Therein may lie some of the wildness of youth. Therein may lie some of the resentment which turns too many of them too far to the extreme in one direction or another. Perhaps if a little more attention were paid to a channeling of energies at the community level, the state level, and the national level, we could make much wiser and better use of the areas of citizenship.

Along with age has come a greater sophistication. Just what sophistication means, I am not sure, since I have heard it used in so many ways. It apparently means wisdom, it means experience. Too frequently it means cynicism about the more serious and worthwhile things, and a great many of the ideals of good government to which we have subscribed. A good many of the statements, for example, which appear in our Constitution, which appear in the Bill of Rights, and which were once fighting issues, have now been accepted more or less as a matter of course, and are referred to as "corny" and "old-fashioned" and so on. They are brushed off without recognition of their value.

I do not want to go into detail with you on that. I suspect that each one of you has had details in trying to argue seriously on this subject, and has found the so-called sophisticated person speaking cynically about the whole operation of government and his participation in it. Frankly, it is a little worse than the case of the woman who was referred to a little while ago, who took home all the good things and made no contribution. Because in her case there was ignorance and lack of understanding. In the case of the sophisticate there is understanding, there is experience,

there is a deliberate repudiation of the duties of citizenship.

And that is the point of greatest loss, I should say, when people are that type and refuse to participate on such a basis. . . .

We are more urban people than we once were. We may be more urbane, at the same time. More people live in cities. There is less of that understanding of where life comes from. There is less of that resourcefulness about the common ways of life than there was fifty or a hundred years ago. It is getting to be more and more a case of large masses of people in large metropolitan areas, with highly specialized duties, with an inclination to think of themselves as specialists, whether they know what that word means or not, with an unwillingness, or perhaps a lack of training—a gentler way of saying it—in that type of large-scope thinking which is involved in citizenship.

There is a very real problem for us. It is an interesting fact that George Washington, in the days when the largest city in this country had approximately thirty thousand people, Philadelphia, at that time, said that the greatest troubles came from the masses of people who lived in the large cities.

And, of course, in history, social disturbances and social revolutions have come largely from large city states. Stop to think of that for a moment. Think of our country, and you will find the greatest extremes of poverty, the greatest extremes of wealth, the greatest contrasts between well-being and poor-being upon the part of our people, are in the cities.

The greatest incentive to remedy affairs by resorting to violence, instead of following the normal healthy procedures of good citizenship for which we stand, occurs in our cities.

What are we going to do about that? That is one of the facts of life which even an earnest application to principles, such as this convention is concerned with, is going to have a hard time changing, I am afraid. How can we get into the minds of these people who live in the larger areas the same kind of self sufficiency and understanding and appreciation of the value of the individual, which was in the mind and heart and soul of the pioneer, the frontiersman, of a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago? . . .

Somewhere in the process of education, and when I speak of education I am talking definitely of organizations and conventions of this kind, we must get into the minds of these people and the understanding of these people, the capacity for conceptual thinking which makes them realize that we still have frontiers, we still have opportunities for the pioneer.

Another thing which I think, perhaps, may be the result of some of the things I am talking about is the cynicism which results from unhappiness,

the case of the sophisticate who has not found his place in life, the older person who becomes more introspective as he goes along, the person in the metropolitan area who has less capacity for the scope of thinking I am talking about. We find more of a desire for "Peace of Mind," and comfort of the body, than we once had, when the life average was eighteen, twenty-five, thirty, or even forty years.

People had less thought about "Peace of Mind" in those days, and comfort of body, than they have now. It is very significant, I think, that books like *Peace of Mind* and *How To Stop Worrying*, and so on, are best sellers today. It is most significant that people are thinking in those terms rather than in terms of going out and meeting a frontier.

How can we compensate for the trends in human life which bring these attitudes? What process of education is available to accomplish that end? What possibilities lie in the field of religion? How can we make men and women think more of their place in a world in which they, as individuals, are charged with responsibility for solving the problems of this kind, rather than having someone else comfort them, give them peace of mind, and the pleasures of good living?

Of course, I am not minimizing the importance of making people as peaceful in mind as possible. We have enough hysteria. We have enough hospitals filled with mentally ill patients as it is. The good Lord seems to provide as many hurdles as possible to challenge the potentialities that we have, up to the limit; that seems to be a part of the plan. But we are having enough wreckage resulting from it at the present time—perhaps because of our own ineptness in meeting the challenge. Certainly we must be thinking pretty hard about how to condition our people in their younger years so that they will be able to meet these crises without the tensions and the breaks which we are getting now, if we are to have the resourceful citizenship which we need.

We differ as citizens today, because we live in situations which are much more different—milieu, if you wish to call it by a $64 word. Our local, national, and international problems are much more complex than they used to be. There is much greater necessity for training now than there once was. A man with a meager education could, through the experience of the life which he lived in those days, come to the Presidency of the United States and make a great contribution, as did Washington, Lincoln, and others. Neither Washington nor Lincoln was a college-trained man.

Who's Who in America indicates today that men and women who achieve great success are predominantly university graduates. The never-ending vicissitudes of life, today, both for individual success as well as for useful

participation in the public interest, require a much larger base of education and training to meet the great complexity of the problems which face them. We call increasingly upon science to solve the problems which face us, and to free us from the penalties of ignorance. We mark with pride the achievements of science in overcoming bodily diseases and making it possible to prevent them.

We are beginning to work in the field of mental and emotional imbalance—still another one of those frontiers in which we have great need for further professional training and experience. And, unfortunately, we have a much greater facility for scientific misuse of scientific discoveries than we have for beneficial use. In fact, the opportunity for misuse seems to be the greatest challenge for scientific discovery. . . .

Despite all the advantages of our present situation we seem to be less able to think in terms of the soul, which is making the journey in this body of clay, through this life which we are living. We seem less able to think in terms of universal plans, regions, and purposes for our being here and the part which we are supposed to be playing in this life.

We seem ever more inclined to think in terms of gathering a lot of things about us, squeezing as much pleasure as we can out of life, and dodging the responsibilities which come on the higher level.

I am not a minister. I do not profess to be a preacher. I am merely giving you a layman's observation of how the thing strikes me. I feel, very profoundly, that we have lost greatly at that particular point over the day of the pioneer of whom I spoke a moment ago. His Bible reading and his reverent talking with God was a daily family affair.

We have bigger telescopes. We can see further than we used to. We seem to have less seeing minds and more handicapped souls. . . .

One of the great values we have today, as contrasted with the citizenry of a hundred or more years ago, is the wealth of organizations which we have. I agree thoroughly with the previous speaker who spoke in terms of plenty of organizations. . . .

Of course, that brings me back to this organization with the cultures and experiences and program of work which are represented here. The opportunity which comes for a pooling of interests, the pooling of activities for achievement of these ends. Sometimes, unfortunately, these organizations are used for various specialized purposes. Sometimes they grow inward in their activities, becoming selfish and dissipating the energies of those who work in them. Sometimes they even get into very futile inter-group rivalries which expend the energies and the money of those who should be concerned with larger objectives.

But that is part of the process of citizenship, too—so I suppose we have

nothing to complain about. We have plenty of that in government, plenty of that in Congress, and plenty in the courts.

Now, I have a bit of inspirational material here which was prepared in advance for a press release, and I promised to give it. So I will. Perhaps it has come, pertinently enough, after the more general observations:

"Leadership in the community of nations has been thrust upon us, and it requires our understanding of other peoples and of conditions throughout the world. The inventions of our age have brought the problems of far-away places close to our hearthside. To survive decently, we must bend nature—all her new wonders—to constructive purposes.

"Today's American Citizen must live his citizenship every day of the year—year in and year out. His cannot be the kind of patriotism that requires a dramatic crisis or a war to become aroused. His cannot be the kind of citizenship that is brought out of mothballs and dusted off for Fourth of July parades or 'I Am an American' days."

Do not think I am minimizing the importance of those things, because I am not. But my point is merely to emphasize that it must be more than that. It must be more continuing than that. It must be more thinking than that.

"Today, the effective citizen must study the needs of his local and worldwide community and meet them to the best of his ability, whether it means jury duty or campaigning for more adequate salaries for public servants, or studying the issues that perplex the best of us in the intricate maze of world affairs."

I may say here, by way of interpolation, that I believe thoroughly in direct participation in local and state and national affairs. A person who tells you he does not believe in pressure groups is just refusing to look at the realities of life. The world is full of pressure groups. Washington is full of pressure groups. Legislation is being written by pressure groups. Any group which does not get in and do a little pressuring is failing to help preserve the balance which must be preserved if legislation is to be fairly representative of all the interests of us, together.

"Let us gather inspiration and strength from cooperating in these meetings. Let us fasten our eyes upon the higher goals and join together in securing the values that make America great. The horizons which face today's American citizens are wide and rich with potentialities. Let us rise to their challenge, not only with the experience which has come to us from our older and more sophisticated civilization, but, at the same time, with the enthusiasm and youthful vitality which characterized us in our earlier years."

ADDITIONAL RECORDS

EXCERPTS FROM THE GROUP REPORTS

▶ We need to avoid playing into the hands of subversives by making honest political action and social liberalism *synonymous* with communism. "Respectable persons" may thus neutralize social action groups and leave the field of social action to subversives.

▶ How to build civic responsibility? We must demand civic responsibility, not just of the poor, but of the well-to-do. For civic responsibility we need not merely more education but a certain high quality of education with a content centered on life problems.

▶ The term "dirty politics" labels the American science of government as incompetent and unclean. The fact that many serve our government altruistically is ignored.

▶ All too often the ordinary person does not feel that politics belongs to him. It seems to be the possession of some mysterious "others."

▶ What can we do to get government of the people? The first practical step to attain such a change is to discover methods of communication and expression that will interest all kinds of groups and thus get the *voice of the people.*

▶ One of the best ways to interest the average citizen in politics is by developing a year-round program in citizenship education, rather than waiting for election day to give out information. Groups of citizens, chosen regardless of party-lines, could be brought together to discuss issues to be voted upon, civic responsibilities, or ways of promoting good government.

▶ Youth should be called in everywhere decisions are being made. They should be asked to state their point of view openly and to assume their part of the responsibility. We must not sell young people short! We must encourage them in every way possible.

▶ It is most important that American citizens concern themselves with *local* problems. Unless local problems can be solved, national and international problems are apt to be badly handled.

▶ The authentic American tradition of welcoming the friendless and oppressed as stated in the poem on the base of the Statue of Liberty is opposed by the native superiority belief that old stock Americans are always superior to "aliens."

▶ American citizens should realize that American policy abroad is being resisted not because it is democratic, but because our political ideals and our economic system are not articulated.

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