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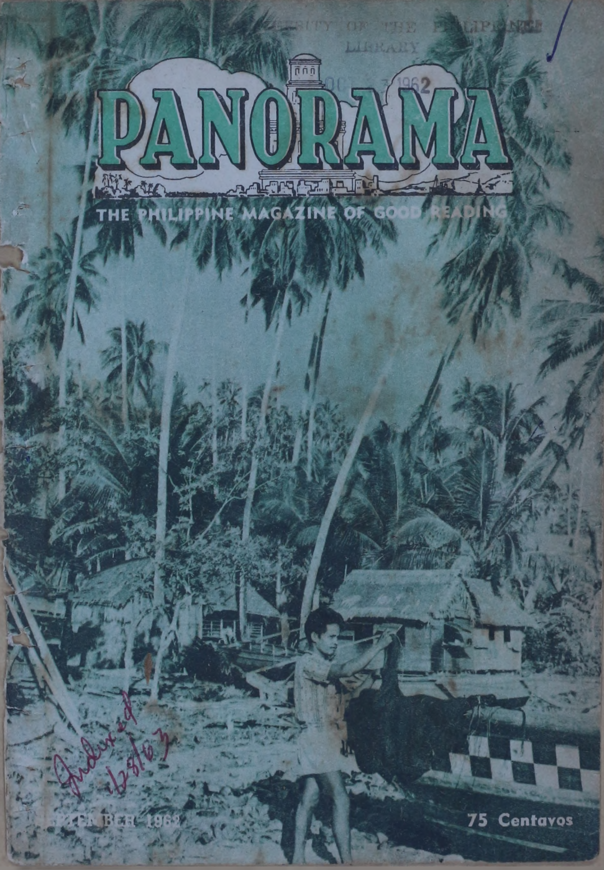

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THE PRESIDENT AND PERSONALITY CULT

The President of the Philippines as the first citizen of the Republic, is the central figure in our national life. It is not only in politics that he occupies the topmost position. In the social sphere, he is a sort of reigning monarch. Business chambers, chambers of industries, businessmen's clubs vie with one another to have him in their big affairs.

Whatever the President does is carefully reported in the newspapers. He may be talking about economics, religion, or education; he may discuss marriage, business, athletics, food, clothing, or morality. In all these fields his comments and his opinions, regardless of his knowledge of the subject matter, are always published and quoted with a great deal of interest. His pictures are given prominence in newspapers and magazines. He is the favorite speaker in any celebration. He is made the recipient of academic awards. His clothes are closely imitated; they set the fashion for the nation.

This image of the Filipino executive is not unique. We see it in a much larger scale in the President of the United States. He stands as an object of the cult of personality. This is a phenomenon which observers have lately been analyzing. It does not seem natural in a democracy; but it is intentionally and actively promoted in it. For in protecting the dignity of the office, it is deemed essential to adopt something similar to a royal cult. But should it be so? Is this right? Must the President be painted and shown as a superman to give him the dignity and the majesty of his high office? How has this exaltation come about?

A very interesting study of the subject was made by Sister Mary Paul Paye, a 32-year old member of the Sisters of Marcy. In the *Nation* magazine, Sister Mary wrote: "The American public is exposed to a dangerous phenomenon: the personality cult of the President. I protest — vehemently, vigorously, apolitically and almost alone. The suppression or the obscuring of significant news; the amassing by the President of personal power; and — most insidious of all —the irrational worldwide identification of him with the country as a whole . . . Mr. Kennedy has become synonymous with the U.S.; his victories are American victories; his health, American health; his smile, his family, his hobbies, his likes and dislikes, become symbolic of the country."

Sister Mary holds the press largely responsible for this extreme adulation of a political figure, this identification of the President with the character, the condition, the virtues, and the glories of the nation. She continues: "The President and his family are naturals for publicity, and journalists have not been slow to exploit the color, the drama, the human appeal that emanate from the White House. Galleys of type and yards of picture spreads about the birthdays of the children, the social affairs of the First Lady, the horsemanship of the sister, the recreational habits of the Attorney General's family, feed the public's desire to know all about the White House inhabitants. Everything goes to deepen the cult.

"That the mass media should so exploit the President and his family for circulation purposes is serious enough. But even more dangerous implications arise: the danger of the imbalance of the news. Every inclusion means a corresponding exclusion. And, even when significant news is reported, as prisoners of the cult we may be tempted to overlook it. Readers often prefer to be amused rather than informed. Who doesn't gravitate toward the human-interest story, perhaps to the neglect of the duller but more significant news? . . . The effect is the displacement, or downgrading, of significant events."

This state of things is not right. For this problem, which is indeed a problem, Sister Mary Paul presented this solution: "Awareness, by the President, the public, the press. The White House — elections or no elections — should guard itself more stringently against frivolous reporting. Editors and (radio and TV) program directors should weigh news and features for inherent values. And the American people should be aware that we are beginning to respond to the Chief of State as we have responded to movie stars." In plain language, what the good Sister suggested is for the press and the public to develop and use a sense of proportion and to improve our sense of values.

THE LOYAL FRIEND

We all need the good word and advice of a loyal friend to inspire and encourage us to do the things we are not quite sure we are capable of doing. Very few people have the courage to set out by themselves alone. A good push and you either sink or swim — that's life all around. "Show me your friends and I will tell you who you are," is not a mere proverb. People judge you by your friends. Just because people are shabby-looking or poverty-stricken does not mean that they would not make wonderful friends. They may possess the wisdom of Confucious or Socrates. The good rule is to associate with the kind and the wise, and kindness and wisdom will be the reward — to do for them what they do for you, to go fifty-fifty in life. Never make friends for what they have to offer you and never keep friends whose only interest in you is what you have to offer them. If you associate with the ignorant, be sure you do not willfully expose their ignorance. If you associate with the intelligent, don't try to outsmart them. Friends remain friends only when all parties concerned are themselves. No one can hide his emotional or intellectual standards for long; sooner or later the true colors will appear.

* "A people that has not yet arrived at the fullness of life must grow and develop, otherwise its life would be paralyzed—which means its death."

MABINI: ARCHITECT OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

By Cesar Adib Majul

All revolutions, as movements affirming the worth of the individual and attempting to re-define social relations, have had their protagonists. These are the men who either participated intimately in the determination of the direction of the movement or who, in retrospect, analyzed the revolutionary events in terms of theoretical principles, making the Revolution a fact of significance and assuring it a proper position within the perspective of the history of a nation.

It was Mabini's distinct character that he played this double role in the Philippine Revolution, more specifically in its second phase. His first role refers to his activities as adviser to Aguinaldo in June 1898, and then as prime minister in the first Philippine Republic from January 1899 to May of the same year. As author of the electoral and other organic laws of the Revolutionary government, he was responsible for formulating the postulates by which the authority of a new-born state came into operation. Determining the broad outlines of foreign policy from June 1898 to May 1899, he saw to it that the recognition of independence should not suffer any amendment. All of these mean, in effect, that Mabini played a major and vital role in determining the route the Revolution was to take. It was a direction from which the revolutionary leaders could not deviate without abandoning the primal principles which fed the initial vigorous step of the Revolution. These were the principles of national independence and for the construction of a new social order in consonance with "justice and reason," where social disharmonies were absent.

Filipino historians have adequately described Mabini's participation in the momentous events of our history. Consequently, an emphasis on his other role is in order. This is his position as a Filipino political philosopher *par excellence.* Applying categories, properly belonging to the philosophy of history, to the events of the Revolution when the success of American arms became patent to all, he reflected on its rationale, gains, losses, and the eventual unfolding of its implications. Thus, as it were, the events of the Revolution began to be coordinated into an intelligible system, and the Revolution itself could now be viewed as an important phase in the march of the Filipino towards more freedom.

As a political philosopher reflecting on the Philippine Revolution, Mabini's description as to what the revolution actually consisted of must be distinguished, from what he prescribed the revolution ought to have been. He believed that when a people were consistently denied participation in the high offices of a government, when their aspirations for better education and an increase of civil rights were shamelessly disregarded, and when they begin to believe that the government was biased in favor of a special segment of society, a deep resentment among the people would result. This situation together with circumstances such as a weakening of the government and a general disobedience to the laws would inevitably develop into a revolution. A revolution is thus described as "the violent means utilized by a people . . . to destroy a duly constituted authority, substituting for it another more in consonance with reason and justice." And to establish a connection between positive law and the abstract conception of justice, Mabini leaned heavily on natural law as a corrective or model for human law. Adhering to the excellence of the mind as a value, Mabini hoped that the exercise of reason would lead men to discover solutions for the settlement of differences, formalize standards of justice, and lay down the foundations for what was believed to constitute the common and good life.

Clearly, it is problematical as to how much reason can serve to diminish social conflicts, but it can be conversely asserted that it is rather the dissolution of social inequalities that might precisely make men think or reason better. However, it must be pointed out that Mabini was essentially a product of European rationalism and early nineteenth century liberalism, ideologies that maintained the almost infinite capacity of the mind to better things not only in the scientific field but also in the ethical and political sphere.

These influences on Mabini led him to assert that the desire for a revolution in the Philippines was derivative from the natural impulses, found among all men, toward progress. Or rather, when these impulses were being stifled by bad government revolution becomes a necessity. To quote:

> "The tendency for betterment or progress is a necessity or law found in all beings, whether individually or collectively. Thus a political revolution, which is generally intended by a people to better their conditions, becomes an irresistable necessity ... A people that has not yet arrived at the fulness of life must grow and develop, otherwise, its life would be paralyzed—which means its death. As it is unnatural that a being should resign itself to its own death, the people must employ all its energies in order that a government that impedes its progressive devslopment be destroyed."

Mabini's intense faith in the desire and ability of the Filipinos to better their lives and contribute to the general progress and culture of the world, as well as his belief that it was natural for a people to do away with the impediments stifling the impulses toward progress, led him not only to justify the Philippine Revolution but also to assert that it was both irresistible and inevitable. Mabini revolted from the notion that the Filipinos were doomed indefinitely to brutalization and colonial and ecclesiasitical oppression.

However, to bring about a successful termination to the Revolution, it was further believed that the Filipinos had to be united into a single will aiming at the good of all. And once this will was directed to organizing the collective life along national lines, it would ultimately prevail over the military forces either of Spain or that of the United States. It was hoped that this will was, at bottom, one that reflected love of neighbor and country and could consequently thrust to the background all petty, narrow and sectarian jealousies. Consequently, a movement that was initiated to serve the interests of a special class in society, nullified in effect the existence of such a will, and did not deserve the name of "revolution." To quote:

> All agitations fostered by a special class in order that its particular interests be benefited, do not deserve the name [of revolution].

Conversely, Mabini maintained that genuine revolutions were essentially popular movements. Here, his democratic temperament is evident. Consequently, a problem that presented itself was how social power could be organized such that the most numerous class, that is, the poor, would not be taken advantage of by special groups in society. However, it is in vain that we look for a radical economic program by Mabini!

It was Mabini's basic democratic temper that also led him to consider the revolution against the United States unjustified the moment the majority of the people desired peace. And he justified this action of the people by appealing to the law of self-preservation which dictated prudence in pursuing the revolutionary movement the moment superior forces not only threatened additional misery and desolation but actually endangered the very life of society itself Thus, Mabini counselled that the violent and coercive means to attain independence should be transformed into peaceful agitation. This was still, in any case, a manifestation of the impulse for progress. Yet Mabini feared that the revolutionary fervor might decline with piecemeal political concessions granted by the Americans. Consequently, he insisted that the revolution, as armed uprising, was simply a technique to bring about the recognition of individual rights and also independence as the prerequisite to an expansive life and ordered society. And as long as independence was possible by peaceful means, all energies ought to be utilized to attain it by such means. Once devoid of political power to pursue his ideas, Mabini contented himself with reminding his compatriots of the ideals of the Revolution and invited them to search into their hearts to discover if it were not really independence that they wanted.

Mabini was a supreme example of a man willing to sacrifice sacrifice personal interest for what he conceived to be the general interest of all. Emancipating' himself from the narrow interests that plague an ordinary man, he was able to exercise, to use Rousseau's term, the general will, a will not necessarily that of the people, but a will for the good of all the people. Mabini's legacy is for all patriots and free men.

THOSE THREE BIG WORDS

It is quite true, of course, that liberty, equality and fraternity are more frequently upon the lips of men who are bent on destroying them, the true believers keeping them more silently at heart. But the lip service and the betrayals exist because some men are exploiters and others are exploited, because the groups are in conflict, and because the conflict can be resolved only by the end of exploitation itself. But the end of exploitation would be the beginning of actual brotherhood, the end of unequal powers would be the beginning of equality, and the end of extreme privilege for a few would be the beginning of genuine liberty for all.

One of the great defenders of human freedom reminds us of its significance. Written 160 years ago, these words are still valid today.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

When we speak of right we ought always to unite with it the idea of duties: rights become duties by reciprocity. The right which I enjoy becomes my duty to guarantee it to another, and he to me; and those who violate the duty justly incur a forfeiture of the right.

In a political view of the case, the strength and permanent security of government is in proportion to the number of people interested in supporting it. The true policy therefore is to interest the whole by an equality of rights, for the danger arises from exclusions. It is possible to exclude men from the right of voting, but it is impossible to exclude them from the right of rebelling against that exclusion; and when all other rights are taken away the right of rebellion is made perfect.

While men could be persuaded they had no rights, or that rights appertained only to a certain class of men, or that government was a thing existing in right of itself, it was not difficult to govern them authoritatively. The ignorance in which they were held, and the superstition in which they were instructed, furnished the means of doing it.

But when the ignorance is gone, and the superstition with it; when they perceive the imposition that has been acted upon them; when they reflect that the cultivator and the manufacturer are the primary means of all the wealth that exists in the world, beyond what nature spontaneously produces; when they begin to feel their consequence by their usefulness, and their right as members of society, it is then no longer possible to govern them as before. The fraud once detected cannot be re-acted. To attempt it is to provoke derision, or invite destruction.

That property will ever be

unequal is certain. Industry, superiority of talents, dexterity of management, extreme frugality, fortunate opportunities, or the opposite, or the means of those things, will ever produce that effect, without having recourse to the harsh, ill-sounding names of avarice and oppression; and besides this there are some men who, though they do not despise wealth, will not stoop to the drudgery or the means of acquiring it, nor will be troubled with it beyond their wants or their independence, while in others there is an avidity to obtain it by every means not punishable; it makes the sole business of their lives, and they follow it as a religion. All that is required with respect to property is to obtain it honestly, and not employ it criminally; but it is always criminally employed when it is made a criterion for exclusive rights.

In institutions that are purely pecuniary, such as that of a bank or a commercial company, the rights of the members composing that company are wholly created by the property they invest therein; and no other rights are represented in the government of that company than what arise out of that property; neither has that government cognizance of *anything but property*.

But the case is totally different with respect to the institution of civil government, organized on the system of representation. Such a government has cognizance of *everything*, and of *every man* as a member of the national society, whether he has property or not; and, therefore, the principle requires that *every man*, and *every kind of right*, be represented, of which the right to acquire and to hold property is but one, and that not of the most essential kind.

The protection of a man's person is more sacred than the protection of property; and besides this, the faculty of performing any kind of work or services by which he acquires a livelihood, or maintaining his family, is of the nature of property. It is property to him; he has acquired it; and it is as much the object of his protection as exterior property, possessed without that faculty, can be the object of protection in another person.

I have always believed that the best security for property, be it much or little, is to remove from every part of the community, as far as can possibly be done, every cause of complaint, and every motive to violence; and this can only be done by an equality of rights. When rights are secure, property is secure in consequence. But when property is made a pretense for unequal or exclusive rights, it weakens the right to hold the property, and provokes indignation and tumult; for it is unnatural to believe that property can be secure under the guarantee of a society injured in its rights by the influence of that property. — *Thomas Paine.*

O WOMAN!

If we take a survey of ages and of countries, we shall find the women, almost — without exception — at all times and in all places, adored and oppressed. Man, who has never neglected an opportunity of exerting his power, in paying homage to their beauty, has always availed himself of their weakness. He has been at once their tyrant and their slave.

Nature herself, in forming beings so susceptible and tender, appears to have been more attentive to their charms than to their happiness. Continually surrounded with griefs and fears, the women more than share all our miseries, and are besides subjected to ills which are peculiarly their own. They cannot be the means of life without exposing themselves to the loss of it; every revolution which they undergo, alters their health, and threatens their existence. Cruel distempers attack their beauty — and the hour which confirms their release from those is perhaps the most melancholy of their lives. It robs them of the most essential characteristic of their sex. They can then only hope for protection from the humiliating claims of pity, or the feeble voice of gratitude. — *Thomas Paine.*

TWO CENTURIES OF ROUSSEAU

Every student of Education, Political Theory, and Sociology is familiar with the name of Jean Jacques Rousseau. There is something lacking in the reading of a person who has gone through college if one or more works of this great thinker has been totally missed by him. As a matter of fact, students of Education should be acquainted with some of Rousseau's ideas about the process of teaching. It has been said that his political thoughts have helped to form the mind of modern Europe.

His great work entitled *The Social Contract* was published just 200 years ago this year. The political philosophy discussed in that book had such a tremendous influence on French thought that it is said to have prepared the ground for the French Revolution. In the best institution of learning, that book is usually read and studied by those interested in History and Philosophy. It should, therefore, be of interest to us today to know something about the life and character of that famous man and the conditions prevailing during his days. These are briefly described in an article by Charles Campbell which follows in part.

Rousseau's epoch-making book *The Social Contract* had been preceded by his *Discourse on the Influence of Learning and Art* (1750) and the *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754). Thus men's minds had already become disturbed when *The Social Contract* was published. A further contribution to the spreading restlessness in Europe was made by the waspish wit and mocking laughter of the great sceptic philosopher, Voltaire, Rousseau's older contemporary. His savage attacks on the power, the intolerance and the superstition of the Catholic Church, which he regarded as the worst scourge of humanity, stung and quickened the public mind. Indeed, it may be said that if Rousseau sowed the seed of which the ideas of the French Revolution were the harvest, it was Voltaire who prepared the ground for the sowing.

The conditions of life in France aroused the passionate indignation of all liberal thinkers. For the French Court, the nobles and the clergy, to quote Voltaire's 'Dr. Pangloss', "All was for the best in the best of all possible worlds." The "privileged orders" saw to it that their taxes kept to a minimum. They were exempt from *la taille* — an impost levied on the peasants just because they were peasants. The lion's share of all taxation was borne by this class, the artisans, the merchants, and the professional workers. In addition, the peasant groaned under out-of-date feudal dues that had been re-imposed after long disuse, as well as dues to the Church. Rabbits and pigeons might invade his land and consume his crop, but he dared not touch them; they were reserved for his lord's sport. Nor dared he complain if his fences were broken down and his crop trampled underfoot. There were unpleasant physical penalties for such insolence on his part.

It was a society that to the casual observer might have appeared ordered, secure and established in its artificiality. But it was ripening a terrible harvest — or rather, one should say, it was rotten through and through. Dickens, in his grim introuction to *A Tale of Two Cities,* wrote: "France was rolling with exceeding smoothness downhill, making paper money and spending it." "The Woodman, Fate, and the Farmer, Death, though they work unceasingly, work silently, and none heard them as they went about with muffled tread — the rather, forasmuch as to entertain suspicion that they were awake, was to be atheistical and traitorous." The Woodman was making a framework, complete with sack and bloody knife, that was to be much in use; and the Farmer's carts to become the dirty and evil-smelling tumbrils that would trundle their crammed loads of aristocrats to the guillotine.

When *The Social Con-*

tract was published in 1762, more than a quarter-of-a-century was to go by before the wild mob-cry of *"Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite!"* was to echo in the Paris streets. But the new wine of the book's doctrines burst the old bottles, so that, more and more, men looked at each other with a wild surmise and demanded "Why need it go on?"

The political philosophy of Rousseau, in brief, was that society is founded on a contract that implies a mutual obligation as between the people and the head of the State, in terms of which he is their 'mandatory', or accredited representative, but in no sense their master. Man as a being is born to be not only happy but good, so that the evil within him and around him is not to be attributed to original sin but to the fact that society has departed from the natural state of things and set up new strains, false values, wrong standards of conduct. To win his way back to a simple and desirable condition, man must banish from life its artificial elements. Instead of giving ear to the doctrines of the warring priests and philosophers he should listen to his own intuitions, that tell him there is a benevolent divine spirit, who rewards virtue and punishes crime, and that the human soul is free and immortal.

An attractive gospel indeed to hungry desperate downtrodden serfs! The prosperous clergy promised them "pie in the sky". But here was a new intoxicating creed that not only offered a better life freely, here and now, but gave men a new vision of themselves, a new hope, a new inspiring goal.

What of Rousseau himself, this man whose ideas threatened the social order and helped to bring about its ruin? He was the son of a Swiss watchmaker, of French descent, and was born at Geneva on June 28, 1712. If his mother had not died in child-birth and had his father been less careless of his parental duty and less dissipated, the boy might have had more balance and stability of character. As things were, he had no regular schooling and developed undisciplined habits that were to be a handicap for life.

He was only thirteen when he was apprenticed to an engraver, from whose ill-usage, as he tells us in his *Confessions,* he ran away. This highly-coloured autobiography, written with a candour at times shocking, records many such instances of flights from situations that for one reason or another displeased him.

He was employed with first one noble family then with another in Turin, as a domestic servant, or footman, and was assisted to pursue his study of Italian music. But to the unstable youth the grass on the other side of the fences was ever the greener.

Many people, men and women both, and some of them aristocrats, gave him thankless aid and shelter throughout his unsettled life, broken by periods of what can only be termed "vagabondage'. Prominent among these was Mme. de Warens ('mama', as he called her), a soulful and kind-hearted lady of easy morals who for years 'protected' him until at the last she wearied of his comings and goings and, to his great fury, found comfort elsewhere. An associate of a very different type was the dull unattractive servant-girl Therese Levasseur, who, according to his own story, presented him with five illegitimate children, which he left one by one at the door of the Foundlings' Hospital in Paris.

From place to place, from occupation to occupation, he drifted through the years, leading a wretchedly erratic life, now taken up by benefactors whose kindness he ill repaid, now in dire poverty, copying music, teaching music, working as a clerk, troubled by religious doubts and by the disparity between his principles and his practice, searching ever, it may be, for some *summum bonum*.

In the latter part of his life he settled at last to the writing of the works that brought him fame, and as Saintsbury has said, "when not dominated by passion and prejudice, he became something of a sage." But a mental disorder troubled him increasingly in his later years.

In 1767 he came to England at the invitation of the philospher, David Hume; but with him, too, Rousseau quarrelled violently. He accused Hume of plotting against him. Hume described him afterwards as "a man born without a skin."

When Rousseau went to England, Therese travelled separately, and James Boswell piloted her to her destination. But Dr. Johnson, stern moralist that he was, frowned on his protege's acquaintance. "Rousseau, sir, is a very bad man. I would sooner sign a sentence for his transportation than that ,of any felon who has gone from the Old Bailey these many years."

The end of his troubled life was drawing near when in May 1778 he went to live on the Marquis de Girardin's domain at Ermenonville, among the woods and heaths, where he botanized and rejoiced in the beauty of Nature that had always, through whatever vicissitudes, remained dear to him. He was a sick man, a prey to paranoid delusions, and some months later died of an apoplectic stroke — not by suicide, as was for long believed by some writers.

We must turn to the poets for an epitah for this strange and complex character. Burns might well have had Rousseau in mind when he bade us, in his "Address to the Unco Guid": "Gently scan your brother man!" And Byron, in *Childe Harold* spoke of him as "the self-torturing sophist who cast o'er erring deeds and thoughts a heavenly hue of words."

Rousseau was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made, nor was he the type to lead an uprising. The revolution he wrought was in the realm of ideas — an essential prelude to the violent upheaval that came after his death. Since then sociology has become a branch of science and is no longer dependent on brilliant flashes of insight. We can no longer accept the over-simplified origins in *The Social Contract,* and anthropology has shown 'the Noble Savage' to be an eighteenth century myth. But Rousseau was nevertheless responsible for seminal ideas which helped to form the mind of modern Europe. His influence was enormous and we are still heavily indebted to him.

HUMANISM AND THE HUMANIST

Humanism is a way of life based on the idea that man is all-important. He determines his own salvation. The supernatural or the mystical has no place in the life of the humanist. His faith is founded on man's capacity for achievement, his potentialities for greatness, his inherent power for ceaseless improvement. Julian Huxley puts it in this way: "Man's role is to be the instrument of further evolution on this planet—an evolutionary view of human destiny as against a theological or a magical, a fatalistic or a hedonistic one."

To the humanist, in his present life lies all of man's opportunity and reward. He finds his glory in his work, his accomplishment. He receives his inspiration from his sense of self-accomplishment. His punishment comes from the realization of having failed in his duty to his neighbor and himself. To cause pain to his child, his wife, his friend, his fellows, is to commit a wrong and to condemn himself for an act of inhumanity. He believes in the principle of human love, love for friends and foes alike. To him hope is a virtue that lies in the head and heart of every man as long as life endures. The sense of human dignity should be developed for without it man will fail to respect himself and his fellowman. By the use of his own personal strength and with the assistance of such unavoidable forces as are provided by his cultural and social environment, man could direct his own growth and improvement towards the fulfillment of his destiny.

Humanist societies exist in many countries today. They have not yet received the same recognition that governments accord to religious groups. But what they lack in privilege, the humanists make up in prestige. For example, the American Humanist Association has in its ranks a good number of top scientists and intellectuals. The international Humanist union includes such influential leaders as the British biologist Julian Huxley and two Nobel prize winners: the British agriculturist Lord Boyd Orr and the American geneticist Herman Muller.

The famous Norwegian psychiatrist Gabriel Langfeldt, a prominent Humanist, declared that individuals, in the future development of mankind, would have to consider ethics as something removed from religion. He warned: "Crediting ethics to supernaturally inspired messages and to revelations has led and still leads to brutal wars. Ethics, anchored as it is in purely human needs, will always win where religion and ethics come into conflict."

Humanists maintain that their man-centered faith offers much hope to the world. They are convinced that their emphasis upon life here and now enables man to concentrate all his thought and energy upon the improvement of the earth he occupies. Humanist Langfeldt states: "As man becomes more educated, mysticism and dogma disappear and are replaced by rational thinking. We believe in the goodness of men. If we can get rid of the political and religious pressures burdening man today and encourage his honesty, generousness and intelligence instead, we can make a better world for all of us."

Unlike those whose orthodox religious beliefs consider their life on this earth as no more than a moment of transition to a life after death, the humanist lives and thinks in terms of his destiny on this earth. In the process of realizing that destiny, he makes use of mind, will, and emotion and takes advantage of the social and cultural forces or influences made available to him as a result of evolutionary progress to improve himself as a man and to contribute the best service he is capable of performing. What this human destiny is Julian Huxley has put it in these words: "We can no longer envisage human destiny in such terms as the will of God set over against the sinful will of man, or as the plan of a divine creator frustrated by the imperfections and wilfulness of his creation. Human destiny is to participate in the creative process of development, whereby the universe as a whole can realize more of its potentialities in richer and greater fulfilments."

THE AGE OF PILLS

Almost everyone takes pills, from the humble aspirin to the multi-coloured, king-sized three-deckers, which put you to sleep, wake you up, stimulate and soathe you all in one. It is an age of pills. Nembutal yellow as buttercups. azure amytal and the purple benzedrine; equinol, slumberol, and hey, ho, the valleyol. Vitamins to keep you strong, life pills to keep you sterile, and death pills for inducing permanent sleep and an open verdict. A thousand or so armless thalidomide babies are as unlikely to discourage pill-taking as lung cancer is to discourage smoking, or road deaths motoring, or fall-out nuclear testing. In any case, the little fellows (thalidomide babies) can be mechanically equipped with an "educated" finger which does almost as well as 10 uneducated ones, enabling them to play the dulcimer and beach ball like anyone else. A pill a day keeps the druggist in pay. They are plentifully available, and new, interesting varieties are constantly appearing. Pills for slimming, pills for fattening and pills for potency. They help athletes to run faster, scholars to secure higher marks, comedians to be funnier, and lovers to be bolder. Little elegant boxes, like snuff-boxes, contain them. In France they are on free sale in suppository form. No one, a French chemist explains, commits suicide with suppositories. This is doubtless so. It would be too unromantic, and possibly even impracticable. — From London Diary, *Malcolm Muggeridge.*

LIKE FATHER LIKE SON!

The intricacies of language took the fun out of the Japanese conqueror's life in Manila. The Jap soldier did not know English from Spanish, and much less, Tagalog, the native tongue. The Filipino, who spoke all three, could always pull a fast one on the Jap. He took Nippong-go in his stride. He learned to greet the Jap with a bow, and say, O hayo (good morning). This, he promptly changed to, O *hayop!* (Tagalog for beast). And the Jap was none the wiser.

I remember well an amusing incident in a street car in Manila just before the American landings on Leyte. In those days, the only serviceable vehicles for public use were the Meralco trolley cars. The few autos that were still in use were reserved for ranking Jap officers and the top Filipino puppets. The street cars were always packed, and people preferred to walk rather than fight their way in and sweat it out to their homes.

I got into a street car bound for Sta. Ana, where the Japs had a big garrison. The motorman stopped at short intervals, even between regular stops, to pick up Jap soldiers on their way to their barracks. It was tedious. There was hardly elbow space in the car.

At one point, the car stopped to let some passengers out. A Jap soldier, with a monkey pet on his shoulder, waited for the people to step out, then tried to get in. But the ticket conductor would not let him. "No, no" the conductor said, "that not allowed," pointing to the monkey, and to the "No Pets Allowed" sign above him.

The soldier remained on the outside platform, but made no motion to step down. He obviously did not understand. The conductor kept motioning to him to get down, but soon gave up, and matters stood there for minutes.

Then, an elderly man by the conductor's side, spoke up loudly in Spanish:

Por Dios! Si puede embarcar el padre, porque no el hijo!" (By God, if the father can get in, why not the son!)

This broke the tension. Everyone laughed, and the conductor, winking at the man who had just spoken, motioned to the Jap with the monkey to come in.

The soldier did so, bowing his thanks to the elderly man who had spoken for him — *H. J. A.*

A GREAT UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT

In the United States the president of a large university is a politician *in partibus*. His speeches are quoted in the newspapers. If he has ability and tact he becomes a moral authority. Wilson increased his by making himself the champion of democracy in the University of Princeton against the old aristocratic hierarchy of the clubs. He wanted the undergraduates to live in common dormitories. The alumni and the trustees, loyal to Princeton traditions, rose in opposition. The liberal professors defended Wilson and the faculty was divided into two factions — pro-Wilson and anti-Wilson.

The president's character made any debate difficult. Among his students he was famous for his charm; his colleagues learned to know, as well, his anger and his pride. Very sure of himself, and justly proud of the clarity of his mind, he would not tolerate contradition. The violence of his character astounded those who had judged him on the basis of the austere and polished language of his speeches.

Between him and the Board of Trustees there was soon open conflict, not only on the question of the clubs but on almost every other point as well. Meanwhile rumors of this battle for democracy waged by the president of the most aristocratic of the universities reached the general public and won Wilson great popularity.

From 1906 on, certain influential members of the Democratic party had their eyes on him. In 1910 the bosses of New Jersey offered to make him their candidate for governor of the state . . . He accepted. — *From The Miracle of America of Andre Mauroi's.*

# The technical man or the economist fails because he overlooks *cards* and *values*.

THE TECHNICAL MAN AND THE POLICY MAKER

Technical competence in government, as elsewhere, is naturally desirable. But is it desirable that it be the chief end of government?

The technical man isolates one particular field or activity, in order to concentrate upon the procedure within it. In order for his work to proceed, he must assume the worth of the end to which his work is addressed; in order to get on to his own question, "How?," he must assume that the end he is serving has an assured place in a hierarchy of values that he does not himself examine. As a cobbler cannot continually be asking himself whether shoes as such are a good, so an economist cannot continually ask himself whether "productivity" or "satisfaction" or "economic growth" is a good; he must take that for granted and get on with his job.

Where the end is simple and noncontroversial, such a technical approach raises no problems. But in social policy the ends to be served admit of no such description; it is of the essence of politics that their meanings shift, that values conflict, and that men differ about them. The ends of politics, moreover, are not neatly separable from the "means" the technical man thinks he deals with exclusively; usually he bootlegs in some assumptions about ends in his work on the means. One might argue that political leadership, which must interpret the situation and fit together these several and conflicting ends, is preeminently the activity that cannot properly be reduced to sheer technique.

But the technical man will tend to regard all "generalities," good ones and bad ones, as airy, empty, and misleading; he will tend to think that the "declaration" of the "objective" is "easy," while only the attainment is really difficult, requiring "hard thought." He characteristically will want to deal with problems only case by case, to treat each case "on its own merits," without much regard for — indeed with some resistance to — a general concept. Most of all, the technician will dismiss consideration of ends, principles, and purposes. These are already agreed upon, or are impossible to deal with, or are somebody else's job, or anyway something not to talk about; let's talk instead, he will say, about "ways and means," about how to do it, about "sophisticated solutions."

Policy on taxes and spending and interest rates involves, along with much economic fact, a whole nest of inexact judgments — really, ethical judgments — about values and interests. Though these judgments may be complicated and require advanced economic knowledge and do not sort out neatly under existing political labels, still they are not merely "technical"; they are not just "administrative" or "executive." If we could just get enough moral juice back into the word, we could say that they are, exactly, "political." "Politics," or "policy," would appear to be the point at which technical considerations (how does the thing work) and ethical considerations (what is good) meet, and neither part of the mix should be left unexamined.

The political leader's job is to articulate an interpretation of these larger than technical choices. — *William D. Miller* from The Reporter.

A REVOLUTIONARY FORM OF TEACHING

In the last eight or nine years a new form of teaching known as automated teaching or programmed instruction has been widely used in the United States. More than any other system or process of instruction introduced in recent times automated teaching has caused a stir in the entire width and breadth of the country among educators, parents, and leaders in industry. The revolutionary effects it is creating have been commented upon in different publications in America. In the Reporter of last July Spencer Klaw writes an article on this subject entitled "What Can We Learn from Teaching Machines?" The Center for Programed Instruction, Inc., in New York issues a bimonthly publication of news and views on this novel way of instruction, which may be briefly described as follows: The subject to be studied by means of teaching machines is presented in a sequence of short units which are called "frames." Each frame contains a question that the student must answer before he goes on. Such a sequence is known as a program, which may be administered either mechanically or by a programmed textbook. The mechanical method uses a simple device called a teaching machine, which exposes the program to the student one frame at a time and tells him instantly whether the answers he is giving are correct. There are different kinds of machines. One gives answers to questions by pressing buttons.

But as stated above, this new form of pedagogy can also be administered by means of a textbook, a programmed textbook. This is a sort of workbook which permits a student to move from frame to frame and to check the correctness of his answers by simply turning to the pages where they are printed.

But whether it is a machine or a text that is used, the function of programmed instruction is to lead a pupil to a faster and firmer grasp of the subject studied. This is the claim of professors, educators, and psychologists who have been working on this form of pedagogy. It is now being actually used in thousand of schools in America today.

With the support of the government and of private foundations, researches have been carried out by psychologists and educators at Harvard, Yale, Stanford, and other important universities. Students have been experimentally instructed by machine or by programmed text, in calculus, geometry, physics, spelling, long division, Russian, psychology, logic, statistics, and other subjects. Mechanics have been taught to read blueprints, engineers to use analogue computers, retarded children to measure with a ruler.

Textbook publishers are working on many programmed texts for various subjects. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films has announced plans to program practically an entire high-school curriculum. Programs or machines of different makes and subjects are now being sold by a large number of companies. Teaching machines are even being sold from house to house or by mail to anxious parents.

Professor B. F. Skinner of Harvard, a distinguished experimental psychologist, is one of the principal originators of the teaching machine. What he says about it is worth repeating here: "Exploratory research . . . indicates that what is now taught by teaching, lecture, or film can be taught in half the time and with half the effort by a machine." While this might be a bit exaggerated, a good knowledge of the theory of programmed instruction and an observation of the results it is producing in actual use prove that it works and that it will bring about significant changes in educational practices. It is going to affect the organization of school courses and curricula, the preparation of teachers, the instruction of fast learners, and the way the slow learners are to be handled. The way teachers teach will be affected even when they are not using machines or programmed texts.

Among the different teaching machines designed by Professor Skinner was one consisting of a metal box with two small windows in its upper surface. With this machine, a student reads a short block of text, with a question, framed in one of the windows; he then answers the question by writing on a piece of paper displayed at the other window. By pushing a lever, the correct answer to the question is shown and a new frame containing a new question appears at the same time.

It was in 1957 when Dr. Skinner and James G. Holland, a colleague of his, wrote for use in this machine a program covering part of the subject matter of a course, Natural Science 114. They were giving this course to undergraduates at Harvard and Radcliffe.

When after the Russian Sputnik was launched in 1957, the American people began to complain about the inadequacies of their schools, a deeper interest in Skinner's ideas was aroused and hopes were raised that these ideas could be made to yield spectacular results. An experiment was sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in teaching spelling to sixth-grade pupils by machine for a period of six months. Although they spent only a third as much time on spelling as their classmates who were being taught in the ordinary way, they scored much higher on standard achievement tests. In Roanoke, Virginia, eighth-graders of average ability learned just about as much algebra in one semester from a programmed text as ninth-graders ordinarily learn in a year. At a school near Philadelphia, mentally retarded teen-agers were made to use machines to give them practice in arithmetic. At the end of the school year, tests showed gains in proficiency two and a half times as great as gains made by students in a closely matched control group not using machines. The use of programmed texts enabled

IBM to reduce from fifteen to eight hours the class time needed to cover certain kinds of instruction and training. In many other instances students getting programmed instruction have often learned more and in a shorter time than those following the conventional methods.

Most practitioners use one of two ways of preparing instructional program. One is the system devised by Dr. Skinner and the other is that invented by a former Air Force psychologist named Norman A. Crowder. Crowder's devise resembles a television set, which has a screen onto which the frames of an instructional program are projected one at a time. A frame may consist of two or three hundred words and ends with a multiple-choice question. The student selects one of the answers that have been provided for him instead of making up his own answer, and then pushes a button. If he has pushed the right one, a new frame dealing with a new topic appears. If he pushes the wrong button, however, he gets an altogether different frame, which tells him that he gave the wrong answer, suggests why he may have done so, and instructs him to punch a button that will send him back for another try.

Crowder's kind of program is also presented in a form known as the scrambled textbook. It has one frame to a page. When a student comes to the multiple-choice question, he picks what he thinks is the right answer and turns to a page whose number appears next to the answer he has chosen. If he has chosen correctly, he will find a new block of information on the designated page; if not, he will get more explanation.

The Skinner program is different. It proceeds in very small steps and considers the answer of the student at each step as an essential element in the learning process. On the other hand, the Crowder program gives relatively large units of information and then presents questions intended to find out if the student has properly understood or learned a particular unit. Another difference between the two systems is that in the Holland-Skinner psychology program at Harvard, there is but one sequence of steps that everyone must follow. Every question is answered correctly. In the Crowder program a student could commit a mistake and, if he does, he is led out of the main line into a branch where he gets additional instruction. Crowder maintains that his program is better adapted to students of different learning ability. Skinner claims that when every question is answered correctly, the student learns best. To teachers who follow the principle of "learning by doing," that feature of the Skinner program that students should be required to write their own answers has a strong appeal. It is also said that multiple-choice questions are not desirable for it may lead a student to remember one of the wrong answers instead of the right one.

Also, it is probably easier to write a good program of the Skinner variety than to write one like Crowder's. In America programs are being written by teachers, psychologists, college students, authors of conventional textbooks, and housewives with college degrees and time on their hands. But the consensus is that a program must be given an extensive and intensive trial before it should be given final approval. It seems that the Skinner style program is easier to write than Crowder's.

Questions should not, of course, be made too easy, otherwise students may go through them rapidly answering every question correctly but learning very little. It is necessary that the programmer should know the students well and what they are supposed to learn. Then the program could produce effective teaching. The collaboration between teacher and his test subjects is one of the most significant aspects of this new pedagogy.

Programmed instruction benefits not only school children and but also adults who prefer to study at home by themselves. It is also useful in private industry where rapid changes in technology force workers to learn new processes as quickly as possible. But it is the schools which constitute the large users of programmed instruction, and it is on them that the new pedagogy will have its most significant impact. Fear is, however, entertained by some people that education administered through programmed instruction may become a process of grinding up subject matter into a kind of baby food and spooning it out to students who will never learn to eat for themselves. In this connection, George F. Keller, professor of educational philosophy at the University of California, L. A., said: "If we seek exact responses and reward those who conform to the demands of the machine, we are likely to snuff out the precious spark of revolt that is necessary to healthy growth and creativity." Some have also expressed concern that teaching machines may convert America into a nation of robots.

On the other hand, there is no established basis to support the argument that programmed instruction is necessarily detrimental to creativity. Moreover, there are very few persons who think that the entire curriculum of the school should be best programmed. "Programmed instruction cannot teach the entire curriculum for the simple reason that it cannot educate a person," Kenneth Komoski of the Center for Programmed Instruction has written. "We can instruct a pupil to spell, to punctuate, to use words properly. . . . However, no method of instruction can teach a person how to write or think creativity, for such things depend on far more subtle types of reinforcement than a program alone can provide."

Programmed instruction, however, can teach certain subjects effectively, thus giving both teacher and student more time to read books and to study questions that challenge and improve the mind. It does not eliminate teachers but permit teachers to study their subjects, to help students, and to make better use of their learning.

A teacher in a New York school is reported to have said: "As I look back on the few months of teaching the idea of step-by-step programming in my head, I realize that programming not only helps the kids learn but it helps me learn *how* the kids learn."

Programmed instruction, if adopted in the schools in the Philippines, is likely to improve the learning ability of elementary children and secondary school and college students specially in such subjects as English, arithmetic, and algebra. It will give teachers the assistance that they all need in a very marked degree. But before this could happen, the officials of the Department of Education should first investigate carefully the materials for its effective use and should be ready to sacrifice existing interests that are almost certain to fight for the continuance of old or conventional methods and materials notwithstanding their failure to improve our educational standards. Workshops, seminars, and study groups need to be organized in order that proper understanding and direction may be given for the right preparation and use of lessons or texts. The need for this preparatory activity is well expressed in one of the bulletins of the Center for Programmed Instruction as follows: "Programs used in teaching machines and texts have captured the imagination of many members of the lay public, and more than the usual number of extreme statements have been made. For professionals the fascination lies in the issues raised by this new teaching tool. We have forced to critically concern ourselves with the effectiveness of our teach-techniques, clarify our view of the role of the teacher and the functioning of the student.

"Many people in the educational and commercial communities wish to assemble a set of absolutes regarding the development of and use of programs. But programing by its nature demands constant revision and updating. We have scarcely scratched the surface of the needed research."

THE LONG SUFFERING STUDENT

By Charles Frankling Thwing

The college student of today, like the college student of yesterday, is a member of a democratic society or of a social democracy. But be it at once said that he is more of a social democrat than was his brother of the earlier time.

The increase in the number of individuals in the college is accompanied by a decrease in the number of individualisms. Similarities are more abounding in the present college groups than are eccentricities. Fashions in clothes are only a symbol and sign of likenesses in thought and behavior. Academic quality is in the saddle.

Today the health of students is the subject of a care more careful, and of a devotion more devoted and wiser — quite unlike the apparent carelessness and official indifference of an earlier time. Every large college has its bureau or division of health, and every small college has its doctor.

Of course the gymnasium and the playing fields represent a permanent condition for health, equipped with competent groups of directors and coaches. The great change, however, is found in the mental health of students. For the mental ill health of students is more common, more serious, more fundamental, than is the sickness of body. Colleges are becoming far more solicitous for this complex side of the student's life. This solicitude arises in no small part from the increasing knowledge of the broad field of psychology.

Students are unconsciously adopting the biological method of intellectual growth, and consciously neglecting the method of growth by hard continuous study. The normal number of hours of intellectual labor done in the college has in fifty (seventy) years been reduced in about the same proportion as it has in the industrial plants.

In the former time ten hours a day, sixty hours a week, was not exceptional for the student. Today the forty-eight hour week in the college would represent the higher and severer standard. Some would say that six hours a day is normal: two hours of recitation, conference, or lecture, and two hours of preparation in reading or writing for each exercise. The problem of the amount of study is, of course, both quantitative and qualitative. The intensity of mental application is at least as important as the duration of application. The question is, of course, a very individual one. It is also exceedingly complex. But for one, I do lament the decline in the hard, close, continuous working of the student.

My sorrow is made the greater by reason, at least in part, of the broader, more diverse, and more agreeable program of studies that is set before the student. A simple examination of the catalogue of any college, a simple examinations of the courses offered in any department, provide convincing evidence that the program has become broader, more diverse, and more agreeable.

The revolution wrought in the knowledge of the natural world is incorporated in the scheme of studies offered the student — schemes covering the chemical, physical, geological, and biological sciences. The changes are fundamental. But changes hardly less fundamental are wrought in studies linguistic, economic, mathematical, historical, social. The scholastic wealth now set before the student is simply incalculable. He is made the potential possessor of riches of which his father or grandfather could never dream.

For the student this general enlargement of studies has been united with the need, a keener need indeed, of concentration: of concentration on certain subjects or groups of subjects. If the student knows less of *all* subjects than in the former time he certainly knows more of certain groups of subjects. The relation of these groups of subjects to one another has been well interpreted and well controlled by college authorities. Intellectual breadth, which carries along with itself the peril of intellectual superficiality, and intellectual concentration, which carries along with itself the peril of narrowness, have been well adjusted to each other.

The student becomes a student in all subjects and a scholar in some. Choosing his vocation at an earlier age than did his father, he elects studies that specially fit him to take up his professional preparation. For medicine he takes chemistry, biology, and physics; for law, history and economics; for theology; philosophy and psychology. Through such concentration he gains in power as well as in special knowledge. Knowing that all studies aid in every professional equipment, and knowing, too, that he is a citizen and an individual person, he appreciates the value of studies that seem unrelated to his future. — *Condensed from World's Work* (1928).

WHAT IS FREE ENTERPRISE?

Some years ago, a friend of mine was invited by a Gallup poll taker to give his definition of "free enterprise."

"Free enterprise," said my friend, "is a euphemism under which businessmen conceal their thirst for profits."

There was a pause while the poll taker wrote this down. Then the poll taker said, "What's a euphemism?"

Such is the fate of words. They are measures of our ignorance as of our knowledge; they are sources of darkness as of light. But though they are elusive as the breath which bears them, perhaps we may put faith in this: that men who understand the world will be masters of the word, and men who are masters of the word have the rudiments of mastery over the world. — Burrows Dunham, *Man Against Myth*.

TOLERANCE MUST BE MORE THAN A PIOUS WISH

E. M. FORSTER

Tolerance is important, no one can deny that, and if it is talked about so that people dispute what it is, or isn't, its importance should be maintained or increased.

Let me therefore set up an Aunt Sally. Aunt Sallys are not as common in my country* as they were, and for all I know they may have never crossed the Atlantic. Certainly I cannot imagine one on the Mayflower. So I had better define, and definition in this case is not so difficult. Aunt Sally is, or was, an elderly doll who was set up on a fairground to be shied at. She was tied to a stick or attached to a hinge. Three shies for a penny at Aunt Sally! Perhaps there was a prize if one hit her; perhaps the pleasure of bashing her face in was in itself sufficient reward. I forget. But she has become a symbol for the tentative definition. Knock her over if you can.

Let me define tolerance as tolerating other people even when they don't tolerate you.

Risks Are Required

It is an austere definition. No politician would accept it. But if tolerance is to play any practical part in the modern world, if any headway is to be made against fanaticism, if there is to be any easing of the tensions between class and class, race and race, country and country, then tolerance must be more than a pious wish, more than a woolly assertion of good-will. It must have courage, and it must be prepared to take risks.

At this point someone shies a ball at my Aunt Sally. It hits her. She staggers.

Someone has in effect said: "The modern world is indeed dangerous, and that is exactly why one can't take risks in it. It is so dangerous that tolerance is a luxury, which we can only indulge with those who reciprocate it. I don't like the color of so-and-so's face — it's green and I dislike faces — still I'll put up with his face if he'll put up with mine. Mine is, of course, blue, the proper color for faces, and if he complains of it, if he threatens it, then my only remedy is to drop a bomb on him before he drops one on me. Tolerance is all very well, but there is such a thing as self-preservation."

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* United Kingdom.

Monotony

Tolerance is not only needed to avoid disaster. It is also needed in peace conditions, if a community is to remain healthy and creative. An intolerant community, exacting the "right point of view" is condemned to monotony, even if the right point of view is a good one. Its citizens would lack curiosity. They would tend to be all alike for the sake of avoiding friction. They would educate their children the same way, eat the same food at the same time, laugh at the same jokes, succumb to the same advertisements, go to the same places in the same planes, and they would denounce as subversive any one who criticized them. Money — any money alone — would distinguish one human being in that community from another and the spiritual tyranny of the income-bracket would triumph.

I would certainly sooner live in a monotonous community than in a world of universal war, but I would sooner be dead than live in either of them. My heart is in the world of today, with its varieties and contrasts, its blue and green faces, and my hope is that, through courageous tolerance, the world of today may be preserved. Risks must be taken. It's difficult. Aunt Sally trembles on her perch as the well-directed missiles hit her. But what's your alternative? — *The New York Times*, February 22, 1953.

■ "War is one of the most deeply rooted of all human institutions. Some people do not realize that in asking mankind to do away without war, they are making a wholly unprecedented demand."

IS PEACE ON EARTH POSSIBLE?

JOHN STRACHEY*

MAN IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Twenty-five years ago the decisive issues were economic. Either our industrialised societies would surmount their economic problems or they would fall into decay. Today the threat of nuclear war is the decisive issue. A failure to surmount this new crisis would lead not to decay but to summary destruction. So much will perhaps be readily agreed.

But the prevention of war, as distinct from its occasional avoidance or postponement, is a far more difficult matter than is even now realised. Many people, it is true, are tireless in reiterating that with the development of nuclear arms, peace has become indispensable. But those who best appreciate this truth are apt to overlook the fact that war is one of the most deeply rooted of all human institutions They do not realise that in asking mankind to do without war, they are making a wholly unprecedented demand.

On the other hand those of a more realistic temperament — as they consider themselves — who have noted the historical record, are apt to ignore the new fact that to settle disputes between nation-States by the time-honoured method of war has become impossibly destructive. No one can blame mankind for failing, initially at least, to face the dilemma upon the horns of which the progress of physical science has impaled us. But the fact is that for a world of fully sovereign States, war remains inevitable but has become intolerable.

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* Secretary of State for War in the last British Labour government.

This dilemma of the nuclear age casts its shadow over every aspect of contemporary life. It will not be resolved without diagnostic studies of the nature of war, sustained by many workers and over many years. To suppose anything else would be as wishful as to suppose that cancer could be overcome without achieving an ever-increasing comprehension of the morbid condition of the affected tissue.

THE ROLE OF MILITARY FACTORS

I do not take the view sometimes expressed by persons of my political persuasion, that the military characteristics of the "delicate balance of terror" are unimportant. On the contrary, *in the short run* what is called "the stability of the balance," which depends to a marked extent upon military factors, is of primary importance. Here I can only assert two conclusions.

The stability of the nuclear balance, and so the probability of avoiding the early outbreak of nuclear war, is dependent, first, on both sides rendering their respective strategic nuclear forces as "invulnerable" as possible to a surprise attack by the other. There would be little hope of peace if both sides maintained strategic nuclear forces which could obliterate, or be obliterated by, the opposing force. For in that case the premium upon striking first would be overwhelmingly high.

The second conclusion is that the stability of the balance, and so peace, will be gravely endangered if either side neglects its non-nuclear or "conventional" forces. For in that case the other side can seize some limited, but important, local advantage without the use of nuclear weapons, and so confront its opponent with the intolerable dilemma of submitting or of blowing up the world for the sake of what appears to be an issue of limited importance. Perhaps the side which has neglected its conventional forces will yield once or twice on such limited issues. But it is easy to see that a series of such issues could and would confront the neglectful side with the stark choice of surrender or full-scale nuclear war.

These military considerations will be greeted by many readers with impatience. If, it will be said, the consequencies of nuclear war are as black as they are painted (and they are), ought we not to demand immediate and all-embracing measures to abolish this nightmare? Either unilateral disarmament or the quick establishment of a world government is often demanded by those who have suddenly realised the peril in which they stand.

It is true that no suggestions for improving "the stability of the balance" can do more than procure us a stay of execution by nuclear war. But how much that is! The inhabitant of the condemned cell is ill-advised to despise a reprieve, even though only a full pardon will set him free again. In the same way it would be particularly rash for us to neglect "the stability of the balance" on the grounds that it is undeniable that far more than this will be necessary to release us from that world-wide condemned cell which the human race to-day inhabits.

DISARMAMENT:
(I) UNILATERAL

We must conclude, then, that defense policy is a highly important matter, but only in order to gain time for more fundamental measures. What are such measures? It is disarmament that has principally attracted the enthusiasm of what may be called "the men of peace."

Disarmament, however, can be of two kinds. The kind that principally occupies public attention to-day is unilateral disarmament. It is proposed that either this country, or the alliance to which it belongs, should lay down its nuclear weapons without reference to what the other side may do.

I have only one thing to say on this: if one is prepared to accept its consequences, namely, compliance with the will, whatever it may be, of any State, or alliance of States, which does not lay down its nuclear arms, it is the obvious thing to do.

For those men and women who have faced these consequences, and accept them, I have considerable respect. I cannot agree with them that this is either the right or the relevant approach to the matter. But it is certainly possible to argue that anything at all is better than to incur even the risk of nuclear war, and that risk can be wholly avoided only by inducing the alliance of which we are members unilaterally to disarm itself.

Nevertheless I cannot find much interest in this proposal. It is, no doubt, conceptually possible that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament might succeed not merely in disarming and neutralising Britain, which could not possibly eliminate the risk of nuclear war, but also in inducing America, or even Russia, unilaterally to disarm herself. But the possibility of doing so appears too remote to be relevant. Moreover, I am fortified in this view by discovering that it is fully, if unexpectedly, shared by the most eminent figure, by far, of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Bertrand Russell writes in his new book, "Has Man a Future?": —

> ...there is a slogan invented by West German friends of peace: "Better Red than dead." One may guess that in some sections of Russian public opinion, there is an opposite slogan: "Better capitalists than corpses." I do not think it is necessary to inquire into the theoretical validity of either slogan since I think it out of the question that the one should be adopted by Western Governments or the other by the Governments of the East. Neither slogan presents justly the problem which East and West, alike, have to face. Given that military victory by either side is impossible, it follows logically that a negotiated *detente* cannot be based on the complete subjection of either side to the other but must preserve the existing balance while transforming it from a balance of terror to a balance of hope.

Exactly. If "Better Red than dead" is a false issue, what is there left except to go back to the familiar, often frustrating, but indispensable path of disarmament and *detente* by negotiation — of negotiations moreover which, as Russell writes specifically "cannot be based on the complete subjection of either side to the other."

DISARMAMENT:
(II) MULTILATERAL

We cannot, therefore, escape by any sort of heroic short cut from a consideration of the whole complex and interlocked subjects of multilateral disarmament, and with that, of the inter-relations and intentions towards each other of the Communist and "Western" alliance respectively.

I do not see how anyone can study the course of the disarmament negotiations since the nuclear age began without being forced to the conclusion that whenever these negotiations have been serious, they have raised the issue of the establishment of a world authority. True, they have not often been serious, in the sense that both sides, or even either side, have actually contemplated the implementation of the measures under discussion. Usually they have been mere exercises in "political warfare," which may be defined as the gentle art of putting the other fellow in the wrong.

On at least two occasions, however, disarmament negotiations in the nuclear age have been serious, in the above sense that the negotiating Governments did consider the possibility of implementing the proposals under discussion. The first of these occasions was in 1946 when America proposed the Baruch plan for establishing an International Atomic Development Authority which was to have a world-wide monopoly of the production of atomic energy.

The second serious disarmament negotiations of the nuclear age were the long-drawn-out test ban negotiations at Geneva. The negotiators on both sides would agree, I think, that at various stages of these negotitaions the implementation of the proposals under discussion was actually being considered. Here again this was because they, too, at least pointed in the direction of a world authority. A test ban treaty was at once a far more difficult thing to achieve, and would have been of far greater importance, than was widely realised. For its essence would have been that America and Russia should co-operate for the purpose of preventing the acquisition of a nuclear capacity by any other State — and consequentially, I fancy, of the abandonment of their existing, minor, nuclear capacities by Britain and France.

Thus each of the disarmament negotiations which have turned out to be serious have been those which pointed towards the goal of a world authority. This is because the alternative goal, which may perhaps be defined as a world of "generally and completely" disarmed, but still fully sovereign, States, is close to being a contradiction in terms.

THE GOAL OF A WORLD AUTHORITY

There is, indeed, a growing consensus — at least in words — from the present Prime Minister, through Mr. Duncan Sandys and Lord Attlee to Bertrand Russell, that the creation of some sort of world authority, possessing a monopoly of nuclear capacity, is the sole salvation for the human race in the nuclear age. Russell, as usual, puts the issue with incomparable clarity and force. He writes: —

> **. . . it seems indubitable that scientific man cannot long survive unless all the major weapons of war, and all the means of mass determination [destruction? J.S.] are in the hands of a single Authority, which, in consequence of its monopoly, would have irresistible power, and if challenged to war, could wipe out any rebellion within a few days without much damage except to the rebels. This, it seems plain, is an absolutely indispensable condition of the continued existence of a world possessed of scientific skill.**

Again the reader may be startled to find that Russell, and presumably the more extreme wing of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which he leads, are not agitating for the abolition of nuclear weapons after all. They are on the contrary proposing the establishment of one central arsenal of nuclear weapons in the hands of "a single Authority" which "could wipe out any rebellion within a few days without much damage except to the rebels."

A DOCTRINE OF TOTAL DESPAIR

However, verbal tributes to the goal of world government do not take us very far. They may be — indeed they are — brushed off by the practical, able, overworked men who run the "establishments" of the contemporary nation-States as the lucubrations of elderly philosophers or the perorations of parliamentarians. Nor do these practical men lack able spokesmen for their scepticism. Their view was put by, for example, Mr. Hedley Bull in his recent work: "The Control of the Arms Race: Disarmament and Arms Control in the Missile Age." He wrote: —

> **We cannot expect that the establishment of a universal Governments by contract amongst the nations rather than by conquest will be brought about by governments incapable of the most modest forms of co-operation.**

Accordingly he stigmatises any discussion, even, of the possibility of a world authority as "a fantasy" and "a confusion of thinking about international relations and a distraction from its proper concerns." Again Sir William Hayter, writing in these columns on February 12, 1961, comes to the same emphatic conclusion: "Aiming at world government is now in my opinion actually wrong. It distracts our attention from what we ought really to be doing, which is to search for ways of living safely in an inevitably divided world."

These are not opinions that can be shrugged off: more especially as they are tacitly shared by, at a guess, 90 per cent of all well-informed men. Indeed, were it not for one consideration, we should be forced to accept them. That consideration is that they are a doctrine of total despair. The more closely we study the state of the nuclear balance, the course of the disarmament negotiations, the intentions of the principal nation-States of the present-day world, or indeed the inherent nature of sovereign nation-States, the more surely we shall be forced to the following conclusion: though the avoidance of this or that potential war is a by no means impossible task, yet the abolition of war as a recurrent phenomenon in the relations of sovereign nation-States remains, as it always has been, impossible. Therefore in the nuclear age to accept the conclusion that the world must remain indefinitely a world of sovereign States is, in very truth, "to shut the gates of mercy on mankind." We can only conclude that the practical men have not even yet imaginatively assimilated the probable consequences of full-scale war in the nuclear age. — The Sunday *Observer*, London, December 24, 1961.

WE ARE LIKE THE BAMBOO

CARMEN GUERRERO NAKPIL

The biggest single advantage we have always had in our relations with other peoples is that we start with the premise that we are wrong and they are right. This is not so much a sense of inadequacy as a sweet reasonableness which makes it possible for us to "see" a foreigner's "point," to conform enough to it to insure our survival and, at last, to extract from that contact some benefit for ourselves.

This thesis is patent in ancient as well contemporary history. We paid tribute cheerfully to the Chinese emperor or the Madjapahit one. When the long-nosed white men came with their muskets and their sacred insignia, we were, with a few exceptions, more than willing to meet them halfway. We listened courteously to their claims about the Spanish king (what, another one?) dressed up in capes and feathers for their religious rituals and we turned our *anitos* into saints. When the few angry young men like Lapu-Lapu had had their day, and the encomenderos became fiercely rapacious we retreated into indolence and unproductivity — to this day the last refuge of the oppressed.

After a brief spell of hostility towards the Americans, we were once more ready to be charmed. Indeed, how much more clever to have sanitary wells and to have everyone learn to read and write English and to play baseball and to believe, with the new evangelizer, that heaven is for those who "git up and go." It was much harder to accommodate the Japanese, but we learned how to do it in a thousand ways and who knows, if the fortunes of war and international power politics had been different, whether the Nippongo teachers would have become Thomasites, too. We seem almost glad that the Chinese are so ingenious and hard-working — that leaves us more time in which to play politics.

Thus, we disarm other people before they can do us much harm. Where they expect a war or an argument, they find acquiescent smiles and nodding heads. And we rob them of the pleasure of conquest or exploitation. What pleasure can there be in victory or imperialism where the natives are so happy to be conquered? The bamboo, rather than the tough, unbending *narra*, should have been our national tree. — *My Humble Opinion*, the Manila *Chronicle*, October 12, 1961.

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"Dreams can be bought and sold, or stolen," says Arthur Waley in a collection of Third Programme broadcasts, and proceeds to tell an ancient oriental story of a bartered dream: "The Japanese Regent, Masatoki, who lived in the 12th century, had two daughters, who were step-sisters. The younger dreamt that the sun and moon fell into her lap. 'I must go and ask Masako what this means,' she thought, Masako was the name of the elder sister, who was learned in history, mythology and dream-interpretation. 'This would be a strange enough dream for a man to have,' thought the elder sister, 'and it is stranger that it should come to a woman.' For she knew such a dream meant that the person concerned would become ruler of the land. Being herself of a masterful and ambitious character, she determined to get hold of the dream and said deceitfully to the younger sister. 'This is a terribly unlucky dream. You had better get rid of it as quickly as possible.' 'How can one get rid of a dream?' asked the younger sister. 'Sell it!' said Masako. But who is there that would buy a bad dream? 'I will buy it from you,' said Masako. 'But, dear sister, how could I bear to escape from misfortune only to see it descent upon you?" 'That does not happen,' said Masako. 'A dream that is bought brings neither fortune nor misfortune.' The price paid was an ancient Chinese mirror. The young sister went back to her room saying, 'It has happened at last. The mirror that I have always coveted is mine.' Only long afterwards, when Masako became the virtual ruler of Japan, did the young sister realise what she had lost by selling her dream."

This is one of my favorite stories because it is a stabbingly apt allegory of what happened to the Filipino dream. The generation of Rizal, Bonifacio and Aguinaldo dreamed of freedom and national dignity. But in their innocence, they bartered it for security, protection, material prosperity and the lessons of democracy and self-government. It was deemed proper to be grateful to an elder nation for having saved us from the vicissitudes of glorious but uncertain dreams. The sun and the moon on our laps, we were assured, would burn us to a cinder. Now we admire ourselves in a pretty looking-glass and daily remind ourselves that this is what we wanted all the time. Ah, but how dazzling and inaccessible are the sun and moon that we lost! — *My Humble Opinion,* the Manila *Chronicle,* July 11, 1958.

THE IFUGAO'S "PUNNOKAN"

The Ifugaos celebrate the end of the harvest season with a river ceremony called "punnokan". On the day of the ceremony, nobody is allowed to go to the fields, where, it is believed, any "intruder" will be killed by the spirits. Instead, the folk assemble beside a river, around a human figure made of hay. This figure is called the "kinaag." It is thrown into the water and the people try to hook as much of it as they can. The group that hooks in the most hay wins the game. The "punnokan" is a welcome relief after the labors of harvest. — *Jose G. Canapin.*

COMMUNIST EDUCATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

There are a variety of agencies engaged in elementary education in Communist China. Besides the regular elementary schools for children, there are adult schools of elementary grade and spare-time elementary schools for youth as well as older people; there are winter schools in the rural areas, worker-peasant schools, and various kinds of literacy classes.

The complete elementary school consists of six grades, usually divided into the lower elementary of four years and the higher elementary of two years. In 1951, a revised school system was adopted and it was announced that the elementary school would be reduced to five years. It was then contended that the six-year elementary school was unsuitable for new China, because the long course was a scheme of bourgeois society to prevent the broad masses from getting the benefit of universal education.

The change to a five-year unitary school proved to be not so easy. Here and there the new experiment was tried and much success was claimed, but there was no widespread adoption of the new plan. In December 1953, the government decided to postpone the change indefinitely on account of "inadequate preparation of teachers and teaching materials."

Elementary education is not free, though attempts have been made, especially in the schools established by communes and by some industries, to run the schools without tuition fees. The principle of free universal education is accepted but the present financial situation makes it necessary to charge fees. Practices vary in different parts of the country. Sometimes, the families of the pupils are asked to contribute to the teacher's board either by taking turns to prepare meals or by donation of food. It is also not uncommon to fix tuition charges according to the financial stature of the families.

The distinguishing characteristics of the curriculum are manual labour and the weekly assembly for political and civic education. Compared with the American elementary curriculum, the Chinese curriculum is more rigidly prescribed and the subjects are narrower in scope.

It is possible that the temporary abandonment of the five-year unitary school was, in part at least, motivated by a desire to slow down the popular demand for education. A campaign was launched to discourage elementary school pupils from seeking entrance into junior middle schools. It was emphasized that the chief purpose of the elementary school was to produce enlightened workers and that most pupils should consider it normal to take up productive labour when they leave the elementary school.

Entrance examinations are another means of controlling the advance from elementary schools to junior middle schools. In 1954, it was stated that no more than one-third of graduates of elementary schools could be accommodated in the post-elementary schools of various kinds. Even after 1956, when the rise of non-state schools greatly increased the number of schools, the government continued to pursue a restrictive policy. One reason for this may be the desire of the government to correct the confusion and deterioration of standards which have resulted from the expansion of enrolment and the appearance of numerous schools with inadequate facilities and incompetent teachers. It is possible that, in the Communist philosophy of education, some education of elementary grade is needed so that the people may be more receptive to indoctrination and propaganda, but education beyond the elementary must be reserved only for those whom the state wants to train for specific tasks. In that case education for the enlightenment or the advancement of the individual would be considered a bourgeois concept that has no place in the Communist scheme of education.

The campaign to discourage continued schooling coincided with the new emphasis on labour in the rectification campaign of 1957 and later with the campaign to send large numbers of youth to the countryside to stimulate lagging agricultural production. Young people who had gone from elementary schools to production were asked to return to the schools to tell the pupils their joy at helping the production programme of the state. They were honoured as successful citizens to show the pupils that further study was not the only means of advancement. Pupils were taken to visit farms and factories to arouse their interest in production.

The Communists almost at once decided to abolish private education and put all education in the hands of the state. In 1952, the Ministry of Education announced a policy of taking over private schools. The enrolment in private elementary schools quickly dropped from 34.1 per cent of the total enrolment in all elementary schools to 5.5 per cent in 1952 and 3.8 per cent in 1953. It was soon realized, however, that the state could not possibly provide enough schools for the millions who demanded education. The government then reversed its policy and decided to encourage the establishment of schools by the "masses" and by private organizations such as factories, business concerns, collectives, and, later on, communes. A campaign was launched to establish large numbers of non-state schools known as "min pan" schools. The mushroom growth of such schools accounts for the big jump on elementary school enrolment after 1955.

Many of the *min pan* schools are make-shifts of one kind or another. Classes are held in private homes or in temples, warehouses, or other unused public buildings, and pupils are often asked to bring their own desks and chairs. Teachers are untrained and, in too many cases, not too far removed from illiteracy. Some are only "spare-time" schools; others are "half school, half farm." They do not teach all subjects of the standard curriculum; the only teaching that is considered indispensable is political and ideological indoctrination. As a matter of fact, such improvisations are officially encouraged, and local authorities are told that they should feel free to depart from the regulations and adapt to local conditions.

The Ministry of Education has encouraged the double session in elementary schools. There are even schools on triple shifts. There are a variety of forms of the double session. Sometimes, alternate sessions meet half a day each, one class in the morning and another class in the afternoon, using the same classroom. Or they may alternate, meeting every other day. In any case, the pupils do not attend school full-time. Experiments have been made to keep pupils in school all day, to schedule one class in a room and another class in outdoor activities and alternating them so as to get double use of the facilities, but bad weather spoils the schedule and causes much confusion.

Political education in all schools is carried on under the direct supervision of Party authorities. The Party is assisted by the youth organizations and the labour organizations, which come into the picture not only because the Communists ideology glorifies the working class, but also because labour organizations play an important role in promoting productive labour while in school and encouraging youth to join the "full-time labour force upon leaving school.

Reading newspapers, discussing current events, visits to factories, farms and government offices, and the study of speeches and reports of Communist leaders are regular features of the programme. The weekly assembly is an important occasion for political education.

The Communists make a distinction between "Communist morality." and "bourgeois morality." The Common Programme of 1949 listed the "five loves" which education should try to develop: love of the fatherland, love of the people, love of labour, love of science, and care of public property. Since the "fatherland" and the "people" are both symbolised by the Communist Party, love of obedience to the Communist Party becomes the highest attributes of Communist morality.

An important role in moral education is played by the Chinese Young Pioneers, the officially sponsored youth organization for elementary school-children too young to join the Communist Youth League. This youth organization for elementary schoolchildren not only moulds the characters of its members but also plays a leading role in all branches of school life.

The Communist way of life is the collective way. One of the tasks of moral education is to train children in collective living. Here again, the Young Pioneers are supposed to set the pace. The collective way is fostered by having children study, labour and play in groups. In recent years the scope of collective activities has been expanded and the slogan of "four collectivisations" has gained increasing popularity. The "four collectivisations" refer to collective study, collective labour, collective residence, and collective board. It is contended that the full development of the collective way of life requires having pupils live together in dormitories under the constant supervision of teachers, who in turn are under the constant guidance of the Communist Party.

In the absence of dormitories, some schools turn classrooms into sleeping quarters at night and push together chairs and tables to make improvided beds. Teachers sleep in the same room with the pupils and it is proudly reported that many a teacher has turned into a nursemaid, waking up small children at night to attend to toilet needs. Such loving care of children, it is said, is a natural expansion of the new socialist consciousness of teachers. The teacher is instructor, nursemaid, and production guide at the same time.

Productive labour in schools has been given a new emphasis since 1958. The elementary curriculum has been revised to provide for four to six hours a week of manual work for the senior classes and at least two hours a week in the junior classes. Smaller children are assigned duties such as cleaning and sweeping in school and at home, elimination of insect pests, etc., while pupils in the upper classes engage in actual production on farms or in factories. The "work-study plan" gained popularity. It reduce the hours of classroom study and allows as much as half of school time for productive labour. In some schools the schedule provides for a half day of study and a half day of productive labour; in other schools, pupils set aside entire days for work.

The Communist emphasis on the "complete development" of man encompasses five major aspects of the development of the individual: intellectual, moral, physical, artistic and the knowledge and skills of production. In practice, little attention is paid to the artistic side, and physical development is often neglected, even endangered, as a result of the heavy schedule of study, labour, and political activities.

Quantity is not the only enemy of quality. The presure for political activities and the demand for productive labour must necessarily reduce the time and energy available for academic study, but here the dilemma must remain insoluble as long as the Communists adhere to their dogma that politics must always "take command" and their belief that with proper ideological orientation all good things in life will follow. Teachers as well as pupils are frequently summoned by government and Party officers to do clerical and other chores. A post-office might ask teachers to help solicit subscriptions for publications; a peasant association might ask school bands to play at weddings; such miscellaneous tasks not only meant the suspension of classes but much illness on the part of overworked teachers and pupils.

There is an upsurge of demand for education in China, but premature withdrawal from school constitutes one of the puzzling problems facing educators. In 1955, out of a total enrolment of over 53 millions, more than five million withdrew before the end of the elementary course. — *Theodore H. E. Chen,* condensed from the *China Quarterly, 1962*

IVORY TOWERS

Ivory towers are cast like castles in Spain. But while these castles are simply meant to adorn the imagination and to exist in the realm of phantasy, ivory towers are designed for some specific conditions of life. To be sure they are not made of real ivory or of similar rare and beautiful materials. They are not even built of wood or stone and mortar standing in silent solitude; they are rather symbols of an attitude of withdrawal and a spirit of non-involvement.

Ivory towers do not usually have certain purposes which an individual or a group may decide to pursue. They house institutions that have set themselves apart from the social milieu. Within them men may dwell for various reasons.

The college professor who has no contact with the day to day problems of practical life has often been traditionally branded as a creature living in an ivory tower. The monk in the loneliness of his convent also lives in another ivory tower. So is the hermit in the wilderness pursuing in isolation a path towards a life hereafter. He is in an ivory tower.

But there are other kinds of ivory towers. The specialist who has concentrated his mind in a narrow subject of study to the total exclusion of other interests lives in an ivory tower. Learning more and more about less and less, he loses contact with the significance of human personality.

The professional, whether in engineering, medicine, law, or other profession, lives in an ivory tower when outside the narrow confines of his field he knows nothing at all. He has become a captive of his profession. Outside the pool where he moves, he is as helpless as a fish on dry land.

The ivory tower has its

dangers, the dangers of isolation. It could be social isolation; but it could be worse than that. It could be intellectual isolation which may spell moral impoverishment and mental decay. For time in an ivory tower is not a moment for just a pause for refreshment. It is a withdrawal from other men, other thoughts, other feelings, other influences. But it may serve a good purpose for some specific occasion. It may be used to provide a temporary place of convenience where some special service may be performed effectively and undisturbed by a recluse of science qualified to explore the unknown.

WHAT OF THE CINEMA?

Get more out of life, see a movie. Movies are better than ever.

So goes the gag line in the movie sections of our newspapers. Actually, what does one get out of a movie? What does the cinema 'teach'? As "entertainment" it passes off an entire philosophy.

For instance: Movie audiences have been learning that no woman over twenty-five can be handsome or attractive, though men can be both to a fairly ancient age; that the feminine landscape should be as visible as possible (Bardot?) without being actually seen; that the most interesting people are those who are well-dressed, well-loved, and acquainted with cabarets. Above all, they have been learning that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with our society.

Cinema comment is the kind that enforces a certain set of values, and therefore influences action.

◆ **The human deluge poses a serious problem of birth and death controls.**

THE MENACING POPULATION FLOOD TIDE

In biblical days, man was supposed to receive a divine order to grow and multiply. The earth was then a vast open space, much of it empty. But during the centuries that have elasped since those early times, the increase of the inhabitants of the earth has been continuous and rapid. About 150 years ago a studious and observant Englishman was quite alarmed at seeing the growth of the population practically in all countries. He was the Rev. Thomas Malthus who pointed out the tendency of population increasing at a rate faster than could be provided with the supply of food that could be produce. And he warned that if allowed to continue unchecked it would result in widespread misery and even starvation. While the statements of Malthus set men to thinking about the population problem most people paid little, if any, attention to his ideas.

The eminent scholar and scientist Julian Huxley tells us that as late as the 1930's it had been quite customary to ridicule Malthusian fears. He said: "For one thing, the opening up of new land to agriculture, coupled with the introduction of better agricultural methods, had allowed food-production to keep up with population-increase, and in some areas even to outdistance it. For another, attempts were being made to impugn the whole basis of Malthus' argument. It was pointed out that he was incorrect in saying that food-production tended to increase in an arithmetical progression, as against the geometrical progression of population-increase: food-production during the nineteenth and early twentieth century did actually increase in a more than arithmetical progression."

But Huxley now tells us that "the nineteenth-century spurt in food-production was a temporary historical incident: it cannot be expected to continue at the same rate, and indeed must slow down as it approaches an inevitable limit; and secondly that, though Malthus' particular formulation was incorrect, there *is* a fundamental difference between the increase of population, which is based on a geometrical or compound-interest growth-mechanism, and of production, which is not."

Among primitive peoples some kind of control on population growth has existed as a result of famine, sickness, and war. At times infanticide, or abortion, or sexual abstinence over long periods are also practiced by them. But in more civilized countries there had not been any socially accepted system of population control until quite recently when the immense increase of population and the growing difficulties of securing a sufficient and substantial means of support have started some studies to discover more acceptable methods of birth-control.

The problem has become very pressing as a result of the report on the survey of the population of the world which was first undertaken by the United Nations Conference on World Population held in Rome in 1954. The UN statistics tells us that the world's population today stands at the 3-billion mark. In the 1920's, it did not yet pass the 2-billion mark; and in the mid-eighteenth century, it was still in the 1-billion mark. Huxley writes that at about the time of Christ, the world population could not have exceeded one-fourth of a billion or about 250 million.

But this increase in absolute numbers is not the only significant fact. What is even more impressive is that the rate of increase itself has kept on increasing almost by leaps and bounds. Human numbers have tended to grow not only by geometrical progression, as Malthus estimated, but by compound-interest rate. The prospect is, therefore, quite alarming.

Population growth has not, however, followed a constant acceleration. The increase has taken place in upward jumps depending upon new discoveries in physiology, hygiene, and scientific medicine which have cut down death rates. Where these scientific discoveries are fully applied, the expectation of life at birth has more than doubled.

In the days of the Roman Empire, the life expectancy was only 30 years. In this day this has gone up to 70 years in some countries in Europe and in the United States; and even in some less-developed countries this increase in life expectancy is noticable.

Now that new methods of birth-control are discovered and being more widely used, the population problem is no longer solely a race between population and food-production, but between death-control and birth-control, Huxley says. But the case for birth-control has been made difficult by the opposition of the Roman Catholic church and coincidentally by Russian Communism specially during the Stalin rule. Catholic authorities have taken the stand that artificial birth-control is immoral, to say the least, and the Communists have ridiculed the notion of overpopulation calling it an invention of the *imperialists* and the *colonialists.* But those who consider this problem of population objectively cannot disregard its serious aspect.

In the Philippines today, the population is more than 28 million. This represents an increase of more than 3 per cent a year.

If this rate continues in 15 years or in 1977, the population of our country will exceed 50 million. With better means of production, improved methods of manufacturing, farming land utilization, and scientific exploitation and use of our forests, fishing, grounds, and other natural resources, the Philippines may still have enough room to support that size of its population. But with that figure, a continued increase at a geometrical ratio will mean a population with a size sufficient to bring down the standard of living of the people. Without birth-control, the nation may have to face serious difficulties in meeting not just its food and other physical needs but also its educational, social, and cultural needs.

It takes a Britisher, Mr. Gerald Wilkinson, who is a prominent businessman in Manila, to bring to the attention of our public the menace of population explosion to the Philippines as it is already felt in the other countries of the world. In a speech before the Manila Rotary Club about three years ago, Mr. Wilkinson made these statements:

"The fact that most of Asia is in a worse plight does not reduce the urgency of the Philippine problem. For what is this mounting wave of population going to expect? The same standards of living as in the past? Are the children of today going to expect to have more or less things than their grandparents?

"If the Philippine population was under communist control, I suppose that coercion, brain-washing and regimentation might for a time induce our acceptance of lower standards of living, which in turn would curb the strain upon the economic apparatus of the Philippines.

"But under our democratic processes, with a free press, competitive political promises for a better life for everybody in every election campaign, and with commercial advertising, the radios, the televisions, the magazines, the movies and the billboards, all stimulating to everybody, everywhere, to expect the luxuries of yesterday to become the necessities of today, surely the people of the free world including the Philippines are being stimulated to demand more and not less things per person than they now obtain."

A large, steady, and rapid increase in population is bound to result in the expansion of the areas occupied by barrios, towns, and cities. More people require more residential sites, more business and industrial centers. Recreational places, playgrounds, parks, and other spots needed for cultural activities will be either sacrificed to give way to the need for space for food-production or maintained at the expense of health and other material necessities. Julian Huxley puts this question in this manner:

"The space and the resources of our planet are limited. Some we must set aside for the satisfaction of man's material needs — for food, raw materials, and energy. But we must set aside others for more ultimate satisfactions — the enjoyment of unspoilt nature and fine scenery, the interest of wild life, travel, satisfying recreation, beauty in place of ugliness in human building, and the preservation of the variety of human culture and of monuments of ancient grandeur.

"In practice this means limiting the use to which some areas are put. You cannot use ploughed fields to land aircraft on, you cannot grow crops in built-over areas, you cannot permit exploitation or unrestricted "development" in national parks or nature sanctuaries. In the long run, you cannot avoid paying the price for an unrestricted growth of human numbers: and that price is ruinous.

"It is often asserted that science can have no concern with values. On the contrary, in all fields of Social Science, and (in rather a different way) wherever the applications of Natural Science touch social affairs and affect human living, science *must* take account of values, or it will not be doing its job satisfactorily. The population problem makes this obvious. As soon as we recall that *population* is merely a collective term for aggregations of living human beings, we find ourselves thinking about relations between quantity and quality — quantity of the human beings in the population and quality of the lives they lead: in other words, *values*."

WHAT IS SELFISHNESS?

Selfishness is the satisfaction of desire at somebody else's expense, so that the one's gain is the other's loss. It may be supposed that everyone, at some time or other, has done things of this sort; but no one can be a Machiavellian unless he makes such a behavior a rule of life.

HOW TO DRIVE YOUR CAR SAFELY

The increasing number of accidents caused by driving of cars, busses, and trucks should turn our attention to better ways of driving. It is not enough that a car or truck be mechanically in top condition. Of course, this should not be neglected. But the fact is that new machines have often figured in accidents. In this article we have two assumptions to begin with: (1) that the car is not defective and (2) that the driver is not just learning how to handle the wheel, how to shift from first to second, how to turn around in the back yard, or how to park the car. We make good time between widely separated places, running around forty to seventy kilometers an hour on the open road and pushing through towns and lines of traffic as quickly as common sense will permit. From an experienced driver's article on the subject of good driving we learn the following ideas: The most important single principle for open-road driving is: that you must constantly drive not only your own car, but you must drive the car (s) in front of you and the car (s) behind. Let's take the one (s) behind first.

First, you have got to know, at all times, just what is behind you; that means that you have to look in your mirror perhaps every ten to thirty seconds (depending on the road) to see what's going on there. You may protest that on a straight road, with little or no traffic, there's no use. To this I reply that on a straight road, with little or no traffic, there isn't any use. But if there is a fairly good chance that a car will come up behind you, you must know if it does.

Let's see how it works. Sometimes I push the speed limit a bit, particularly when I think the limit does not make sense. In a situation of this sort, I keep track of every car in sight behind me. I say to myself: there are three in a bunch, a quarter of a mile back, and they are respectively red and blue and a convertible. It is vital that I know what is behind me, and what changes are taking place, so that I have the knowledge necessary for action, whether I take it or not.

But let's take a more usual case; you look in your mirror two or three times, and you see that a car is coming up behind you and getting fairly close. Obviously that car is making better time than you are. What do you do?

What you do is so important that I think it needs to be established as an extremely important principle: any car traveling faster than you must be allowed to get ahead of you and out of the way just as fast as is safely possible. Sometimes you may see that the driver can't pass you (or if he does he is a suicidal maniac), but let's assume that he can pass you, and that he and you will come through the experience intact. Your first move is this: pull over a little closer to the right side of the road to show that you are aware of his presence behind you and to give him as much room for passing as you can. Suppose that the driver doesn't pass you right away. There are two chief reasons for this: (a) the road or the traffic conditions don't allow him to do so; or (b) he is what I should like to call a "fol-low-traveler."

Saving this second reason for a moment, what can you do to help in the first situation? Here is what you don't do: you don't say to yourself, "There's a poor chap behind who's in a hurry and who can't get by, so the best thing for me to do is to speed up a little so that even if he can't pass he can, perhaps, go as fast as he wants to." If you speed up, that just makes it all the harder for him to pass, and even if conditions ahead improve somewhat at this new, higher speed, he may be even more seriously stuck behind you. The best thing to do is to slow down (and, if necessary, even pull over onto the shoulder); this may slow him down momentarily, but it's much easier now for him to pass, and if he really wants to he shouldn't be so long in doing it. To me, every driver who wants to go faster than I do is a person I admire (not revile, as some drivers do). The general rule in this case is: do whatever is necessary to get him past in the shortest possible time. You won't do it by speeding up.

And now let's take the "follow-traveler." Even as I consider him I begin to feel my blood pressure going up. I mean to give him his due importance. The most dangerous average driver on the road today is the one you will find behind the wheel of the *second* car in a line.

Think this over. To be second, he must have been going faster than the car (or truck) now leading the line, and his duty was to pass as soon as he could. Perhaps for a few moments, or even for a few minutes, he couldn't pass. But that length of time is seldom long enough for two or five or twenty cars to come up behind him, and be stuck there. Most "second-car" drivers don't pass, not because they can't, but because they have some completely irrational habit of following. If I have seen it once, I have seen it ten thousand times. He is always undecided. I believe he is incapable of thought. He is just a "follow-traveler"; he wants someone else to do his thinking for him.

You know as well as I do the result of this irrational following: much of our traffic on the open road moves not car by car, but in bunches and often in long lines. (I am not talking about weekend traffic jams on inadequate, over-travelled highways where there is no choice but to follow as there is no open space ahead.) A line is a group of drivers who were and are anxious to make better time than the cars in the lead. They may restrain themselves for a while, but you know what happens to them after ten minutes of it, or half an hour. They get, to put it mildly, impatient. Then at one swoop, they start to pass the six or eight or ten closely spaced cars ahead of them. Theoretically, with everything just right, it is no more difficult to pass a hundred cars in a bunch than to pass one. Practically, since nothing is ever completely right, the difficulty and danger of passing more than one car at a time goes up, I believe, in some sort of geometric ratio.

There are just a few things about the treatment of "follow-traveler" behind. First, remember that you have *complete control* over the car behind. You can keep it from passing (by just moving over to the left, or by otherwise scaring the driver); you can force it to pass, and get rid of it; or you can very easily run it off the road by swerving out at just the right moment. The way you behave is fully as important as the way he behaves, if not more important. Second, some progress is being made in the mechanics of the car itself. Improved rear-vision mirrors are advertised and praised, and many new cars have more window space in the critical direction.

Now let us take the case of the car ahead. The essential truth about that car is that you can't control it. If it is coming toward you, and is weaving or keeping in the middle of the road, or passing in an impossible spot, the only thing you can do is to protect yourself. You can slow down and pull out to the right, if necessary into the ditch, or you can (if you're lucky) run up a side road. One salient fact about the car coming toward you is that it seldom gives you much time to do anything, and most of what you do is not your choice — it's forced upon you.

The situation with the car you are about to overtake is a little different. First, you must choose your own time and place for passing. If your man ahead is helpful, there won't be any trouble. But if you can't see ahead, don't let him make up your mind for you, even if he is a co-operative truck driver, who waves that all is clear. Second, as you approach him, you have time enough to get some idea of how he is driving — whether he obviously sees you and pulls over slightly to the right, whether he is going fairly fast or is just poking along, or whether he is unaware of you and is in the middle of the road. You can't control him except by getting up close and trying to blow him off the road with your horn, a disagreeable process that I find necessary only a few times a year.

The main thing that you can do is to size up the probabilities ahead. If he is driving very slowly, he is particularly dangerous, for then he is able to turn or step suddenly. (If he is going fifty miles an hour and makes a sudden left turn, he is going to turn over; not many people do that, what with the high price of automobiles.) Another thing is to see if there are any places into which he could possibly make a left turn — a side road or driveway. You can always watch his front wheels (as you come up alongside), for you can see his wheels turn before the car as a whole moves any appreciable amount. And as you come up abreast, if he makes any not-too-suddent swerve or turn, you can often brake fast enough so that he doesn't run you off the road. The chances are that when you brake, he will not, and that he will pass ahead of you. (If he is determined to cause an accident, and is clever about it, there is nothing you can do.)

My ideal way of getting rid of a car I want to pass is to keep my speed, watch the road ahead, but at the same time watch the driver and how he is driving, and get past him quickly. How neatly this work depends, of course, on the kind of road you are traveling, and the amount of oncoming traffic.

There are a few other familiar types that you cannot control. One is the driver who sticks firmly in the middle of the highway and won't move over. Do you pass him on the right? I do, but I don't like it, or him. I try to be prepared for the worst, for if he swerves over to the right and runs into me, I am not only unhappy but may be legally in the wrong. And then there's that really despicable person who, with plenty of room on the side of the road, stops or parks with a piece of his car on the road. Then again there is the driver who suddenly halts right before you without warning of any kind. The only remedy for these "smart" guys is to have their license cancelled.

What about turn signals? Sure, if they are needed. But it's a great deal more important to put your car in the proper position to turn, than, for example, to get in the right lane and then signal that you are going left. If there is nobody behind you, there is not the slightest reason for signaling.

How about yielding the right way, and being polite? My rule: don't ever do either. The road is no drawing room. Rules have been formulated so that one car in a certain position, or on a certain road, has precedence over another. Don't ever give up your right, for although you and another driver may carry on in a pleasant Alphonse-and-Gaston manner, a third car coming along may well ram into one of you, or be in a serious accident trying to get around you. But don't take this advice to mean that you lose all common sense; if a large truck comes out of a side road, taking your right-of-way, your resentment should be tempered with wisdom. I have never yet tangled with anything much larger than I was; something my own size usually gives me the right of way, when it belongs to me.

What's the best thing to do about the appalling headlight problem in night driving? I almost never drive any distance at night. If you can't avoid it, I have only one suggestion to offer: when the oncoming car is some distance away, use his headlights to size up the part of the road that you will come to in a moment, while blinded. The best thing to do is to stay at home and go to bed.

How often should you use your horn? My first impulse is to say never, and I almost stick to it. If it is your intention to annoy or confuse other drivers, don't hesitate. Certainly, there are occasions for tooting — heedless children playing in the road, someone driving in the middle of the road who doesn't know you are behind — but most horn blowing takes the place of looking and thinking.

By PETER F. DRUCKER

To the young man or woman who wants to be a lawyer, an engineer, an accountant, or a physician, schools have specific lessons and ideas to give. But according to Peter Drucker, an American social scientist, they do not seem to know what is best for a *future employee* to learn. The one thing of most value to him is "the ability to organize and express ideas in writing and in speaking."

As an employee has to deal with people, his success depends very much on his ability to present his own thoughts and ideas to them so they will really know what you want to tell them and be persuaded. The letter, the report, the memorandum, the ten-minute conference are basic tools of the employee.

Of course, if one's work is largely manual and menial, the ability to use pen or tongue will not be of great importance. But as one rises to a higher position away from just manual work and when he finds himself in a larger organization or a progressive office, whether it is a government or a large private corporation, this ability to express oneself, Mr. Drucker assures us, is perhaps the most important of all skills a man can possess.

Of course, one must have something to say which should be of value and relevance. He needs to study and understand what he should write or speak about. Mere skill in expression is not enough.

Expressing one's thoughts is one skill that the school can really teach, especially to people born without natural writing or speaking talent. While other skills can be learned later, "the foundations for skill in expression have to be laid early:

an interest in and an ear for language; experience in organizing ideas and data, in brushing aside the irrelevant, in wedding outward form and inner content into one structure; and above all, the habit of verbal expression. If you do not lay these foundations during your school years, you may never have an opportunity again."

Drucker believes that one of the best ways a school should have for training skill in expression is the rule of writing a "theme a day" which has virtually disappeared. His advice now is the writing of poetry and the writing of short stories. This work is not necessarily going to make poets or short-story writers out of the students. But he says "these two courses offer the easiest way to obtain some skill in expression. They force one to be economical with language. They force one to organize thought. They demand of one that he give meanings to every word. They train the ear for language, its meaning, its precision, its overtones – and its pitfalls. Above all they force one to write."

The typical employer may not know this as yet; but sooner or later he is going to see that the young college graduate who has done much short-story writing is the one who can turn out a good, simple, and readable report.

There are two types that are not effective employees. One is he who is good only at painstaking detail work and has no imagination. His usefulness is limited. The other is the self-styled "genius" who has big and high-sounding ideas but is incapable of intensive application to detail. Most of our young graduates have a decided leaning one way or the other. This fact may be explained in terms of basic personality. One's experiences do not change very much his personality, which he acquires from birth. "The need for economic security is often as not an outgrowth of a need for psychological security rather than a phenomenon of its own. But precisely because the difference is one of basic temperament, the analysis of what kind of temperament you possess is so vital. A man might be happy in work for which he has little *aptitude;* he might be quite successful in a job for which he is *temperamentally unfitted*."

There are two groups of activities where qualities of aptitude and temperament are in demand in different degrees. There is greater emphasis on conscientious performances of well-organized duties rather than on imagination — especially for the beginner — for instance, in the inside jobs in banking or insurance which normally offer great job security but not rapid promotion or large pay. The same is true of most government work, particularly in the clerical and engineering branches, and of most public utilities.

But in such areas as buying, selling, and advertising, the emphasis is on adaptability, on imagination, and on an eagerness to do something novel and different. "In those areas, by and large, there is little security, either personal or economic. The rewards, however, are high and come more rapidly. Major premium on imagination — though of a different kind and coupled with dogged persistence on details — prevails in most research and engineering work. Jobs in production, as supervisor or executive, also demand much adaptability and imagination."

In small business close attention to daily routine is needed. But here, there is also room for quite a few people of imagination and with a desire for introducing new things. If successful, a man of this type could transform the tiny company into a big success. Our country is surely in need of this type of personality. In the small business personal contacts spell effectiveness. In large ones, ability to form policies is essential; and those within the organization are practically cogs of a big wheel.

In every organization, even the smallest, there are positions that, while subordinate, modestly paid, and usually filled with young and beginning employees, nonetheless are not at the bottom. The private secretary, the cost accountant, the man in charge of personnel, and a few others have some view of the whole rather than of only one small area. Their jobs are near the top, as it were.

Drucker warns the near-the-top employee that his job is in a way insecure. He is exposed to public view. To this employee, he addresses these words: "Your position is ambiguous; by yourself you are a nobody — but you reflect the boss's status; in a relatively short time you may even speak for the boss. You may have real power and influence. In today's business and government organization the hand that writes the memo rules the committee; and the young staff man usually writes the memos, or at least the first draft. But for that very reason everybody is jealous of you. You are a youngster who has been admitted to the company of his betters, and is therefore expected to show unusual ability and above all unusual discretion and judgment. Good performance in such a position is often the key to rapid advancement. But to fall down may mean the end of all hopes of ever getting anywhere within the organization."

Specialization is emphasized in engineering and in accounting, in production, in statistical work, and in teaching. But there is an increasing demand for people who are able to take in a great area at a glance, people who perhaps do not know too much about any one field — though one should always have on area of real competence. They are classified as "generalists."

The specialist deals with technique, tools, media. His educational background is properly technical or professional. He is strictly what is called a *trained* man. The generalist, especially the administrator, deals with people. His field is leadership, planning, direction-giving, and coordination. He is strictly what is called an *educated* man. The study of the humanities is his source of strength. The specialist seldom qualifies as an administrator. We rarely find a good generalist who is also a good specialist in a particular field. An effective organization needs both kinds.

One should not change jobs constantly. People become suspicious of the character or ability of a person who flits from one job to another. But at the same time, one must not look upon the first job as the final job. Rather he should take it as a training job, an opportunity to discover yourself, to find out what you are good for as an employee. "To know when to quit is therefore one of the most important things — particularly for the beginner. For on the whole young people have a tendency to hang on to the first job long beyond the time when they should have quit for their own good.

The advice of Drucker to the young employee is as follows: "One should quit when self-analysis shows that the job is the wrong job — that, say, it does not give the security and routine one requires, that it is a small-company rather than a big-organization job, that it is at the bottom rather than near the top, a specialist's rather than a generalist's job, etc. One should quit if the job demands behavior one considers morally indefensible, or if the whole atmosphere of the place is morally corrupting — if, for instance, only yes men and flatterers are tolerated."

A young man should not spend much time in a job which does not offer the training one needs either in a specialty or in administration and the view of the whole. This does not mean formal training but a chance to develop into a more useful work that gives one a feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction.

The chance of promotion should be deemed as the essence of a job. A young employee is likely to end in failure if he considers his present job "as but one rung in the promotional ladder rather than as a job itself that deserves serious effort and will return satisfaction, a sense of accomplishment, and pride. And one can be an important and respected member of an organization without ever having received a promotion; there are such people in practically every office." Of course, a progressive organization should offer fair promotional opportunities. Otherwise it becomes stagnant and corrupted; it is bound to cause demoralization of its employees. One should not waste his time in such a place.

There are three situations which Drucker suggests should be carefully watched: "The entire group may be so young that for years there will be no vacancies. If you find yourself caught in such a situation, get out fast. If you wait it will defeat you.

"Another situation without promotional opportunities is one in which the group ahead of you is uniformly old — so old that it will have to be replaced long before you will be considered ready to move up. Stay away from organizations that have a uniform age structure throughout their executive group — old or young. The only organization that offers fair promotional opportunities is one in which there is a balance of ages.

"And finally there is the situation in which all promotions go to members of a particular group — to which you do not belong. Some chemical companies, for instance, require a master's degree in chemistry for just about any job above sweeper. Some companies promote only engineering graduates, some government agencies only people who majored in economics, some railroads only male stenographers, some British insurance companies only members of the actuaries' association. Or all the good jobs may be reserved for members of the family. There may be adequate promotional opportunities in such an organization — but not for you.

"I have only one more thing to say: to be an employee it is not enough that the job be right and that you be right for the job. It is also necessary that you have a meaningful life outside the job.

I am talking of having a genuine interest in something in which you, on your own, can be, if not a master, at least an amateur expert. This something may be botany, or the history of your county, or chamber music, cabinetmaking, Christmas-tree growing, or a thousand other things. But it is important in this "employee society" of ours to have a genuine interest outside of the job and to be serious about it.

I am not, as you might suspect, thinking of something that will keep you alive and interested during your retirement. I am speaking of keeping yourself alive, interested, and happy during your working life, and of a permanent source of self-respect and standing in the community outside and beyond your job. The man who will make the greatest contribution to his company is the mature person — and you cannot have maturity if you have no life for interest outside the job.

"Being an employee means working with people; it means living and working in a society. Intelligence, in the last analysis, is therefore not the most important quality. What is decisive is character and integrity. If you work on your own, intelligence and ability may be sufficient. If you work with people you are going to fail unless you also have basic integrity. And integrity — character — is the one thing most, if not all, employers consider first."

THE NEED FOR RE-THINKING

The great German poet, Goethe, who also lived through a crisis of freedom, said to his generation: "What you have inherited from your fathers, earn over again for yourselves or it will not be yours." We inherited freedom. We seem unaware that freedom has to be remade and re-earned in each generation of man. One reason for this failure is, I believe, passing at last. Our foolish languor has been shaken, if not shattered. We are more ready to examine ourselves and our record. And it is a privilege of our society that every citizen should make his own inquiry. The urgent thing is to feel the need for re-thinking and to set to work the ultimate energies of free society — which cannot be done by the fiat of government but only by the troubled conscience of responsibile men and women. x x x And if we cannot — by a certain discipline, by readiness for reflection and quiet, by determination to do the difficult and aim at a lasting good — rediscover the real purpose and direction of our existence, we shall not be free. Our society will not be free. — *Adlai Stevenson.*

Most of us seldom use our own thinking faculty. We feel we do not have to; it is not necessary. Today it seems to be generally believed that what is important is to take things as they are. We should not be different. We should learn to adjust ourselves to our social and material environment. It is so convenient and safe to drift with the current.

In political life, we should watch and wait for the election results and then make peace with the victors or keep quiet. In the field of religion, we should avoid following the lonely path of our choice and should take instead the crowded road, for where traffic is heavy business is good, brisk, profitable. After all there is much of the element of business in organized religion.

In business, we need not bother ourselves with ethics. Honesty is not a practical policy. If others have made a lot of money by unethical methods, why not do likewise? This is the pattern used these days. Success in selling does not go to the honest man.

We heard from some people that there is a great deal of confusion in our country at present. Why not leave things as they are. One man's effort is just useless. Dissent does not count. So let us stand by and just watch to enjoy the show. — *Cynicus.*

✱ In his face the agony of an age of faith put to death by torture.

THE FACE OF FREUD

LEO CHERNE

For sixteen years cancer ate relentlessly at Freud's lip, gums, jaw, and palate. Eating became a torture, speaking an agony. Pain was never more than a swallow away.

If pain and courage reside in the jaw, purpose is found in the eyes. Here are eyes that look inward — a direction no human eyes had wholly turned to before, nor looked at so long, nor seen so much.

Never until Freud had a personality been excavated so systematically, never had there been so relentless an attempt at self-confrontation. The search was on alien difficult ground, unfriendly, unhappy, dirty. And as the hunt reached its climax, it was almost as though the body rebelled against Freud's intellectual inquisition and tried to draw attention away from the soul to the jaw, from emotion and memory to the tangible terrors of death reproducing itself in his flesh.

Freud was not easily subdued. The struggle added compassion as it deepened the lines that are etched just below the corners of the nose down to the sides of the mouth.

Freud knew that Man had always had the power and the wish to destroy himself and this knowledge cut deep, deep, deep into the furrows across the forehead, the ridge across his nose. In his famous letters to Einstein on the inevitability of war, Freud's pessimism is reluctant, resigned, pervasive.

He had faced rejection on every side. The medical profession disowned him. Close family friends deserted him. Collaborators faltered and disappeared. Newspapers called him "that evil Viennese." Anti-Semitism dogged him much of his life. Rather than fight these outside forces, he made himself inaccessible. There was struggle enough inside.

If there is no contempt, no vengeance in the face, there is also no sentiment, no soft humanity. In one sense, Freud strides with those intellectual giants who stripped Man of his dignity as they increased the sum of human knowledge.

If Copernicus made Man less than a speck in the universe, if Darwin anchored man in slime, it was Freud who brought a truth even more difficult to accept: beneath the outer crust of Man's civilized personality Freud pried open the volcanic cauldron of violent, possessive, unreasoning, and primitive impulses which he insisted are Man's real nature.

But if Freud stripped Man of his illusions and dignity, he offered a way of earning them back. Through self-knowledge, courage, growth, the barbarian could be pacified, the primitive harnessed, the civilized fortified.

Freud himself refused to be misled into the hopeful belief that the victory would be easy, that larger freedom could be readily attained. His life and work rang down the curtain on the nineteenth century, on the age of optimism and the inevitably of progress.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries held that Man was good, only his institutions needed changing. The institutions *were* changed – Man remained as he always was.

In Freud's face is the agony of an age of faith put to death by torture – an age that had begun with Man's supreme faith in himself and his works, that ended with mass destruction and the birth of total tyrannies.

History wrote the tragic closing lines in the drama of his life. A refugee from Nazism, he died in London, on September 26, 1939. – *The Saturday Review.*

■ **"Wisdom no longer cries from the skyscraper rooftops. She whispers from ignored corners of the sick, sad world. And still no one listens."**

LETTER TO MY FOUR SONS

WOLF MANKOWITZ

My dear sons:

I write to you because while I am involved in the vanities and follies of my life, and you in yours, we get very little time to communicate wisdom to one another. While you four struggle with the London General Schools Biology and chess gambits and shove-ha' penny tactics; and folk songs on the recorder, Daniel; and, in the case of you, my eight-months-old Benjamin, the enormous problems involved in learning to sit upright, I try to make a musical entertainment out of the Crippen murder.

Now, which of us five is in the most ridiculous situation? Which of us is wise? Which one has an undoubted answer to any of our bizzare problems? As I am your father, we sometimes assume that I am less confused than you are. As I have survived more follies both of my own, it is suggested that I may be able to give you some advice which will help you to negotiate the follies ahead of you in your own lives.

The truth is, of course, that I can't. The only essential difference between us is that, being older, I have had more moments of sadness in which to reflect upon the need for wisdom. Having you to cherish and raise, I have had to learn practicalities which are not yet your concern. Having had failures and successes to live through, I have developed defense tactics and survival equipment which you so far have not needed. Having the blind impulse of all living creatures to survive, I have learnt means which help, but do not dignify. But wise I am not, and though I am supposed to be shrewd, I don't think that I'm even as careful as those people who, nervous of flying, take out an insurance at the airport before departing. I'm always under-insured. These other people put 2s in a machine and they arrange for their heirs to collect ₱10,000 should the gnawing in their stomachs prove to be second-sight rather than mere anxiety. Perhaps with four sons I ought to do this whenever I fly. I don't, because I feel safer in the air than I do on the ground. While I am up there it's almost impossible for me to get involved in the dangerous projects with which I continually frighten myself down below. For a few claustrophobic hours I can't start anything, I'm perhaps nearer to heaven than I will ever get again and the enforced suspension of life gives me a foretaste of the boredom which being dead and inactive must constitute. To be far up in the air is for me safe and tedious because I am a creature of earth: I spring from it, I 2—letter to my four . . . cef love it, I detest it, and I shall crawl back into it.

You can't say that a man who has spent a large proportion of every day of his life, whether on the ground or in the air, thinking about stories is a normal man. And for twenty years I have been preoccupied with fantasies and techniques for making them seem real. The only practical mechanics that I have ever succeeded in learning, from typing to scriptwriting, I've done only because of the pressing need I have to try to make these stories happen. I've learnt also the mechanics of selling the products of my compulsion. But there is no wisdom in all that. No, I know very little that is wise.

All I can say is that, with my head-start over you, I have managed to accumulate more good quotations, that's all. But on the other hand this is not such as small advantage either, because whatever is to be lived through has already been lived through by some wild man in the past, whatever can be understood has already been understood by some wild man cooling off from his own wildness. I don't refer to the development of more efficient car gears, my car-mechanic son; or the conquest of space, my space-conquering son; or the plitting of the neuton, my son with the scientific inclinations. Such futile follies have nothing to do with wisdom. Wearily enough, there is no foreseeable end, other than perhaps the most desperate one, to the scientific vanities ahead of us. But to wisdom there is an end; it has been reached and recorded often enough; it lies now mouldering in books, waiting to be burnt at regular intervals by tyrants to whose idiocy it is an affront. It waits, quietly burning like live coals under dead ash, and it will always be there, waiting to be blown into a furnace of invigorating fire, and doubtless waiting in vain. Wisdom no longer cries from the skycraper rooftops. She whispers from ignored corners of the sick, sad, world. And still no one listens.

I suppose that today if Moses or the Buddha or Christ — or that, to me, greatest of all teachers, the pre-Christian Rabbi Hillel — was to suddenly take over from some popular comedian down with flu and appear on television at a peak hour one night, ten million people would listen for a few moments and then switch off their sets with a single hand, for what these wise men would have to say we have already heard. We do not wish to hear it all over again. We have ignored it all so often. We have called them false prophets and persisted in the ways of our idiocy. There seems little reason to assume that we shall change this habit of our history.

The Buddha would say: 'Give, sympathize, and control'. But we know all that. Moses would tell us that there is no Good but God, and that man's only contact with Him is through the healthiness of his relationships with other living creatures. But we are over-familiar with that thought. Christ would give us that sermon which for 2,000 years self-styled Christians have quoted, but acted against. And that sweet man, Rabbi Hillel, who brought together the most loving thoughts of the Greeks and welded them with the highest thinking of the Jews, would instruct us not to do to others what is hateful to ourselves.

As a story writer I have

always been intrigued by that kind of story in which the hero chases through exciting picaresque dangers in order to acquire a small box or a sealed bottle or a talismanic ring, or a sword or grail containing the answer. Many of the characters I've written stories about are engaged in such a search, and they imagine that the answer, when found, will be happiness or wealth or satisfaction or freedom, or sometimes just a very good dinner. But after their dragons have been defeated, my searchers have always found that the message in the box or the bottle says 'Search on regardless'. So that after a good night's sleep they, typically, sell the box or the bottle or the sword or the grail, and they finance the next stage of this eternal search. So the characters that I observe or invent, and who, I suppose, are all of them myself in some particular, do not appear to have benefited from knowing the quotations which I know so well. At least, it would seem that if there is no end for them to search for, if the purpose of their lives is in the living, if they have no alternative but to go on making the same mistakes, living the same idiocies, what point is there in their efforts? Neither they nor I know or can ever know the point.

But I'm reminded of a slightly encouraging thought of Bertrand Russell at this point. He observes that the function of work is not to make man happier, but less bored. I have observed that those who do not work are continually bored, and that the boredom sluices out of their life the juice and the blood and the joy, and I would only add to what Lord Russell has written this, that the by-products of work, nurturing, as they do, life and living, do offer pleasure to those for whom life is a pleasurable process to participate in. This, too, I suppose, is a talent. And I suppose if I could give you anything at all in the way of wisdom it would be the talent for this, the enjoyment of life.

Russell also observes that intensive working makes relaxation sweeter. So perhaps to revert to those sad searchers of mine, those heroes of my stories, there is some wisdom in their endless pursuit of the message – though they will find no final solution, that's for sure; nor be remembered any longer than those who do no harm to the rest of mankind are ever remembered.

So, my dear four sons, I come to the point of discovering to you the wisest summary of man's pointless existence that I personally know of. It is, not a very superior, quiet, relaxing, contemplative, at-one-with-eternity sort of wisdom. It belongs more to the no-alternative, practical group for which there is no happy, happy land ahead, but only the land on which we live now, once and for the only time.

'Go thy way'. says Ecclesiastes, the anonymous Old Testament philosopher, 'eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart'. This voice from the past is no scarescrow puritan, but a lover of flesh and sunlight. 'Let thy garments always be white', he says, 'and let not thy head lack ointment', meaning that what is to be enjoyed should be enjoyed. 'Live joyfully with the woman whom thou lovest; and in thy labour wherein thou labourest under the sun all the days of thy vanity, whatsoever thy hand findest to do, do it with all thy might, for that is thy portion in life; and there is no wori, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave whither thou goest.' And he also observed that it was purposeless to strive overmuch, or to attempt to be too good, or too clever, or much more than merely human.

Now that, to me, is the greatest piece of practical wisdom I know. And I don't doubt that you will ignore it in the course of living the vanities before you, much as I have done in living my own.

So perhaps it's best for us to return to our personal follies, you to your biology and chess and playing shove-ha'penny, and cheating at it, Jonathan; and the recorder, Daniel; and you, my Benjamin, to learning how to sit upright which you are very near to accomplishing; and I to the making of a musical entertainment out of an old murder. But before we do, let me tell you now a very short story, adapted, like so many of mine, from the Yiddish: There was this old violinist who had, it so happens, four sons, all of them violinists. And on his deathbed he 5—letter to my four . . . cef called them to him and briefly and pointedly confessed his failures as a father and as a husband and as man generally. But when his sons tried to console the old man, he said: 'I'm not apologizing, nor am I excusing, I'm simply explaining that if I hadn't been all these bad things, I would never have been such a good violinist'. After which he requested that they play him out to a quartet of his own composition, which they did, very beautifully for they were all good violinists. And though they had their doubts about their father in other respects, they had no doubt about his quality, or at least his intentions, or at least his ambitions, or at least his hopes as an artist. — Home Service, *The Listener,* May 4, 1961.

AN EDUCATIONAL VIEW

Education is not universal. A radical change in educational policy cannot be ordered as an automobile manufacturer orders a new model. x x x Totalitarian education may assign children to allotted tasks as free education will not do. It may screen out the cleverest students and determine the field of specialization appropriate to each one by processes not available to American examiners. If may thus provide far larger numbers of young men and women prepared to serve the State in predetermined capacities than the colleges and universities of a free society could produce. Indeed a free society precisely because it is a free society, neither could compete, nor would compete in any such manipulation of human lives. But it does not necessarily follow that the totalitarian system is destined to overrun the earth. For in matters of human life and human intelligence, quantitative statistics do not measure differences One Einstein or one Bohr is worth an inculculable crop of mediocrities, whether they are designated physicists by their diplomas or not. — *Archibald MacLeish.*

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