Ten lesson plans present ways of using the periodical, "The National Observer," in social science classrooms. By providing stimulating reading, raising questions, and provoking discussion, the periodical articles are designed to expand the student's perspective on social issues. Revolving around five disciplines—political science, economics, history, sociology, and psychology—the activities are interdisciplinary in nature and focus on building student skills. Each lesson includes a copy of a "National Observer" article, an introduction, learning objectives, vocabulary, and related student activities. For example, one article shows how savings bonds do not keep up with inflation and suggests questions and activities, such as developing an investment portfolio, to better understand savings and investments. (JR)
“The National Observer in the Social Science Class”

A Teacher’s Guide

by Joseph W. Rodgers
INTRODUCTION

The conceptual framework for the social sciences is massive, subject to change and reinterpretation. As social science teachers, we seek to make students aware of the continuum of the human experience, the variety of human culture and the internal dynamics of human behavior. If the purpose of social science education is the expansion of the students' perspective on social issues, then social science courses could employ a curriculum adjunct emphasizing the general perspective. For budgetary purposes this aid would have to be inexpensive. For educational reasons it should be at once innovative, relevant and reinforcing of student reading and vocabulary skills.

The National Observer is just such an aid. Not a specialist journal, The Observer is a periodical for the generalist. Its lively, well written and informative articles encompass the full range of social science concerns. The following lesson plans are provided to demonstrate the applicability of The Observer in the social science classroom.

Although the articles herein are divided into primary topic categories, the interdisciplinary character of each will be readily apparent. Each lesson plan begins with an introduction which places the news article into an appropriate context. Vocabulary items are highlighted and followed by a series of questions. Both the vocabulary items and comprehension questions in these lesson plans demonstrate the usefulness of The Observer as an aid in building student skills. By noting certain words, students build their vocabulary, exercise context skills and learn important terms and concepts relevant to the various social science disciplines. The questions are designed to develop reading comprehension as well as enhance content acquisition. Accordingly, questions range from simple comprehension questions to those requiring application, synthesis, analysis and evaluation. The range of questions that can be developed from any one of these Observer articles also demonstrates the flexibility of this classroom resource in terms of student ability levels.

The most exciting feature of The Observer is the stimulative nature of its articles. Unlike others, this periodical does not merely pass along relevant news. Rather, it raises questions, stimulates thought and provokes discussion. Used properly, this periodical can create an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity and excitement in the classroom. Whether one teaches in a "traditional" or "open" environment this unique quality of The Observer can be harnessed.

In the following lesson plans, one will find suggested mechanisms for exploiting the stimulative nature of these articles. In some, preparatory activities are designed to heighten the students' learning. Other suggested activities include hypothesis testing, data collection and analysis exercises, simulations, role play and valuing strategies.

Educators are professionally dedicated to pioneering better methods of teaching our difficult discipline. By incorporating The National Observer into the secondary school social science curriculum, a positive step can be taken in that direction. The following has been written to illustrate the value of this periodical as a teaching tool.
Lesson 1

"Tell Us The Price"

Prompted by the Vietnam debacle, the seemingly staggering costs of national defense and changing ideas about America's role in world affairs, the executive and legislative branches of the federal government is currently reappraising our nation's foreign policy. This is an exciting time for students of international affairs, for such a total re-examination of policy and scrutiny of commitments has not really occurred for close to thirty years. Any true reappraisal, however, must dig beneath the tangling array of treaty obligations and go directly to what is supposedly the foundation of all foreign policy, the national interest.

According to experts in the field of international relations, a nation's foreign policy should emanate from its national interests. As George Kennan explained in his REALITIES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, a nation's foreign policy should not be conceived of as an end in itself, but only as a means to an end. The end, of course, being the national interest.

But what are America's interests and what kinds of policies and commitments would serve these interests best? Do our interests require a strong European presence, involvement in the Indian Ocean or closer ties to South America? Interviewing a number of leading senators and scholars, Mark R. Arnold found a wide spectrum of opinion on these questions. The social science teacher would find this article, "Tell us the Price," The National Observer, June 28, 1975, particularly useful. For one, it succinctly presents the viewpoints and perceptions of leading policymakers and scholars and, secondly, it raises some very important and provocative questions about United States foreign policy that would be sure to challenge and excite student interest. In addition, the article deals with a number of concepts basic to the study of international relations.
OBJECTIVE:

Students will understand those concepts basic to the study of international relations as they relate to U.S. foreign policy.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITY:

To stimulate interest, thought and discussion prior to the reading of the article, the teacher could replicate the opinion poll outlined within the article.

TERMS:

A number of specialized terms common to the study of international relations are employed in the article. These should be noted for student identification:

- N.A.T.O.
- Cold war
- iron curtain
- "fortress America"
- territorial integrity bipolar
- interventionism
- global village
- hegemony
- detente
- defense perimeter

VOCABULARY:

In addition to the terms noted above the following vocabulary items might be noted:

- equanimity
- contemplate
- gradations
- ideological
- divergence
- seceding
- polarized
- stalwart
- mentor

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What does Hans Morgenthau believe America’s vital interests are? Do you agree with his per-

ception? Do you believe that existing U.S. foreign policy serves these interests? Can you suggest policies that would better serve our interests?

2. Alvin Cottrell and Richard Ullman both identify Israel as an area of vital concern to the U.S., but for different reasons. Identify the reasoning both employ. With whom do you agree? Should policy have a moral basis or should it be strictly pragmatic?

3. Why do most policymakers view South Korea as an area of vital concern to the U.S.?

4. What countries, according to Zbigniew Brzezinski, should be considered vitally important to the U.S.? Upon what has he based his choices? Do you agree with his conception of vital interests?

5. What does Senator Dick Clark consider to be possibly the greatest future threat to peace? Does the fact that India now has nuclear weapons lend support to his viewpoint?

B. For further study in this area, using this article as a basis, the following activities may be employed:

1. Students could be assigned world regions for which they would be responsible to document past and current U.S. policy and commitments and advocate policy, objectives and commitments for the future.

2. Using a map of the world, students could outline America’s commitments (through alliances, defense pacts and etc.).

3. Students could design and conduct a public opinion poll to assess current attitudes on United States’ interests and foreign policy.
‘Tell Us the Price’

By Mark R. Arnold

THE SECURITY of West Berlin remains a vital interest of the United States,” Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told Berliners on May 21. The U.S. commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) “is vital to American security and well-being,” President Ford said upon leaving for Europe on May 28. The loss of Vietnam, Cambodia, or any other Asian nation “could vitally affect the national security of the United States,” the President said at a news conference on March 17. All equally vital? Obviously, no. The nation withstood the loss of Vietnam and Cambodia with considerably more equanimity than it might contemplate the loss of, say, Western Europe. So the term “vital interest” appears to cover gradations of commitment that tend to be neglected when the term itself is invoked to justify a course of action—whether it be an American military presence in Europe or an emergency-aid request from a crumbling Asian government. Media commentators of widely varying political and ideological hue also toss these words around—along with the phrases “true” interests and “national” interests—and for the same reasons.

What are the nation’s real vital interests in the world today? What commitments actually enhance U.S. security, and which are but “irrelevant” relics of earlier Cold War and World War II eras?

Hardly easy questions. But the Senate spent two days debating them recently as a backdrop to its deliberations on the military-hardware budget. If the debate—the first of its kind in years—was not as illuminating as its sponsors had hoped, it nevertheless raised some noteworthy issues. “It seems to me,” commented Republican Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, “we should adjust our defense policies to serve our foreign policy rather than vice versa.” The discussion pitted hawks such as Arizona’s Barry Goldwater against doves such as Massachusetts’ Edward Kennedy. In some ways it marked a milestone in the post-Indochina foreign-policy reassessment, which has at its core the redefinition of America’s vital world interests. That redefinition is tempered by an awareness that many Americans, wary after Vietnam, are implicitly saying to policy makers, “Tell us the price.”

A review of the debate, supplemented by talks with political scientists and historians, reveals a wide divergence of opinion as to what interests remain vital to U.S. security. Is maintenance of a non-Communist Portugal vital? Yes, says North Carolina’s Sen. Jesse Helms; a hostile Portuguese government would have “tragic consequences” for U.S. and European defenses. Not at all, says the Brookings Institution’s Seyom Brown. “A Communist Portugal would complicate the NATO structure, but we could easily live with the results.”

Korea? Historian Hans Morgenthau argues that Korea affects U.S. world interests only marginally. But veteran Senate dove Thomas Eagleton of Missouri insists that Korea’s loss would have a “destabilizing effect” throughout Asia. U.S. foreign policy is undergoing its severest reappraisal since the Communists dropped their Iron Curtain across Europe almost 30 years ago. That event forced a dramatic shift in U.S. assumptions about the postwar world.

Yet certain basic tenets remain constant. From the Senate debate emerged a general recognition that the United States, in withdrawing from Indochina, was not seceding from world responsibilities. A new U.S. role, suggested New Hampshire Democrat Thomas J. McIntyre, should “fall somewhere between the polarized conception of a policeman of the world on the one hand and a withdrawal to Fortress America on the other.”

Hawks and doves both said the nation must do a better job of sorting out its critical from its noncritical interests. And almost one defended the present string of defense pacts. These pacts commit the nation to defending the territorial integrity of 43 nations and their possessions, including such obscure entities as the Pescadores Islands off the coast of Formosa.

There is another reason for Congress and the Ford Administration to be concerned about redefining the nation’s vital interests as well. A number of public-opinion surveys in recent years show declining public support for honoring foreign military commitments.

Shortly before Vietnam fell in April, a Gallup Poll showed that fewer than 20 per cent of Americans would support sending U.S. troops to counter a hypothetical Communist attack on Japan, Indonesia, the Philippines, or Portugal. Larger margins would support sending troops to West Germany (27 per cent), the Philippines (32 per cent), or Portugal (42 per cent). But of the 12 nations listed, only one drew majority support for intervention: Canada (57 per cent). And a majority would not support sending military supplies to any of the nations as an alternative to U.S. intervention.

Such findings can’t help but influence Congress’ reassessment of U.S. interests. Few went so far as Arizona Republican Paul J. Fannin, a Cold War stalwart, who insisted, “There is no question that the defense of all free nations is essential to our own personal security.” The prevailing view was the narrower one expressed by Iowa Sen. Dick Clark, who said, “There are limits to our power, and our purses, and the ability to help others is limited by the capacity of others to help themselves.”

A Changed Perception

What are those limits? How do they affect the nation’s vital interests? Replies historian Morgenthau, professor emeritus of City College of New York: “United States vital interests are what they have always been: safeguarding its territory and the preservation of its democratic institutions. What has changed is the perception of the role the nation must play to protect those interests.” The defense of those interests, adds Morgen-
Columbia University's Polish-born Zbigniew Brzezinski defines a vital interest as "an area whose loss would have a direct and significant impact on either the U.S. world position or that of a key ally."

By that rule, Brzezinski says, U.S. vital interests---encompass "Japan and by extension South Korea; the major island nations of the Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand, and perhaps Indonesia; Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East, and, for moral reasons, Israel; and, of course, Western Europe," Brzezinski's list also includes Canada and Latin America, whose proximity to the United States makes their welfare and America's "organically connected."

Iran and Saudi Arabia are vital, says Brzezinski, because the loss of their oil would have a "direct effect on our economic stability." He adds that America could survive a cutoff of Arab oil. But he says the effect on Europe, which depends more heavily on that oil, would be disastrous. "Their economic and possibly political and social stability would be threatened," he explains.

But why is the fate of Western Europe of vital interest to the United States? "Strictly speaking, it's not," says Seymour Brown, a senior fellow in political science at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. With the increasing range of its land- and sea-based missiles, Brzezinski argues, the United States doesn't even need NATO for its self-preservation anymore. "We could withdraw to a position of Fortress America, maintain our nuclear retaliatory ability to forestall an enemy attack, and still function as a self-directed society."

The debate doesn't really concern vital interests at all," Brown argues, "but rather secondary interests. The question is what are the secondary interests and how far should we be prepared to go to protect them?"

An important secondary interest is, to have friendly neighbors in the world, says Brown. He sees continued U.S. membership in NATO as an outgrowth of the desire to maintain and secure strong neighbors.

Another secondary interest is to be able freely to engage in trade and commerce, says Brown. "As a practical matter, you need access to the seas. Not necessarily all seas, but at least to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, our principal trade routes."

Goals vs. Costs

These objectives, in his view, define the minimum scope of U.S. interests in the world. Beyond them lie other objectives that may be considered desirable but are not necessary. "How much of a world leader do we want to be?"

What priorities among possible military posture are we willing to pay to, for example, be able to travel unmo-
Goldwater says the aim of U.S. Far East policy should be to prevent any major power from exercising hegemony over the Pacific Basin. This view parallels Mansfield's oft-repeated injunction that the United States is not an Asian power but a Pacific power. "In time," Mansfield says, "we will have to withdraw entirely from the Asian mainland."

Detente With China

"What we are seeing in Asia," says Richard Falk of Princeton University's Center of International Studies, "is a coming to terms with China on the part of nations such as the Philippines and Thailand with which we have long had formal military alliances.

"We can wring our hands over it and worry about Communist influence. But actually it's a case of others following up the detente we've begun with China by forging their own detentes. And it probably contributes to regional stability in a way our presence in Asia never could."

To those who believe that the nature of the Communist challenge to U.S. interests is unchanged, Falk's interpretation is dangerous foolishness. "For us, as a global power, the hinterland is the entire free world," says North Carolina Republican Sen. Jesse Helms. "Communist influence is growing and our defense perimeter is shrinking."

But this bipolar view of the world is under challenge. First, doves such as Cranston and Kennedy argue that talk of a world-wide Communist conspiracy is outdated in light of the emergence of independent Communist powers such as North Vietnam and North Korea. Second, it is argued, preoccupation with the East-West struggle diverts attention from the emerging "North-South" struggle between the wealthy industrialized nations in the northern hemisphere and the impoverished new nations in the southern hemisphere.

An Elastic Concept

Argues Iowa's Sen. Dick Clark: "In the headlong race for more military power to face the 'threat of communism,' we should pause long enough to question whether there may ultimately be a greater threat to world peace, and thereby to our own tranquility, from the developing nations of the world—from that two-thirds of the world that is destitute, increasingly angered, malnourished, illiterate, and multiplying in population at a frightening rate."

There are, then, many U.S. vital interests in the world—or very few. It all depends on one's point of view. The term is elastic: It can be stretched to cover the globe or shrunk to conform to national boundaries.

Some political scientists avoid the term "vital interests" entirely. "An exercise in rhetoric," sniffs Princeton's Falk. "An absolutist term used to put off hard questions," declares Columbia University's Roger Hilsman. Sums up George Washington University's Hinton: "There are no vital interests, only degrees of interest. You can't draw a line across the spectrum and say those on one side are vital and those on the other are not. All interests must be measured in terms of the price we are willing to pay to guarantee them. Maybe, we should talk less about vital interests and ask more about how much their defense will cost in assistance, in lives, or whatever."
Lesson 2

"Economic Boom And Bust? Humphrey Bill offers Planning As The Answer"

The introduction of a bill in Congress that is national in scope and content is always a newsworthy event, especially if the bill advocates a fundamental change in the role of the federal government. With the exception of provisions for taxation, borrowing, commerce and appropriations, the U.S. Constitution does not give the federal government any specific powers over the economy of our nation. In recent years the government has taken responsibility for the health of the U.S. economy using fiscal and monetary tools to stimulate or cool our cyclical economy. But with the exception of major national crises, the federal government has done little in the way of directly leading private enterprise.

Co-sponsored by Senators Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits, THE BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT OF 1975 was born of the “boom and bust” economic cycle from which our market economy cannot seem to escape. If passed this bill would give the federal government the responsibility for providing our economy with direction—an economic plan. This article, “Economic Boom and Bust? Humphrey Bill offers Planning as the Answer,” The National Observer, May 24, 1975, by William J. Lanouette affords the social science teacher the opportunity to explore the role of the federal government in contemporary America.
OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will discover the process through which a federal law is created.

2. Students will weigh and contrast the opinions of notable public figures and arrive at their own opinion on a sweeping piece of federal legislation.

3. Students will explore the question of the federal government's economic role.

VOCABULARY:

At the time that this article is assigned for student reading, the following terms should be highlighted for identification:

- bipartisan
- lobbyist
- boom-and-bust
- socialism
- joint committee
- pejorative
- erroneous
- scrutinized
- public sector
- private sector
- Nobel laureate

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What are the specific provisions of THE BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT of 1975?

2. What are the general implications of this bill for government's involvement in and responsibility for our nation's economy? How does this new role deviate from the past?

3. What kind of support and criticism has their piece of legislation already attracted?

4. Would you support this bill? Justify your support or criticism.

5. Assuming that this bill becomes law without significant revision—how would it work?

B. Using the article as a point of departure, the following activities are designed to enhance the students' knowledge of the federal lawmaking process and the interaction between the public and private sector of our economy:

1. Take THE BALANCED GROWTH AND ECONOMIC PLANNING ACT OF 1975 through the entire path it must travel to become a law. Note all of the things that could happen to it along the way.

2. Sequences of the above could be put into a role-playing or simulation strategy that would permit the student to act out the part of a supporting or opposing senator, representative or lobbyist. Committee sessions as well as floor debates could be simulated.

3. Compare and contrast the planning role of government and the administrative apparatus advocated by the Humphrey-Javits bill with its counterparts in Great Britain, Sweden, France and the U. S. S. R.

4. Because of the provocative nature of this bill it is likely that it will eventually stir a substantial amount of controversy. Students could develop an opinion poll to test and sample community feelings towards this piece of legislation. This poll could be combined with student arranged and planned interviews of community members from various economic backgrounds. The data could then be analyzed by the class and conclusions could be drawn as to community sentiment towards an expanded economic role for the federal government.
By William J. Lanouette
FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

Frequently in this capital city, profoundly important legislation is introduced with almost no fanfare, and that appeared to happen last week. For years economists, politicians, businessmen, and labor leaders have been fighting over who should control the economy, and how that might be done. Now a bipartisan bill, to set up the joint committee to plan our economy, has been introduced in Congress.

It is a measure that is sure to embroil spokesmen and lobbyists of all political and economic persuasions in a long and tough debate.

Supporters of the effort to make long-range economic plans see it as the only way to control our gigantic boom-and-bust economy. But opponents regard it as a long step toward socialism and dictatorship.

"This is the most important piece of legislation I have authored in 25 years of public service, proclaimed Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat and chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. I say this because the legislation will fundamentally reform the Federal Government's management of economic affairs, which in turn will significantly improve the performance of the American economy. This legislation is the key to putting the nation back on the road to economic prosperity!"

Voluntary Co-operation

The Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act of 1975 was cosponsored by New York Sen. Jacob Javits, the joint committee's senior Republican. "Many people are reluctant to consider the need for planning in this country because of its pejorative connotations," Javits said. "At bottom they are convinced that planning means regimentation, the loss of economic freedom, and the end of the American free-enterprise system," a view Javits dismisses as "highly erroneous."

The new planning bill would create a system that combines policy decisions by the Government agencies with voluntary cooperation by business, state, and local interests.

Long-range economic plans for the nation would be made by three new Government bodies, then scrutinized by Congress. The three would be:

- A three-member Economic Planning Board, appointed by the President and set up to: the Office of the President. This board would have a division of economic information, to develop and distribute data on the economy from public and private sources.
- An Advisory Committee on Economic Planning, with four members appointed by the President, four by the Speaker of the House, and four by the President of the Senate.

Under the Humphrey-Javits proposal, the Economic Planning Board—after public hearings to gain the views of private, state, and local spokesmen—would submit a balanced-economic-growth plan to the council for its approval. The Council on Economic Planning would review the plan, possibly revise it, and submit it to the President. The Advisory Committee would help provide the board and the council with the views of the public, business, labor, and consumer groups.

Every two years, under the new bill, the President would be required to submit a Balanced Economic Growth Plan to Congress, together with the board's report. Copies would also go to governors, and other state and local officials.

Congressional Hearings

The Joint Economic Committee would then hold public hearings on the President's plan, compiling the views of each standing committee in Congress, and reports from the governors. Within 135 days after the President submits his plan, the joint committee would have to report to the House and Senate a concurrent resolution approving, disapproving, or amending all or part of the plan. Congress, in turn, would be required to act on the plan within 135 days after it is submitted by the President. If the entire plan is disapproved, the President would have to revise and resubmit it.

Supporters of the planning bill, who spoke in its favor last week, included a Nobel laureate in economics, Wassily Leontief, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, and industrialist J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the Cummins Engine Co. Those who oppose the plan say the economic mechanism would become slow and rigid, with the government being saddled with responsibility for control of the economy.

The need for long-range, democratic economic planning on a national basis has never been more urgent," Woodcock said. "We have lived too long with boom and bust. Experience has taught us that the unseen magic of the so-called free market does not work."

But critics of the plan are quick to speak out too. In a guest column for Newsweek entitled "An Economic Police State," Walter Wriston, chairman of Citicorp, warned before the bill was introduced that "the founders of our country were distrustful of the concentration of power. An attempt to end run the principle under the guise of national economic planning would succeed in destroying both our personal liberty and our productive power." And George Hagedorn, vice president and chief economist of the National Association of Manufacturers, said: "It is a general belief among most businessmen that the economic problems of our country don't call for further government involvement, indeed, these problems are the result of too much government intervention already."

But Humphrey seemed unperturbed by his critics, and continued crusading for his bill. Planning must be open and democratic, he said: "Long-term economic policy is too important to leave to the economists. And there seems to be some public support for government economic planning. A Federal Reserve survey of public opinion, released last week, showed that 56 percent of those surveyed want more Government economic regulation, and 35 percent want less economic planning by the impersonal forces of demand and supply—with the automatic operation of a gigantic electronic computer are right," Leontief said. However, "who has had practical experience with large computers knows that they do break down."

We seem to have no means for stopping inflation other than unemployment," Miller said, and no means for eliminating unemployment other than inflation. Without taking careful look at the consequences of our combined public and private actions, we have allowed problems to multiply, swings in the economic cycle to become more erratic, and prospects for a stable economy to diminish."
An entire economics course could be taught from the weekly Observer features dealing with consumer affairs and personal finance. The orientation of these regular features is practical—the type of material that most economics texts and courses are often accused of ignoring. Undoubtedly, future curriculum development in economics will be in this direction.

In this article, "U. S. Savings Bonds...They Don't Keep Up With Inflation," The National Observer, June 21, 1975, Morton C. Paulson subtly establishes the point that decisions regarding savings dollars should be made as carefully as those relating to consumption expenditures. In addition, the reader is introduced to the vocabulary of personal finance as well as a host of savings and investment alternatives.

To the economics teacher, this article offers a brief but thorough introduction to the topic of savings and investments for students. It also would provide an excellent foundation for a unit on this topic. The activities recommended on the next page demonstrate the applicability of this article to the economics classroom.
OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the concepts of savings and investments as they relate to personal financial decisions.

2. Students will understand the reasons why government issues savings bonds and their relationship to the government's budget.

VOCABULARY:

The vocabulary in this article comprises an economics lesson in itself and its mastery would be a prerequisite for further study in this area. Depending on the level of the students, the instructor may wish to direct some special attention to any or all of the following financial terms:

- interest
- yield
- discount
- redeemed
- face value
- mature
- inflation rate
- beneficiary
- daily compounding
- long-term corporate bonds
- income-oriented mutual funds
- insured savings certificates
- collateral
- registered bonds
- payroll savings plan

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. These questions could be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What is the difference between Series E and Series H bonds?

2. According to the author, what is the major economic disadvantage of government savings bonds?

3. The author notes that some 9.5 million workers purchase savings bonds regularly through the payroll savings plan. In light of the liability noted above, why might this method of saving be so popular?

4. To whom would you recommend U. S. government savings bonds? Why would you make this recommendation?

5. Compare and contrast the relative advantages and disadvantages of government savings bonds, passbook savings accounts, savings certificates and corporate bonds? (Note: If the instructor so wished this could easily be expanded to include other types of securities though additional information would have to be provided.)

6. According to the author, savings bonds are sold by the government because it "...likes to borrow money..." Considering the fact that the government collects billions of dollars in tax revenues, why does it borrow?

7. What advice is the author of this article advancing to the reader concerning saving and investment?

B. Because this article provides a thorough introduction to the language of the world of securities, it might be worthwhile to expand upon this foundation by engaging in one or more of the following advanced activities:

1. COMMUNITY RESOURCES - An array of resources exist in the community to enhance the students' knowledge of personal finance. U. S. Treasury Department and Federal Reserve publications on these subjects are available free of charge. Likewise, a speaker from the Treasury Department could be invited to give a presentation on government securities. Bankers and brokers are usually quite willing to speak before student groups. It may be possible to arrange a field trip to the securities department of a large bank or brokerage house or students could be encouraged individually or in small groups to visit such institutions in the community.

2. THE INVESTMENT PORTFOLIO PROJECT - If the instructor is desirous of a more thorough treatment of savings and investments this well-known project would be quite useful. The student is issued a hypothetical sum of money which can then be put to use in savings and investments. The teacher can adjust the instructions and limitations to fit his/her peculiar situation. This assignment permits students to apply and extend their knowledge of the full range of savings and investment options.
U.S. SAVINGS BONDS
...They don't keep up with inflation.

By Morton C. Paulson

It's that time of year again, the time when Uncle Sam whoops it up in grand style for U.S. savings bonds. "Buying bonds is good for you and good for America," purrs a beaming Earl Butz, commandant of the current promotional efforts. President Ford announced at a recent White House ceremony that he has increased his bond purchasing.

Why all the eagerness to sell bonds? One can assume that the Government wants to encourage thrift among the citizenry, even though it doesn't always set an inspiring example. But the Government also likes to borrow money at rock-bottom costs. And that's what it does when it sells savings bonds.

When you buy savings bonds you're lending money to the Government—and for less interest than the Government pays other borrowers. The bonds have been losing propositions for purchasers in recent years because the interest yields have been lower than the rates of increases in consumer prices.

In other words, losses of the dollar's purchasing power have been considerably greater than the returns paid by savings bonds. Hence, bond buyers have been subsidizing the Federal Government—which is ironical since the Government is largely responsible for the price inflation that keeps lacerating their savings.

This doesn't necessarily mean that savings bonds should be avoided. They do have certain attractive qualities. Approximately 40 million Americans—one out of five—own them. But don't let the Madison Avenue hoopla bowl you over; find out before you buy whether the bonds meet your investment objectives.

To begin with, make sure you understand exactly how interest payments work. You may be told that the bonds pay 6 per cent interest a year. That's true only when the bonds are held to maturity, if you cash them before maturity you get less.

Two Bond Types

There are two kinds of bonds. The Series E bond is sold at a discount and can be redeemed for its face value after five years. For example, an $18.75 E bond is redeemable for $25.20.

The Series H bond is sold at face value, and the buyer receives interest checks twice a year from the U.S. Treasury. These bonds mature in 10 years, at which time the buyer is repaid his original investment in cash. An E bond earns 4.54 per cent the first year; after that the interest rate climbs in half-year steps until maturity. An H bond earns 4.99 per cent the first year and progressively more thereafter. The total return on each at maturity averages out to 6 per cent a year. But the inflation rate was 12.2 per cent last year and 8.8 per cent in 1973. The rate may be somewhat lower this year.

Broader Borrowing Base

Yields on savings bonds have been raised eight times since the bond program was inaugurated in 1941, and the higher rates always apply to bonds outstanding. The last boost—from 5.5 per cent to 6 per cent—was authorized in December 1973. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon this month asked Congress to lift the ceiling again, arguing that this would give the Government a broader borrowing base at a time of rising deficits.

You have to hold an E bond for 4 1/2 years and an H bond for 11 1/2 years before the return equals the 5.25 per cent you can get from a Federally insured passbook account in a savings institution, where your money is instantly available. With daily compounding, the passbook rate is 5.67 per cent.

Currently you can get well over 9 per cent from long-term corporate bonds and some income-oriented mutual funds, and more than 10 per cent from insured savings certificates that are held for six years or longer (The Observer, June 14, 1975).

Finally, savings bonds can't be used as collateral for a loan, as can many other investments.

What then, do the bonds have to recommend them?

There's no denying that they're unexcelled for safety. Not only are they backed by the Government's full faith and credit, but if lost, stolen, damaged, or destroyed, they will be replaced by the Treasury without charge. All bonds are registered in the owner's name. Thus, savings bonds are actually safer than cash. (It should be noted, though, that many higher-yield Government securities also have full Federal backing, and that Federally insured savings deposits, including certificates, are just about as safe.)

Retirement Advantage

Available through thousands of banking institutions and other outlets, bonds are convenient to buy and redeem. They provide a simple and relatively painless way to save for some 9.5 million workers who make regular purchases through payroll-savings plans.

Interest from savings bonds is exempt from state and local taxes, and you can put off paying Federal income taxes on interest from E bonds until you cash them. For that reason E bonds can be advantageous to persons nearing retirement. The idea is to buy them a few years before you retire and cash them afterward, when you'll probably be in a lower tax bracket. Or, you could exchange them for H bonds, and defer taxes on the H-bond interest until the bonds are cashed. Once you've retired, however, E bonds aren't recommended because you must hold them for five years to collect the full 6 per cent.

You can use E bonds to provide tax-free gifts or education funds for your children. The bonds should be bought in the child's name with you as beneficiary, not as co-owner. After a year, the Federal income-tax return should be filed in the child's name, with the first year's interest reported. From then on no further returns need be filed so long as the child's income is less than $750 a year.

It's not necessary to cash either E or H bonds when they mature. If you wish, you can hold on to them and keep receiving the interest for up to 10 years.

Personal Finance

for less interest than the Government pays other borrowers. The bonds have been losing propositions for purchasers in recent years because the interest yields have been lower than the rates of increases in consumer prices.

In other words, losses of the dollar's purchasing power have been considerably greater than the returns paid by savings bonds. Hence, bond buyers have been subsidizing the Federal Government—which is ironical since the Government is largely responsible for the price inflation that keeps lacerating their savings.

This doesn't necessarily mean that savings bonds should be avoided. They do have certain attractive qualities. Approximately 40 million Americans—one out of five—own them. But don't let the Madison Avenue hoopla bowl you over; find out before you buy whether the bonds meet your investment objectives.

To begin with, make sure you understand exactly how interest payments work. You may be told that the bonds pay 6 per cent interest a year. That's true only when the bonds are held to maturity, if you cash them before maturity you get less.

Two Bond Types

There are two kinds of bonds. The Series E bond is sold at a discount and can be redeemed for its face value after five years. For example, an $18.75 E bond is redeemable for $25.20.

The Series H bond is sold at face value, and the buyer receives interest checks twice a year from the U.S. Treasury. These bonds mature in 10 years, at which time the buyer is repaid his original investment in cash. An E bond earns 4.54 per cent the first year; after that the interest rate climbs in half-year steps until maturity. An H bond earns 4.99 per cent the first year and progressively more thereafter. The total return on each at maturity averages out to 6 per cent a year. But the inflation rate was 12.2 per cent last year and 8.8 per cent in 1973. The rate may be somewhat lower this year.

Broader Borrowing Base

Yields on savings bonds have been raised eight times since the bond program was inaugurated in 1941, and the higher rates always apply to bonds outstanding. The last boost—from 5.5 per cent to 6 per cent—was authorized in December 1973. Treasury Secretary William E. Simon this month asked Congress to lift the ceiling again, arguing that this would give the Government a broader borrowing base at a time of rising deficits.

You have to hold an E bond for 4 1/2 years and an H bond for 11 1/2 years before the return equals the 5.25 per cent you can get from a Federally insured passbook account in a savings institution, where your money is instantly available. With daily compounding, the passbook rate is 5.67 per cent.

Currently you can get well over 9 per cent from long-term corporate bonds and some income-oriented mutual funds, and more than 10 per cent from insured savings certificates that are held for six years or longer (The Observer, June 14, 1975).

Finally, savings bonds can't be used as collateral for a loan, as can many other investments.

What then, do the bonds have to recommend them?

There's no denying that they're unexcelled for safety. Not only are they backed by the Government's full faith and credit, but if lost, stolen, damaged, or destroyed, they will be replaced by the Treasury without charge. All bonds are registered in the owner's name. Thus, savings bonds are actually safer than cash. (It should be noted, though, that many higher-yield Government securities also have full Federal backing, and that Federally insured savings deposits, including certificates, are just about as safe.)

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Lesson 4

“Let 'Em Starve!”

Basic to the study of economics is the concept of scarcity. Scarcity is the raison d'être of economics. If resources were unlimited there would be no need to consider alternatives and priorities, there would be more than enough for everyone in perpetuity. This, of course, is not the case. Resources are scarce—and we have become more painfully aware of scarcity in the past year as a number of variables have collaborated in such a manner as to suggest, according to a number of thinkers, an impending Malthusian disaster. The locus of this disaster will be the world’s developing nations.

The scenarios being sketched by many who study this situation are frightening—not only in the dimension of human suffering and misery but also in the area of the political, economic, social and ethical questions that this situation prompts for those of us living in the developed nations of the world. Observer writer Michael T. Malloy presents in this article, “Let 'Em Starve!” The National Observer, March 29, 1975, one approach to these painful questions that have been receiving an increasing amount of attention. To the social science teacher this article presents a number of possibilities around which a meaningful lesson or entire unit could be structured. The following ideas and activities are ways in which this article could be employed in the social science classroom.
OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master the concept of scarcity and its implications in international politics and the economics of distribution.

2. Students will probe the ethical questions confronting the developing nations as they approach the question of foreign aid.

3. Given the information in this article plus the recommended readings noted below, groups of students will construct scenarios of the world food-population situation in the year 2000.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITY. The Fall-Out Shelter Problem

This one-day, simulated problem solving exercise is designed to replicate in the classroom the type of ethical questions depicted in the article. Given in excess prior to the students' reading of the article, this exercise places small groups of students in the position of making life or death decisions about themselves and other people. Background information and instructions for the students can be tailored to fit this article. Copies of The Fall-Out Shelter Problem are available in a number of sources, for instance, VALUES CLARIFICATION by Sidney Simon, Leland Howe and Howard Kirschenbaum.

VOCABULARY:

The following vocabulary items might be brought to the attention of the students prior to the reading of the article. Of course, items may be deleted or added where appropriate.

- triage
- analogy
- law-of-the-jungle nationalism
- human ecology
- cerebral
- visceral
- ethics
- agronomy
- Sahel
- demographic transition

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions could be used for class discussion and/or written assignments.

1. Explain the "lifeboat analogy" as presented in this article.

2. What is triage? How could triage be implemented into foreign aid programs? What justification is given for the triage approach to aiding developing nations?

3. What, according to this article, are the alternatives to triage for the developed nations?

4. Why, in your opinion, do the heavily populated developing nations resist pressures to develop a population policy?

5. What is the demographic transition referred to in this article? Given the cultural differences between the eastern and western worlds, can such a demographic change be realistically expected in the developing nations?

6. If you were in a decision-making position in one of the developed nations of the world, what kind of aid programs would you construct? Justify your answer.

B. Any or all of the following activities could be assigned for advanced work on this topic:

1. Using the STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE U.S. (see chapter entitled "State Department") or another similar resource, determine the foreign aid allotments made by the U.S. for the past year. What nations received the most aid? What kind of aid? Are the nations receiving this aid the neediest? Compare these aid statistics with ones for previous years. Is there a pattern apparent in the U.S. foreign aid? (Similar assignments could be crafted using other compilations of international political statistics such as the U.N. Yearbook).

2. Using THE READER'S GUIDE TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE and newspaper indices investigate the World Population Conference held in August, 1974 and the World Food Conference of November, 1974. What opinions, ideas and reactions did these conferences generate?

3. (Group or individual assignment) Using the resources noted above, the article itself and those noted on the reading list, write a scenario depicting the world food-population situation in the year 2000.

References:

William and Joseph Paddock, FAMINE - 1975?
Robert Heilbroner, THE GREAT ASCENT - and his chapter on Thomas Malthus in THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS.
Paul Ehrlich, THE POPULATION BOMB and THE END OF AFFLUENCE
Garrett Hardin, "Lifeboat Ethics - The Case Against Helping the Poor," (PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, September, 1974).
A New Approach To World Hunger

By Michael T. Malloy

Garrett Hardin and William Paddock are scientists and writers who coined new uses for the words "lifeboat" and "triage." You may hear these words more often in the future. They are easy-to-handle analogies for a new way of looking at the ties between Americans and the rest of mankind. They are shorthand for "Let 'em starve."

Listen to Hardin, writing in BioScience:

Each rich nation amounts to a lifeboat full of comparatively rich people. The poor of the world are in other, much more crowded lifeboats. Continuously, so to speak, the poor fall out of their lifeboats and swim for a while, in the water outside, hoping to be admitted to a rich lifeboat, or in some other way to benefit from the "goodies" on board. What should the passengers on a rich lifeboat do?

And now hear Paddock:

It's true we can support a great many more people than we are supporting today. If the United States turns completely vegetarian, our agriculture can support 800 million people instead of 200 million. But the world is increasing at 90 million people a year, so that only gives us nine years. What do you do for an encore after those nine years?

It's More Humane

Callousness and law-of-the-jungle nationalism are certainly not new in human affairs. What is new is the suggestion that letting people starve may be moral, ethical, and the humanely preferable way. Paddock and Hardin have been around for years, but the last 100 or 200 days seem to have produced the most widespread and serious discussion of their ideas. They imply that we should abandon the hungry millions of India, cut off food aid to Bangladesh, and turn away from famine victims in Africa, for their own good as well as ours.

"I think the most important reason for not sending any food to any desperately needy country should not so much be put in terms of practicalities...we should refuse to do it because the lives that we save today are going to be paid for by worse loss of life and worse misery in the generations that will follow," says Hardin, a professor of human ecology at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

It Fits the New Ethics

"I agree cerebrally, but viscerally I am kicking like a steer," says Joseph Fletcher, the Protestant theologian who wrote Situation Ethics and coined the phrase in English. The concept has helped the morally sensitive find an ethical basis for abortion, euthanasia, and other acts forbidden by more ancient moral codes.

"I haven't been able to find any holes in Garrett's logic," Fletcher continues. "Acting on the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number, it does appear that for a few countries—some of the African countries south of the Sahel, and perhaps Bangladesh—that more people will die of disease and starvation if you feed them."

The lifeboat image is easy and obvious. If people in the rich lifeboat give their substance to the doomed folk falling out of the others, they reduce the chances of their own survival. But they do not improve things on the other lifeboats, where food and fuel are quickly translated into more babies, who in turn push more passengers over the side to struggle in the water of starvation.

"Every life saved this year in a poor country diminishes the quality of life for subsequent generations," Hardin wrote in the October issue of BioScience. "Are good intentions ever an excuse for bad consequences?"

Triage is a word that once meant sorting hides or coffee beans into different grades, such as good, fair, and awful. "To
Two Chances, Two Refusals

American sacrifices would be wasted, however, if the poor countries do not co-operate by bringing down their runaway birth rates. Otherwise the starving 75 million people of the Indian subcontinent will double in the next 25 years; the 800 million hungry people of the world will be an additional 150 million in just 25 years; the 800 million hungry people of the Indian subcontinent will balloon to 1.6 billion hungry people. "We can't just go ahead and develop UN aid as the only solution," Hardin says. "One of the first things we must do is make sure that the population is under control."

The principle of triage may be catching on. Hardin says he spoke before 16,000 people in two weeks last summer, he has a schedule of talks for the remainder of the year, and then meetings with officials of the same countries "who made it very plain to me they had no interest in anything but population control."

"I feared at first that this proposal would be misunderstood as cold-hearted and hard-line," Litton says of his bill. Instead, he has picked up 11 House cosponsors, received more than 500 favorable letters, and begun to push the measure in speeches around the country.

So the principle of triage may be catching on. Hardin says he spoke before 16,000 people in two weeks last summer, he has a schedule of talks, shows, debates, and speeches lined up through the rest of the year. "It's been a hard sell," he says. "We've been having to sell the concept of triage, and we're doing it.""
Lesson 5

“Potsdam: Where It All Began”

The failure in Vietnam, the debate over detente, changing political conditions in a number of traditionally friendly nations and the Middle East situation—all have prompted Americans to take an exasperating look at American foreign policy. How did we get here? Where is this leading? What lessons are to be learned from these events? What ingredients should be added and deleted as the U.S. attempts to craft future policy? Questions such as these have prompted an intense re-examination of the last three decades of American diplomatic history.

Thirty years have elapsed since the ending of World War II. Historians and political scientists feel that the foundation for America's post war foreign policy was set at the diplomatic conferences held by the major allied powers that accompanied the end of the war. Not surprisingly, it is these conferences that are presently being reassessed by historians as they attempt to explain the international affairs of the period 1945-1975.

Charles L. Mee's MEETING AT POTSDAM is a critical evaluation of the characters involved and the events that took place at the Potsdam Conference of August, 1945. In “Potsdam: Where It all Began,” The National Observer, May 3, 1975, Robert W. Merry examines Mee's thesis and considers its implications for the last thirty years of American foreign policy. The article offers the teacher of history some interesting prospects. Not only does it offer a “new look” at an important historical event, it also raises some questions concerning the conduct of foreign policy and, inadvertently, the writing of history.
OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the historical implications of Potsdam through The Observer article.

2. Students will interpret the communality between the historical events of 1945 and 1975.

3. Students will gain insight into the writing of history and the role of the historian.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITY:

So that the student may be best prepared to read, understand, and evaluate this article a little advance work should be completed prior to its reading. Students should be instructed to examine text and encyclopedia accounts of the Potsdam conference of 1945. A few basic questions could direct the students’ preparatory study:

1. What specific agreements were reached at Potsdam?

2. What items or problems were not settled at Potsdam?

3. What insights are given by the authors into the personalities of the three world leaders meeting at this conference?

4. What interpretation or analysis, if any, do the authors offer concerning this conference and/or the leaders meeting at Potsdam?

VOCABULARY:

With this preparation completed students should be instructed to read “Potsdam: Where It All Began.” Depending on the level of sophistication of the students, any or all of the following vocabulary items may be noted:

- narrative
- intransigence
- detente
- thesis
- ideological
- spheres of influence
- “Big Three”
- nuance
- tripartite
- rhetoric
- interventionist
- rationale
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- exacerbated

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What is Mee’s thesis concerning the Potsdam conference and the origins of the cold war? How does Mee’s thesis differ from other interpretations of these events?

2. Assuming that you have not read MEETING AT POTSDAM, what kind of evidence would you feel that Mee must present to support his thesis?

3. Is there such a thing as a definitive or “final” history of an event or period or is history always subject to reinterpretations? Does your answer to this question suggest some conclusions about the nature of history?

4. In the last paragraph of the article, the author takes the reader from 1945 to the events of 1975 suggesting that they are linked together. How can America’s experience in Vietnam and our shocking findings concerning the activity of the C. I. A. be related to the Potsdam conference and the events that followed?

5. The diplomacy of Yalta and Potsdam were dominated by the personalities in attendance. What dangers may exist in this type of personal diplomacy? Are these dangers avoidable or is diplomacy an area in which individual personalities will always predominate?

B. If time permits, any of the following activities could be employed to further the students’ understanding and appreciation of this topic:

1. Author Robert Merry presents a number of provocative conclusions drawn by Mee as a result of his study of Potsdam. For instance, Mee suggests that the cold war was “phony,” nothing more than rhetoric created to garner popular support for an interventionist American foreign policy. Students could be assigned critical evaluation papers to examine this and other such conclusions. The teacher could direct the student to use certain types of data in the course of his/her critical analysis. Content analysis of periodicals spanning the 1945-1954 period might prove interesting.

2. A topic such as Potsdam offers an unusually good opportunity for students to become “involved” in a historical event through a simulation strategy. Combining research and role-playing, the students could hold their own meeting at Potsdam.

C. ADDITIONAL RESOURCES:


H. Fels, CHURCHILL, ROOSEVELT, AND STALIN: THE WAR THEY WAGED AND THE PEACE THEY SOUGHT.

H. Fels, BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE: THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE.

J. Lukacs, A HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR.

George Kennan, AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1900-1950.

became time to unfurl that Cold War for position. They wanted a fluid world situation in the Big Three, he concludes, didn’t have the world at Potsdam.

When I used to tell people I was doing a book on Potsdam, says Mee after a lunch of filet of sole, “they wouldn’t ask me, ‘What’s that?’ I really had no idea the book would get this much attention.”

The book is Meeting at Potsdam (Egan, 370 pages, $10.95), and the attention includes favorable notices in many publications (read review in a recent Sunday New York Times) and selection by the Literary Guild book club. Mee, a soft-spoken man in his 30s, smiles sheepishly when asked how he likes all the attention. Promoting books isn’t as much fun as writing them, he replies, adding he has quit his American Heritage job as editor of Horizon magazine so he can write more. But of course he’s excited about the book’s success.

The Great Exercise

That success might have something to do with the book’s timing: A gripping narrative of the famous Potsdam conference can be dropped into the current whirlwind book-promotion circuit that has been consuming so much of his life lately. He’ll be back on the circuit soon enough, but for now he’s relaxing and talking about his latest book and how it has changed his life—from the relative obscurity of an editor at American Heritage to the relative fame of a sought-after author.

“Joe and Tom

That’s the same question that faced the American people at the dawn of the postwar era, back in the days when Harry Truman went off to Potsdam to help mold the world. How Truman answered that question and how his answer shaped his behavior make the stuff of Mee’s narrative.

Joe Stalin, said Truman shortly after meeting the Soviet dictator at Potsdam, “is as near like Tom Pendergast as any man I know.” You might wonder why Truman compared a ruthless Russian Communist to his onetime political patron, the Democratic boss of Kansas City, Mo. But Mee says that picture captures a flash of light on the question of Truman’s behavior at Potsdam and after.

“No one,” writes Mee, “called Big Tom Pendergast an idealist, or an ideologue, or an altruist. . . . No one thought he had any sense of scruples, or that he intended to honor his word a moment longer than it suited his needs. No one ever thought you could make a dime with Big Tom through personal diplomacy, or that there was anything much to ‘co-operating’ with Big Tom. . . . On the other hand, one thought Big Tom was an evil or godless man. A sphere of influence was only that; it was simply the assumed base of power politics, to be preserved at all costs—and enlarged if possible.”

No Blame for Purges

That description, Mee implies, could be used to explain how Truman perceived Stalin, the man who once said: “The pope? How many divisions does he have?” Elaborating on his book’s thesis, Mee says. “Sure, Stalin was a Communist, but that didn’t define his way of life. It’s hard to find one instance in which Stalin sacrificed his own concept of power to ideological commitment.”

Cold power was what Potsdam was all about. And the Western leaders at

Potsdam treated Stalin as the supreme power politician he was, Mee himself identifies Stalin as “truly one of the great brutal men in all history.” But Churchill and Truman weren’t thinking of that when they matched wits with him at the Potsdam conference table. Churchill even said in private conversation that he didn’t blame Stalin for his famous 1930s purges.

It was only after Potsdam that the West cast Stalin as a threatening, godless despot tyrannizing, Eastern and Central Europe and bent on doing the same elsewhere. “Stalin says, ‘That’s my army, that’s what I control,’” says Mee. “And Churchill and Truman respond and say, ‘Right, we recognize spheres of influence. There’s your power, here’s our power; let’s draw a line.’ So they drew a line, and then they later called it—ominously—an Iron Curtain.”

Intended to Fail?

But it wasn’t just Churchill and Truman, says Mee, who refused to accept the political realities that guided discussions at Potsdam. Stalin also recognized natural spheres of influence at home, at least up to the Potsdam conference. Stalin’s foreign policy, Mee says, was based on the belief that he could control Yugoslavia and Albania, but not the countries of Central Europe and bent on doing the same elsewhere. “Stalin says, ‘That’s my army, that’s what I control,’” says Mee. “And Churchill and Truman respond and say, ‘Right, we recognize spheres of influence. There’s your power, here’s our power; let’s draw a line.’ So they drew a line, and then they later called it—ominously—an Iron Curtain.”

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Compromise,” writes Mee, “had not been a way to find agreement, but a way to-lure an opponent that extra inch into a trap. The arguments of the Potsdam conference all surfaced again, but . . . this time, because of the Potsdam agreements, each side was able to show with only a slight change in nuance that the other side had broken an agreement, was now acting in bad faith, or was untrustworthy. Thus, says Mee, the Big Three didn’t write the peace. ‘They signed what amounted to a tripartite declaration of Cold War.’

A Great Phony War

Mee’s thesis may be, as one reviewer suggested, “too pat and dubious a case. But his study reveals a pattern of intrigue and duplicity touching all three participants: Truman putting off several points until a full postwar peace conference he knew would never occur, Churchill craftily nurturing dissension
between Stalin and Truman; Stalin casually lying to Presidential adviser Harry Hopkins that the Western principles of democracy, as applied to Poland, would "find no objection on the part of the Soviet government."

Such instances have helped forge Mee's view of the Cold War. "That war," he says, "was really one of the great phony wars of all time. And détente is also one of the phoniest. Yesterday it was an inevitable conflict; today it's a rosy friendship."

But isn't it true, one might ask, that the Big Three's performance was only the kind of performance one might expect from great-power leaders at a time of upheaval and fluidity? "They were acting as leaders of great powers, yes," says Mee, "but I don't accept the thesis that that is the way leaders must behave. If all world leaders behave that way, then inevitably we're going down the road to hell on earth."

Rhetorical Fervor

What nettles Mee is not so much the actions the West took to preserve its own spheres of influence, but the rhetoric that went with them. He quotes Louis J. Hallé, a young State Department analyst in 1945, who said that deception is not a lamentable by-product of foreign relations, but rather an essential precondition if the nation's leaders are to have a free rein to pursue a "realistic" interventionist foreign policy.

Thus, writes Mee, it became necessary for the country's leaders to invent the rhetorical underpinnings for an interventionist foreign policy. "The President and his men in the State Department were interventionists; the rest of the country was, for the most part, anti-interventionist. The interventionists had a program in search of a salable rationale." Hence, the Cold War's rhetorical fervor.

But what about the threat to Greece and Turkey, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan? That question, concedes Mee, poses "a nice dilemma." With only a short pause, he continues: "I think the Marshall Plan was necessary... But in hindsight we can see that the rhetoric with which it was launched exacerbated the tensions between the U.S. and Russia unnecessarily."

Too High a Price

What, then, is the lesson? The lesson, says Mee, is that if that kind of duplicity is the price of an interventionist foreign policy, it is too high a price. "If you behave on the world stage hypocritically and cynically, if you use force instead of persuasion, confrontation instead of conciliation, if you use your CIA instead of your diplomats, then all of that will eventually come home to your own country." For Americans, he adds, it came home in the form of the Vietnam experience.
Lesson 6

"The Day The War Began"

Lexington...Concord...the North Bridge...minutemen...What student of history has not questioned what it must have been like, how it must have really felt to have been there in those hectic, emotion-charged days of the spring of 1775. As the Bicentennial approaches a flurry of historical research has been directed to the task of rediscovering and recharting the events, feelings and people of the revolutionary era. But in the course of digging beneath the events some perplexing questions begin to emerge.

"The Revolution Revisited" is a special multi-part feature prepared by The Observer and dedicated to the re-examination of people, places and events of significance in the American Revolution. Part IV of this series, "The Day the War Began," The National Observer, April 19, 1975, offers students of American History a comprehensive view of the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. In addition, August Gribbin's speculations serve as an excellent source for further discussion, debate and research.
OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will document the interplay of events on April 18 and 19, 1775 in Boston, Lexington and Concord.

2. Students will generate and investigate hypotheses concerning the motive forces of a historical event.

VOCABULARY:

- vanguard
- isthmus
- scourging
- infiltrating
- vexations
- equestrian
- minutemen
- enigmas
- common
- embellish
- consensus
- debacle
- retaliated
- fervor
- artifacts
- duped
- cordmaker
- cumbersome

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. Using this article plus an atlas or American history text, draw a map of the Boston-Lexington-Concord area. Document the events of April 18 and 19, 1775 on this map.

2. Dr. Joseph Warren, Paul Revere, William Dawes, Dr. Samuel Prescott, Samuel Adams and John Hancock are all mentioned in this article. Identify each in terms of his involvement in the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. (More detailed research could also be assigned.)

3. Write a script for a newsreel report of the events of April 18 and 19, 1775. Be sure to include interviews with participants and eyewitnesses.

4. Why does the author give so much attention to the “Battle” of Lexington?

5. Restate the theory the author advances that explains the Lexington affair as a “staged” event. According to this theory, why was the Lexington debacle “arranged?” How might, according to the author, have the events at Lexington been arranged? What kinds of information would you need to further test this hypothesis?

6. Advance some other hypotheses or theories to explain Lexington. What kinds of information would you need to test your hypotheses?

B. The following activities would permit more in-depth understanding of the events and people of the opening days of the Revolutionary War:

1. The best hypotheses put forth in answer to number six above could be assigned to students for research and testing. This assignment could be in a research paper format or a position paper—or could be designed for a student debate that would follow the research.

2. Recent attention has been given to the psycho-social dimension of revolution. From this framework students use behavioral science concepts such as social class or collective behavior to study historical phenomenon. By way of testing the “Sam Adams theory”, the teacher may expose his/her students to this perspective on the American Revolution. An assignment could be developed in which the students would compare the personalities of and roles played by such men as Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The following sources would be helpful in such an endeavor.

J. C. Miller, SAM ADAMS: PIONEER IN PROPAGANDA.
Crane Brinton, AN ANATOMY OF REVOLUTION.
J. F. Jameson, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT.
J. Axelrad, PATRICK HENRY, THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.
Select issues of AMERICAN HERITAGE.
The Revolution Revisited: IV

The Day the War Began

By August Gribbin

FROM LEXINGTON, MASS.

The Vanguard of the 700-man column hustled into combat formation. Suddenly a single gun cracked. Then three or four muskets spat, and finally the British fired at will on this village's 77, mostly dispersing, Minutemen.

Thus the American Revolutionary War began. It began, that is, with pre-roaming Concord.

In daylight, on a fairly hazard-free road past the North Church tower, this alerting colleague dashed down the street into the road's fringe and kept me ducking.

So I withdrew into the history of these events by walking to that church through the narrow streets of Boston's bustling Italian section, climbing the 11 flights of stairs and nearly vertical ladders to the spot where the lamps briefly glowed, riding horseback over part of the "Battle Road," which both Revere and the British troops traveled, and by roaming Concord.

But Lexington's Common lured me back. It was here, of course, not in Concord, that "the shot heard round the world was fired"—Ralph Waldo Emerson and his poem notwithstanding. And it's here, surrounded by the ancient houses, taverns, and artifacts that figured in the events, that one instinctively comes for answers to the mysteries of the Lexington "battle."

Sadly, history doesn't resolve the enigmas. It does yield clues though. Recall what happened:

About 10 a.m. on April 18, 1775, Dr. Joseph Warren, 34, a Boston surgeon and ranking rebel leader, confirmed that the British would raid Concord for war supplies. He also feared they might capture Sam Adams and John Hancock, who were hiding in Lexington.

Almost an Island

So he dispatched to Lexington and Concord Paul Revere and William Dawes, a cordwinder with a flair for acting—and for charming his way past His Majesty's guards. The two men were to go by different routes in the hope that one would make it if the other failed.

Today, Boston is so vastly changed that it's hard to imagine it as it was. But why these and the six other Americans who perished here are considered worth emulating is, on the face of it, strange. It is a mystery that history hasn't dismissed them as fools.

The Lexington debacle occurred on Wednesday, April 19, 1775, when, on his "midnight ride," Paul Revere alerted Lexington; the British raided Concord, Mass.; and the Americans retaliated with scourging gunfire from behind trees and fences.

As traditionally narrated, the events began in Boston on the night of April 18 when rebel signal lamps flashed briefly in the North Church steeple.

Revere borrowed a fast horse at Cambridge and took off, at one point dodging and outracing a mounted British patrol that tried to stop him. He experienced other vexations. Earlier he had forgotten cloth for muffing his boat's rowing sounds. One of the two men who helped him with the boat solved the problem by obtaining a petticoat from a lady friend. Revere wrote that it was "still warm" when she tossed it to them. Revere also later told his children that he forgot his spurs and that his dog fetched them from home, but—well, fathers sometimes embellish tales they tell their youngsters.

The Doctor Escapes

After warning Lexington, Revere set off with Dawes for Concord. Halfway there they met young Dr. Samuel Prescott, who was riding from Concord, where he had been visiting his girl friend. Although it was then about 2 a.m., Prescott decided to ride back and help alert Concord—fortunately.

For soon a British patrol captured the trio. The patriots scuffled. Revere got free momentarily. A couple of officers grabbed his reins, rammed pistols against his chest, and swore they'd blow him apart. Revere quipped that at that range they "would miss their aim."

Suddenly Prescott broke away. As Revere later wrote, Prescott "jumped his horse over a low stone wall and got to safety."

Centuries later, as our horses trotted along the Concord road, I asked Maureen Markey, an equestrian teacher and my guide, about Prescott's escape. It had been a bright night. Still, wasn't it dangerous?

Rathersome Limbs

No, she said and demonstrated, sending her huge mount over a stone fence and into an overgrown field, barely disturbing a leaf—like a deer bounding into a thicket. Yet I remain unconvinced.

In daylight, on a fairly hazard-free road that has been restored to resemble the lane Revere rode, tree limbs and stumps tended to obscure ground on the road's fringe and kept me ducking.

Even if Prescott had an especially sure-footed mount, he chanced face injury as well as a shot in the back when he jumped and galloped cross country.

Dawes later escaped; Revere was freed in subsequent confusion. And about five hours after that the British were raiding Concord.

They destroyed relatively little: some ammunition, flour, cannons, and gunpowder. They also burned gun carriages and wooden tools. It was smoke from those fires that signaled the start of the soldiers' ordeal.

Thinking the British were burning the city, American militiamen attacked and defeated a British unit at the North Bridge. There was no sustained battle in Concord though.

The British had retreated a mile put of town before the patriots struck again. The rebels fired from cover, yet at times dashed into the road to blast...
the enemy, often trading shots from within 150 feet. When one American unit fired or exhausted its ammunition and fell back, another militia group replaced it. This continued along all the 16 bloody miles to Boston.

Seventy-three British died that day, 174 were wounded, and 26 were reported missing. Forty-nine Americans died, 39 were injured and 5 were reported lost. The numbers weren't small, considering the inaccurate and cumbersome weapons used.

When the British regulars who had fired on Lexington's Minutemen in the morning re-entered the village in the afternoon, they were a ragged, terrified mob to be saved by an artillery-equipped relief force summoned from Boston. And when the British left, the morning's mysteries remained.

Silent Protest

Why had battle-smart Minutemen chosen to take a suicidal stand? Not merely because they were ordered to; they elected their officers and mostly reached decisions by consensus.

No, the evidence indicates they hadn't chosen to fight at all. They planned to stand silently in protest as the British passed.

Even that was risky, of course. Yet, although they weren't suffering from Britain's economic restrictions, the common-sense Lexington men would have embraced that risk if only because they resented the abolition of self-government in Massachusetts.

The people of Lexington were religious. They regularly heard sermons preached from the pulpit and believed almost as intensely in the right of self-rule as in God. They believed that decent people must oppose denial of such a fundamental, religion-linked right. To do otherwise would endanger their sense of self-worth—a threat more fearsome to many of these men than musket trills and bayonets. Indeed, Lexington's Minutemen contained the stuff of martyrs.

The Promise of an Incident

According to one theory, Sam Adams, the patriots' master of manipulation and intrigue, was then looking for martyrs.

Colonial fervor for the radical cause was flagging outside Massachusetts. It's said that Adams was seeking a device to heighten the colonies' ill feelings against the British and that it would have been uncharacteristic of him not to see the promise of an incident occurring when silent, armed men stood near the march route of a hostile assault force that in fact expected a fight.

It's known that Adams had plenty of time to talk to—even persuade—the Minutemen. It's known that the British heard overblown estimates of the Minutemen's strength and intentions, and it's at least possible that they were deliberately given those estimates by patriots who wanted the British to think that battle was inevitable. Indeed, the British stopped to load weapons before entering the village although they still were under orders not to fire first.

What Really Matters

Knowing who fired the first shot could help clear up the mystery. But no one knows.

The British vanguard commander reportedly stated that he saw "a peasant" fire first from behind a building. He described the shot as a "misfire." If he was correct, it's possible that someone persuaded the patriot to shoot and thus set off the mayhem.

So maybe the Minutemen were duped. Maybe zeal clouded their judgment. And maybe that doesn't matter.

After strolling around the Common here and seeing the monuments, it's easy to accept the implication that what really counts now is that the Minutemen simply followed their consciences and refused to let fear erode their determination: They reviewed their options, chose the one that seemed best, and acted.

One can argue about their choice. But who's to argue against their integrity, or to say that it's not worth emulating? Not I.
While watching The Graduate, Easy Rider, or Joe on their televisions a number of the 25 to 30 year old crowd have found themselves struck by the seeming inappropriateness of these films in 1975. They seem so dated...things are so different now...or are they?? How is it that those who seven years ago were at the forefront of radical politics, anti-establishment and war demonstrations, draft resistance and the ecology movement are now part of the so-called establishment, doing the things and leading the lives to which they then seemed so opposed?

John Peterson examines these questions in this article and raises a number of other points of great relevance to a sociology course interested in probing such phenomena as social change and culture. Assign for student reading “Where Have All The Flower Children Gone,” The National Observer, February 22, 1975.
OBJECTIVE:

Students will probe the sociological concepts of culture, subculture and social change through an examination of recent phenomenon in American social history.

VOCABULARY:

- free speech movement
- counterculture
- bureaucracy
- subculture
- altruism
- romanticism

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used to review the article in a class discussion format and/or as a written assignment.

1. Did the so-called "movement" constitute a genuine sub or counterculture? Support your argument with sociological thought on this subject.

2. Would you agree with Professor Howard Higman's assessment "...that the altruism of the counterculture has turned to selfishness." Why or why not?

3. What possible factors does the author present to explain the breakdown of "the movement?"

4. In attempting to explain the disappearance of the counterculture would you place more emphasis on the fact that society had changed thereby becoming more acceptable to members of the counterculture; or would you say that the individuals themselves underwent a change in values or beliefs; or are both elements involved?

5. Would you agree with Professor Claasen's statements concerning today's youth and their total lack of concern for anything but personal and material goods?

B. The following activities can be used for further research on these and related topics:

1. Students could design a questionnaire or rating scale for collecting data on student values or concerns. Once the data is collected it could be tabulated and analyzed to find the extent of commitment that exists on the part of students to social and political ideals. This data could then be compared to findings from other research projects that have been conducted in this area.

2. Further research on the values, aims, composition and impact of the so-called counterculture could be conducted by examining the following sources:

   James Simon Kunen, THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT; NOTES OF A COLLEGE REVOLUTIONARY.
   Charles A. Reich, THE GREENING OF AMERICA.
   Theodore Rozak, THE MAKING OF A COUNTER-CULTURE.
   Alvin Toffler, FUTURE SHOCK (especially chapter 13).
   Irwin Unger, THE MOVEMENT.
The Counterculture Absorbed

Where Have All The Flower Children Gone?

By John Peterson

From Denver

Young Tim Corrigan came here from New York nearly two years ago in quest of the camaraderie and idealism he associated with the counterculture. "I knew there was a counterculture," the 21-year-old longhair says, slipping a beer at the bar of Shaner's restaurant. "But I wonder how something can disappear so fast?"

"You see a longhair working construction today and you can bet he's doing the same thing his father did. He leaves his job in a new four-wheel-drive rig to head home to his wife and kids, payments on a $40,000 home, and an evening of drinking beer in front of his color TV. Or you see other longhairs and you find out they're ski bums or 'eco-freaks.' They're all just looking after themselves—there's no such thing as an idealistic hippie any more."

Corrigan seems right. The huge bulge of war babies is maturing, and as they age their identification with the once-seemingly monolithic "movement" for peace, love, relevance, and reform increasingly diminishes. The counterculture is, in fact, being smoothly absorbed by the culture.

"The Denver Gang"

Colorado is a particularly good place to examine where the dissenters, revolutionaries, and flower children have gone and what they are now thinking, because location here says much about a person's interests: The ecologists—"the Denver Gang," a University of Colorado professor calls them—have captured the state government. The intellectuals have reinforced their insulated life-style on the university campus at Boulder. And the rich kids who used to bettle their money now hit the ski slopes and warding spots at Aspen. A few have remained true to their nonmaterialistic ideals, but others have become capitalists, politicians, bureaucrats, and blue-collar workers chasing charge-account comforts.

It is hardly more than 10 years since student activism caught fire with the Free Speech Movement on the University of California campus at Berkeley. For most of that decade, students and other activists possessed the common goals of ending the war in Vietnam and, more specifically, the draft. That unifying bond often put professors alongside unwashed high-school drop-outs, and movie stars hand in hand with students, in the huge street demonstrations. But today the different causes—environment, human rights, women's liberation, social and economic reform—are divisive and often pit young people against each other.

"I had to tell one particularly ridiculous environmentalist one day, 'Look, you can't force the rest of us to commit economic suicide! We need jobs. People are as important as trees,'" says Donna Bright, a 21-year-old brunette who has been a carpenter for three years. "You know, Aspen disgusts me. They're on a heavy political trip there, but it's all just to keep it the way it is and to keep out anyone else, particularly the poor."

"There are no clear trends or easy explanations of what these under-30 year olds are thinking these days. 'You can say that the altruism of the counterculture has turned to selfishness,' says Howard Higman, a University of Colorado sociology professor. "You can see it in the environmental movement, in the popular religions. Zen, astrology, Buddhism—they are all individualistic religions. Here at the university the largest numbers of students are majoring in philosophy and psychology, which are for their individual mental health."

Strangely, the impact of the counterculture seems to have spread not to the next young generation, but to the older generations. "Students today are unbelievably uninterested in society and civilization," says Alfred Joseph Claassen, an assistant professor of sociology at the California State University at Fresno, who worked on his doctorate at the University of Colorado in the late 1960s. "They possess no driving moral sentiment, nothing except great concern for a good job, a new house, and television."

Dennis Dube, director of Boulder's Free School, reinforces Claassen's contention: "The counterculture is spreading upward," he says. "We have suffered a 4,000 per cent increase in enrollment since 1972, and mostly in arts and crafts. But every year our students' median age increases by another year. The high-school students and university undergraduates have no interest in what we offer."

Dube concedes that "you'll find hip enemies lined up on opposing sides of different issues," but argues that "when it comes right down to it, we know who we are. Revolution is fine; but right now everyone's too busy making enough bread. Most of the members of the Movement have gone back into society, but with a new head. We're still working to replace and reform institutions."

Liberal Activists

Claassen says that of those he knew in the Movement, one group is "into the helping professions, like probation and parole, social work, and guidance counseling. Another group has become artisans and farmers, who have dropped any idea of success in traditional terms. The group of very boring professors. And finally there were a lot of liberal activists who have joined the Federal bureaucracy—becoming precisely the kind of people they were screaming at a few years ago."

Paul Levitt, chairman of the University of Colorado's English Department, sees an evolution from the counterculture movement to a "new romanticism." "Much of it comes from a suspicion of language," he contends. "You see students now with a working vocabulary of about 200 words. They can neither talk nor write, and much of this return to nature, as with the classical romanticists, is a retreat from the usage of language."

Ecologists Ride Highest

He sees the one-time student activists now becoming among the best in-
money. There were places I couldn't even have friends from five years ago of having run around in Aspen, but most people who were offended by the war were those with an excessive true believer's zeal. Oh sure, you see the alienated rich kids just bumbling around in Aspen, but most people were offended by the war in a fundamental sense that was short of complete alienation are still around and working. I've a friend who was a Students for a Democratic Society organizer and is now with the Fed (Federal Reserve Bank) in New York City. And you still see a lot of people trying to organize neighborhoods to handle their own problems."

The high enthusiasm here seems restricted to the newly elected officials and their ecology-movement backers. And that movement, even here, is beginning to attract increasing numbers of critics. The environmental movement started out as an alluritic movement, as part of the over-all counterculture," says sociologist Higman. "But it has turned toward selfishness. The driving force isn't the ultimate good of the people but rather that of self-interest."

Many strong adherents of the counterculture have become successful businessmen. James Spray, a 27-year-old graduate student, has opened a catering service that has been highly successful. "I'm accused by some of my friends from five years ago of having sold out," he says. "But I believe that you have to work within the system. I've learned to handle conflict with compromise."

The Necessity of Work
Spray adds: "Everyone is into something different now, and with the exception of the ecologists, the individual efforts are greatly fragmented. More and more you hear people talking about 'satisfaction.' They either don't have the interest or the time for causes."

Henry Faurie, a British journalist and author of The Kennedy Promise, who now lives in Boulder, plans to write a book about the Movement, the counterculture. He contends its cohesive force was the draft, and that once the draft was terminated the grand impression of a counterculture no longer existed. "But the people in the counterculture learned from their experiences," he says. "They—and even their younger brothers—learned that work is terribly necessary and even satisfying. The whole idea of perpetual play is boring now."

There has been a debate about whether a genuine counterculture ever existed. Gordon Hewes, a University of Colorado anthropology professor, is convinced it did. He says there are different theories about countercultures: "One theory is that a subculture has always existed, pulling together threads from such as the witchcraft of the peasants through the centuries to the Bohemians and the beatniks. Another is the disjunctive theory that holds that a sub- or counterculture crops up from time to time. But this counterculture did have all of the trappings—dance, music, clothes, vegetarianism, among other things. It didn't have time to generate its own architecture, though a few geodesic domes were built."

The Next Winnebago
The blue-denim uniform of the Movement has been assumed by Madison Avenue clothiers, and many other elements have similarly been assimilated. "It is to be expected," says Hewes. "Now you can find longhairs who are politically conservative but in all other respects are representative of the counterculture. A carpenter may wear long hair, be a member of the AFL-CIO's COPE, The Old hostilities are gone, I had Hunter Thompson and Dick Tuck attend fund raisers for me in Aspen, and I had the support of the old Humphrey people. You know, in the last eight years there has even been a 'good-ole-boy' network built among radical-liberal activists."

From SDS to the Fed
Brown contends that the only young people who were truly alienated during the antiwar movement were those with a 'third of the land in the state is federally controlled,' says Jim Monaghan, the governor's earnest young assistant for ecology and energy. "We, the state, want to get into the decision-making process about how that land is to be used, where ski permits are to be issued, where superhighways are to be built. We'd like to limit growth now by applying the right Band-Aids to give us time to come up with visionary plans."

Monaghan speaks of ecology and energy issues in black-and-white terms and has been identified with the environmental movement since 1969. "I decided then that was where my energies would go," he explains. His feeling, and that of many of the new governor's friends, is that there are different theories about countercultures: "One theory is that a subculture has always existed, pulling together threads from such as the witchcraft of the peasants through the centuries to the Bohemians and the beatniks. Another is the disjunctive theory that holds that a sub- or counterculture crops up from time to time. But this counterculture did have all of the trappings—dance, music, clothes, vegetarianism, among other things. It didn't have time to generate its own architecture, though a few geodesic domes were built."

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Adds young Corrigth: "Too many people have picked up on the values of our culture like the necessity for creature comforts. I think the greatest concern of most people I know is who will get the next Winnebago. But that fits right in with the new popularity of downers and booze."
Lesson 8

"Have-nots In Revolt"

During the 1960's a picture painted by many commentators of American society showed a condition of bipolarity. Around one pole clustered the white majority of America's population; around the other were the oppressed blacks. This model of society has shifted as change mandated by legislation or court action as well as a number of other developments have brought a substantial number of blacks into the middle class. According to many, the new model of society and indeed the world, still echoes the theme of bipolarity only this time we find at the extreme polar positions the "haves" and the "have-nots."

The interview between Observer staff Writer Michael Putney and Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones) examines this transition in social thought. It introduces the reader to a highly Marxist interpretation and analysis of contemporary American society. It would serve as an excellent introduction or supplement to a unit in a sociology course on Karl Marx and/or social theory. Assign "Have-nots In Revolt" The National Observer, March 15, 1975, for student reading.
OBJECTIVE:

Students will infer from this article the Marxist model of society. Students will test this model's usefulness by applying it as a tool of social analysis. As a subsidiary objective students will also probe the role of art and the artist in society.

VOCABULARY:

pluralistic society
self determination
empiricism
ideology
petite bourgeoisie
"new left"
bourgeois consciousness
bipolarity

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignment:

1. The U. S. has always had its share of "haves" and "have-nots." Why does Imamu Baraka feel that the U. S. is ripe for a revolution now?

2. Many historians have asserted that America's ability to avert revolution has been our nation's flexibility. The ability to change, reform and to correct injustices has staved off the need for a revolutionary upheaval which would overturn our political, economic and social institutions. Would you agree with this viewpoint? If so, use historical examples to support this. If not, use past events to demonstrate its lack of truth.

3. What do you believe to be the function or purpose of art? How does your viewpoint contrast with the position that Imamu Baraka takes on art and its role in society?

B. After having discussed the article, any of these more advanced activities could also be implemented:

1. Role Playing. Conduct a debate between an individual playing the role of Imamu Baraka and one playing the role of a wealthy industrialist.

2. Draw a diagram or picture of American society that would be representative of the way in which Imamu Baraka describes it.

3. Examine the 1936 Constitution of the U. S. S. R. to see what provisions it makes concerning art. Compare and contrast contemporary examples of Soviet, Chinese and American art.

4. Apply the Marxist model as articulated by Imamu Baraka to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Does this model correctly explain the causes and conduct of this revolution?

5. What hints does Imamu Baraka give concerning the kind of society that would follow the revolution of the "have-nots" against the "haves?" Compare Baraka's hints with contemporary Soviet or Chinese society.
A Black Leader Foresees an America With... Have-Not in Revolt

I MANU AMIRI BARAKA was born Leroi Jones in Newark, N.J., 40 years ago. He gained his reputation first as a jazz critic, then as a poet and playwright. *Dutchman*, an angry one-act confrontation between a white slut and a black intellectual, won the Obie as the best American play of the 1963-64 season. Soon after, his dramas turned darker, then became firmly antiwhite. His art became polemical and its message one of black separation, black liberation.

Baraka returned to Newark, where he was arrested during the 1967 rioting for illegally possessing two pistols. Convicted and sentenced to three years in prison, he was retried and acquitted. He became politically active in Newark and nationally as secretary-general of the National Black Political Convention and chairman of the Congress of African People. He recently astonished and angered some of his followers by coming out as a follower of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. Staff Writer Michael Putney recently met with Baraka at his Newark headquarters and talked with him about that turnabout and other things.

In an essay in Black Scholar, "A Black Value System," you wrote that "when we call white people evil it is based on empiricism, not theory." Right. We are trying to make a class analysis now, which we see as the principal analysis for the struggle. But we're not eliminating the fact that black people do suffer from oppression, and that national oppression issues from the capitalist system.

In 1968 the Kerner Commission predicted that America was headed toward two societies, one black and one white. Do you think that has happened? Or have we headed toward a society of haves and have nots?

I think the latter. It was a society of white and black. But what I think the commission was trying to do was put the onus for the problem on racism. And that was really a trick because we believe that the onus is on the economic system. But we do feel that all the people in this country—the white people, the blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexicans, the Indians, the Asians—all the people are finally going to be the ones to benefit from this total kind of society we see. We feel that when people talk about a pluralistic society that one day it is going to be a pluralistic society in the real sense where everybody will have the democratic right of self-determination.

In the '60s we came as close to having war in the streets as we've come since the Civil War. Do you see the likelihood of an armed revolution in this country?

Oh, absolutely. Having had the experience of the civil-rights movement, the black-power movement, where we had to get beat up to eat a hot dog at Woolworth's, where we got sprayed with water hoses trying to integrate swimming pools, or you had to actually fight people to sit in movies or go to the skating rink. And I'm not talking about Georgia, I'm talking about Newark. Then what will it be like when people get the consciousness that they should control Standard Oil, not Rockefeller? Or that the people should control Chrysler and General Motors, not the DuPonts? Will there be a revolution in this country? Oh, yes, absolutely.

You've been a black liberal, a black radical, a black separatist, and now you're into "scientific socialism" and what you call Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought. What is it?

Basically, it says this. Capitalism, because of its internal contradictions, will produce a class of people that will destroy it. Everything has contradictions, which is dialectics, and capitalism has one very profound kind of contradiction. The contradiction between the public nature of labor—that is, you have to use the masses to work—but the money that's made from the labor, the profit, is appropriated privately. And by a very few. The rest of us have to spend our lives laboring and we don't own anything. The only thing we own is our ability to work. And if you can't work, you're out of luck.

By espousing Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought, are you repudiating black nationalism?

A New York Times article recently made it look like we have absolutely no use for black nationalism, but we still consider ourselves part of the black-liberation movement. It's simply that we understand that black people cannot be liberated as long as capitalism exists. And what we have repudiated is a kind of narrow nationalism that ascribed oppression to all whites.

So the question is one of class, not race?

Right. We are trying to make a class analysis now, which we see as the principal analysis for the struggle. But we're not eliminating the fact that black people do suffer from oppression, and that national oppression issues from the capitalist system.

In an essay in Black Scholar, "A Black Value System," you wrote that "when we call white people evil it is based on empiricism, not theory." Would you stand by that statement now, or has your point of view changed?

It's changed because empiricism is obviously limited. I think the problem is that we experience national oppression but we don't always link that national oppression and that experience of it to capitalism, which is causing it. That is, if we're beaten up by a white policeman we tend to say that all whites are that way. Or if we see the majority of white people tending to live better than the majority of black people, then we attribute our wholesale oppression to all whites, regardless of their class background.
And that’s a critical error, because the masses of white people who work, many of them, have been bribed and ricked. Like the people of Boston who have been tricked into believing that fighting with blacks is going to improve their education, and it turns out that both those schools, the one in Roxbury and the one in South Boston, are lousy. But the majority of whites who work are exploited by the same system. And that, I think, is the critical development in our ideology.

Well, how are the people whom you think are exploited going to wrest some of the control and the profits from the system?

By revolution. That’s the only certain way that socialism will come to our society. That is, when the masses of people, the great working mass which capitalism produces, property-less wage earners, and these are the very people that destroy it. When these masses of people will no longer accept the system as it is and the system reaches a crisis where it can no longer govern as it used to, then that is the point at which revolution is made. How close are we to being at that point?

I don’t think we’re very far. I don’t think we can play the numbers game, but I think if you just go back 10 years ago to 1964 and run through your mind the kind of things that have happened since, once you go from Nixon to Kennedy No. 2 to Malcolm to Martin Luther King to Portuguese colonialism. And now you’ve got Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola being liberated, Lyndon Johnson thrown out of office, Nixon thrown out of office, Rockefeller as President. I mean, in 10 years we’ve had such a rapid-fire succession of events that 25 years in this particular epic that we’re in is going to see huge changes throughout the world.

In a pamphlet you wrote for a recent meeting of the Congress of Afrikan People, you wrote that your mission is “to relate our philosophy to the day-to-day struggle for existence in the city.” In terms of your work here in Newark, what does that mean?

In Newark one of the key areas is housing. I guess if you take a quick trip through this city, which Harper’s magazine said is the worst city in the United States, you see an issue like housing. It first caught the attention of not just Marxist-Leninists, but of the masses of people. And so then in our struggle to try to build housing we begin to point out to a lot of people that the reason that there is no housing here is that these people don’t have the profit for the people who control the wealth. They only do things in this society that make profit, not benefit the people. That’s why you have a city like Newark. So a city like Newark is like a classic classroom to us here. In the wealthiest society in the world, bar none, we are in the bottom of the red right here.

But how amenable are the people of Newark—or other people in other cities that suffer from things like Newark’s—how amenable are they being to students in a classroom of socialism?

I think that the only problem with the masses of people responding to socialism is the people who are supposed to bring Socialist theory to them. I think the whole big problem bringing Socialist theory to the masses. If you remember, in the ‘60s black people tried to burn the United States down. We had rebellion after rebellion. Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Newark. So I don’t think we’re going to get scared because you point at a scientific method to the masses of people for seizing power from the few that control the system now.

A professor at Rutgers named Ross Case, whose specialty is black politics, wrote in the Washington Post last January that “black nationalism is tailored to hard times.” Do you think that’s true?

Not especially. Nationalism is a particular phase that people go through. Nations go through nationalism depending on the degree of penetration of capitalism. For us, black nationalism was something that historically passed through. We had to come to the consciousness of ourselves as an oppressed nation of people. At the end of the ‘60s we reached that consciousness when we went through our “black is beautiful” phase, we got to the black-power phase, and then suddenly after seeing the black (political) caucus and black ambassadors and blacks on the boards of multinational corporations and black movie stars and black athletes and black mayors, then we began to realize that what had been created was not black liberation but a middle class, a narrow class of blacks that has increased the visibility of blacks within the capitalist system but has not done anything for the masses.

These people whom you mention have simply been subsumed into the system as far as you’re concerned?

Oh yes, absolutely, they’re just part of it. They form our petite bourgeoisie, our middle class. They’re smaller, of course, than the national bourgeoisie, the white folks, but they’re all we have. We’re an oppressed nation, so our middle class is a little weaker and a little shakier. Still, their objective interests vary from the masses. It’s that that, I think, is the internal tension in Newark, where blacks are in the majority?

In Newark we have this black bureaucratic elite. We’ve got black from wall to wall down at city hall. You know, a black mayor, black police chief, black city councilman, black board of education, blacks in city hospitals, and so on. But still, as Harper’s magazine says, it’s the worst city in the United States. Why? Because essentially the system has not changed. The same class that we’ve put some black faces in high places. But we haven’t done anything to change the essential nature, the structure of the system, and so it goes on.

Then you think the blacks who took over here are not any better than the whites who preceded them?

No, look, they can be anything they want to be—they can be kind, they can be happy, they can be anything. The fact is that the system has not changed. It’s like going into a room and there’s something dead in there that stinks and I’m going in there and conducting a guided tour. Then black people get the job conducting the tour and part of their job is to tell you that it doesn’t stink. But it still stinks.

When did the pictures of Lenin, Marx, and Mao join those of (Guinea leader) Sekou Toure, Malcolm X, and other black leaders here in your headquarters?

It was in ‘74 sometime, the summertime or fall.

The fact that their pictures are here and that your philosophy has shifted to incorporate them has been compared to being as significant as Malcolm returning to Mecca and telling his followers that the white man is not inherently evil. Do you think the analogy is apt?

Malcolm, it’s said, received that revelation from going to Mecca and seeing orthodox Muslims, and obviously there are white Muslims just as there are white Christians and black Christians. But I think Malcolm, too, was coming to the point where he realized that religion per se was not going to be the liberating factor in the liberation movement. Because when he put together the Muslim Mosque he said that your religion has to be separate, do your religion at home. Our feeling is that too. We feel that it’s a political struggle and that perhaps our change is as significant as Malcolm’s. It will come out to be similar, even though Malcolm had not gone to Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought. But I think that is the obvious next step in the black-liberation movement.

Like Malcolm, I understand, you’re having some trouble with your followers since you stopped making antiwhite statements and started espousing “scientific socialism.”

In late ‘73, when we were going through some intense ideological discussions, when we were making that move, two of the people on the council resigned. But there’s always ideological struggle in a liberation movement. That’s the basis for development.

You’ve been influenced by the writings of Amilcar Cabral, the revolutionary. Who was he?

Cabral was the secretary-general of the PAIGC, which was the party which led the people of Guinea-Bissau to their liberation, the party leading the liberation of colonialism. He was assassinated in Guinea, in Conakry, I think, in February 1972, and we had met with him when he was there. It was his essay on the Theory that really led us to understand how an African revolution could make use of Marxist theory without losing any kind of
relationship to the African revolution. Because that was always our bias—that somehow if you got involved with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought you'd have to turn white and lose your relationship to the struggle. Which is what those people are accusing us of. But quite the contrary. I think we'll find a way to contribute more to the struggle.

In that same essay of yours I quoted earlier you also wrote: "We do not want what Marx wanted or Abbie Hoffman wants. We want our new black selves as absolute masters of our space."

That's an incorrect kind of term. Again, we say that our problem with Marxism has too often been the kind of people who purport to carry it. And a lot of those people—the Abbie Hoffmans, the (Jerry) Rubins, a lot of those people in the so-called New Left of the '60s—a lot of those people are now hanging out with the gurus and into drugs. And I knew then that's where they were going. I could see that then.

You began your career as an artist, a painter and writer. What is the role of an artist in a Socialist state?

The guiding kind of philosophy in society must be what contributes to the greatest good for the masses of people. That has to be the overriding philosophy. The artist suffers from the extreme kind of bourgeois consciousness because in a society of individuals the artist fancies himself the most individualistic of all. But in the end, most of the artists in the society merely serve the interest of the capitalists. I mean, they're painting soup cans or shooting balloons off people's heads that are full of paint and calling it an event. All they're doing is titillating the bourgeoisie of a society, and we happen to feel that art has to serve the people. It has to be a real contribution to people's lives on this planet.

Nicolas Guillen, the president of the Cuban Writers Union, has said that "a writer who uses his talent in a nonrevo-

lutionary way is like a soldier in wartime who uses his rifle to hunt ducks." Do you agree?

Yeah, that's about it. A lot of this garbage that comes out in the films and on TV is detrimental. For instance, there's a new TV show called The Jeffersons, a black thing where you've got black folks now with a maid.

Do you think a show like The Jeffersons reinforces stereotypes?—That it's unhealthy?

It undermines society. It does two things: First, it tells the black middle class that it's all right for you to have an exploitive relationship with the masses of black people. It's all right, you can laugh and joke with them, you can even hire one as a maid. On the other hand, it's telling the black masses, the maids and so forth, that the black middle class is still your friend, even though they're going to have this exploitive relationship with you. They're still your "brother" and "sister." To me, that's undermining.

Then how do you feel about Archie Bunker?

Does the white working class really want to see itself as Archie Bunker? Is that all the masses of working people think they are? Some kind of dude like Archie Bunker? It undermines the whole quality of human life. Look, you're a writer. Stop and think what the arts could be used for. The potential is incredible.

But why should they be used for anything? I'm reminded of a line from Auden's "In Memory of W. B. Yeats" where he said, "For poetry makes nothing happen: It survives/in the valley of its making where executives/Would never want to tamper." But in your scheme art must have a purpose?

Absolutely.

No art for art's sake?

None. That's a classic bourgeois thought, art as nothing but an artifact for executives. But that is what the bourgeoisie reduces art to, and the bourgeois artist willingly serves that end. Sartre said something profound about art. He said that if you create a play and you don't identify the source of tragedy in the play, it's "mysterious" or "ambiguous." But if you identify the sources of tragedy and point your finger at them, then that's "social commentary" and nobody likes that.

Some famous artists have devoted their lives to politics. I think of John Milton, who spent the middle 30 years of his life writing political pamphlets and tracts and then wrote Paradise Lost as an old and blind man. Do you ever think that at some point you may go back to writing in the sense that you wrote in the '50s and '60s?

No, because even in the '50s and '60s I was still writing what disturbed a lot of people, calling a lot of people names, accusing people of this and that. Now I think my activism is my principal activity. The writing is simply a support for the activism. I'm glad that I know how to write, that I can write quickly. It's a very useful skill in terms of the struggle.
In the 1950's the application of psychotropic drugs to the treatment of the critically retarded or mentally disturbed was hailed as the greatest single therapeutic discovery of the twentieth century. Authorities in this field frequently cite the psychotropic drugs as being the causative factor in drastically reducing the number of patients in mental hospitals. These drugs have made it possible to put many of the people who would have been locked away in large state hospitals twenty years ago back into society. Such people need only report periodically as out-patients to their neighborhood mental health center for their medication and ongoing evaluation. Those who have worked in state mental institutions note the drastic climatic change within the hospitals. They frequently cite the decline of violence, noise and bizarre behavior among the patients since drug therapy has become a standard operating procedure in most mental institutions.

Yet, in the past several years a significant body of criticism has grown in response to the widespread use of psychotropic drugs. This critical reaction has been particularly strong in relation to the use of drug therapy for the treatment of the mentally retarded. As an introduction to this critical reaction have your students read "Pawns In A Pill Game," The National Observer, February 11, 1975.
OBJECTIVE:
The principal objective of this assignment is to have the students probe a critical issue in the treatment of the mentally retarded.

VOCABULARY:
cognitive efficiency
itching foot syndrome
psychopharmacology
sedatives
F. D. A.
Parkinsonism
tardive dyskinesia
psychotropic
class-action law-suit

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or written assignments:

1. What are some of the "paradoxical by-products" of the psychotropic drugs?

2. Reiterate the major arguments against the current usage of psychotropic drugs in treating the mentally retarded and/or mentally ill.

3. In the article, Gunnar Dybwad makes the following statement: "What we've done is supplant mechanical restraints...with chemical restraints. And this is even more vicious because you can't see it." Explain this quote. Based on what you have learned from reading this article, would you agree with Gunnar Dybwad?

4. The article hints at an ethical question involved in the manner in which the drug companies sell drugs to mental institutions. Explain the case made against the drug companies.

B. Using "Pawns In A Pill Game" as a foundation, the following activities may be assigned:

1. In the past twenty years much has been written concerning use and/or abuse of psychotropic drugs. For the purposes of a classwide debate assign members of the class the responsibility of preparing either the case for or against the use of psychotropic drugs. Likewise, position papers could be assigned on this subject.

2. In recent years controversial issues relating to the care and treatment of the mentally disturbed have spilled over into the courts. Using the cases mentioned in the article as a point of departure, students could research other cases where the courts have intervened in this area.

3. The topic with which this article deals offers some unusually good opportunities for the student to investigate some community resources. Students could prepare interview questions on the topic of drug therapy and then go out into the community and interview any or all of the following: officials at local mental health centers or hospitals, neighborhood physicians, drug company officials or representatives, psychiatric nurses or others who work in this field. If oral interviews are not feasible, letters could be written on this subject to any of the above. Also, the teacher could arrange for one or more of the above-mentioned resource persons to come into the classroom as a guest speaker or for a panel discussion.
By Lawrence Mosher
FROM BELCHERTOWN, MASS.

BUILDING F, Belchertown State School, typifies how most of this country’s institutionalized mentally retarded live. Two dorms sleep 20 each, barracks-style. The “day room” is a sterile, high-ceilinged hall equipped with benches, a few tables, and a raised television set mounted behind a steel-mesh screen. An attendant turns the TV and lights on in the morning, off at night.

The noise level is incredible. “Clients” move about aimlessly. When a visitor enters, they cling to him in garbled, sad, desperate pleas for human contact. Others sit on the benches, staring at the TV, or drowse face-down on the tables. The front door is always locked.

Of Building F’s 40 residents, 14 are drugged once to three times a day with potent tranquilizers.

Building E, next door, looks just like Building F, but inside things are different. Mahogany-veneer partitions create a “living room” and a number of “bedrooms” for two to four persons. The living room is furnished with a carpet, comfortable couches and chairs, paintings, an unprotected TV and stereo, and table lamps that the residents can turn on and off themselves.

Although the residents of both buildings have similar problems — indeed, as moderately to severely retarded adults they once were all housed together — the people in Building E don’t behave at all like those in Building F. The front door is not locked, and there is considerable coming and going. Some residents are in class; others are at a workshop; a few are out taking a walk. None clings to the visitor to beg for attention.

Only 3 of Building E’s 41 residents are drugged once to three times a day with potent tranquilizers.

“A lot of the aggressive behavior seems to drop right out when we move a resident to E from F,” Paul Durland, a staff unit director, explains. “And the way the staff perceives and treats the residents changes too. In Building F they go out for their coffee break to get away, but in Building E they have their coffee with the residents.”

Belchertown’s two contrasting buildings symbolize a rebellion of attitudes that is beginning to challenge state mental-health establishments throughout the country. The emerging attitude holds that retarded people are not, by definition, hopeless. It holds that humanizing their maddeningly mind-dulling environment can change their behavior. And it adamantly insists that the current overwhelming reliance on such behavior-controlling drugs as Thorazine and Mellaril need not be the sine qua non of American institutional care.

Yet that reliance on tranquilizers now haunts the nation’s nearly 200 institutions and their 200,000 adult and juvenile inmates. A 1967 survey conducted by Ronald S. Lipman, a psychologist at the National Institute for Mental Health, found that 51 per cent of the residents of 109 responding state and private institutions were regularly being administered psychotropic (mind-controlling) drugs. Thirty-nine per cent of these residents were on “major” tranquilizers, mainly Thorazine and Mellaril, two members of the potent phenothiazine family of antipsychotic prescription drugs.

Even more disturbing to Lipman was his finding that the typical duration of medication for a quarter of those on Thorazine and Mellaril was four years to “indefinite,” a term the responding institutions chose to use. “One cannot help but wonder how rational a basis there is for the ‘indefinite’ usage of this drug,” he wrote. “My synthesis of the literature,” Lipman concluded, “is that the sedative phenothiazines are effective in improving the behavior of the ‘acting-out’ child, but — probably — at the price of reduced alertness and cognitive efficiency.”

Many drugs have harmful side effects
whose risks prescribing doctors must weigh against the drug's expected benefit. The trade off is often difficult to assess, and sometimes the patient is better served by forgoing the drug. Such is the nature of the problem concerning the prescription of the psychoactive drugs that suppress learning to the mentally retarded.

Possible short-term adverse reactions among the principal psychoactive drugs include Parkinsonism, chemical hepatitis, itching-foot syndrome the inability to sit still, blurred vision, nausea and drowsiness, more worry some are the impairment of learning ability and development of a long-term reaction called tardive dyskinesia.

Tardive dyskinesia can appear after lengthy, high-dosage drug therapy its victim may suffer uncontrollable movements of the tongue, face, hands, or feet. He may pucker his mouth, stick out his tongue, or chew on nothing. There is no known cure. Worse still the symptoms persist after the drug is withdrawn. Sometimes they're irreversible.

Suppression of Learning

The primary concern about using these drugs on the mentally retarded is whether phenothiazines improve IQ and intellectual performance. Seven years ago Lipman asked for evidence to justify the use of "sedative phenothiazines" as the drugs of choice for the mentally retarded, noting that over 75 per cent of the public mental retardates were initially financed by drug companies. The evidence is still lacking.

"What is clear," writes Robert L. Sprague, director of the University of Illinois Children's Research Center and a specialist in psychopharmacology, "is that psychotropic drugs are used heavily. It is equally apparent that the main problem of the mentally retarded is slow learning, and that their behavioral problems are too often handled by large amounts of tranquilizing drugs that have as one of their characteris tics suppression of learning.

"Thus the mentally retarded are often placed in institutions for treatment where social stimulation is reduced. Where treatment with tranquilizing drugs that suppress learning is administered in large amounts, and where it is expected that these combinations should produce new standards that will enable them to become rehabilitated members of the community. Sprague adds that current phenothiazines use "outstrips what the data indicate as useful" by more than 50 per cent.

Drug Usage Criticized

Gunnar Dybwad, a world authority in the social-service field and a former executive director of the National Association for Retarded Citizens (NARC), puts it more bluntly: "What we've done is supplant mechanical restraint [straitjackets and solitary confinement] with chemical restraint. And this is even more morally acceptable. The point I make is not that these drugs are used, but the way they are used." In 1974 a Federal judge in Minneapolis, Earl R. Larson, took the Walt case a step further. Excessive use of tranquilizing medication as a means of controlling behavior, not merely as a part of therapy, may likewise infringe plaintiffs' rights," the judge wrote. The case involved Minnesota's Cambridge State Hospital, where 70 per cent of its residents tranquilizers as a substitute for programs or as a means of simply restraining the residents to compensate for staff shortages.

Some experts, such as Alberto DiMasco, director of psychopharmacology at Massachusetts' mental-health agency, argue that controlling behavior can be appropriate therapy. "Management of behavior is not of and by itself bad," he says. "Many people do not have just one incapacitation or lowered intellectual level. They have a wide variety of symptomatology, including delusions, hallucinations, and other psychotic manifestations. Some are highly anxious, and some arc depressed. You've got to be able to deal with these.

DiMasco tends to dismiss institutional environment as a significant cause of inappropriate behavior. He treats the symptom not the cause, he says. "We have the feeling that these drugs are being overprescribed, but no one has ever documented inappropriate usage." DiMasco also notes that there has been no definitive research showing long-term impairment of learning.

Part of the confusion concerning the proper role of phenothiazines in institutions for the mentally retarded arises from the drug's paradoxical qualities. As Dr. Solomon H. Snyder describes them in his book, Madness and the Brain, these drugs "are not merely sedatives to ease the patient of restless, hyperactive activity, or more to the point, to ease his cus tomary behavior, but at the same time, to ease his custodian by essentially bludgeoning the patient into semi-consciousness."

Synthesized by a German chemist in 1958, phenothiazine was first used for worm infections. In the 1940s a French surgeon used an antihistamine form as a preoperative adjunct to anesthesia. The drug appeared to reduce apprehension without causing dislocation, which made it possible to use less anesthesia, thus lessening the danger of death from anesthesia-induced shock. In 1958 another form, chlorpromazine, was found to be effective with schizophrenia. Within two years it became the drug of choice all over the world for treating schizophrenic and other psychotic disorders? in this country. The drug was made in both Kline & French Laboratories under the brand name Thorazine.

"Visit" of Detail Men

Now dozens of brands are available and producers of drug companies detail men who call on institutions for the mentally retarded as well as mental hospitals and doctors offices in the nation. The Harvard State School and Hospital in Pennsylvania, for example, the peach the next six months 33 visits by detail men during a five-month period in 1974. The most active phenothiazine promoters were Smith Kline & French Laboratories under the brand name Thorazine.
Dr. Steven R. Kanner, the new medical director at Massachusetts’ five institutions for the mentally retarded, says the problem lies with the prescribing doctors, not the drugs. "We have a high percentage of doctors who aren’t very competent, and this is the fundamental problem. Until comn the ‘inmate’s medical records are meaningless," says Kanner, who also holds a master’s degree in business administration from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

'Two Light Years Away"

"I know these drugs are used as sedatives, but what I don’t know is whether these drugs are used totally without indication. Without the proper knowledge to lend our is an adequate medical staff, good support service, and a functioning data system. But we’re two light years away from that."" At the prodding of Sen. John W. Olver, chairman of the state special Legislative Committee on Mental Retardation, Kanner in 1974 conducted a survey of phenothiazine usage in his five “schools.” He found the drug was administered to 33 per cent of all inmate patients, with a low of 20 per cent among the schools. But without competent matching diagnoses and other data dealing with dosage, response, and duration of drug taking, is still difficult to prove inappropriate or abusive drug use.

The clear implication, however, is that there is widespread drug abuse. At the Hamburg State School, and in splat, considered the worst in the state by the Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Citizens, doctors estimate that less than 10 per cent of the 5,000 residents are psychotic as well as retarded. Yet four doctors quizzed about their use of the phenothiazines reported an average 65 per cent utilization rate.

One of the doctors is an osteopath, whom he has no background in psychiatry or treating mental deficiency. Another is a graduate of the University of St. Thomas in the Philippines, who has never been licensed by the state. Another is a retired thoracic surgeon who says, "When I was a resident, nobody wanted me, but I was fortunate enough to run into the superintendent here."" A neurosurgeon at the nearby Bethelton State School, says the Hamburg situation "bothers the hell out of me. The state runs a kind of blank check for these drugs. If the institution can’t get more staff, it will get more drugs, and so they show their patients with them."

What really stirs critics is the active drug-company promotion at these institutions. Hamburg’s Dr. Antonio Garcia describes the detail men’s role this way: "Many medical libraries and explain the advantages their products have over the others. They talk about price, how the drug is administered, whether you just have to give one dose. Serentil is very active and pushes Mellaril a lot. They know a lot of our kids are on Mellaril, and they come around to remind us about it.”

A Question of Ethics

Both Sandoz and Smith Kline & French deny that promoting their products at institutions for the retarded raises a question of ethics. "We think that ethically promoting these products contributes to their proper use and helps to prevent abuse," says Alan Wechter, a Smith Kline & French spokesman. "We are ethically promoting these products based on labeling approved by the FDA.”

Dr. Craig Burrell of Sandoz, responding in a five-page letter, writes that "no thinking person (or organization) would feel that it is ethically right to give anyone any type of chemical merely for the convenience of those looking after a charge of the state." Burrell also sees no ethical issue concerning current promotion practices.

"We do not promote Mellaril outside areas where it is indicated. We see no conflict with ethics when we promote, where appropriate, a preparation to help sick people better adapt to the environment in which they must perforce live. By helping eliminate self-abuse, hostility, and excessive aggression, we are at least helping these deprived patients to live and function better in the society in which they exist and to which they are virtually condemned to be able to contribute nothing.”

But is the situation hopeless, or reversible? One answer is developing here at Belchertown. Three years ago Benjamin and Virginia Ricci, whose retarded son, Robert, is a Belchertown inmate, filed a class-action Federal lawsuit that is now turning Belchertown into an open forum.

The Ricci v. Greenblatt case (Dr. Milton Greenblatt, a psychiatrist, is the former state assistant commissioner for mental retardation) has already forced the state to spend $2.6 million on "humanizing" renovations, such as the coining from the Mental Health Law Project in Washington, D.C. With the direct help of the large Washington law firm, Hogan & Hanson, the group petitioned the FDA last July to stop what it calls the "dangerous, unapproved, and unwarranted use" of phenothiazine heavy tranquilizers in institutions for the mentally retarded.

The FDA says it plans to react to the Hogan & Hanson petition next month. The petition, prepared by David S. Teitel, specifically asks the FDA to require the drug companies to change the wording in their package labels advising doctors not to use these drugs on mentally retarded persons not diagnosed as psychotic. Another request would strike the term "disturbed children" from the list of indicated uses for Thorazine and Mellaril.

The petition also asks the FDA to investigate drug-company promotion of phenothiazines at institutions for the retarded. Drug companies spend some $1.2 billion a year for the promotion of these products, according to Scientific American magazine. This comes to $4,000 a doctor a year and is nearly four times what the drug companies spend each year for research and development.

Dr. Thomas Hayes of the FDA’s Bureau of Drugs says his agency has already asked Sandoz and Smith Kline to modify the language in its package in-...
Lesson 10

"Stress: The Enemy Within"

Stress is a basic and necessary part of human life and, therefore, is a component in the lives of all students. And yet, although necessary, stress frequently can lead to psychophysiological difficulties. Psychologists and physicians have historically related stress to everything from the common cold to mental illness. However, the relationship between stress and somatic and/or mental disorders has not been fully understood. Consequently, this subject has been an area of active medical and psychological research.

This article reviews the relationship between human physiology and stress noting current theories and research on this topic. The following lesson plan suggests a number of ways in which this article could be implemented in a psychology course. Assign for student reading, "Stress: The Enemy Within," The National Observer, February 8, 1975.
OBJECTIVE:

Students will gain a working knowledge of the complicated interrelationship between the mind, body and society.

VOCABULARY:

- endemic
- maladaptive response
- hormones
- homeostasis
- adaptation energy
- stimulus addiction
- affluence
- "fight or flight" mechanism
- adrenal glands
- general adaptation syndrome
- ulcers
- pecking order

STUDENT ACTIVITIES:

A. The following questions may be used for class discussion and/or as a written assignment:

1. What is the "fight or flight" response? Explain the physiology of this response. What does stress have to do with the "fight or flight" response?

2. In your opinion, why do humans have this innate physiological "fight or flight" response? Are there times when this response may be harmful to humans?

3. What are some of the physical and psychological disorders to which stress is believed to be related?

4. Summarize Selye's model or explanation of stress and his notion of adaptation energy. Use Selye's general adaptation syndrome to explain these behavioral phenomena: combat fatigue, nervous breakdown, depression and fainting when overly frightened or elated.

5. Explain the phenomenon of stimulus addiction.

6. What relationship might exist between affluence and stress? Why, in your opinion, are populations of affluent, industrialized societies more likely to be victims of stress?

B. The article may also be used as a point of departure for these more complicated assignments:

1. Examine the "Social Readjustment Rating Scale" developed by Drs. Holmes and Rahe. What is the one thing that all of these "43 Life Events" have in common? (Note: the instructor may have to guide the student to see that the common element in all of these events is change). Thought Question: Recognizing that we presently live in a complex, fast and everchanging society, what are the implications of Holmes and Rahe's model of stress for life in the future when society will probably be changing at an increasingly rapid rate? Is there some way in which society can insulate itself from the stress generated by change?

2. A great many of the people seeing private physicians, psychologists and/or psychiatrists are doing so due to stress related illnesses. Write a fictional case of one patient suffering from some stress related problem noting his or her case history and symptoms.

3. You are the therapist in the situation above. What would you recommend to your patient?

4. Keep a personal diary of the stressful experiences in your day-to-day life. Note the stressful situations and your response to it. Periodically review your diary making notations of how you might deal with such situations in the future.

5. Students may examine the following for further research on this subject:

M. Friedman, TYPE 'A' BEHAVIOR AND YOUR HEART.
Vance Packard, A NATION OF STRANGERS.
Alvin Toffler, FUTURE SHOCK (especially relevant to this topic is chapter 15).
STRESS:
The Enemy Within

By Jim Hampton

MY WIFE is in the hospital, having just undergone painful surgery, and I am temporarily her ill-rehearsed stand-in. The house is not yet a total wreck, but only because I am becoming one. Run vacuum? (amazing how pine needles reappear in absence of Christmas tree). Do laundry (remarkably how 18 children's socks yield no pairs). Cook dinner (make note to write Uncle Ben, tell him his rice burns easily). Help with homework (in new math, one old math parent equals one idiot, indivisible). Tuck last child in bed. Call hospital, tell wife— I fully understand her grim smile when our 5-year-old son described her occupation as “housewipe.” Time now to relax.

Relax? How’s to relax?, My house-to-hospital pace is exhausting, but worry over my wife’s ordeal keeps me from falling asleep. I try counting sheep but instead see an hourglass, trickling out the last week’s grains until I turn 40. Of course turning 40, and officially entering middle age, doesn’t bother me. Not at all. Nosiree. Can’t waste time worrying, anyway, because the late-night quiet is the only uninterrupted time I have to finish the research for this article on stress. Ah yes, stress: Well do I know it.

An Affliction of Affluence

So do millions of others. Stress is as endemic among Twentieth Century industrialized societies as threats from smallpox, bubonic plague, and the saber-toothed tiger were among earlier peoples. Ironically, along with heart disease—of which it is a suspected cause—stress is an affliction of affluence. Indeed, the Laboratory for Clinical Stress Research at Sweden’s renowned Caroline Institute estimates that one-third of the working days lost to sickness in industrialized nations are attributable to stress-related illness.

Because it is caused by the individual’s maladaptive response to his or her environment, stress wears limitless disguises. An unkind word from the boss, a social snub, a feeling of being unappreciated or overworked or worthless, stunning defeat or even stunning victory—all these stressors can have consequences as debilitating as actual, tangible threats to one’s physical well-being.

Whatever their nature, stressors share one common trait: They stimulate in the body the primordial “fight or flight” response. The instant it receives the stress “alarm,” the brain alerts the pituitary gland just beneath it, and through the pituitary the adrenal glands just above each kidney, to secrete hormones to prepare the body for vigorous exertion.

The effect is immediate and dramatic. The pulse quickens. The pupils of the eyes dilate. The ears prick up and hearing improves. The lungs take in more oxygen to fuel the muscles for strenuous work. The blood’s ability to clot improves, to protect against excessive bleeding from wounds.

This reaction is ideal to prepare the body to ward off an assailant, jump out of the way of a speeding car, fell a tree, or run the 100-yard dash. Indeed, none of these acts would be possible without the fight-or-flight response. In fact, life itself requires some stress, notes Dr. Hans Selye, director of the Institute of Experimental Medicine and Surgery at the University of Montreal and father of the stress concept. “Stress is the spice of life,” says Selye, observing that stress is what keeps your heart beating, your lungs breathing, and your stomach digesting while you sleep. “And complete freedom from stress is death,” he adds.

Purposeful stress, then, is salutary. When the fight is over, the race run, the car dodged, or the tree chopped down, the body stops producing its extra “fuel”; hormonal output subsides. When the stressor disappears, body and mind return to the state of equilibrium that the late Walter B. Cannon, the eminent Harvard physiologist, called “homeostasis.”

But no one can fight indeﬁnitely, run endlessly, dodge car after car after car, or chop down a forest without rest. Yet in a sense that’s what the body tries to do when its fight-or-flight response is inappropriate. There is no one to fight, and now, ere to run, for the pensioner whose meager monthly check buys less and less, for the employee...
who detests his job but can't find another for the slow learner whose teacher thinks is stupid, or for the parents whose child has an incurable disease.

Dented its proper outlet of physical action, such stress (Selye calls it 'distress') seeks—and usually finds—improper expression as physical or emotional illness. Stress is a well-documented cause of anxiety, depression, migrating headaches, and peptic ulcers. Recent research implicates stress as a cause of coronary heart disease—the leading cause of death in America—and stroke. There is evidence, albeit tenuous, that stress can trigger certain cancers. Animal research indicates that stress may even cause periodontal disease. And stress is apparently related to the way you age.

Selye the Exemplar

All these findings owe some debt to the all-dominant research of Selye, who published his first paper on stress in 1936. Now thousands of research projects on stress are under way throughout the world. They generate some 6,000 scholarly reports a year, Selye's lifetime contains more than 80,000 papers on stress.

From his research, Selye has formulated a three-stage explanation of stress that he calls the "general adaptation syndrome (GAS)." First comes the alarm stage, previously described, when the body prepares itself for combat or flight. Next comes the stage of resistance, when the body fights off the stressor. Last comes the stage of exhaustion, when the body can tolerate no more. If the stressor remains undiminished, illness or even death may ensue.

Selye calls the energy that the body uses during GAS "adaptation energy." In his seminal 1950 book, The Stress of Life, he says this energy is different from the energy we get from food, but still have no precise concept of what this energy might be.

"It is as though, at birth, each individual inherited a certain amount of adaptation energy, the magnitude of which is determined by his genetic background, his parents. He can draw upon this capital throughout his long and monotonously uneventful existence, or he can spend it lavishly in the course of a stressful, intense, but perhaps more colorful and exciting life. In any case, there is just so much of it, and he must budget accordingly.

Ulcers in Children

Stress afflicts people of all ages, even preschoolers. Dr. Margaret Prouy, head of pediatrics at the Jackson Clinic in Madison, Wis., studied stress ulcers in children for more than 30 years. In a 1973 paper she reports on 322 cases, including 3-year-old Dawn, who complained of abdominal pain and headache.

"Her mother had her first child out of wedlock at age 15 but later married the father of the child when he became 18," Dr. Prouy reports. "When she reached 22, she had six children and was abandoned by the father. One night she became depressed, left the children at home, and went to a tavern, where she was arrested on a neighbor's complaint for child abandonment. The children were placed in foster homes, where ulcers developed." In Dawn, her sister, and the mother. The ulcers disappeared in all three. After the children were returned to the mother and she made plans to remarry.

School-related stress is the principal cause of ulcers in younger children, Dr. Prouy reports. Children aged 7 to 9 are most susceptible, and the ulcers occur cyclically. Most develop one to two months after school begins. Smaller peaks follow when the second semester begins and just before end-of-year exams.

"These children are concerned not only with performance in class, where they usually excel, but also with interaction with their classmates," Dr. Prouy reports. "Uniformly nonaggressive, many have been threatened with bodily harm from individuals and groups. The majority are perfectionists, have a poor self-image, and find that their classmates, parents, and teachers cannot measure up to their expectations. They have much need of affection and approval, trying hard to please and be good. They have a high incidence of anxiety and dependence and poor ability to express antagonism. Years of observation have convinced me that one of their chief personality defects is an almost total lack of a sense of humor. Life is indeed real and earnest, and they have no ability to laugh at themselves or at others."

The Toll Among ATCs

Perhaps no occupation carries the day-to-day stress of the air-traffic controllers (ATC's) who direct planes in and out of airports. Eyes fixed on a radar screen, they must maintain intense concentration and constant calm while they direct several planes at once through various stages of airport approach, landing, and taking off. In conversations at a stress seminar, several told of the incredible stress they felt when, during peak traffic hours and bad weather conditions, they work with the knowledge that one slip by them could cost hundreds of lives.

Just how severe the ATC's stress is became clear during their "sick-out" in 1970 at Chicago's O'Hare Field. Dr. Richard H. Prouty of the University of St. Louis, Missouri, examined 480 ATCs and found that 88 exhibited enough "signs of peptic ulcers to merit X-rays. This examination showed that 38 had ulcers; 14 had duodenitis (inflammation of the duodenum, or small intestine); 11 had gastritis; and 5 had pylorospasm (spasm of the area between the stomach and the small intestine). The ATC's ulcer rate of 32.5 percent was far higher than for any group for which data existed.

"A narrowly averted mid-air collision caused by one of these conscientious, intelligent, punctilious young men has the same effect on him as if he himself had just escaped death by a hair's breadth," Dr. Prouty wrote. "The 'right or flight' response that follows is useless because he is trapped at a radar scope, forced to continue issuing cool, concise commands into a microphone. The symptoms that follow—such as anxiety, anorexia (loss of appetite), insomnia, and irritability, plus their spin-off effects of marital discord, interpersonal animosities, and efforts at peer-group support then become stressors in their own right."

The 'Stimulus Addicts'

The ATC's symptoms prompted Grayson and others to found the American Academy of Air Traffic Control Medicine, which last year became the American Academy of Stress Disorders. Grayson is the academy's president.

One might assume that race-car drivers, sky divers, aerobatic pilots, and others who routinely risk death or disablement would be ulcer-prone too. But a study by Bruce C. Ogilvie, Ph.D., professor of clinical psychology at San Jose (Calif.) State University, suggests that these people thrive on stress.

Ogilvie reported in the Physician and Sportsmedicine magazine on his study of 293 "stimulus addicts," including 50 all-pro football players, 47 aerobatic pilots, 48 race drivers, 64 parachutists, 31 fencers, 32 basketball players, and 21 Olympic swimmers. On standard personality tests the group ranked high in intelligence, ambition, autonomy, emotional stability, leadership, and above all, vitality.

Stimulus addiction, Ogilvie concludes, "implies a need for repeated exposure to situations where the balance between fear, danger, and anxiety remains within the boundaries of personal control. ... For the stimulus addict, to live a life uncontested is tantamount to only half-lived."
the pecking orders were constantly being disrupted. This kept the flocks in turmoil because no chicken could maintain a stable position in a pecking order. Result: The experimental chickens developed a higher incidence of a virus-caused cancer than did a control group. "Social stress acting through the pituitary and adrenal glands appears to be a factor in the development of tumors," Gross reported. "Control of physical manifestations of stress may help to control tumors."

Control of the physiological manifestations of stress: There's the rub. How do it?

No one can breeze through all stressful situations with, in Mark Twain's phrase, "the calm confidence of a Christian holding four aces." Bearing in mind that people's tolerance for stress differs, you might begin by measuring your stress on the accompanying "Social Readjustment Rating Scale" developed by Drs. Thomas H. Holmes and Richard H. Rahe at the University of Washington medical school.

Holmes and Rahe drew up the scale in 1965 after discovering during five years of studying tuberculosis patients that TB often followed some stressful changes in the patient's life. The scale is designed to predict susceptibility to illness generally, not just to TB.

With your stress score in hand (or even without trying the Holmes-Rahe test), turn now and face the thicket. For thereinto leadeth the path.

There is, in short, no magic bullet against stress. "Because a person's reaction to stress is subjective, it's difficult to formulate objective, generally applicable antisstress nostrums. What relieves one person's stress may exacerbate another's."

Stress-Relieving Tips

If you're simply looking for general guidance in relieving stress, you might find the suggestions of Dr. Abraham Lurie, director of social-work services at Long Island Jewish-Hillside Medical Center in Hyde Park, N.Y., as sound as any.

First, says Lurie, "Try to identify the cause of stress." Next: "Put it in perspective. Decide how significant or important it is to you in the total context of your life." Then "try to recall whether you have experienced similar stress-provoking situations," and resolved them before. Would that solution work now?

"If the problem stems from an external source," Lurie adds, "try to break it up into its component parts. This will help you isolate the major irritant so that you can work to effect change. This singling out process will also help you place the situation in its true importance so that you can weigh the bad against the good. If this approach fails to ease tension, give serious consideration to a major permanent change in your life—for example, a new job or a new type of work. If satisfactory change cannot be effected, secure professional advice or counseling to help you accept and adjust to the problems you must live with."

Finally, says Lurie: "If the difficulty is internal, some problem within yourself that causes intense concern or conflict, try to determine what has recently happened to intensify these negative feelings. Once you have identified the irritant, you can work on modifying your reactions. If this doesn't work, he concludes, consider getting professional counseling."

How's Your Stress Score?

Some stress is necessary for life, but too much stress is harmful. Drs. Thomas H. Holmes and Richard H. Rahe developed at the University of Washington medical school a scale for measuring stress in terms of 43 "life events." They say a person scoring less than 150 on their scale has only a 37 per cent chance of becoming ill during the next two years. A score of 150 to 300 raises the odds of illness to 51 per cent, and a 300-plus score means you have an 80 per cent chance of becoming seriously ill.

To find your score, check the events applying to you during the past 12 months. Then add up the total values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Value Your Score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Death of spouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Divorce</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Marital separation</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jail term</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Death of close family member</td>
<td>83</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Personal injury or illness</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fired from work</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Marital reconciliation</td>
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<td>Retirement</td>
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<td>Change in family member's health</td>
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<td>Pregnancy</td>
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<td>Change in financial status</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Change in number of marital arguments</td>
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<td>Mortgage or loan over $10,000</td>
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<td>Foreclosure of mortgage or loan</td>
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<td>Son or daughter leaving home</td>
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<td>Trouble with in-laws</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Outstanding personal achievement</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Spouse begins or stops work</td>
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<td>Starting or finishing school</td>
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<td>Change in social activities</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Change in sleeping habits</td>
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<td>Change in number of family gatherings</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Change in eating habits</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Vacation</td>
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About the Author

Joseph W. Rodgers, a native of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania has been a social science teacher in the Cheltenham (Pa.) High School since 1971. Mr. Rodgers has taught such courses as World Cultures, American History, Economics, Sociology and Psychology. He is a 1971 graduate of Ursinus College with a B.A. in Political Science. Mr. Rodgers received his M.Ed in Social Studies Education as a teaching intern through Temple University.

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