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LECTURES
(NO DATE)
(1943 - 1947?)

Insegnamento della Matematica
nelle Scuole Medie degli Stati Uniti

Lt.Col. C.W. Washburne

I Introduzione - Le scuole degli Stati Uniti

- A - Mancanza di centralizzazione
 - autonomia statale e locale
 - Libertà dell'insegnante
 - Uniformità base
 - Associazioni per il riconoscimento ed ispezione
 - Intercomunicazione tra gli insegnanti
 - Requisiti per l'università
 - Esempi per l'università
 - Sperimento delle 30 scuole
 - Preparazione per la vita è la migliore preparazione per l'università

B - Organizzazione delle scuole americane

- Organ. tradizionale - 8-4, università
- Organ. moderna - 6-3-3, università

C - Proporzione dei ragazzi che frequentano le scuole secondarie

II L'educazione tradizionale

- A - Scopi tradizionali
 - Disciplina formale
 - Conoscenza encyclopedica
 - Preparazione per l'università
 - Preparazione per la vita pratica

B - L'insegnamento tradizionale della matematica

1. Organizzazione

- Scuola elementare
 - Processi fondamentali
 - Abilità e velocità
 - Geometria pratica - come misurare
 - Applicazioni pratiche
- Scuola media inferiore
 - Sviluppo e revisione dell'aritmetica e geometria
 - Concezioni generali
 - Applicazioni alla vita commerciale e pratica

- 2 -

Scuole media superiore

Algebra

Geometria Euclidea - piano

Geometria solida e trigonometrica, facoltativa

Junior College

Algebra avanzata

Trigonometria

Geometria analitica

2. Orario

Elementare - da 20 fino a 50 minuti,5 volte la settimana
lavoro a casa

Medio inferiore e superiore - 50 minuti,5 volte la sett.
lavoro a casa

3. Metodo

a - sistema di istruzione

Libro di testo

Compiti a spiegazione - uso di materia concreta

Lavoro scritto ed interrogazioni

Prove scritte

Esami mensili

Esami semestrali

Voti

Numero bocciati

b - metodo di insegnamento

2341

Logico

Astratto

Peso su esercizio e revisione

Esami esigono memoria piuttosto che ragione e
applicazione

4/ Critica del metodo tradizionale

Organizzato per specialisti, non per la maggioranza

Troppo dettagliato, non abbastanza inclusivo

Mancata relazione ai bisogni dei ragazzi e della società

Mancata coordinazione ed integrazione con altre materie

Non è d'accordo con la psicologia dell'adolescente

Nonostante queste critiche, il sistema tradizionale
perisiste, per matematica, anche nelle scuole altrimenti moderne

- 3 -

III L'educazione moderna

A - Scopi

Lo sviluppo dell'individuo
Preparazione per la vita attuale
Adattazione e partecipazione

B - Analisi della materia secondo risultati desiderati

Abitudine
Pensare criticamente e logicamente
Oreata' intellettuale
Precisione e prontezza

Abilità'

Riconoscere e analizzare problemi
Cooperare con altri
Studiare indipendentemente secondo bisogni attuali

Attitudini

Cooperativismo
Mente inquisitiva
Coscienza sociale

Conoscenza e apprezzamento

Sistema decimale
Valore del metodo matematico
Relazioni fra le matematica e le scienze; e la vita
pratica ed economica

Il programma e' mezzo si fini, non una materia per se stessa
L'organizzazione e prove devono essere secondo gli scopi

C - Organizzazione moderna della matematica

Scuola elementare

Insegnamento posposto fino all'eta' dove il ragazzo
ha la necessaria maturita' ed esperienza
Continua di dare peso a maestrezza ed applicazioni
pratiche

Media inferiore

Molto piu' peso sulla vita sociale, ed alle relazioni
ad altre materie; Matematica generale

Media superiore

Matematica generale, aritmetica commerciale
Più' peso sulla concreta ed interessante
Meno encyclopedico

- 4 -

D - Metodo moderno

1. Principi

Psicologico invece di logico
Concreto invece di astratto
Integrato invece di distaccato
Peso ~~sull'~~ interesse e ragionamento invece di memoria
Esami sulla applicazione e ragionamento

2. Applicazione dei principi

Uso di matematica per soddisfare bisogni
Bisogno individuale - senso di normalità
Statistica e misurazione
Bisogni della comunità della scuola
Banco
Assicurazioni
Cooperative
Fabbriche
"Rabbit raising" *attivita' conigli*
Bisogni intellettuali
Geometria per analizzare natura di prove
Valore di definizione
Relazione per assunzione e conclusione
Applicazione del metodo di geometria a
vari campi

Programma nucleare
Centro di interesse
Piani degli insegnanti di varie materie
Piani fatti con i ragazzi stessi
Che cosa vuole imparare
Che cosa vuole potere fare dopo il corso
che non era possibile prima
La scelta della materia
Organizzazione della materia
Orario
Problemi specifici
Valorizzazioni
In questi piani si deve considerare:
Scopi dello stato
Scopi locali
Bisogni individuali
Bisogni sociali

23/9

- 5 -

IV Conclusione

L'insegnamento attuale della matematica negli S.U.
non differisce fondamentalmente dall'insegnamento
in altri paesi

Ma c'e' un movimento verso un insegnamento
piu' d'accordo con i bisogni individuali e sociali
organizzato d'accordo con la psicologia dell'adolescen-

2338

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY

What is democracy? When we try to answer this question we must be careful to understand between the forms of democracy.

Democracy may be interpreted in a great variety of ways.

Voting, for example, may be of the kind where everyone on everything, or it may be through representatives. Representatives may be chosen by a given number of people, or by those in a geographically area, or by people grouped according to their political beliefs or by their occupations. Every person may have a voice in everything, or it may be a given number of people, or by those in a

selecting representatives, or the franchise may be limited by sex, by age, by property qualifications, by morals, by race, or by literacy. There may be a one-party, two-party, or many-party system. The possible forms of democracy are innumerable. Here, however, we are concerned with its spirit.

Fundamentally, democracy is a way of life that gives every individual the utmost possible opportunity for self-sufficiency as a member of an independent society. Therefore it involves:

- 1) Freedom Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of action.
- 2) Social responsibility Organization of men in identical station with the society of which one is a member, the subordination of temporary to permanent values and of individual and small-group with others in work and in thought, and to play an active part in

2337
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consideration of one must involve simultaneous consideration of the

ability not, however, be able to draw sharp lines between them. They must be considered for they both limit and assist one another. We

of the role of the expert.

In the practice of democracy all three of these factors

are logically and intelligently in terms of their mutual interrelation

deterring the social, political, and economic life of society.

with others in work and in thought, and to play an active part in action to large-trap purposes; and the ability to co-operate

with the society of which one is a member, the subordination of temporary to permanent values and of individual and small-group

action with the society of which one is a member, the subordination

2357

1) Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of action.

2) Social responsibility, realization of one's identity-

Fundamentally, democracy is a way of life, which gives every individual the utmost possible opportunity for self-fulfillment as a member of an interdependent society. Therefore it involves:

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concerned with its uplift.

Possible forms of democracy are: monarchy, oligarchy, or majority rule. The

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possible, by property qualifications, by morale, by race, or by literacy.

selected individuals, or the technicians who may be limited by sex, by

beliefs or by other qualifications. Every person may have a voice in

representative areas, or by popular election according to their political

party lines, or it may be through representatives. Representations

other two. But we can center our attention around each in turn.

Freedom of Thought

Jefferson said, "I founded the University of Virginia : where we shall follow truth wherever it may lead; nor fear to tolerate error as long as reason is left free to combat it." Children, and all persons, have an inalienable right to truth. Without free access to whatever knowledge and opinions are available they cannot think wisely. To give a child half-truths, to evade honest, frank answers to his questions, to indoctrinate him in a controversial field, to mislead him in any way, is to deprive him of the chance to develop his own independence of thought, to derive his of the elements of clear thinking.

Prefjudiced parents, prejudiced teachers, pre-judged textbooks, stand in his way. Yet we cannot, however earnestly we strive to do so, wholly avoid these prejudiced influences. But we can counteract them. We can man our schools with teachers of a wide variety of viewpoints, teachers who, moreover, are intent on developing children's powers of thought rather than on spreading their own conclusions. We can use books and periodicals written from various points of view. We can help children to place propaganda and to allow for produce.

The child's maturity must, of course, be taken into account. This does not mean, however, less honesty for young children than for older, or the concealing of facts and opinions. It means rather that ideas must be personalized and facts must be established and

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Without free access to the lower knowledges and opinions we are available they cannot think well. To give a child built-in bias, to enable honest, frank answers to his questions, to indoctrinate him in a controversial field, to steal his in any way, is to deprive him of the chance to develop his own independence of thought, to deprive him of the elements of clear thinking.

Prejudiced parents, prejudiced teachers, prejudiced texts, books, stand in His way. Yet we cannot, however earnestly we strive to do so, wholly avoid these prejudgeted influences. But we can counteract them. We can run our schools with teachers of a wide variety of viewpoints, teachers who, moreover, are intent on developing children's powers of thought rather than on imposing their own conclusions. We can use books and periodicals written from various points of view. We can help children to pierce propaganda and to allow for prejudice.

2336
The child's maturity must, of course, be taken into account. This does not mean, however, less honesty for young children than for older, or the concealing of facts and opinions. It means rather that these must be personalized and facts must be simplified and related to the child's experience. But the child is entitled to truth; there must be no distortion or concealment.

In a democratic school, children do not hesitate to express their thoughts. It is through such expression that thinking is clarified. Through it children learn from one another to increase their understanding. Through it they correlate social responsibility and prepare themselves for active life as citizens.

It is in the continual formulation and expression of

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their thoughts, and the interaction between their own thoughts and those of their fellows, that children grow daily in the ability to exercise democratic citizenship. The school conditions that make this possible are closely tied up with freedom of action.

Two anecdotes illustrate opposite views in regard to freedom of action :

The first is well known: A mother called down stairs to her husband, "No, go see what Tommy is doing and tell him not to!"

The other is the little dialogue my mother used to have with me when I was a child. She would say :

"Carleton, what can you do?"

"Anything I like!" (with an air of bravado and defiance)

"Except what?"

"Other other people." (much subdued)

In the first instance there is the assumption that the child, in acting freely, is violating the social standards and must be made to conform. In the second there is the recognition that the child is free to act as he will except as that freedom violates the equal freedom of others. Social responsibility and an understanding of the desires and freedom of others are always limitations upon individual freedom in social living, but they are almost the only legitimate limitations.

Within these limitations the child, for his own development, and for the worlding out of his characteristic desire of truth, must have the right to experience, to explore, to make mistakes, and to

The first is well known: A mother calls down a curse to her husband, "Bob, go see what Torrey is doing and tell him not to!"
The other is the little dialogue my mother used to have
with me when I was a child. She would say:

"Markham, don't you do it?"
"Always, always I live it's (in an air of bravado and defiance)
different what I am."

"Other other people." (much subdued)

In the first instance there is the assumption that the child, in some "freedom" violating the family standards and must be made to conform. In the second there is the recognition that the child is free to do what he will except as that freedom violates the social freedom of others. Social responsibility and impersonal duty justify freedom in so far that there are always limitations upon it.

Thus in these two extremes the one who makes the rules is the only one who decides what is right and wrong.

And for the world at large there is a difference of tremendous importance. There is a difference of conception and realization. There is a difference between those who have no right or responsibility, and those who have a right and responsibility to have experience, and a knowledge of opportunity. To them to carry out their duty is a privilege, and to those disconcerted • those who have no right upon themselves, to make decisions, to interpret boundaries, to make decisions, and to do over all.

originality, and self-directed work than upon strict assignments, fixed routine, and strict conformity to adult standards.

This does not mean latency, passivity or pliancy. The guidance and stimulation of the teacher are essential. It is through these that the children balance their freedom with social responsibilities and understanding.

Socialization and Freedom

Social responsibility both enlarges and restricts the individual. The more inclusive the group with which he identifies himself and the larger his horizons become, the greater are his growth and satisfactions and the more complete is his self-fulfillment.

Yet the more completely he is identified with more and more inclusive groups, the more his independence of action as an individual may be restricted.

Socialization, therefore, both limits and fulfills freedom. These two principles are basic in any consideration of democracy. Young children can be helped to an understanding of them in concrete situations. But a full awareness of their significance, and an ordering of life in accordance with that awareness, has not yet been achieved by adult society. The failure to recognize and apply these principles is the cause of our social, political, and economic conflicts. Let us, therefore, examine them here; for if human society is to understand them and live in the light of that understanding, we must lay the foundations in the democracy of the classroom.

Socialization and Freedom

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Freedom of Independence

Freedom has two contradictory aspects: independence and capability. We organise into co-operative, interdependent groupings in order to increase our capacity to fulfil our effective capacity, our power, and in proportion as we do so we lose our independence. What we may do is in inverse proportion to what we can do.

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Children can see this through such an example as the following:

Answer:

Suppose I go off by myself into the north woods with a canoe, a map, a compass, matches, camp outfit, gun ammunition, and fishing tackle. Now I may do anything I please. No one can tell me what is wrong and right, what is permitted and what is forbidden. I have completely the freedom of independence. On the moment is an unconscious realization in my independence that in my canoe I am fully self-sufficient. But as I cross a lake, with everything neatly stowed in my canoe, a storm breaks and capsizes me. My equipment sinks beyond recovery. I barely manage to swim to an island, while my canoe and paddle blow to a distant end of the lake.

Yet, cold, exhausted, I pull myself on to land. I still have complete independence. I may do anything I please, but I cannot get to the far end of the lake to recover my canoe. I cannot make myself a good shelter without fire, I cannot start a fire without matches, and without the knife and string with which a good semi-nomad can make a fire with a whirling stick, I cannot fish. I cannot hunt. I am helpless.

Am I free?

I have the freedom of independence, but not the freedom of certainty. Now I realize why I did not visit the lake before. I had the canoe made by others; the run, the amanita, the fishing tackle, the camp outfit all made through the co-operation of countless others.

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revolving in my thoughts in my canoe I am fully self-sufficient.

But as I cross a lake, with ever-lasting mists stored in my canoe, a
start breaks out and comes; yes no, by equipment alone beyond recovery. I
barely manage to swim to an island, while my canoe and paddle blow
to a distant end of the lake.

Wet, cold, exhausted, pull myself on to land. I still have
complete independence, say to anything I please. but I cannot get
to the far end of the lake to recover my canoe. I cannot make myself
a good shelter without fire, and, I cannot start a fire without matches,
and without the knife and string with which a good soul manages to
make a fire with a whirling stick. I cannot fish. I cannot hunt. I
am helpless.

Am I free?

I have the freedom of independence, but not the freedom of
canoeing. Now I realize why I did not raise the letter before. I had
the canoe made by others; the gun, the ammunition, the fishing tackle,
the camp outfit, all made through the co-operation of countless others.
I had come into the possession of these through subordinating my
independence to the social organization by many, many hours of work,
contribution of time, energy, and skill to the lives of my fellows,
regulated by them as to how and when and where I did so. In exchange
I was given the means to acquire those products of their labors. I
had gained the freedom of capability through the sacrifice of the
freedom of independence. And as I roar, wet, ailing, and hungry, on
my island, I faintly wish to continue the exchange and I don't feel
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- 6 -

that it will be such of a sacrifice !

Freedom of Capitalism

The other extreme complete freedom of capitalism is to no freedom of independence not, and cannot exist. For the sacrifice of "independence to organization reaches a point of diminishing returns. Through increasing organization, increasing co-operative exchange of work and thought, and consequent increasing interdependence—the exact fit for effective action becomes. But gradually the increasing interdependence of all results in the dependence of more and more people on the management and direction of fewer and fewer. This leads to diminishing self-determination and self-fulfillment on the part of the individuals who constitute the social organization. Consequently the organization itself begins to lose its capacity to develop. Instead of the social organization being a living, growing, self-expulsive organization, it tends to become mechanistic, its parts well-greased but inert.

In actuality we step organizing ourselves before such ultimate mechanization takes place. We inherent will of living beings to live rebels against an extreme of organization that stifles life. So the extreme of over-organization, or complete subordination of all individuals to the collective, never is realized.

The answer to the paradox of the loss of the freedom of independence with increased freedom of mobility through social 232

785016

returns. Through increasing socialisation, increasing co-operative
the necessity for effective action increases. But gradually the incentive of
interdependence of all results in the dependence of more and more
people on the management and direction of foster and former. This leads
to distilling self-determination and self-government on the part
of the individuals who consist in the social organisation. Consequently
the orientation itself begins to lose its capacity to develop.
Instead of the social organisation being a living, growing,
self-active organism, it tends to become mechanised, its parts well-
adjusted but inert.

In actuality we stop at certain stages before such
ultimate mechanisation takes place. The inherent will of living
individuals resists against the excesses of orientation; this is
able to live while existing in excess of orientation; this
orientation which increased freedom of creativity through social
solidition of all individuals to the collective, never is reached.

The answer to the paradox of the loss of the freedom of
independence with increased freedom of creativity through social
solidition lies in the democracy of organisations voluntary participation
as each individual is recognized as a living, contributing
part of the organisation, lesser or the organisation exists for the
well-being and the well-being of the individuals who compose
it, orientation increases effectiveness. The freedom of independence is
preserved, but the freedom of independence is voluntarily used for
the well-being and effectiveness of the social organisation of

which each feels himself to be a vital part.

It is impossible to separate that which promotes the welfare of individuals from that which promotes the welfare of society. For a society is only as who'some and all're as are the members who compose it. Just as individuals can only achieve fulfillment in a decorative, developing society, so society cannot be effective decorative and really alive and growing except as it is composed of individuals who are comparatively approaching self-government. ~~and that we have said to the intelligent-chapter, therefore, concerning the conduct of thought, organization, and action, and individual association, and personal independence, must be done.~~
Each individual, a social responsibility can only be exercised extending our horizons of thought and our field of effective action. It is our means of achieving the freedom of opportunity, of vastly to achieve genuine and permanent participation in our self-government, in a free society.

The value of social organization has already been discussed—
in a free society.
The sense of responsibility for the welfare of a social group is an inevitable concomitant of a realization that one's belonging to that group. One must feel one's membership so fully that the group's problems are one's own problems; in satisfactions one's own satisfactions.

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That sense of identity with one's fellows can be achieved

fulfillment in a democratic, developing society, so society cannot be effectively democratic and really alive and growing except as it is composed of individuals who are co-operatively approaching the self-fulfillment. ~~that this is the modern chapter, where, through the freedom of thought, expression and action of individuals, lies the question of developing a democratic, pluralistic society.~~ Each individual's social responsibility can only be exercised in a free society.

The value of social organisation has already been discussed—
it is our means of securing the freedom of creativity, of vastly extending our horizons of thought, and our field of effective action.
To achieve magnitude of spirit, in proportion to one's identification with an organic society.

The sense of responsibility for the well-being of a social group is an inevitable concomitant of a realization that one actually belongs to this group. One must feel one's membership so fully that the group's problems are one's own problems, its satisfactions one's own satisfactions.

That sense of identity with one's fellows can be achieved only through the free, active participation of the individual in group activities, even vicarious experiences, through movie, radio, or books, involve such participation mentally, and they are effective in proportion as the participation is real to the children. Free, active participation in group understandings is the essence of citizenship.

Children are living a social life. They are thinking, talking, working, and playing together. Very early they begin to see the need for organization.

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- 9 -

Once organized, their first tendency is to make rules. Then the teacher needs to guide them toward the recognition that rules should be limited to the few which are necessary to maintain order and co-operation of effort. Sometimes this guidance consists in letting rules be made and enforced under ~~strict~~ no rules that the children may become aware of the harm of too many rules or rules that are too rigid.

Some legislation, at least, policy framing, however, is necessary. And in this process children get experience in group thinking, and a sense of belonging to a social group. Legislative action requires organization. The form of the organization should be indigenous to the class or school and grow up from the needs and planning of the children. But it should be based on the fundamental principles of democracy, freedom, social responsibility, and understanding.

It is essential that in any type of school democracy the children be allowed to make mistakes. Any lack of genuineness in responsibility and freedom is instantly sensed, and results in a loss of the essential values of student citizenship. The teacher may, and often does, speak and write what they wish; he extremely careful not to dominate. If a possible decision is liable to be one which will so vitally affect the well-being of the school that the teacher's constitutional responsibility must be called into play, this should be explained at the outset and the children be warned that this is a matter on which they 23:0

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responsibility and freedom is instantly sensed, and results in a loss of the energetic will of students of responsibility. The teacher's way, and often do, speak; and advise that they must be extremely careful not to dominate. If a sensible decision is liable to be one which will go vital affect the well-being of the school but the teacher's custodial responsibility must be called into play, this should be explained at the outset and the children be warned that this is a matter on which they will not be allowed to make a decision such as conclusion is, however, so rare that I am unable to give an example.

There are, however, inherent limitations to any self-government, not imposed by the teacher or by authority, but implicit in social consultation. There are, the relation of members of groups to more

inclusive larger ones; the rights of individuals and minors; the problems of size; and the principle of understanding.

The first limitation lies in the fact any group is part of a larger, more inclusive group. Its freedom of action is limited by

785016

- 9 -

Its relationship to other groups and to the more inclusive society. The children in one class are part of the whole school. Their decisions, where they affect other classes, have to be made with due consideration of and in interaction with the other classes of the school. Again, the school children are a part of the community in which the school exists. Insofar as their decisions and actions influence the community or rest upon it, the rights and the decisions of the community limit their freedom. The same is true, of course, for the state and the nation, and for the world as a whole.

More a decision of the children in the classroom violates a decision by the more inclusive community, the latter must take precedence.

A second inherent limitation and strength of any democratic organization is the right of the individual or the minority to as much freedom as is attainable without harm to the majority. A majority has no right in a democracy to determine the actions of a minority except where those actions are definitely threatening to the majority's rights. For example, would question whether a majority has a right to decide what sort of a personal life I lead or what sort of a personal life any small community leads, as long as that life does not interfere with the life of the rest of the people. It has a right to say that I shall not drive a car if I am drunk. That obviously is seriously interfering with others.

which the school exists. Insofar as society does not influence the example, or react upon it, the rights and the decisions of the community limit their freedom. He said the true, of course, for the state and the nation, and for the world as a whole.

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785016

such low wages and treat his labor to such an extent that it forces the standard down for other manufacturers who are to compete in the open market. And so through the whole range of democratic legislation, a majority may only regulate the minority where the action of that minority, unregulated, would personally and directly interfere with the rights of others.

Minority and individual rights are not merely important for the persons directly concerned. They are essential to the health and vitality of society. Without the right of individuals and groups to exercise initiative and express themselves freely, society becomes static, inert. Variation is nature's means of effecting evolution. Different culture patterns and different political and economic theories are the life blood of social organization. They must flow unrestricted. It is only in matters of action involving the welfare of the whole social unit that a majority can, if impotent, overrule the minority.

The Problem of Size

Closely related to the rights and use of individuals and minorities is the problem of size. The inherent limitation of social organization. The larger and more inclusive a social organization becomes, the greater its potentialities for infringing the freedom of capability; yet the larger it is for all the members to preserve the feeling of vital participation. Society is limited in size by the limitation of its potentialities by the diminishing returns

actions of man, induced by any means, he may directly or indirectly interfere with the rights of others.

Honesty and individual rights are not merely important for the persons directly concerned. They are essential to the smooth and welfare of society. Integrity is nature's means of effecting evolution. Different cultures pursue and different societies become stable, inert. Virtue can be natural, a means of action and economic well-being, yet it can also be the tool of social organization. They must flow unobstructed. It is only in matters of action involving the welfare of the whole social unit, that a society can, with integrity, overrule the authority.

The Problem of Size

Closely related to the right and use of individualism and minorities is the problem of a large number of individuals in one organization. The larger and more inclusive a social organization becomes, the greater are its potentialities for increasing the freedom of creativity; yet the larger it is for all the members to participate in the feelings of unity, participation, security, and pleasure. A large school, a big city, school systems, great corporations, etc., result toward bureaucratized control and the loss of initiative on a small scale government. And so we find of immense importance in all work toward humanization of control without reduction of the right of the oppositional groups and individuals. We see that no all work toward humanization of control and the loss of initiative on a small scale government.

In the final analysis of control as a possible without reduction and without loss of coordination among the parts.

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- 11 -

The moment an organization, school, an industry, or a government becomes so large that rules have to be substituted for judgment in terms of the well-being of individuals or groups, the organization needs to be broken into smaller parts. The larger organization must be retained to co-ordinate the groups that compose it, lest we lose the freedom of capability. But if groups must retain their initiative and the possibility of encouraging, in turn, the full development of their individual members, lest we lose the freedom of independent thought, expression, action, and least society stagnate.

Understanding

Our fourth function to social organization and responsibility is the degree of understanding possessed by the members of a society.

We have referred to the relationship of small groups to larger, the rights and use of individuals and minorities, the problem of size, and the extent of understanding possessed by the members of society, as little more of social organization and responsibility. They are; but they are also its problem. Just as an individual's life is fuller and more meaningful when he identifies himself with a group, so is a group fulfilled by identification with more inclusive groups. The rights of minorities limit majority action; but individuals and minorities, with their differing patterns and ideas, are essential for the life and growth of the social organism. Size

democracy must be built.

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organization must be required to co-ordinate the groups that can retain their initiative and the potential of existing, in turn, the full development of their individual members, least we lose the freedom of independent thought, expression, and action, and least. In the degree of understanding possessed by the members of a society, the rights and use of individuals and minorities, the problems of size, and the extent of understanding possessed by the members of society, as limitation of social organization and reconstruction. There are; but they are also its fulfillment. Just as an individual life is fuller and more meaningful when he identifies himself with a group, so is a group fulfilled by identification with more people. The rights of minorities limit majority action; but, individuals and minorities, with their distinctive patterns and ideas, may become cumbersome; but it may also increase effectiveness. And we are essential for the life and growth of the social organism. Size, 7
is the lack of understanding limits social responsibility, increased understanding by the members of society, is the foundation upon which democracy must be built.

Understanding

and/or negotiate.

our fourth, reflection on social organization and responsibility.

pose it, let us lose the freedom of creativity. but it, groups must retain their initiative and the potential of existing, in turn, the freedom of independent thought, expression, and action, and least.

And you shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free. This statement has been repeated so many times that we tend to overlook its significance. We don't connect it— we won't let it tell us what's going on.

But it is the key to democracy and the reason for it, without understanding knowledge, words, pictures, we have nothing; the freedom of independence nor the freedom of capability. The seemingly independent person is constantly limited by lack of understanding. In making a statement and self-purification he is continually limited by ignorance. He cannot subordinate immediate impulse to ultimate good without knowing what is his ultimate good; so that which, if he knew it, would yield him greatest richness of life is often sacrificed to momentary whims. Self-discipline is lacking or affected when he lacks understanding. And when he lacks self-discipline, he becomes a slave to impulse, not a free man.

The freedom of capability is obviously proportionate to understanding. If we don't know how to achieve our ends, we are not free to achieve them. If we are hungry and don't know how to obtain food, if we are sick and don't know how to achieve health, if we are cold and don't know how to get clothes, shelter, and fuel; if we to communicate and don't know the language of the other person understand; if we fail to secure ourselves in mind or art, or the dance or writing and don't have the techniques—if we don't understand how to do it in a way that

2376

Most understand freedom, trust, wisdom, have
but few consider that freedom is the freedom of opportunity.
The majority respond, "constant liberty, constant right, to take of
whatever we want." In seeking such freedom and self-government to be
controllable by someone who controls what is his ultimate
good; so that which, if he took it, would yield him greatest riches
loses of life to often sacrifice to secondary whims, self-destructive
habits, self-delusion, he becomes a slave to impulse, not a free
man.

The freedom of opportunity is ordinary proportionate
to understanding; if we don't know how to handle our urge, we are
not free to achieve this. If we are hungry and can't know how to
obtain food; if we are sick and don't know how to sustain health;
if we are cold and don't know how to get clothes, shelter, and fuel;
if we are convenience and don't know the language the other person
uses; if we are deaf to express ourselves in mind or art, or
to do anything and do not understand how to do it in a way that
will affect us clearly are not free.

Social responsibility and interdependence, too, depend upon
the desire or motivation and can't have the techniques - if we want
to do anything and do not understand how to do it in a way that
will play well with others. We must now group interests if
we are to make them care. To control people in the economic,
political, or social life of mankind, we cannot share in mankind's
thoughts and feelings, except as we understand,

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Understanding grows through experience. And experience is proportionate to participation. Democracy is the only way of life in which there is real participation by every individual. Therefore democracy is essential to understanding.

It is through participation in a democratic society that we know each other's capacities and limitations, each other's goals and frustrations. Then we act under orders or learn little. It is us to give responsible thought to our social relations and to our conjuncted purposes that we grow in understanding. There are, limits to the attainable knowledge and understanding of any individual. We have to share in each other's knowledge. There must be a division of labor and specialisation in the realm of understanding as there is in the realm of work. By this means the whole of society far exceeds that of any one individual component. And that brings us to the role of the expert in a democratic society.

The Role of the Expert

In all democratic organisations there is the need for delegating authority to experts except where a situation makes the members of the society themselves experts. This point of view holds both elaboration and defense, because it is one where our own political democracy in America, like that of other countries, is running into serious difficulties, and in one which has contributed 2325 to the breakdown of democracy and the rise of dictatorship where

that we know each other's capabilities and limitations, each other's goals and frustrations. Then we can begin to learn little.
It is also imperative that we have to share in each other's
and to our mutual purposes that we grow in understanding,

There are / limits to the sustainable knowledge and
understanding of any individual. We have to share in each other's
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specialists to export except where a situation makes
the members of the society themselves experts. This part of
our political democracy in America, like that of other countries,
is running into serious obstacles, and it is one which has contributed to
the breakdown of democracy and the rise of dictatorship where
it has not been adequately understood.

The Loss of Democracy

Countries which did not have our long tradition of
democracy, but which tried to organize themselves democratically
either because they have extremely complex have given up in
despair and let dictators appoint commissions or commissions
to work out some sort of practical scheme for running things.
And as far as monetary, internal efficiency is concerned, that

Right or the common man to independent thought has to withdrawly 2324

- 14 -

solution has worked reasonably well. There is no doubt but that
Russia in this much sound clearing up is only half-way to the goals
she sets correctly. Lyons listed in formerly "July 28, 1945" the results
of the power and position were after his assessment on which that
confusion gave way to relative order, that: Germany became a more
and a more effective nation to the internal economic and political
life. Anyone who saw the vast change of Russia in 1947 and the
hopelessly bankrupt appearance of Germany's democratic
government, and then watched the transformation in 1948 to complete
disorder of order, there was great achievement.

But it comes down, by doing away with the old army unwork-
able notion that a group of big representatives of the people can
reach intelligent and workable decision on the vast multitude of
detailed problems that affect our political life, and particularly
our economic life, brought order out of chaos, but at what a price!
First, while freedom of basic criticism had to be abandoned, schools
had to become propaganda machines. Homeowners had to become the
only active mouthpieces of the governing Party. All opposition
parties had to be abolished. Those who opposed the will of the
dictator had to be thrown into concentration camps or executed. The

way a more efficient nation in its internal economy and political
life. Hence who was the first class of people in 1937 and who
now nearly half the population of Germany, a member of a
Government, and then wanted the Government under the name of
the dictatorship or took it and retained it, was that, in terms of
increased spiritual efficiency, it was more efficient, and the
degree of order, there was much higher.

The dictator first by doing very well, he obviously uncom-
fortable notion that a group of free representatives, one of the people can
not be intelligent and reasonable decision on the right, and the type of
detailed problems that affect our political life, and particularly
our economic life, brought out of action, but it was a price,
First, all freedom of basic criticism had to be abolished. Schools
had to become propaganda machines. Management had to begin the
exclusive members of the government party. All opposition
parties had to be abolished. Those who opposed the Nazi or the
dictator had to be thrown into concentration camps or executed. The
dictator had to be thrown into concentration camps or executed. The
right of the common man to independent thought had to be withdrawn. 324
expressed.

A momentary internal efficiency at the cost of the
survival of human thought, and rights, and at the cost of a terror-
istic and militaristic which destroy the best qualities of
internal economy in the long run must be soundly, is isolated.

We are, therefore, invited in the no harm or a lesson.

Democracy as heretofore 'most has become hopelessly obscured by
the multitude of affairs claims for an extension of election that
is utterly untenable by a general body of representatives. The

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2363
such of the localities as well as the events and incidents

fields of human endeavor, under certain democratic principles,
than of the necessity for delegating to executive of the various
of democracy in the field. That suggestion in the frank recognition
of that situation has a direct bearing upon our delicate problem
electoral and democratic schemes. But a suggestion of the nature
work out in detail this interpretation of the noble elements in our
It is obviously beyond the scope of this talk to go into

not impossible to find.

clear-cut and generalized at both extremes, still intermediate is
severe of preconceived notions and of prejudices, still no lack
extreme and neither at either of the extremes, still no lack
a workable whole. It consists of trying to find the good in each
which are not mutually antagonistic and of integrating them into
interpretation. It consists of making the elements in each extreme
An always, between the two extremes there is an intermediary
the position of the majority of both. It also has a corresponding an
opposition. It consists of making the elements in each extreme
relationship, one of the freedom for which the human race has been
stressing through all means, written and spoken, by the best minds and
for governmental protection and law and order. We must make and
economic breakdown first around the center. By the other basic aspects

Resolve the Disease

and
1941. The members of this, for long years, had suffered from
an economic breakdown first around the center. By the other basic aspects
of governmental protection and law and order. We must make and
economic breakdown first around the center. By the other basic aspects

to always believe the purpose of war, is to make a permanent peace, and an
international, & consequent, & permanent peace, obtainable in each
country, by means of a complete and of introducing some kind
of socialistic state, & condition of trying to make good in each
country, and under the condition of pre-judges, when we look
solving of preconceived notion, and of pre-judges, when we look
with in detail this intention of the sound elements in the
dictatorial and democratic schemes, but a suggestion of the nature
not impossible to find.

It is oddly beyond the scope of this talk to try to
work out in detail this intention of the sound elements in the
dictatorial and democratic schemes, but a suggestion of the nature
of this intention has a direct bearing upon our immediate problem
of democracy in the ^{U.S.A.} That's because on the one hand
plan of the president to delegate to various
parts of the union power, under certain democratic limitations,

and of the legislative, as well as the executive and judicial power, 2393
of democracy in the ^{U.S.A.} That's because on the one hand
plan of the president to delegate their authority to experts under

and be responsible to the electorate. The country that she is
leading toward dictatorship is natural enough, because of our failure
to recognize the values of delegating authority to experts under
central policies established by legislative bodies, and our failure
to recognize the difference between a dictatorship which suppresses
all criticism and will oppose groups and an authority which has
neither the power nor the tendency to curb such suppression. The
J.

difference between a dictatorship which is upheld merely by force, and a government which derives its power from the unswayed consent of the people, and which may not be removed by force.

The right of taxation, representation, and speech should always be reserved to the people. The right to freedom of speech, of press, and of assembly in a broad sense, is essential to democracy. These three rights, if violated, should not be忍受ed.

And let us go a step further. Then the people themselves, rather than their representatives, feel strongly inclined to a given issue that there can be made clear enough so that there can be a reasonably universal understanding of it. Every voter can become sufficiently expert to pass intelligent judgment upon it. When the issues are few enough and universal enough in their importations, the entire electorate can legislate effectively. Then the issues are more numerous and more complicated, or are confined to their effects to certain groups of the population, legislative bodies of reference have to be constituted, or when the issues are detailed, intricate, and multifarious, or when they affect organized groups (the stock exchange, for example, or railroad management), it is far better to leave legislative enactment (in the form of rulings by commissions) to carefully chosen experts constituted by consent.

2322

The right of freedom, of speech,
of press, and of assembly, is more right essential to liberty.
While these rights are absolute, they must be tested.

What then has their relationship, first, to those who regard to a
governmental intervention, sufficient enough so that there can be
no election? Next, what can be said about the right of speech, when the
entire electorate can legitimate effectively? Then the issues are more
difficultly expert, to gain intelligent judgment upon it. When the
issues are few enough, and universal enough in their importance, the
governmental intervention, notwithstanding of it, during voter can become
too hot to go a step further, when the people themselves,

more complicated, or are confirmed in their effects to
certain parts of the population, relatively isolated from the
rest of the people may become sufficiently expert to give intelligent
consideration to them. But when the issues are detailed, intricate, and
multitudinous, when they represent a large and varied group (who speak
exclusively, for example, on railroad management), it is far better to
leave legislative enactment (in the form of enabling by conventions)
to carefully chosen expert committee or committees.

2.3.2

Amendment to the Classics

You lot us carry these principles into diverse discovery.
Here the teacher is the expert in many respects. Who can take the initiative?

In adult society we constitute each other's relations of the
schools, in their real, for democracy, have occasionally room.
books, which could a part of life like children under his guidance. A
selection of this book will prevent the exposure to adult books
select the stimulate of education, and set the youth for learning, for
adult selection of books, plan the various progress and time schedule,

experts must be listed by the general conditions which must be open to electorate or their representatives; that his voice must be open to free criticism and discussion, and must not restrict freedom of expression; and that the electorate must retain the right of suffrage, live referendum, and recall. In the classroom society correspondingly, teachers, as an expert, must retain the constitutional rights of suffrage, live referendum, the right of criticism, and recall.

Children are inactive. They are only mildly socialized. They will never develop a strong democratic instinct. If children are to gain under our system through democratic management of their own affairs, they must have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and that involves the right to make, let, no repeat, no return. It must also generate confidence in the teacher. Children are inactive. They are only mildly socialized. They will never develop a strong democratic instinct. If children are to gain under our system through democratic management of their own affairs, they must have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and that, involves the right to make, let, no repeat, no return. It must also generate confidence in the teacher.

Children learn quickly by practice. All the children must be given ample opportunity to make mistakes.

Conclusion

of thought, speech, and action. There should be a sense of social participation of all members, should promote the common welfare. There should be a sense of social participation of all members, should promote the common welfare.

Confidential

representatives of the community and his students
entitled to democratic participation. When this experts in what's dangerous, exposure
and protection. When the experts in what's dangerous, exposure
freedom of expression and criticism.

Promoting Justice in Society

Children's democracy we do have in our classroom, it
must, let no repeat, be principle. It must allow for the making of
mistakes, and it must avoid exclusive direction by the teacher.
Children are individuals. They are not easily fooled. They
certainly sense a spontaneous democracy. If children are to gain under-
standing through democratic management of their own affairs, they must
have a genuine feeling of responsibility. And this, involves the
right to make mistakes.

Conclusion

Children learn citizenship by practicing it., an attem-
phere of democracy should pervade the classroom, all the principles
of democracy should be put into practice. There should be freedom
of thought, speech, and action. There should be a sense of social
responsibility, with the freedom of independence balanced by the
interdependence that yields freedom of capacity through cooperative
endeavor. And there should be ever-increasing understanding, through
the practice of these principles, the children have a way of life
that gives every individual the utmost possible opportunity for self-
fulfillment as a member of an interdependent society. Such a way of
life is democracy. It is our basic means of giving children social
consciousness. It is the education.

Fr.

of humanity to permanent values and to adapt to social needs

and to become one's self, to a member, to a subscriber, to a subscriber

2) Social responsibility

freedom of action.

1) Professional or Chaplaincy of expressions, and

a member of an independent society. Therefore it is known:

Individual who uses opportunities to sell-chaplaincy to sell-chaplaincy on
fundamental principles, desirous to do his or her best to serve every

concerned individual.

Possible forms of democracy are: Individual, Party, or Party-System. The
there may be a one-party, two-party, or many-party system. The

one, the majority government, by more, by more, or by majority.

Selective representation, of people, to be limited by majority.

Majority person may have a voice in a

selective representation, of people, to be limited by majority.

Cooperative arrangement, where persons may have a voice in a

majority decision by a given number of people, or by those in a

cooperative arrangement, where everyone works on
whatever, for example, may be the basis of cooperation.

and the session.

What is democracy? What we try to attain, who form of democracy

we want to attain to a standard, between who form of democracy

Voting, for example, may be of the kind where everyone votes on everything, or it may be through representatives. Representatives may be chosen by a given number of people, or by those in a geographic area, or by people grouped according to their political beliefs or by their occupations. Every person may have a voice in selecting representatives, or the function may be limited by sex, by age, by property, qualifications, by morals, by race, or by literacy.

There may be a one-party, two-party, or many-party system. There possible forms of democracy are innumerable. Here, however, we are concerned with its spirit.

Purposentially, democracy is a way of life that gives every individual the utmost possible opportunity for self-development as a member of an interdependent society. Therefore it involves :
1) Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, and freedom of action.

- 2) Social responsibility, realization of one's identity in relation with the society of which one is a member, the subordination of temporary to permanent values and of individual and small-group action to larger-group purposes; and the ability to co-operate with others in work and in thought, and to play an active part in determining the social, political, and economic life of society.
- 3) Understanding—the ability to find facts, to think and act logically and intelligently in terms of them, and the recognition of the role of the expert.

In the practice of democracy all three of these factors must be considered, for they both limit and fulfill one another. We shall not, however, be able to draw sharp lines between them. Any consideration of one must involve simultaneous consideration of the

other two. But we can enter our discussion around each in turn.

Freedom of Thought

Jefferson said, in founding the University of Virginia:

"Where no man shall follow truth wherever it may lead; nor fear to tolerate error as long as reason is left free to combat it."

Children, and all persons, have an inalienable right to truth. Without free access to whatever knowledge and opinions are available they cannot think wisely. To give a child half-truths, to evade honest, frank answers to his questions, to indoctrinate him in a controversial field, to mislead him in any way, is to deprive him of the chance to develop his own independence of thought, to deprive him of the elements of clear thinking.

Prejudiced parents, prejudiced teachers, prejudiced textbooks, stand in his way. Yet we cannot, however earnestly we strive to do so, wholly avoid these prejudiced influences. But we can counteract them. We can run our schools with teachers of a wide variety of viewpoints, teachers who, moreover, are intent on developing children's powers of thought rather than on imposing their own conclusions. We can use books and periodicals written from various points of view. We can help children to piece propaganda and to allow for prejudice.

The child's maturity must, of course, be taken into account. This does not mean, however, less honesty for young children than for older, or the concealing of facts and opinions. It means rather that some

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The child's maturity must, of course, be taken into account,³¹⁹ This does not mean, however, less honesty for young children than for older, or the concealing of facts and opinions. It means rather that ideas must be personalized and facts must be simplified and related to the child's experience. But the child is entitled to truth; there must be no distortion or concealment.

In a democratic school, children do not hesitate to express their thoughts. It is through such expression that thinking is clarified. Through it children learn from one another to increase their understanding. Through it they exercise social responsibility and prepare themselves for active life as citizens.

It is in the continual formulation and expression of

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their thoughts, and the interaction between their own thoughts and those of their fellows, that children grow daily in the ability to exercise democratic citizenship. The school conditions that make this possible are closely tied up with freedom of action.

Two anecdotes illustrate opposite views in regard to freedom of action:

The first is well known: A mother called down stairs to her husband, "Bob, go see what Tommy is doing and tell him not to!"

The other is the little dialogue my mother used to have with me when I was a child. She would say:

"Carlton, what can you do?"

"Anything I like!" (with an air of bravado and defiance)

"Except what?"

"Other other people." (much subdued)

In the first instance there is the assumption that the child, in acting freely, is violating the family standards and must be made to conform. In the second there is the recognition that the child is free to act as he will except as that freedom violates the equal freedom of others. Social responsibility and an understanding of the desires and freedom of others are always limitations upon individual freedom in social living, but they are almost the only legitimate limitations.

With these limitations the child, for his own development, and for the working out of his characteristic design of growth, must have the right to experience, to explore, to make mistakes, and to

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"except what?"

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Within these limitations the child, for his own development, has the right to explore, to explore, to make mistakes, and to discover his own potentialities and their boundaries. There is, consequently, an atmosphere of freedom and security in a democratic classroom. There is a minimum of controls and repression. There is a maximum of opportunity for children to carry out activities appropriate to their level of development, to have experience, and to take discovery. There is much more emphasis upon initiative,

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or finality, and mold-directed work than upon a & assignments, fixed routine, and strict conformity to adult standards.

This does not mean laissez faire or plallegement. Guidance and stimulation of the teacher are essential. It is through these that the children balance their freedom with social responsibility and understanding.

Socialization and Freedom

Social responsibility both enlarges and restricts the individual. The more inclusive the group with which he identifies himself and the larger his horizons become, the greater are his growth and satisfaction and the more complete is his self-fulfillment. Yet the more completely he is identified with more and more inclusive groups, the more his independence of action as an individual may be restricted.

Socialization, therefore, both limits and fulfills freedom. These two principles are basic in any consideration of democracy. Young children can be helped to an understanding of them in concrete situations. But a full awareness of their significance, and an ordering of life in accordance with that awareness, has not yet been achieved by adult society. The failure to recognize and apply these principles is the cause of our social, political, and economic conflicts. Let us, therefore, examine them here; for if human society is to understand them and live in the light of that understanding, we must lay the foundations in the democracy of the classroom.

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Freedom of Independence

Freedom has two contradictory aspects: independence and capability. We organise into co-operative, interdependent groupings in order to increase our capability; our effective capacity, our power; and in proportion as we do so we lose our independence. What we may do is in inverse proportion to what we can do.

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Children can see this through; such an example as the following:

I am a man.

Suppose I go off by myself into the north woods with a canoe, a rifle, a compass, matches, camp outfit, gun, ammunition, and fishing tackle. Now I may do anything I please. No one can tell me what is wrong and right, what is permitted and what is forbidden. I have completely the freedom of independence. For the moment I am unconscious of any lack of freedom of capability. I travel from place to place revolving in my independence. In my canoe I am fully self-sufficient, but as I cross a lake, with everything neatly stowed in my canoe, a storm breaks and capsizes me. My equipment sinks beyond recovery. I barely manage to swim to an island, while my canoe and paddle blow to a distant end of the lake.

Wet, cold, exhausted, I pull myself on to land. I still have complete independence. I may do anything I please. But I cannot get to the far end of the lake to recover my canoe. I cannot make myself a good shelter without my ax. I cannot start a fire without matches, and without the knife and string with which a good stout canoe is made a fire with a whirling stick. I cannot fish. I cannot hunt. I am helpless.

Am I free?

D. J. 16

I have the freedom of independence, but not the freedom of dependence. How I realize why I did not miss the letter before. I had the ~~confidence~~ by others; the gun, the ammunition, the fishing tackle,

wrong and right, what is ~~per~~ ^{right} freedom of independence. For the moment I am unconscious completely the freedom of independence. For the moment I am unconscious of my lack of freedom of capability. I travel from place to place revolving in my independence ~~where~~ in my canoe I am fully self-sufficient.

But as I cross a lake, ~~and~~ to everything neatly stored in my canoe, a store broken and capsized me. My equipment sinks beyond recovery. I barely manage to swim to an island, while my canoe and paddle blow to a distant end of the lake.

Wet, cold, exhausted, I pull myself on to land. I still have complete independence, ~~I~~ may do anything I please. But I cannot yet go to the far end of the lake to recover my canoe. I cannot make myself a good shelter without my ax. I cannot start a fire without matches, and without the knife and string with which a good scout manages to make a fire with a whirling stick. I cannot hunt. I am helpless.

Am I free?

Q316

I have the freedom of independence, but not the freedom of capability. Now I realise why I did not see the latter before. I had the ~~confidence~~ of others; the gun, the ammunition, the fishing tackle, the camp outfit, all made through the co-operation of countless others. I had come into the possession of these through subordinating my independence to the social organisation by many, many hours of work, contributing my time, energy, and skill to the lives of my fellows, regulated by these as to how and when and where I did so. In exchange I was given the means to acquire these products of their labors. I had gained the freedom of capability through the sacrifice of the freedom of independence. And as I roan, wet, shivering, and hungry, on my island, I ardently wish to continue the exchange ~~and~~ I don't feel ./.

that it will be much of a sacrifice !

Freedom of Capability

The other extreme complete freedom of capability is to be no freedom of independence not and cannot exist. For the sacrifice of independence to organization reaches a point of diminishing returns. Through increasing socialization/increasing co-operative exchange of work and thought, and consequent increasing interdependence—the capacity for effective action increases, but gradually the increasing interdependence of all results in the dependence of more and more people on the management and direction of power and money. This leads to diminishing self-determination and self-fulfillment on the part of the individuals who constitute the social organization. Consequently the organization itself begins to lose its capacity to develop.

Instead of the social organization being a living, growing, self-assertive organism, it tends to become machine-like, its parts will-be geared but inert.

In actuality we stop organizing ourselves before such ultimate mechanization takes place. The inherent will of living beings to live rebels against an extreme of organization that stifles life. So the extreme of over-organization, or complete subordination of all individual to the collective, never is reached.

The answer to the paradox of the loss of the freedom of independence with increased freedom of capability through social organization lies in the democracy of organization/voluntary participation.

independence to organization, increasing cooperative exchange of work and thought, and consequent increasing interdependence—

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Instead of the social organization being a living, growing, self-protective organism, it tends to become machine-like, its parts well-

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In actuality we stop organizing ourselves before such ultimate mechanization takes place. The inherent will of living beings to live rebels against an extreme of organization that stifles life. So the extreme of over-organization, of complete subordination of all individuals to the collective, never is reached.

The answer to the paradox of the loss of the freedom of independence with increased freedom of capability through social organization lies in the democracy of organization—voluntary participation in an interdependent society, not dependence and subordination. Insofar as each individual is recognized as a living, contributing part of the organization, insofar as the organization exists for the well-being and the self-fulfillment of the individuals who compose it, organization increases effectiveness. The freedom of capability is attained, and a large measure of the freedom of independence is preserved.

But the freedom of independence is voluntarily used for the well-being and effectiveness of the social organization of

can satisfaction.

the prop, problems are one, own problems are one, the individual ones one's belong to their group. One must feel one, own problems, the individual ones belong to their group. One must feel one, own problems are one's

group is an individual occurrence, sum of a problem, what one feels, the group is an individual occurrence, sum of a problem, what one feels,

The sense of responsibility for the well-being of a social

join with an organic society.

We achieve magnitude of spirit in proportion to our self-interests, we achieve magnitude of spirit in proportion to our self-interests.

extending our horizon of thought and our field of preventive action.

It is our means of upholding the freedom of equality, for vastly

The value of social organization has already been suggested—

In a free society.

needs, [each individual] by own only to exercised needs.

base-streets-open-their-ways-to-their-people-a-thoroughfare-

streets, where freedom of movement is the main

is composed of individuals who are comparatively ignorant people

Diligence in a democratic, developing society, so society cannot be effectively democratic and really alive and growing except as it

members who compose it. Just as individuals can only achieve self-

society. For a society is only as wise and able as are the beings of individuals from this; which promote the well-being of

which each feels himself to be a vital part.

be effectively democratic and really alive and growing except as it is composed of individuals who are co-operative approaching life.

Different [it] individuals have held in their minds certain ideas about the freedom of man, the freedom of thought, and our field of effective action.

It is our means of arriving at the freedom of thought, of variety,

The value of social organization has already been discussed—

In a free society.

Each individual's social responsibility can only be exercised satisfactorily upon the basis of a democratic organization.

The sense of responsibility for the well-being of a mortal

group is an inevitable concomitant of a realization that one actually belongs to that group. One must feel one's membership so fully that he achieves magnitude of result in proportion to our self-sacrificing action within an organic society.

That sense of responsibility can be attained only by effective

group membership. That previous experience, without more, or

only through the participation of the individual in

group membership, can previous experience, without more, or

children are living a social life. There are thinking, talking, working, and playing together. Very early they begin to see the need for organization.

organization.

785016

Once organized, their first tendency is to make rules. Then the teacher needs to guide them toward the recognition that rules should be limited to the few which are necessary to reinforcement with others and co-ordination of effort. Sometimes this guidance consists in letting rules be made and suffered under broken so that the children may become aware of the harm of too many rules or rules that are too rigid.

Some legislation or, at least, policy forming is, however, necessary. And in this process children get experience in group thinking, and a sense of belonging to a social group. Legislation requires organization. The form of the organization should be indigenous to the class or school and grow up from the needs and planning of the children. But it should be based on the fundamental principles of democracy, freedom, social responsibility, and understanding.

It is essential that in any type of school developing the children be allowed to make mistakes. Any lack of genuineness in responsibility and freedom is instantly sensed, and results in a loss of the essential values of student citizenship. The teacher may, and often does, speak and advise, but they must be extremely careful not to dominate. If a possible decision is liable to no one which will go vitally affect the well-being of the school that the teacher custodial responsibility must be called into play, this should be explained at the 313 outset and the children be warned that this is a matter in which they

that the children may become aware of the harm of too many rules or rules that are too rigid.

Some leadership, at least, rather contingent, however, is necessary. And in this process children get experience in growing, learning, and a sense of belonging to a social group. Leadership is important to the class or school and grows up from the needs and feelings of the children. But it should be based on the fundamental principles of democracy/freedom, social responsibility, and understanding.

It is essential that in any type of school democracy the principles of democracy/freedom, social responsibility, and understanding are.

children be allowed to make mistakes. Any lack of consequences for responsibility must be called into play, this should be explained at the earliest opportunity. If a possible decision is liable to be one which they often do, speak and advise that they must be extremely careful not to accidentally hurt others; the well-being of the school and the teachers will go alongside. If a possible decision is liable to be one which they will not be allowed to make a decision such as promotion to another, responsibility must be called into play, this should be explained at the earliest opportunity. These are, however, inherent limitations to any self-government, so here there I am unable to give an example.

problems of size; and the principle of moderation.

The first limitation lies in the fact any group is part of a larger, more inclusive group. The freedom of action is limited by problems of size; the relation of smaller groups to more

its relationship to other groups and to the more inclusive society. The children in one class are part of the whole school. Their decisions, where they affect other classes, have to be made with due consideration of and in connection with the other classes of the school. Again, the school children are a part of the community in which the school exists. Insofar as their decisions and actions influence the community or rest upon it, the rights and the decisions of the community limit their freedom. The same is true, of course, for the state and the nation, and for the world as a whole.

If here a decision of the children in the classroom violates a decision by the more inclusive community, the latter must take precedence.

A second inherent limitation and strength of any democratic organization is the right of the individual or the minority to as much freedom as is attainable without harm to the majority. A majority has no right in a democracy to determine the actions of a minority except where those actions are definitely intended to ~~the majority's rights.~~ [For example, I would question whether a majority has a right to decide what sort of a personal life I lead or what sort of a personal life an ~~small~~ ^{small} community ~~leads~~, as long as that life does not interfere with the life of the rest of the people.] It has a right to say that I shall not drive a car if I am drunk. That obviously is seriously interfering with others. ~~It is~~ ²³¹²

which the school exists. Insofar as their decisions and actions influence the community or rest upon it, no right is on the decisions of the community to limit their freedom. We have to trust, of course, for the state and the nation, and for the world as a whole.

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- 10 -

~~such low wages and sweat his labor to such an extent that it forces the standards down for other manufacturers who wish to compete in the open market, and so on through the whole range of tenable legislation,~~ A majority may only regulate the minority where the action of that minority, unregulated, would seriously and directly interfere with the rights of others.

~~Minority and individual rights are not merely important for the persons directly concerned. They are essential to the growth and vitality of society. Without the right of individuals and groups to exercise initiative and express themselves freely, society becomes static, inert. Variation is nature's means of effecting evolution. Different culture patterns and different political and economic theories are the life blood of social organisation. They must flow unobstructed. It is only in matters of action involving the welfare of the whole social unit that a majority can, with impunity, overrule the minority.~~

The Problem of Size

Closely related to the rights and use of individuals and minorities is the problem of size. Third element limitation of social organisation. The larger and more complex a social organisation becomes, the greater its potentialities for increasing the freedom of capable men; yet the harder it is for all the members to preserve the feeling of vital participation. Society is located in 2311

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In general, a majority may only dominate in so far as
action of their minority, unregulated, would spontaneously and directly
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the realization of its potentialities by the administration returns
this result from stifling the initiative and self-expression of its
members. A large school, a big city school system, a great corporation,
a national government, all tend to make rules of universal application,
all tend toward bureaucratic control and the loss of initiative on
the part of the component groups and individuals. No solution lies
in as much decentralization of control as is possible without friction
and without loss of co-ordination among the parts.

The moment an organization or school, or union, or a group becomes so large that it has to be substituted for judgment in favor of the well-being of individuals or groups, the organization needs to be broken into smaller parts. The larger organization must be retained to co-ordinate the groups that comprise it, lest we lose the freedom of capability. But the groups must retain their initiative and the possibility of encouraging, in turn, the full development of their individual members, least we lose the freedom of independent thought, expression, and action, and least willingly stagnate.

Understanding

Our fourth function to social organization and responsibility is the degree of understanding possessed by the members of a group.

We have referred to the relationship of small groups to larger, the rights and use of individualism and collectivism, the problem of size, and the amount of understanding possessed by the members of a body, as limitations of social organization and responsibility. They are; but they are also its fulfillment. Just as an individual likes to differ and more meaningful when he identifies himself with a group. The rights of minorities have their ultimate purpose and ideas,

pose it, lest we lose the freedom of capability. But the groups must retain their initiative and the possibility of encouraging, in turn, the full development of their individual members, lest we lose the freedom of independent thought, expression, and action, and least, opportunity to compete.

Intermediary

Our fourth function is to social organization and representation to the degree of understanding possessed by the members of a society.

We have referred to the relationship of small groups to larger, the rights and use of individuals and minorities, the problems of size, and the amount of representation of social organization and community, as intermediaries possessed by the members of a society; but they are also the department. Just as an individual in life is fuller and more meaningful when he identifies himself with a group, so is a group fulfilled by identification with more inclusive groups. The rights of minorities limit majority action; but, individuals and minorities, as do their differing patterns and ideas, are essential for the life and growth of the social organism. Size may become cumbersome; but it may also increase effectiveness. And 2310 democracy must be built.

•/•

"And you shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free". This statement has been repeated so many times that we tend to be blind to its significance. We don't question it— we accept it with a mental shrug.

But it is the key to democracy and to reason for it.

Without understanding knowledge, truth, wisdom are

indeed the freedom of independence no; the freedom of opportunity.

The seemingly intelligent person is constantly faced by lack of continually limited by ignorance. He cannot coordinate knowledge impulses to ultimate good without knowing what he ultimately wants to do; so that which, if he knew it, would yield him greatest richness of understanding. In seeking satisfaction our fulfillment has to be understanding the freedom of opportunity limited by lack of man,

The freedom of capability is obviously propertied to understanding. If we don't know how to achieve our ends, we are not free to achieve them. If we are hungry and don't know how to obtain food; if we are sick and don't know how to achieve health; if we are cold and don't know how to get clothes, shelter, and fuel; if we communicate with one's know the language the other person understands; if we wish to ensure ourselves to make or sell we want the dance or writing; and don't have the techniques — if we want 2003

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Without understanding knowledge, truth, wisdom we have neither the freedom of independence nor the freedom of capability. The seemingly independent person is constantly limited by lack of understanding. In seeking knowledge and fulfillment he is continually limited by ignorance. He cannot coordinate knowledge to implement good without knowing what is his ultimate good; so that which, if he knew it, would yield him greatest richness of life to often sacrifice to monetary whims. Self-discipline is lacking or missing when he lacks understanding. And when he lacks self-discipline, he becomes a slave to impulse, not a free man.

The creation of capability is obviously proportionate to understanding; we don't know how to achieve our goals, we are not free to achieve them. If we are hungry and don't know how to obtain food; if we are sick and don't know how to achieve health; if we are cold and don't know how to get clothes, shelter, and fuel; if we to communicate and don't know the language the other person understands; if we wish to express ourselves in music or art, or the dance or writing and don't have the techniques - we want to do something and do not understand how to do it in a way that satisfies us^{we} clearly are not free.

200

Social responsibility and interaction, too, depend upon understanding. We must understand the thoughts and attitudes, the work and skill of our fellow if we are to coordinate our work and play and thought with theirs. We must know group purposes if we are to serve them well. We cannot participate in the economic, political, or social life of mankind, we cannot share in mankind's thought and feelings, except as we understand.

In proportion to participation, Democracy is the only way of life in which there is real participation by every individual. Therefore Democracy is essential to understanding.

It is through participation in a democratic society that we know each other's capabilities and limitations, each other's goals and frustrations. Then we can under certain circumstances give us the given responsible sought to our social problems and to our concerned persons that we have in understanding.

There are ^{limits} to the attainable knowledge and understanding of any individual. We have to share in each other's knowledge. There must be a division of labor and specialization in the realm of understanding as there is in the realm of work. By this means the wisdom of society can exceed that of any one individual component. And that brings up to the role of the expert in a democratic society.

The Role of the Expert

In all democratic organizations there is the need for delegating authority to experts except where a situation makes the members of the society themselves experts. This point of view holds both education and science, because it is one where our own political democracy is absent, like that of other countries, is running into serious obstacles, and in one which has cultivated

to the breakdown of democracy, and the rise of dictatorship where 2308

that we know each other's characteristics and interests and each other's goals and aspirations. Then we both understand each other's needs. It is in this environment we thought to our social relations and to our political purposes that we have to understand each other.

There are three ways to do attainable knowledge and knowledge. There must be a division of labor and specialization. In the realm of understanding, we have to share in the realm of work. By this means the roles of society can exceed that of any of the traditional components, and what brings us to the role of the expert in a democratic society.

The Role of the Expert

In all democratic organizations there is one place for delegation authority to experts except where a function makes other bodies both elaboration and finance, because it is our share to run things into smooth operation and to see that the organization runs smoothly. In addition, there must be one committee on our own political hierarchy to advise on, like problems of state or local county areas, to the members of the body by whom decisions are made. This part, of course, both elaboration and finance, because it is our share to see that things are done adequately.

The Type of Institutions

Committees which did not have our local funds, can only do very well some sort of promotional work for mutual benefit. And as far as monetary, internal treasury is concerned, that people and local districts support committees or governments to after modern life become extremely complex, have given up the depository, and local funds to develop democracy.

*/

right of the common man to implement change had to be lawlessly suppressed.

dictator had to be abolished. Those who opposed the will of the parties had to become pieces of the rotting party. All opposition

had to become propaganda machine. Propaganda had to become the education of basic qualities held to be absurd. All opposition

first, all freedom of basic qualities held to be absurd. Schools had to become propaganda machine. Propaganda had to become the

able notion that a group of very representative of the people can reach intelligent and workable conclusions. The vast multitude of our economic life, brought order out of chaos. Not at first a political revolution; but a revolution of the obviously unworkable relationships by voting and striking off the obviously unworkable notion of crime, there was great backward.

Dictatorships by voting and striking off the obviously unwork-

able notion of crime, there was great backward. The increase in industrial efficiency, many of factories, and the Government, and then watched the transformation under the command of the old established order to make them, in terms of hopelessly primitive, backward, ignorant, of extremely decadent

life. Anyone who saw the vast changes of Russia in 1917 and the new a more or less condition in the Soviet Union, would understand why so poor and backward these were before the revolution, and some

revolutionaries had to go to Russia in order to learn how to live in some way a more or less condition in the Soviet Union, some

revolutionaries had much trouble clearing up their past in the later years since socialism. Any one living in Germany, France, Italy, and other countries had to undergo three wheels of punishment, first to confess their past, and then to do what, in the end, to prove their innocence, before they could be released from prison. This was a punishment which was to be applied to all those who had been members of the

to ultimately make available to a general body of representatives. The
Secretary can therefore draw his bestowal of representations of the
armies and, similarly, will do likewise, to the two forms of a division.

Interservice cooperation in this long run must be founded, it is believed,

on a common sense of interest; and rightly, and at the cost of a very

A somewhat unusual reference, I add, on the two forms of a division.

2307

suppressed.

First, of the common man to independent thought and to the interplay
of ideas he is led to be drawn into concentrations on some or another

cause he has to be disillusioned. Those who opposed the will of the
evasive majority of the governing party. All opposition

had to proceed through middlemen. Middlemen had to become the
middle freedom of basic orientation had to be abolished. Schools

and economic life, brought under control of class. That is what a price
is called problem that affects our political life, that necessarily

poses difficulties and obstacles to the most malignant of
all the problems of life, a way of life representative of the people can
do no less than bring about many afflictions, and the
decrease of income, then the social environment.

Secondly, by doing away in the other way of life, the obnoxious

influence of Stalin and Stalinism to assist, that, in terms of
power, and that makes no transformation under the existing

system, and that makes no transformation under the existing

political, and political, and political, and political, and political

more or less, more or less, more or less, more or less, more or less

- 15 -

economics life of the nation is suffocated by unnecessary legislation until businessmen cry out for laissez-faire individualism one instant, for governmental protection and assistance the next, with peace and economic breakdown just around the corner. On the other hand are dictatorship, loss of the freedom for which the human race has been struggling through alienation, terror, and the holocaust of war.

Resolving the Dilemma

As always, between the two extremes there is an intermediate, that partakes of the nature of both. It is not a compromise, but an interpretation. It consists of finding the elements in each extreme which are not mutually antagonistic and of integrating these into a workable whole. It consists of trying to find the good in each extreme and using it without its connecting evil. Then we turn ourselves of preconceived notions and of prejudices, when we look clearly and unprejudiced at both extremes, this intermediary is not impossible to find.

It is obviously beyond the scope of this talk to try to work out in detail this interpretation of the various elements in the dictatorial and democratic schemes. But a suggestion on the nature of that interpretation has a direct bearing upon our immediate problem of democracy in the classroom. That suggestion is the first recogni-
tion of the necessity for delegating to experts in the various fields of human endeavor, under certain democratic limitations, 2,200

under the power not the temporary vested such authority to
all organizations opposing groups and in particular those which
to recentize the difference between a dictatorship which expresses
modest political aims and those which are totalitarian, autocratic, fanatical
and be responsible to, the electorate. We believe that this is
the most effective way to derive those who oppose them,
2706
These exports must ultimately derive their ultimate from
such of the legislature, or sell in the executive and judicial power.
of the possibility for delegating authority to exports in the various
fields of human endeavor, under certain democratic limitations,
of the possibility for delegating to exports in the various
or that instruction has a direct bearing upon our mode of procedure
of democracy in the classroom. That delegation is the usual procedure
of instruction and democratic process. But a delegation of the nature
work out in detail the interpretation of the point of view to say to
not impossible to find.
It is obviously beyond the scope of this talk to say to
classroom and outdoors at the various fields of instruction, this is something
which are not usually amenable and of large-scale, when we talk
anywhere, are talking in reference to conduct and of processes, when we talk
a more like things. It would be difficult to find the scope of work
instructions, it consists of finding the elements in which those large

- 16 -

difference between a dictatorship which maintains itself in power by force and terrorism, and an authority which derives its power from the untrammelled consent of the people, and which never at any moment has personal power.

The right of individual representation and recall should always be reserved by the people. The right to freedom of speech, of press, and of assembly is a sacred right essential to democracy. While these rights remain, dictatorship does not have power.

And let us do a step further. That the people themselves, whether they trust their representatives, feel strongly in regard to a given issue that issue can be made clear about; so that there can be a reasonably universal understanding of it. Every voter can become sufficiently expert to pass intelligent judgment upon it. Then the issues are few enough, and universal enough, in their implications, that entire electorate can legislate effectively. When the issues are more numerous and more complicated, or are confined in their effects to certain groups of the population, legislative bodies of representatives, and associations, or other they affect, specialized groups (like stock exchanges, for example, or railroad management), it is far better to leave legislative enactment (in the form of rulings by commissions)

CLIPPER to be reserved by the people. The right to freedom of speech,
of press, and of assembly to a limited extent, belongs to the minority.

While these rights remain, they must not be denied.

Under this law, the representatives, will strongly be urged to a

given time, that there can be no close enough to them, here can be
a reasonably universal understanding of it. These votes can become

sufficiently exact to form intelligent, informed upon it, the men who

have the exact and universal, enough in their minds, who

entire electorate can legitimate authority. Then the issues are more

concrete and more complicated, and suited to their effects

laws of the people may become sufficiently exact to give sufficient

confidence to the people that there are no difficulties, and

leave less latitude in action (in the case of war or by executive order)

to carefully chosen expert, consultation on other

and let us carry those problems into orderly research. Who can make the initia-

tive the teacher is the easiest to make research. Who can make the initia-

tion, the election of people, and not the same for learning, too,

but, selection of people, that do the same work in two halves. A

better than could a group of leaders of other under the guidance. A

adult society we postulated that the decisions of the

sovereign state for democracy, have accordingly gone.

Chillan town of 14,000 people by practice 1. In case -
there of course should provide the classes, all the principles

Conclusion

have to make a law.

have a permanent center of responsibility. And this involves the
student through democratic management of their own affairs, they must

instantly sense a species democracy. If children are to gain more
freedom they, naturally, must have available tools. They

must, let me repeat, be given a responsible administration by the teacher.

This way, naturally we do have in our classroom, 14

Conclusion

freedom of expression and criticism.

allowance-possible. Like the one in India (education),
representative of the community and moreover has to discuss the
expressions and the other students to retain the right of India.

The teacher, as an expert, can think to do what he has done if the
lives, referred to, and teach. In the classroom he is not to be adult,
expression and that the electorate must retain the right of India.

experts, must be limited by the general conditions laid down by the
electorate or their representatives; that the electorate must be given

7.

consciousness. It is education.

life is democracy. It is our basic sense of family children social fulfillment as a member of an independent society. Such a way of

that gives every individual the utmost possible opportunity for self-expression. And there should be every encouragement through interdependence that results from the development of open-mindedness, the arts and crafts, and a way of life

the practice of those principles, who still have a way of life through interdependence that results from the development of open-mindedness, the arts and crafts, and a way of life

of thought, speech, and action. There should be a sense of social where of democracy should be put into practice. There should be freedom 2304

children learn citizenship by practicing it. In this case of conduct

Conduct

right to make mistakes.

Children are individuals. They are not easily fooled. They

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

have a genuine feeling of responsibility, and this: And those who

freedom of expression and criticism.

whatever happens, we do have to live in our circumstances, but

whatever happens, we do have to live in our circumstances, but

3660

Lecture notesChe cos'è la democrazia ?

Significato originale, adesso molto allargato:

Vuol dire il pieno sviluppo dell'individuo, anche come persona, anche come membro cooperante di una società organica.

Dal punto di vista personale, vuol dire:

libertà e opportunità di seguire il proprio modo di vivere, limitato dall'eguale diritto di tutti gli altri; libertà e opportunità di scegliere la professione e di prepararsi ad esercitare; libertà di esprimersi, e voce, con la stampa, in assemblee pubbliche.

Queste libertà appartengono non solo agli individui, ma anche alle minorità.

Sono essenziali per lo sviluppo degli individui, ma anche per lo sviluppo della società di cui ognuno fa parte, e, perciò, per tutti gli altri individui della stessa società. Perciò, lo sviluppo di un individuo dipende dalla società. L'uomo non è un essere che può vivere pienamente solo. È un essere gregario, e le sue potenzialità essenzialmente umane non possono realizzarsi senza la cooperazione di altri, senza un ambiente sociale.

Due tipi di libertà:

Libertà d'indipendenza
Libertà di potenza.

Posso illustrare:

Ero in Canada e facevo campeggio solo. Nel canotto avevo tutto ciò di cui avevo bisogno, tenuta, coperte, cibi, fiammiferi, pentole, articoli da pesca, libri. Non c'era nessun altro sul lago, né vicino. Potevo fare tutto quello che volevo; avevo libertà di indipendenza assoluta.

Venne una tempesta, il canotto si capovolse.

Fui obbligato a raggiungere a nuoto un'altra vicina. Tutta la mia roba andò perduta.

Arrivato all'altra, bagnato, freddo, volli accendere un fuoco, ma i fiammiferi erano bagnati, ecc.

Avevo tanta libertà ~~della~~ indipendenza, quanto ne avevo prima. Ma mancava la libertà di potenza. Avrei con piacere cambiato un po' della libertà ~~della~~ indipendenza.

penienza per maggiore liberta' di potenza.
Così nello sviluppo della società.

Per avere maggiore liberta' di potenza, l'uomo ha sacrificato una parte della liberta' d'indipendenza. Ha impostato su organizzarsi in società interdipendenti, cooperanti, con divisione del lavoro. Per ciò ha dovuto sottemettersi alla volontà collettiva.

L'estremo di questa evoluzione era il totalitarismo, dove la società era suprema, l'individuo soppresso. La società è divisa a divinità.

Per il momento una società totalitaria ha una potenza enorme. Ma in se' ha il senso della sua distruzione. Perché impedisce lo sviluppo degli individui che la compongono. Senza la liberta' di sviluppare le loro potenzialità, gli individui non possono di sperimentare, di esprimersi, gli individui non possono contribuire alla evoluzione della società. Variazione e il sine qua non dell'evoluzione. E quando un essere vivente cessa di crescere, muore.

Per di più la società organizzata da individui per il bene degli individui diventa un mostro Franken-Stein che fa scimbi i suoi creatori.

Vogliamo liberta' di indipendenza.

Vogliamo liberta' di potenza.

L'estremo dell'una distrugge l'altra.

È solo per mezzo della democrazia che si può avere entrambe, ognuna limitata dall'altra, è vero, ma anche ognuna compiuta dall'altra.

La liberta' d'indipendenza limitata da:
Leggi necessarie per la protezione della proprietà, della salute, dei diritti altrui.
La coordinazione delle attività.

Ma compiuta dalle opportunità:
dell'educazione, scambio di idee, invenzioni e conoscenza, che lasciano tempo libero, che permettono di viaggiare, comunicare per posta, per telefono, ecc.

Liberta' di potenza limitata da:

i diritti degli individui
le critiche liberamente espresse
Il potere del popolo di far cambiare leggi e governi 02

- 3 -

Completa dalo:

sviluppo degli individui che compongono la società
l'evoluzione e vitalità che risulta dalla variazione.

Lo sforzo di dare troppo peso alla libertà dell'indipendenza
risulta in individualismo, anarchismo e la per-

dita di potenza.
Lo sforzo di dare troppo peso alla libertà di potenza ri-
sulta nella perdita dei diritti degli individui, nella
soppressione dello sviluppo della potenzialità degli
individui, nella stagnazione della società.

Ma la democrazia costituisce cooperazione volontaria agli
ordini autococratici, la massima autonomia, sia per gli
individui, sia per le minoranze, sia per i comuni o
le regioni. Evita leggi generali, sempre che è pos-
sibile, limitandosi a leggi necessarie per la prote-
zione dei diritti, della sicurezza, della salute, a
leggi essenziali per la coordinazione delle attività
sociali, come l'organizzazione della posta, le ferro-
vie, ecc., e altre leggi per provvedere opportunità
per lo sviluppo degli individui, tasse e regolamenti
per stabilire scuole, biblioteche, ospedali, per esem-
pio.

Lo Stato ha funzioni importantissime nella vita complessa
ed interdipendente di oggi. È perciò che abbiamo
visto l'esagerazione dello stato fino ai totalitarismi.
Il solo mezzo per evitare questo pericolo è la democra-
zia, la piena libertà di espressione e il popolo sem-
pre supremo.

Ma perché un popolo ignorante non sa utilizzare bene il
suo potere e perché una persona ignorante non può
sviluppare le sue potenzialità, l'educazione universa-
le è il sine qua non della democrazia.

Quella Educazione, però, deve essere molto più larga,
molto meglio adattata alla diversità di capacità,
interessi e bisogni degli individui ed ai bisogni della
società, che è il caso nella educazione attuale.

Questa Università che da oggi l'inaugurazione del nuovo
anno accademico può, e deve, avere la sua parte in
questo processo. Qui gli studenti possono sviluppare
la loro potenzialità; qui essi possono imparare a lavo-
rare insieme, cooperativamente, verso scopi comuni.

- 4 -

qui essi possono imparare tolleranza e apprezzamento di diversita' di opinioni; qui possono proteggere i diritti di individui e minorita' e il diritto di piena espressione; qui possono imparare responsabilita' sociali - in una parola, possono imparare che cosa e' la democrazia - il pieno sviluppo dell'individuo anche personalmente, anche come membro cooperante ed integrativo di una societa' organica.

Qui possono imparare che:

il benessere d'ognuno dipende dal benessere di tutti e che

il benessere di tutti dipende dal benessere d'ognuno.

Zulu

Definizione della Democrazia

Due tipi di libertà

Libertà del stato

Liberazione di totalitarismo

L'estremo di individualismo

Combination per massimo di democrazia

Total individualismo e libertà di insorgere l'autorità e completezza

Individualismo e libertà di insorgere l'autorità e completezza degli diritti del popolo

Lo Stato autoritario e completezza degli diritti del popolo

Leggi per protezione e accordi di maggioranza

Diritto agli individui delle minoranze

Autonomia sociale

Importanza dell'educazione

Casi dove essere a larga scala l'educazione

Lo sviluppo delle potenzialità dei ragazzi

Pratica nella democrazia

Più si ottengono cooperativi

Autogoverno

I ragazzi imparano la democrazia per mezzo di ricerca

Trovano che la democrazia è veramente anche la visione

in cui c'è lo sviluppo di individui con forza

e come membri cooperanti di una società organica

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

Address by Lt. Col. Carlton T. Washburne
Director of Education
Allied Commission

Introduction.

Colleagues: Today I want to talk with you as a fellow-teacher, not as an Allied Officer. I began my career as a teacher in a rural elementary school; then I taught in the elementary school of a small city; after that I taught in a Teacher's College - something like an Istituto Magistrale. Since that time I have been a superintendent of schools and a professor in universities. So, like you, I am primarily a teacher, and it is as a teacher that I want to discuss with my colleagues the vital question of "What is Democracy?"

Basic meaning.

As we all know, the original meaning of the word "democracy" was a form of government in which the people ruled through direct votes or through elected representatives. But the term has come to have a much broader meaning. Today democracy may be considered not merely as a form of government, but as a way of life in which each individual has the **utmost** possible opportunity to develop his own potentialities, not only as a single human being but as a participating member of an organic society. Such development is possible only in an atmosphere of freedom. There must be freedom to choose one's way of living, limited only by the equal freedom of others; there must be freedom to think and to express one's thoughts and free access to the thought and expression of all others; and there must be freedom to select one's profession, 2299 to train oneself for it and to exercise it for one's own satisfaction and for the common good.

Two types of freedom.

There are two kinds of freedom: the freedom of independence and the freedom of power (*potenza*). Each in its extreme form blocks the other but both are essential for the democratic way of life. I can illustrate both by recounting a personal experience:

A few years ago I went camping alone in the lakes and forests of Canada. In my canoe I had everything I needed for living - tent, blankets, food, matches, fishing equipment, books. I rarely saw another person - there was no one to tell me what I ~~should~~ or ~~could~~ not do. I was completely free to go where I wanted to go, to do what I wanted to do. I had practically absolute freedom of independence.

Then there came a storm. My canoe capsized. Everything I had went to the bottom of the lake. I swam to an island near by. Wet and cold and soon hungry I wanted a tent, dry clothes, a fire, food. But I could get none of these. I still had complete freedom of independence - there were no laws or persons to tell me what I might or might not do. But I ~~lacked~~ the freedom of power. I could not do any of the things I so desperately wanted to do. I would gladly have sacrificed some of my freedom of independence for the power to satisfy my needs.

It was just such necessity which drove primitive men into societies where ~~they~~ could interchange work and help one another. And as these societies became more and more efficient the individuals who composed them lost more and more of the freedom of independence - they depended on ~~the~~ ^{each other} work of others and they had to conform to the laws of ~~their~~ ^{and} others.

The extreme of organization for power was approached in the recent ^{development} ~~organization~~ of totalitarian states. The power of ~~totalitarian~~ states became vast and the individuals lost a large part of their independence. Just as primitive man found the extreme of independence

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one incompatible with his desire for the power to do what he wanted to do, modern man has found that the extreme of organization for power stifles his individual liberty.

And in stifling the liberty of individuals the all-powerful state has within itself the seed of its own destruction. The individuals are the cells that make the organism of the state. If those cells are not living fully the organism dies. Growth and development are essentials of all living things - when growth stops atrophy begins. Growth in a totalitarian state is made almost impossible because independent thought and variation are inhibited. There is no evolution in the biological world without variation; likewise in the social world the variation of thought, the freedom to express new ideas, to oppose and to experiment, are the sine qua non of the evolution and growth of society. In inhibiting this evolution the totalitarian state ~~prepares for its own atrophy & decay.~~ ~~prepares for its own atrophy & decay.~~

Both freedoms in a democracy.

The extreme of the freedom of independence is anarchy, and results in the lack of power to ^{do} what one desires and needs to do. The extreme of the freedom of power is totalitarianism and results in the suppression of the ~~many~~ individuals for whose well-being ~~the~~ the state is organized, and in the atrophy of the state itself. In a democracy alone is it possible to have both the freedom of independence and the freedom of power, each limited by the other but at the same time each fulfilled by the other.

In a democratic society - a society organized to give each individual the utmost possible opportunity to develop his own potentialities both as a person and as a cooperating member of an ²²⁹⁷ organized society - the freedom of independence is limited by the freedom of power: to obtain the results of the work of others one must produce socially useful and socially desired work; to live

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safe from robbery, safe from fire, safe from disease, one must obey laws for the protection of property, life and health; to obtain the fruits of co-ordinated work one must co-ordinate one's life with those of others and must contribute his work, as represented by money, to the common good. But the freedom of independence in such a society is also completed by the freedom of power: through the organization of society one obtains the interchange of thought, ideas, invention and discovery; through it one obtains education for oneself and one's children; through it one has more leisure for the amenities of life - one's time is not all consumed in getting food, clothing and shelter; one can travel, communicate by mail or telephone, and partake of the innumerable conveniences of an industrial civilization where man's co-ordinated activities make nature serve man's needs and desires, physical, intellectual, esthetic, and even spiritual.

The freedom of power - man's organized state - is limited, in a democracy, by the freedom of independence: the rights of individuals and minorities must be respected; the freedom of criticism must be preserved; laws must be limited to those essential for the protection of the life, liberty and property of the individuals who compose the state, and for the co-ordination of their activities for the common good - the regulation of traffic, the establishment of schools and libraries, the provision of public utilities such as water, electricity, and transportation; and at all times the people themselves are free to change their government and laws.

But the freedom of power is also completed by the freedom of independence: it is the independence of the individuals which allows each to develop his own potentialities and therefore to contribute his share to social growth. The health and evolution of the state consist of the health and evolution of its component parts. So the only state - the only society organized for the development of the freedom of power - which can be healthy and evolving is the state -

2/296

state that completes itself by recognizing as its primary function the fullest possible development of the potentialities of the individuals who compose it.

Democracy and education.

In a democracy the main reliance is on voluntary cooperation, with as little regulation by law as possible. But both for the passing and obeying of a minimum of laws and for a maximum of ~~not~~^{not} effective voluntary cooperation the people must be educated. And since the development of the potentialities of the individual members of society is the primary purpose of an organized ~~society~~^{state} and since, ideally, education consists of ~~the~~^{the} just such development of individuals, education becomes the most important single function of the state.

But education is more than intellectual and verbal culture. To serve its major purpose for both the state and the individual it must embrace all aspects of the development of the individual. Today organized education in the schools tends to be narrow, limited, confined to memory, words,^{and} the manipulation of symbols, ~~and~~ for a truly democratic society we must, instead, study the nature of the child. We must provide for his physical development and healthy living; for his emotional wholesomeness and satisfaction; for his aesthetic appreciation and expression; for his capacity to think clearly on the basis of his own experience and the accumulated experience of the human race. We must help him to find his opportunities and interests and to prepare himself for a trade or profession which will use these for his own good and for the common good. And we must help him to develop a social conscience so that he sees his own well being bound up in the well being of all, and learns how to coordinate his life with the life of society to the advantage of both.

There is no age at which such education should stop; there is no individual who will not profit by such education. During

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childhood and adolescence every individual has the right to give a large part of his time to this kind of education; and adults have a right to a continuance of it during the hours when they are free from providing for their economic needs.

I say everyone has a right to such an education. But if we are to have a truly healthy democratic society, this becomes not merely a right but a necessity. For education, rightly conceived, is the very development of the possibilities of each individual both as a single human being and as a participating member of an organic society, that constitutes democracy. Through such development and through such a society, and only so, can human beings combine the freedom of independence and the freedom of power, each limited and completed by the other. It is with this broad concept of democracy and of education that we teachers should undertake our work, both as citizens and as those charged with the responsibility of helping the oncoming generation to become citizens of a democratic state.

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