CONTENTS

Foreword .......................................................... 7

CHAPTER I. Building for Civic Intelligence .......... 9
   II. Community-wide Forums at Des Moines ...... 17
   III. The General Forum Movement .................. 40
   IV. Techniques for Forum Management .......... 46
   V. A Nation-wide Program of Forums ............. 63

Bibliography .................................................. 69
"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

George Washington

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"We need to have meeting places for the discussion of public questions, in the cities, hamlets and on the farms throughout the length and breadth of the land."

Franklin D. Roosevelt
FOREWORD

THIS pamphlet has been prepared in response to many hundreds of requests for information about public-affairs forums.

It is impossible in such limited space to give a comprehensive description of the forum method of adult civic education or its application in various parts of the country. However, we have tried to include in the pamphlet a number of the suggestions for effective forum organization which have been found useful in my own experience and in that of many others who have been active in this field.

I eagerly greet every move toward public-affairs forums, whether on the part of school authorities, civic or religious bodies, or citizens' committees. However, it remains my deep conviction that a comprehensive program of Education for Democracy among adults must be devised and publicly financed to assure a Nation-wide distribution of the facilities for public-affairs education.

I conceive of adult education concerning public affairs as fundamental to the defense of our cherished ideals of American democracy. The enemy of democracy is civic ignorance. To the cause of making America safe for democracy through education, I call on all the forces of good citizenship. Let us aim at full, free, carefully organized, and professionally and impartially managed public discussion of national affairs. That is education for democracy.

J. W. STUDEBAKER, Commissioner.
Chapter 1 - Building for Civic Intelligence

What do we want? - Democracy a means to a full life - Education for democracy not academic - An inverted pyramid - Props for the inverted pyramid - Pressure groups push and pull - Other agencies influencing public opinion - Why the public affairs forum?

What Do We Want?

NORMAL human beings want to live a full life. They want the necessities to sustain life. They want opportunities to determine the conditions of life. They want some comforts to dignify life. They want culture to beautify life. They want leisure in which to enjoy life.

Democracy a Means to a Full Life

THE test of the success of democracy lies in the degree to which it enables the mass of people to realize these aspirations. We strive to perpetuate and improve democracy only because we believe that it offers the best implement for fashioning life as we want it.

Education for Democracy not Academic

DEMOCRACY proposes that human beings organize their efforts for the good life on the basis of self-government. Therefore, that education which aims to prepare citizens for intelligent participation in self-government is basic in a democratic society. It is true that our schools have stressed training for individual competence in vocations and avocations. But we are beginning to learn that the individual cannot achieve his aspirations unless the social system in which he lives is kept in good running order. It is becoming increasingly clear that the individual in order to achieve his personal welfare must of necessity cooperate to provide for the social welfare.

So, in discussing ways and means of improving and extending the facilities for adult civic education, we are really concerned with the problem of enabling individuals to achieve their aspirations.
An Inverted Pyramid

What sort of educational base supports democracy in America? How well have we prepared ourselves to be able citizens? Can we make life better for ourselves and our children by raising the level of competence with which we, as a nation, perform the duties of citizenship? One approach to the issue may be gained by surveying the spread of schooling among the people.

Of some 75,000,000 adults in the United States, about 32,000,000 never completed the eighth grade; another 32,000,000 finished the eighth grade, but failed to complete high-school training. Only 9,200,000 graduated from high school, and of this number 2,100,000 completed college work. Adding high-school and college graduates together, we find that only 15 percent of our adult population have graduated from high school or college.

What do these figures mean? They mean that 85 percent of our population have been denied the opportunity of orderly study of our civic problems. They mean that 85 of every 100 voters go to the polls to make decisions vital to their own welfare and the Nation's welfare minus that portion of knowledge of civic problems which high school and college can provide.

This huge block of 64,000,000 adults have had opportunity to experience only the beginnings of the learning process through formal schooling. Most of their school days were spent learning to read, write, and figure. They had not reached that point in school where students learn how to make independent inquiries into problems. Nor had they learned the group discussion method of attacking problems.

If education stops where these figures stop, then we see an inverted pyramid, in which some 64,000,000 of our adult population are precariously balanced on a small apex of those who had more adequate educational opportunities.

Let us assume that the 15 percent who have graduated from high school or college did get a glimpse of the more advanced processes of learning. Suppose this small minority did have opportunity to test itself through experimental flights of investigation and study. Suppose we grant that those who have had high-school and college opportunities did get a general view of our social-economic order during their years in school. Still, do they represent a base of political preparedness that provides a safe foundation for a successful democracy?

What did the adults who left high school and college before the war learn in the schools about war debts, agricultural surpluses, commer-

cial aviation, and the multitude of post-war problems? Indeed, what sort of practical preparation did the graduating classes of 1929 have which would qualify their members to make intelligent judgments on depression issues—unemployment relief, soldiers' bonus, Federal housing, social insurance, regulation of holding companies, and any number of problems associated with the social-economic order (or disorder) which followed the period of their formal education? The answer is plain. Even high school and college have not equipped us to act on the great civic problems our society demands that we decide.

**Props for the Inverted Pyramid**

The above figures leave out a significant part of the picture. Night schools, university extension classes, and a number of public forums do offer a few props to undergird this inverted pyramid. A certain percentage of adults do continue the learning process by an organized and systematic plan. But what proportion and to what extent do these adults keep in training for citizenship?

To review the figures on attendance and registration will indicate what weak and inadequate props we have.

Fewer than 1,500,000 of our 75,000,000 adults maintained any relationship to the public schools through night school sessions in 1931-32.²

Most of these people were occupied largely with the mastery of the rudiments taught ordinarily in the grade schools, or in improving their personal vocational competence.

Most recent of the contributions to organized adult education is the far-flung emergency education program, which enrolled some 2,000,000 people in classes, chiefly in elementary subjects, under the direction of unemployed teachers.

Some 300,000 adults attended university extension courses in 1931-32.³ But here again the major emphasis in study is on the improvement of the general cultural and vocational life of the individual, with but slight attention to social, economic, and political subjects.

On this latter field, largely disregarded by other forms of adult education, public-affairs forums, discussion groups, and lecture programs, largely managed by private individuals or associations, place the greatest emphasis. These agencies for adult education concentrate almost exclusively on the presentation of questions dealing with public policy. They undertake that education for intelligent citizenship so vital to democracy and so neglected in our day.

Of approximately 200 forum groups associated with the Open Forum National Council, more than half of the total forum member-

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² Ibid., pp. 266-272.
The ship is located in four States—Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York. Reports reaching the Office of Education indicate that not more than 1 million adults in the United States attend any kind of open forum or organized discussion group on public affairs in a given year.

Such are the major adult education props we now have to balance our very top-heavy inverted pyramid which supports American democracy.

**Pressure Groups Push and Pull**

While we, as a people, are practically unorganized and unprepared for the task of going to the roots of our public problems, we are under constant pressure to organize to do something about them. For example, the Washington, D. C., telephone book lists more than 600 associations maintaining headquarters in the capital. Most of these associations engage representatives to influence legislation. These organizations collect mass support for their objectives. To increase their strength and support, the leaders often conduct what they call "educational campaigns". In most cases, however, the object of the campaign is not to help people to understand the problem by providing a fair and impartial display of the facts pro and con, but rather to "sell" people on what the organization leaders want. Theirs is the advertiser's advocacy rather than education in the true sense of that word.

These organizations attempt to perform twin roles. They offer "public enlightenment" on civic problems (as they view these problems), and then they muster the "enlightened" (those "sold" on their point of view) to press for legislative action.

We must ask ourselves if this is the way by which we want to decide great issues which affect us all. Or do we and do the thoughtful leaders of these associations wish to make decisions on public problems on the basis of a truly educational, impartial, and thorough canvass of the questions at issue through such agencies as public forums and discussion groups?

**Other Agencies Influencing Public Opinion**

Besides these "pressure groups", there are numerous agencies dealing to some extent with public affairs, informing or misinforming the public. Among them are the following:

1. Newspapers.

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5. Political parties.
6. Motion pictures—news reels and short subjects.

These agencies play their part in building civic intelligence. Each has its limitations as a carrier of civic understanding.

Properly managed public affairs forums seem to offer to citizens of our day exceptional opportunity for open-minded impartial examination of controversial issues. If it is a true forum it is devoted to penetrating to the basic facts and to giving all sides a hearing. Moreover, the true forum gives the audience a chance to participate and to question advocates. By contrasting these contributions with those which other channels make to public enlightenment, the place which the forum can occupy in point of service to the community becomes clear.

By extending the open forum, the other mediums for distributing facts and opinions are stimulated to new growth. Interest in public questions aroused in the public forum is inevitably translated into a closer and wider reading of the daily press, increases in circulation of magazines and books of the more solid variety, more enlightened participation in conferences, labor union discussions, and larger registrations for night schools and university extension classes.

Why the Public Affairs Forum?

THE present inverted educational pyramid offers an untrustworthy base for American democracy. The props of adult education are inadequate. The public affairs forum, which will be described at some length in later pages, gives to adult education a medium for building a broad and solid educational base, a foundation capable of supporting efficient self-government. However, to be effective, it must be brought within reach of a large proportion of our 75,000,000 adults. That task is a challenge to citizens, to educators, and to legislators.

A forum is more than a “talk fest.” It is democracy at work. Through the public forum, a community spirit can be stimulated, a concern for public welfare nurtured, and civic intelligence advanced.

The public affairs forum carries into adult experience the liberating influence of real education. For the true forum is not interested in “selling” any predigested conclusions. It is not concerned with organizing people for social action. It is an institution devoted to a courageous program of presenting all sides of important issues, providing an opportunity for absolutely free inquiry into important public problems. It fosters a free exchange and sharing of views, facts, and information among the people, met together as citizens in a nation devoted to self-government.
The public forum promises these contributions to the life of the democratic community:

1. Increases the citizen's understanding of problems discussed.
2. Stimulates further study and independent investigation.
3. Facilitates the correlation of new knowledge and past learning and experience.
4. Develops a critical attitude which demands validation of claims.
5. Promotes tolerance and open-mindedness.
7. Develops logical thinking and improves the speaking ability of the average man.
8. Reduces power of emotionalism and prejudice.
10. Builds the community spirit and fosters neighborliness.

America needs civic intelligence. Without civic intelligence we cannot hope to satisfy our individual wants and aspirations in our complex industrialized society. Forums equip citizens with civic intelligence to cope with the problems of our Nation and our day.
A forum poster receiving honorable mention in *School Life*. Designed by Henry Leiczak
October 30, 1935.

Dear Dr. Studebaker:

You have asked for a brief statement of my opinion concerning the Des Moines forum experiment. I am glad to send it to you.

Three years of forums in Des Moines have noticeably increased the informedness of a considerable minority.

Attendance at the forums in a year, excluding duplication, runs away above the total vote in recent school elections and is a fair percentage of all the voters that walk or are dragged to the polls in municipal elections.

Free speech, thanks to the forums, is taken a little more for granted; isms are a little less terrifying; our conservative shiverers shiver less, and our halfbaked agitators have been a little deflated. There appears to have been a slight degree of immunizing against quack social programs.

Three years, clearly, is only a start. Miracles are not in the cards. Not all Des Moines people have deserted bridge and golf and pornography and liquor to revel in Periclean discussion. But results are at least encouraging to those who believe the masses are not too stupid to make self-government continuously workable. Something more significant than lip service to basic liberalism is being paid by these forums.

The forums tend to spread, by emulation, into other Iowa communities.

They have probably helped the newspapers as much as we have helped them.

Very sincerely,

W. W. Waymack

Dr. J. W. Studebaker,
U. S. Commissioner of Education,
Washington, D. C.
Chapter II - Community-wide Forums at Des Moines


The public forum method of adult education is not new. It has been employed at different times in our history in a variety of ways. The early town meeting, the American Lyceum movement (1826-40), and our present-day open forum projects all express the principles underlying the public affairs forum.

Many excellent forums are now functioning under the auspices of religious, civic, and educational bodies, and with the guidance of individuals adapted to forum leadership. The Des Moines public affairs forums are not especially different from well-run forums in other parts of the country so far as technique is concerned. However, there are certain unique features about the Des Moines plan which differentiate it from other forum enterprises.

1. It schedules a forum program for the entire community, reaching into every district and locality of a typical American city.

2. It utilizes a combination of techniques for attacking problems - panel discussion, debates, lecture with audience discussion period, small-group discussion, and symposium - applying these various methods to different kinds and sizes of audiences.

3. The program is under the direct administration and sponsorship of the public-school system of the city, and is operated as a fundamental part of that system in meeting its obligation for adult civic education.

4. It provides opportunity for citizens to attend without cost high caliber forum meetings conducted by expert leaders.

5. The public forums program utilizes the public-school buildings, classrooms, and auditoriums as meeting places. Organized public education thus extends its sphere of service to the great mass of adults in the community.

6. The Des Moines program is financed for a period of 5 years by the Carnegie Foundation through the American Association for Adult Education for the purpose of demonstrating the possibilities of a city-wide forum program under public-school supervision. The results of the experiment are not only significant to the “typical city” in which it is being conducted, but for the entire nation.

Who Came to the Forums?

In 1934 some 70,000 adults in Des Moines attended the 570 public forums for the discussion of social, political, and economic problems. They represented a good cross section of the population of 144,000 inhabitants, and testified to a very keen community interest in public discussion.

The forum idea has taken root, and, in the case of Des Moines, is not planted in one place where its fruits may nourish only a small minority of the people. Rather, it is carried into practically every district of the city and is supported by every means of communication: newspapers, radio, pamphlet, and pulpit. The map on page 19 shows the distribution of forum meeting places in Des Moines.

The aim is to provide true mass education. Three distinct types of forums have been used in reaching the adults of Des Moines.

Neighborhood Forums

For the same reason that Des Moines builds its 60 school buildings in all sections of the city to serve the educational needs of the children of business and professional people and “working people” alike, public affairs forums are held in the various sections of the city within convenient distance of the homes of the people.

So far, Des Moines has conducted 25 forum centers in school buildings as well as in some centers in the business sections of the city. Meetings have been scheduled on a fortnightly program, and are published in advance so that people who might have conflicting engagements preventing them from attending the full series in their own section of the city may attend in some other section the forum on the subject missed.

In the neighborhood forums there is the maximum of opportunity for group discussion and audience expression. These forums are small, usually attracting from 25 to 50 people, and should be kept small. Forum leaders remaining in Des Moines for 10 or more weeks lead and guide these discussions, seeing it as their main task to nurture clear self-expression and sound methods of public inquiry.
Central Forums

FIVE central forums have been promoted in Des Moines to enable forum leaders engaging in the program for only 3 to 6 weeks to reach a city-wide audience. These forums provide for a medium-sized audience in which the people of the community can gain a wider acquaintance with their fellow citizens, and a chance to carry on discussion from the floor under somewhat different circumstances from those prevailing in the neighborhood forums.

Central forums have been held in junior high school auditoriums generally, and have an average attendance of about 200 people.

City-Wide Forums

BEGINNING with the second season, the city-wide forum meetings have been a regular part of the program. Meeting once a week for about 20 weeks during the school year in a large senior high school auditorium, audiences ranging from a few hundred to two thousand people hear lecturers and speakers of national and international reputation speak on major issues. Here the lecture and panel discussion method is used.

The speaker is surrounded by a panel composed of citizens and leaders in the community. Some of the panel members may agree with the point of view of the speaker, but there are always others who most certainly will disagree with the conclusions of the speaker.
Following the 40- or 50-minute address, in which the speaker puts forward his thesis, the members of the panel are given about 45 minutes in which to ply him with questions and state their own views on the subject. Twenty minutes are allotted to audience participation in the form of questions.

The city-wide forum brings personalities to the forum platform who can remain in the city for only 1 day. It offers a demonstration of the discussion method involving trained minds in the midst of spirited debate. The kind of tolerance required for beneficial discussion of controversial questions, the techniques used by trained speakers in getting to the heart of a subject, defining their terms, and discovering the points of agreement and disagreement, help to develop more intelligent discussion among the citizens in general.

Heart of Forum Program

Many people are familiar only with the lecture forum in which large congregations of people hear the speaker expound his views and then offer questions and discussion from the floor. This is a very limited use of the forum method of adult education and entirely inadequate as a means for diffusing understanding of public affairs.

The heart of the Des Moines program lies in the intimate neighborhood forums. The large city-wide forums, relatively few in number but of genuine value, are really of less importance in the building of an informed public opinion and in the development of independent thinking and capacity for critical analysis. The object is to enable people to discover for themselves the realities behind the social, economic, and political questions which demand solution. It is important, therefore, that the major emphasis should be on a technique of community discussion which will permit the maximum of sharing of ideas and testing of views and opinions. The small neighborhood forum is basic to this purpose.

Meetings: When and How Long?

In Des Moines most meetings have been scheduled for the evening hours between 7:45 and 9:15 p.m., except the "city-wide" forums, which open at the same time but close at 9:45 p.m. A regular schedule of luncheon forums has been held each week. These forums have proved very successful as meetings for business and professional men and women.

While there are no rigid regulations governing the way in which the time is to be used in the neighborhood and central forums, the general plan has been to divide the period approximately as follows:

15 minutes for discussion of "spot news"; that is, items of interest to the group which have developed in the current of affairs since the previous meeting.
45 minutes for the presentation of the scheduled subject by the leader. The leader sometimes uses charts or other visual aids during his lecture.

30 minutes for general discussion of the subject. This time is devoted to answering questions, and to eliciting general discussion by the audience of the issues raised in the forum leader’s lecture, or of comments made by members of the group.

Financial Basis of the Program

The Des Moines program represents a subsidized experiment in community-wide public affairs education. Most forums are financed by (1) collections, free-will offerings, and contributions; (2) admission charge and season tickets; (3) endowment. The Des Moines public forums program has been financed as a demonstration center. In 1932 the Carnegie Corporation of New York appropriated $125,000 through the American Association for Adult Education to be administered by the public schools of Des Moines on a 5-year program.

Thus it has been possible to bring the outstanding leaders of thought on public affairs to this typical midwestern city to engage in a systematic community-wide program of public forums. These forums are free and open to all citizens of the city, attended by men and women of many beliefs, religious convictions, political affiliations. The leaders who conduct all of the meetings have been paid salaries that assure the people well-trained guidance on a plane of high scholarship.

Leadership

It would be impossible to carry forward such a program in every city the size of Des Moines, let alone the hundreds of smaller cities and towns and rural communities, at this time. Trained forum leadership is lacking. In making the experiment in Des Moines, it was discovered that qualified leadership is not easy to find. Teaching in college is relatively simpler than leading forums in a program of genuine adult civic education. Special training and experience are very desirable to augment the scholarship requirements. It is a more complicated problem to lead a successful forum composed of adults with vastly different educational backgrounds. Members of forum groups are not in the usual student-professor relationship, seeking grades or diplomas. For this reason, among others, it is important that any forum program should be based upon competent leadership having both high academic standing and artfulness in stimulating group thinking. To get this leadership on a full-time basis it is necessary that high standards of professional compensation be set.
Cooperating Agencies

NEWSPAPERS, radio, libraries, and civic organizations of all kinds and many other groups have cooperated to make this community-wide program in adult civic education approximate its goals.

The first problem in building such a program is to make it known to all the people in the community. All agencies of publicity assisted in broadcasting the news of the forum program, thus building up the attendance and interest. The newspapers have cooperated to the extent of publishing editorials and news accounts of the discussion programs, and even some of the outlines used by the leaders to guide the discussion.

The libraries make special displays of books and material dealing with the subjects under consideration in the forum program. The forum leaders supply the audiences with excellent bibliographies so that interest stimulated by discussion might be followed up by a visit to the public library.

The continued interest of the public from season to season is significant testimony of the effectiveness of this city-wide cooperation. To a very marked degree, Des Moines has become citizenship-conscious. The reading of newspapers, magazines, books, and other material dealing with public affairs has been greatly stimulated. Labor unions, civic and professional organizations, and those groups which unite people of like interest and persuasion report a very definite improvement in the character of their meetings, and note the influence of the forums in stimulating widespread and alert participation in their work.

Free Speech in Action

THE community-wide public affairs forum program offers a constant opportunity to the citizens of Des Moines to make the search for truth in the American way. With such facilities at hand, the people will resent any attempt to establish an intellectual paternalism in which some governmental authority is vested with the power to choose which ideas shall be permitted a hearing. The public affairs forum is a democratic method of assuring all sides a fair hearing, and the people their fundamental right to choose for themselves.

Circulars Announcing Forum Schedules

PERIODICALLY throughout the school year, that is, about every 6 or 8 weeks, a printed schedule of the forum meetings, consisting of a 4-page folder, is taken to each home in the city. Junior high school boys are employed to distribute these schedules. A sample of one of
these circulars announcing the Des Moines forum program for the period from September 17, 1934, to November 10, 1934, is shown on pages 24-27.

Guides for Further Study

THERE is evidence enough to confirm the belief that mere attendance at well-conducted forum meetings is in itself of real social value, but those of us engaged in the forum experiment have not been unmindful of the added values which may come from consideration and discussion in small informal groups, of the subjects discussed at the forums and of the need for an increase of individual reading related to forum subjects.

To assist forum participants in organizing their thinking about the subjects discussed, and to suggest related readings, it has been the policy since January 1934 to have prepared and distributed at each meeting a mimeographed study guide containing (a) a summary of the points presented by the leader, (b) questions for further discussion, and (c) a list of readings. These study guides have proved very helpful and are apparently much appreciated by the forumgoers. Many people keep complete files of these guides and frequently use them for reference.

It has been the definite policy to keep these outlines brief in order to encourage their use. They have been limited to two mimeographed pages. Two samples of these study guides are shown on the following pages.
To the Citizens of Des Moines:

The Des Moines Public Forums are entering their third year. Thousands of people have taken advantage of the opportunity the forums provide to participate in the discussion of current social, political, and economic questions.

Any citizen may attend any forum meeting entirely without obligation. There are no fees, no assigned textbooks to be read, no tests or examinations.

The sole aim of the forums is to stimulate intelligent, democratic, and full discussion of all important aspects of our common problems. The successful practice of democracy requires that every man stand up for the right as he sees it, speak his mind, share his views with others, and listen with tolerance to the honest expression of opinion by his fellow citizens.

The Public Forums are under the control of the Board of Directors of the Des Moines Public Schools. This fact guarantees that the forums are not agencies of propaganda but of genuine education; it is definite assurance that they seek to establish no particular theories of politics, economies, or social organization; that they are dedicated to one of the major purposes of all true education in a democracy, which is to enable citizens to make more intelligent choices as they seek solutions for the never-ending succession of complex problems.

The forums are being financed by a grant of money from the Carnegie Corporation through the American Association for Adult Education.

This year’s forum program will be richer and more varied than ever before. Twenty-five outstanding leaders and lecturers from the four corners of the United States, and from Europe and Asia as well, will be with us during the forum year from September 17 to June 8.

The inside pages of this folder present the detailed schedules of forum meeting places, leaders, and subjects to be discussed during the first eight weeks’ period only. Thereafter a new printed schedule will be issued about every six weeks throughout the forum year. If you fail to receive your copy call 4-2105.

Very sincerely yours,

J. W. Studebaker,
Superintendent of Schools.

Issued by the Board of Directors of the Des Moines Public Schools
Subjects to be Discussed by William McAndrew—7:45 to 9:15 P. M.*  
General Theme: You and Your Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Roosevelt 41th &amp; Center</th>
<th>East E. 15th &amp; Walker</th>
<th>Lincoln N. W. 9th &amp; Loomis</th>
<th>North 8th &amp; College</th>
<th>Younker's Tea Room 8th &amp; Walnut 12:30-2:00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What the Founding Fathers Expected Us to Be</td>
<td>Monday Sept. 17</td>
<td>Tuesday Sept. 18</td>
<td>Wednesday Sept. 19</td>
<td>Thursday Sept. 20</td>
<td>Friday Sept. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A Look at the Most Common Criticisms of Our Schools</td>
<td>Sept. 24</td>
<td>Sept. 25</td>
<td>Sept. 26</td>
<td>Sept. 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Except at Younker's Tea Room where a luncheon meeting is held from 12:30 to 2:00 P. M.

Subjects to be Discussed by Paul Scharrenberg—7:45 to 9:15 P. M.  
General Theme: Current Problems in the American Labor Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Roosevelt 41th &amp; Center</th>
<th>East E. 15th &amp; Walker</th>
<th>Lincoln N. W. 9th &amp; Loomis</th>
<th>Harding Euclid at Cambridge</th>
<th>Wilson E. 25th &amp; University</th>
<th>City Library 1st &amp; Locust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Labor's Attitude Toward Tariffs and Immigration Restrictions</td>
<td>Oct. 29</td>
<td>Oct. 30</td>
<td>Oct. 31</td>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>Nov. 2</td>
<td>Nov. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Planning for the Future—The Program of American Labor</td>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>Nov. 7</td>
<td>Nov. 8</td>
<td>Nov. 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjects to be Discussed by Louis Anspacher—7:45 to 9:15 P. M.*  
General Theme: This Bewjdered World

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Roosevelt 41th &amp; Center</th>
<th>East E. 15th &amp; Walker</th>
<th>Lincoln N. W. 9th &amp; Loomis</th>
<th>North 8th &amp; College</th>
<th>Younker's Tea Room 8th &amp; Walnut 12:30-2:00</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Our Jazz Age—Democracy Seeking Release from Mechanization</td>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>Nov. 7</td>
<td>Nov. 8</td>
<td>Nov. 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Except at Younker's Tea Room where a luncheon meeting is held from 12:30 to 2:00 P. M.
### Subjects to be Discussed by Hubert Phillips—7:45 to 9:15 P. M.*

**General Theme:** National Problems, Social and Economic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Willard E. 38th &amp; Dear</th>
<th>Cattell E. 18th &amp; Hall</th>
<th>Monroe 38th &amp; Hitchman</th>
<th>Wallace E. 18th &amp; Cleveland</th>
<th>Hanawalt 34th So. of Grand</th>
<th>Hotel Savery 4th &amp; Loc. 12:00-11:30</th>
<th>Howe S. E. 7th &amp; Indiana</th>
<th>Phillips Lay St. at Enston</th>
<th>Roadside Settlement S. E. 11th &amp; Scott</th>
<th>Sabin 4th &amp; College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. The American Prayer: “Forgive Us Our Debts”</td>
<td>Oct. 29</td>
<td>Oct. 30</td>
<td>Oct. 31</td>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>Nov. 2</td>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>Nov. 7</td>
<td>Nov. 8</td>
<td>Nov. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Except at Hotel Savery where a luncheon meeting is held from 12:00 to 1:30 P. M.

### Subjects to be Discussed by Carroll H. Wooddy—7:45 to 9:15 P. M.*

**General Theme:** Critics and Criticisms of the New Deal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Hotel Savery 4th &amp; Loc. 12:00-11:30</th>
<th>Greenwood 38th So. of Grand</th>
<th>Hubbell 42nd &amp; Center</th>
<th>Crocker 6th &amp; School</th>
<th>Bird 31st &amp; Woodland</th>
<th>Harding Ecuclid at Cambridge</th>
<th>Brooks E. 1st &amp; Des Moines</th>
<th>Elmwood 1st &amp; University</th>
<th>Rice Beaver at Adams</th>
<th>Lincoln S. W. 9th &amp; Loomis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Is the New Deal Destroying Business Initiative?</td>
<td>Oct. 29</td>
<td>Oct. 30</td>
<td>Oct. 31</td>
<td>Nov. 1</td>
<td>Nov. 2</td>
<td>Nov. 5</td>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>Nov. 7</td>
<td>Nov. 8</td>
<td>Nov. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Except at Hotel Savery where a luncheon meeting is held from 12:00 to 1:30 P. M.
City-Wide Forums—Monday Evenings, 7:45 to 9:45 P. M.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Who the Lecturer Is</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 12</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Socialist Fundamentals</td>
<td>Fred Henderson</td>
<td>British Socialist, economist and author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 19</td>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>Why I Oppose the New Deal</td>
<td>L. J. Dickinson</td>
<td>United States Senator from Iowa (Rep.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 26</td>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>Why I Support the New Deal</td>
<td>Louis Murphy</td>
<td>United States Senator from Iowa (Dem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 8</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Fasism in the United States Seems Inevitable</td>
<td>Lawrence Dennis</td>
<td>Author and lecturer, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 10</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>Fundamentals of Capitalism</td>
<td>F. S. Diebler</td>
<td>Professor of Economics, Northwestern Univ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 17</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy—A Contrast</td>
<td>Bruno Roselli</td>
<td>Italian author and vigorous exponent of fascism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 28</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>The Negro and the New Deal</td>
<td>Mordecai Johnson</td>
<td>President of Howard University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 4</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>Is the Family Declining?</td>
<td>W. F. Ogburn</td>
<td>Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 11</td>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>What is Civilization Doing to Us?</td>
<td>Albert E. Wiggam</td>
<td>Popular author and lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 18</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>My Thirteen Years in Soviet Russia</td>
<td>Anna Louise Strong</td>
<td>Associate editor “Moscow Daily News”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 25</td>
<td>Roosevelt</td>
<td>Fascism in the United States Is Not Inevitable</td>
<td>Lewis Browne</td>
<td>Well-known author and lecturer, New York</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the Leaders and Subjects

Mr. Carroll H. Wooldy returns for a third year to guide our discussions of governmental problems. Under the general theme, “Critics and Critics of the New Deal,” an attempt will be made to present a fair and impartial appraisal of the activities of the government and to examine the more important criticisms leveled against it.

Mr. Hubert Phillips comes to us on leave of absence from the State Teachers College of Fresno, California, where he is Professor of Social Science. Mr. Phillips is an Ohioan by birth with degrees from Chattanooga and Columbia Universities. His general theme will be “National Problems, Social and Political.” He comes to Des Moines with a background of Y. M. C. A. work, college teaching, and seven years’ experience as a leader of adult discussion groups in California.

Mr. William McAndrew has a long list of items after his name in “Who’s Who.” He is probably best known, however, as the superintendent of schools who taught history to Chicago’s William Hale Thompson, and made history by his staunch stand for honesty and efficiency in public school administration in that gussy city. His general theme will be, “You and Your Schools.”

Mr. Paul Scharrowberg, Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor, has for many years been an influential figure in organized labor and in national and international conferences dealing with broad social problems. He will discuss “Current Problems in the American Labor Movement.”

Mr. Louis Anspacher, distinguished dramatist, philosopher, and orator, comes to us from New York City, where he is a member of the lecture staff of the League for Political Education, and of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. The author of many dramatic successes, Mr. Anspacher will speak in Des Moines on the theme, “This Bewildered World.”

Other leaders to come to the forums later in the year are Peter Odgeard of Ohio University, Hubert Herring of New York City, Leon Whipple of New York University, Chih Meng of China, Alden G. Alley of Dana College, New Jersey, Walter, Kotschnig of Austria, Pierre de Lanux of France, and Frank O’Darvall of England.
Des Moines Public Forums

Lecture II—How Will the Foreign Trade Policy of the Administration Affect Our Prosperity?

Leader: Dr. Carroll H. Woody.

Three lectures: November 13 to December 21, 1934.

General theme: Critics and Criticisms of the New Deal (second series).

A. Summary of Points Made.

1. Foreign trade facts.—Current foreign-trade policies must be viewed in the light of the changed position of the United States in relation to world trade.

   (1) World trade (total imports) decreased from $35,606,000,000 in 1929 to $11,937,000,000 in 1933, whereas at the normal rate of increase it should have been $50,000,000,000 in the latter year.

   (2) The share of the United States in total world trade decreased from nearly 14 percent in 1929 to about 10 percent in 1933. This is the greatest decline of all of the leading commercial nations.

   (3) Total United States exports and imports decreased as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Imports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>$5,241,000,000</td>
<td>$4,399,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,675,000,000</td>
<td>1,449,000,000</td>
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</table>

   (4) The importance of foreign trade to American production and employment is shown by the following facts:

   (a) From 1925 to 1929 export trade provided an outlet for 10 percent of the movable goods produced in this country. In 1931 it had dropped to 7.4 percent, in 1933 to 6 percent.

   (b) For many producing groups, both agricultural and industrial, the proportions exported are much greater than 10 percent: e. g., lard, 33 percent (1929); linseed, 43 percent; turpentine, 50 percent; borax, 47 percent; crude sulphur, 35 percent; refined copper, 36 percent; machinery, 18 percent to 33 percent; kerosene, 35 percent, etc. For these industries loss of foreign markets is a major calamity.

   (c) In past years, “the market for the product of some 50 million acres of crop land has been furnished by foreign purchasing power” (Secretary of Agriculture Wallace).

   (d) “7,000,000 American workers are engaged in industries dependent upon exports” (Mr. Farrell, United States Chamber of Commerce); “2½ million families are dependent upon foreign trade” (Herbert Hoover); “a drop of 2 billion in our exportable commodities means unemployment of 3,000,000 men” (Secretary of Commerce Lamont, 1930).

   (e) Production of movable goods in United States (value) decreased 50 percent, 1929–33, exports 68 percent, imports 67 percent.

   (5) Before the war, the United States was a debtor (net) to the extent of $3,000,000,000. In 1931 she was a creditor (net) to the extent of $21,000,000,000. This change reduced tremendously the ability of foreign nations to pay us for our exports.

   (6) Since the war every commercial nation has erected barriers against foreign imports (e. g., United States tariff acts of 1922 and 1930). Recently foreign nations have attempted to reduce the effects of these barriers by negotiating specific agreements providing for exchanges of goods. Over 100 such treaties have been negotiated. Prior to 1934 the President had no authority to negotiate such agreements.
2. Measures of the Roosevelt Administration affecting foreign trade.—These include:
(a) Raising industrial costs, as by N. R. A.; (b) raising the barriers against imports by devaluing the dollar; (c) making credit available to exporters and importers through the two export-import banks; (d) passage of the Trade Agreements Act of June 12, 1934, authorizing the President to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements, this authority expiring at the end of 3 years; (e) conclusion of an agreement with Cuba, initiation of negotiations with a dozen other countries.

3. Arguments for and against the tariff-bargaining policy.—

AGAINST TARIFF BARGAINS

(1) All of the arguments commonly used against tariff reduction apply to tariff bargaining (e. g., tariffs provide home market, protect high wages and employment against unfair foreign competition and dumping, maintain industries needed for national defense, etc.).

(2) It is very dangerous to take tariff making out of the hands of Congress. The President should not have power to destroy industries without giving them a hearing. The old “flexible tariff” provision went far enough in this direction.

(3) Tariff bargains cannot be expected to give us more than minute increases in foreign trade. More fundamental changes, e. g., the stabilization of currencies, national and international, are necessary.

(4) We ought rather to reduce our tariffs directly, thus stimulating imports. Because of our creditor position, it is imports that we need most.

FOR TARIFF BARGAINS

(1) Even if these arguments are sound (denied by some advocates of tariff bargains), prosperity cannot be restored without regaining foreign markets. Much agricultural and industrial distress due directly to the decline in foreign trade.

(2) The “flexible tariff” simply did not make the tariff flexible. Other nations give their executives power to conclude agreements. Congressional ratification would slow down the process so much as to make it ineffective. All industries concerned will have ample opportunity to present their arguments.

(3) The principle on which the plan is based is that agreements will be made with nations lowering our tariffs on their major exports in return for like concessions. “Most favored nation” treaties will extend the advantages widely. Under the procedure followed, agreements can be changed quickly.

(4) We need to increase both imports and exports. General tariff reduction would not remove “quotas” and their barriers which prevent our exports from entering other countries.

4. Conclusion.—Certain elements of confusion can be seen in our present foreign trade policy. Unless the results of “tariff bargaining” exceed expectations, it will not regain agriculture its former markets. Our position as a creditor has not been frankly faced. As Secretary Wallace says, “We Must Choose!”, but we have not chosen yet. We are probably entering a period of major readjustment of both agriculture and industry. If this is to be done wisely, we must readjust our thinking on this issue.
References for Further Reading. Reciprocal Trade Agreements.


Lecture II—New Frontiers (Wallace) vs. The Challenge to Liberty (Hoover)

Leader: Dr. Hubert Phillips.

Three lectures: November 13 to December 21, 1934.


A. Opening Statement.

The books under consideration here reveal, in nearly every page, the fundamental philosophy of their respective authors. This philosophy, we should remind ourselves, is determined, in almost every case, by the individual’s background of family, training, and experience. In the case of the two authors in question, as is generally true, the more conservative of the two is the “poor boy” who has “arrived.” Quite naturally, such a one assumes that the rules of the game of life are fair, and that the rewards of the game go to the most deserving. If others had worked as hard as he, so he thinks, they, too, would have succeeded. Thus runs the “success” argument. But one who has been born to wealth, or to comfortable middle-class circumstances, if he is mentally alert, has no illusions regarding some of the opportunities and successes which have come to him. He knows quite well that they have not all come as the result of hard work and sacrifice. So, as he looks around him and sees how rewards, especially financial ones, are bestowed, he has some doubts about the fairness of the “rules of the game” and, if he is socially minded, he would like to see some of the rules changed. With this thought in mind let us approach the study of these two books.

B. New Frontiers.

BY HENRY WALLACE

1. Main Thought.

“... in the New World it will take more than hard work and saving to insure salvation” (p. 5). “My generation must face both ways. It is our privilege ... to look at ... the wealthy troglodytes of the preceding generation ... seeking to patch their outworn economic structure and defend it from the poverty-stricken radicals, many of whom are...

The Challenge to Liberty.

BY HERBERT HOOVER

“... throughout the world, the whole philosophy of individual liberty is a thing of the spirit—to be free to worship, to think, to hold opinions ... free to challenge wrong and oppression with surety of justice” (p. 2). “It (the American system) does not accept that the end and object of civilization or the pursuit of happiness lies in being well-fed or growing fat.”

Available at Des Moines Public Library. Circulated from reference department, special reserve shelf.

Not available at Des Moines Public Library.
just as ignorant as the troglodytes” (p. 7). “They (the unemployed) are just as good people as those who left Europe for America 300 years ago. They are looking for another new world” (p. 9).


“* * * it so happens that the larger the piles of surplus wheat in Kansas, the longer are the bread lines in New York” (p. 172). “Human beings are ruining land, and bad land is ruining human beings, especially children” (p. 242). “Frontier free-booter democracy of the purely individualistic type is definitely gone * * *” (p. 277). “People may actually work harder than they did on the old frontier, but their motives will be different. * * * their efforts will * * * be * * * moved by the spirit of cooperative achievement” (p. 275).

3. Regimination.

“We of this administration are not committed indefinitely to crop control * * * We are committed to getting the farmer, the laborer, and the industrialist such share of the national income as will put each in a balanced relationship with the other” (p. 29). “The hard, but necessary, first lesson we all must learn is that we cannot prosper separately” (p. 29). “We kept corn and cotton in farmers’ hands so that they, not speculators, could get the benefit of any increase” (p. 60). “To hear them talk, you would think that pigs are raised for pets. Nor would they realize that the slaughter of little pigs might make more tolerable the lives of a good many human beings * * *” (p. 180).

4. Is Democracy Endangered?

“* * * there has been formed what might be called * * * New England town meetings in the form of county and State production control associations * * *” (p. 200). “In the long view of history, things that are

“The manager’s restless pillow has done more to advance the practical arts than all the legislation upon the statute books * * * Ours is a system of losses, to the more intelligent” (p. 29). “* * * emergency neither necessitates nor justifies departures from fundamental liberties” (p. 154). “The abolition of competition would lead to the death of production and progress in economic life” (p. 154). “In our economic system there are certain self-acting restraints upon domination and abuse. The first of these is, of course, competition. Another is intelligent self-interest” (p. 161).

“Directly, or indirectly, on many farms these devices (AAA) create a privilege and destroy a right” (p. 87). “If the purpose of all these activities is to enable the Government to dictate which business or individual shall have credit and which shall not, we will witness a tyranny never before contemplated in history” (p. 100). “Its result is not to stimulate men to effort but to hobble their initiative and activities” (p. 124). “Free speech and free press have never lived long after free industry and commerce have been repressed” (p. 136). “We cannot extend the mastery of government over the daily life of a people without somewhere making it master of people’s souls and thoughts. That is going on today. It is part of all regimination” (p. 203).

“Then follows consolidation of authority through powerful propaganda in the pay of the state to transfer the mentality of the people” (p. 17). “If we examine the fate of wrecked republics over the world we shall find first a
happening now on the 6,000,000 farms of the country may be the beginning of a new epoch, in which democracy, embracing the economic as well as the political field, becomes for the first time a reality" (p. 267). "More and more they (members of county control associations) dropped the mean, grasping, local attitude, and stretched their thinking" (p. 284).

5. Difficulties in Designing Adequate Social Controls.

"... the great difficulty in designing social machinery at the moment is that it must be so fashioned as to operate in two worlds: Our old individualistic pioneer world (and) simultaneously it must operate in a new world where powerful economic forces have made mincemeat of many established habits and beliefs" (p. 200).

Budget for the Des Moines Forums (1934–35)

1. Full-time service of neighborhood and central forum leaders for a total of 115 weeks
   - 1 for 37 weeks: $21,125.00
   - 1 for 14 weeks: $9,000.00
   - 1 for 12 weeks: $7,700.00
   - 5 for 6 weeks each: $38,500.00
2. 12 special city-wide forum speakers: $1,577.55
3. Substitute forum leaders: $250.00
4. Stenographer-clerk: $875.00
5. Travel for administration: $800.00
6. Office supplies:
   - Postage, $150; telephone and telegraph, $150; stencils, paper, etc., $75: $375.00
7. Office and other equipment:
   - Public address installations (12): $240
   - Typewriter: $70
   - Miscellaneous: $25
8. Books and periodicals: $250.00
9. Printing and promotion:
   - 5 issues of 50M 4-page forum schedules: $1,050
   - Distribution of schedules: $175
   - Miscellaneous: $75
10. Photographs: $30.00
11. Transcripts of certain meetings: $130.00
12. Miscellaneous: $1,452.45

Total: $28,500.00
Junior Forums in Des Moines

IN SPITE of many well-known handicaps, public education, in recent years, has made marvelous progress in clarifying its purposes and vitalizing its techniques. Those who have made a profession of teaching and of public-school administration are more aware than laymen realize that schooling is too often artificial, academic, and unrelated to the realities of life. Conscious of the need of making formal education not merely a preparation for "life" but a process in which real life may be richly lived, they seek to provide in school adequate practice in the types of thinking and acting that characterize good citizens outside or beyond the school.

The individual at any level—elementary school, junior or senior high school, or college—when he finds his school days at an end should be able to look back upon them with the feeling that they helped him most naturally and confidently to make the transition from living in school to a continuation of living in a world unprotected by artificial safeguards against the realities of life.

Many of us can remember our own personal difficulties and disappointments in trying to find the bearing of many of our academic experiences on the problems of successful and happy living. Probably today there are too many high-school students who can tell the names of the early explorers but who would be tongue-tied in discussing any of the attempts that are now being made to get out of the depression.

This illustration, possibly extreme, suggests how poignant is the need for school experiences that will furnish vital and consistent practice in thinking and talking about the real problems of this day, along with a program of social studies that will not neglect the necessary backgrounds of historical settings. School life must stimulate students to look forward as well as backward; it must provide an intensified and skillfully guided series of experiences with contemporary life; it must incite lasting interests in the solution of social and governmental problems.

The policies under which the Des Moines high schools are trying to provide, as a part of the regular classroom work in social studies, continuous practice in living with and talking about current public affairs are discussed under "Making Classroom Study of Current Issues a Reality", on page 35. Here is presented a brief account of an experiment now being conducted in the Abraham Lincoln High School, of Des Moines, to test the value and practicability of a more formal organization of junior forums for students in the last 2 years of high school.

The students in these 2 years are divided into five discussion groups. All students assigned to social-studies classes in any period are com-
bined in a group which meets once each week during that period. The groups range in number from 70 to 100.

The principal of the school, Mr. N. H. Weeks, a student of social questions, has been given additional administrative assistance so that he may personally guide these high-school discussion groups, thus insuring for this junior forum experiment the kind of leadership required.

The regular teachers of the classes meet with these classes in the forum, an arrangement which makes possible an essential coordination of class and forum experience and practice in free discussion, an art, the development of which has long been needed in our schools.

By agreement with the students the subjects to be discussed are selected. During the first 10 weeks of the fall semester of 1934 the following subjects were chosen and discussed:

1. Why High-School Forums?
2. Condition of American Agriculture.
3. Remedies for Agricultural Conditions.
5. Remedies for Our Industrial Problems.
6. The New Deal and the Constitution.
7. Political Parties.
10. Labor Problems.

The procedures for junior forums, as tentatively worked out, are similar to those employed in the regular adult forums. It is clear that at no level in the educational process for young people should we impose needless formality or the use of machinery needed only by adults. Our sole purpose in the development of junior forums is to liberate more truly the thinking of young students and to develop as many techniques of this kind as are genuinely useful in elucidating and democratizing the students' outlook upon society.

In the Des Moines Junior Forums in a period of 65 minutes the leader usually takes the first 20 or 25 minutes to present or "open up" the subject for discussion. Frequently a "panel" is used to start the discussion or to be chiefly responsible for it.

The subject for discussion on October 9, 1934, was "Remedies for Our Industrial Problems." The night before the adults in the Lincoln High School district had discussed with Paul Scharrenberg the subject "What Labor Wants."

The committee on records of the junior forum sent in a report on their discussion of October 9, 1934. A part of this report follows:
After the constructive speech was given, the panel opened the discussion. A very interesting and lively discussion was held in which views pro and con, as well as those of an inquiring nature, were expressed. Some of the questions discussed are as follows:

1. With prices rising, is $14 a week a living wage?
2. What happens to the small business man now?
3. Are we suffering from overproduction or underconsumption?
4. Won't they have to lessen hours to employ more men?
5. Won't small business sell out to large industries?
6. Do you think the recent strikes would have been averted if labor didn't have the privilege of collective bargaining?

Because of limited time the discussion drew to a close with many having questions still undisclosed. However, one of the most interesting class periods was spent in the forum, and as well as providing a means of hearing the views of the rest, this is a unique way to produce a thoughtful discussion on current problems that would never have entered the minds of the students other than in a vague incomprehensible manner.

Making Current Issues Reality

For many years the regular classroom work in the Des Moines schools has emphasized current social problems. But the provision for this emphasis was more definitely planned in the revised course of study for the social studies for grades 10, 11, and 12, issued in the summer of 1933. Briefly stated, the policies and plans for the guidance of teachers in directing discussion of important current issues as suggested in the course are:

a. The general purpose.—Young men and women in social science classes must be made to realize that they are not studying textbooks to find solved problems, but only as part of a general plan of orientation with respect to the problems of the day. Such an aim requires an awareness of the important developments of our own times and a study of the possibilities of the various controls proposed for them. With the feeling that the primary responsibility for training in using and interpreting current materials rests upon the social science teachers, this statement of minimum plans and expectations is issued.

b. The direct objectives to be sought in using current materials in social science classes are:

1. To develop a live and continuing interest in current problems and developments.
2. To build a knowledge of and an acquaintance with periodicals available for investigating current social, economic, and political problems.
3. To help the pupil to compare and evaluate the various viewpoints and sets of facts which he may encounter, and to build a healthy skepticism toward conclusions arrived at when only one side of a question has been investigated.
4. To encourage tolerance and a willingness to consider other viewpoints than the one to which a pupil has been accustomed by his environment.
5. To vitalize and apply in current situations the text material used as a part of the course of study.

6. To develop international understanding and a consciousness of world interdependence by attention to the significant developments in the news of the world.

In grades 10 to 12 approximately one-fifth of the time in all social studies classes is set each week as a minimum for discussion of current problems aside from those problems which have a direct connection with the subject matter of the regular course.

c. Method.—The number of topics or issues discussed in a given period should be few. The choice and the method of selection of topics or problems of major importance may be made the most valuable part of the discussion. It is not the number of topics the pupils know about, but the significance of the issues, the depth of interest, the accuracy of knowledge gained, and the attitudes being formed toward seeking the solution of problems in a rapidly changing social order that are important. The old-time custom of scrambling for “a current event for today” is worse than useless.

It is probably unnecessary to urge that pupil discussion and the open-forum method of presenting varying viewpoints should be encouraged and planned for.

Every teacher will recognize the necessity for presenting fairly all sides of marked controversial issues, and for avoiding the criticism of encouraging propaganda. A proper balance is admittedly difficult and must depend upon the good judgment and wisdom of the teacher.

Current Materials in Classrooms

IN ADDITION to regular texts and reference books, the daily newspapers, and miscellaneous contributions of pupils and teachers, a committee of teachers selected the following publications to be placed in each grade 12 classroom. (The list is revised from time to time.)

* * *

American Observer—5 copies.
Current History—1 copy.
The Forum—1 copy.
Literary Digest—2 copies.
Time—1 copy.
Review of Reviews—1 copy.
Uncle Sam’s Diary and Teachers Bulletin—1 copy.
United States News—1 copy.
Business Week—1 copy (economics classes only).
Topics Discussed from October 1 to 12, 1934

A COMPIILATION of Des Moines high-school social science teachers’ reports for the 2-week period from October 1 to 12, 1934, is shown in the table below. The reports dealt with the class time set aside for primary consideration of events of current significance regardless of their application to the regular course being pursued, whether the course was ancient history, modern European history, United States history, civil government, economics, or a general course in social studies. The reports represent significant class discussions or pupil reports rather than the mere mention of the topic in class.

In submitting a report on this problem Mr. J. E. Stonecipher, supervisor of social studies in the Des Moines schools, presents the following conclusions.

Conclusions

1. DES MOINES high-school pupils are becoming acquainted with a wide variety of sources for keeping informed about current affairs.
2. Live topics, including many of controversial nature, are commonly introduced into classroom discussions.
3. Teachers are recognizing the prevalence of bias and prejudice in the discussions.
4. Pupils are practicing the forum procedure. The forums give a hearing to conflicting ideas and provide opportunity for open challenge and discussion.
5. Pupils are learning to use better many facilities for forming opinions that they will use anyway.

Topics of current interest discussed in classes, Oct. 1 to Oct. 12, 1934

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of topics</th>
<th>Number of class sections, by grades</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Labor strikEs and controversies (including Homestead, textile strike, American Federation convention, local strikes)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. N. R. A. developments</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic and political situations in Continental Europe</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Our international relations and their significance to us (including economic nationalism)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Assassination of King Alexander and Minister Barthou</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The New Deal (paying the costs, personal liberty, Government spending)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Munitions investigation by the Senate committee</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Crime and the criminal (kidnaping cases and other crime trends)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Proposed plebiscite in the Saar Valley</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Money inflation</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37
6. There is evidence that few teachers are requiring "one current event a week" as a pretense that they are stimulating a study of current problems.

7. Many teachers are centering upon a very few developments in a given discussion period and are seeking for broader and deeper understandings rather than a scattering of superficial repetition of news clippings in the name of "current events."

8. The reports of many teachers show that, in their opinions, the interest in current problems, the ability and willingness to discuss them, and the ability to utilize sources of current facts has improved markedly during the past 3 years. This may be attributed to the pressure of the times, to the provision of more accessible sources of information (periodicals in the classroom library), to the influence of the adult forums, and perhaps to other influences. The improvement seems to be marked.

9. A general conclusion seems warranted. High-school pupils in regular classes can and will engage in and profit from discussion of current social, political, and economic developments if given the opportunity to do so. The remarkably wide range of sources of information used by pupils and of the subjects regularly being discussed,
including so many of those in the minds of adults as they search for sound opinions and judgments regarding contemporary problems, furnishes a telling answer to those critics of public schools who charge that schools deal only with dead, "safe" issues. Can any majority of pupils sit through 38 weeks of a school year, comparable with these 2 weeks, without being challenged to recognize a variety of viewpoints related to vital current issues and developments in the living world of today?
Chapter III - The General Forum Movement

**Types of forums—Some successful forums**

As people have turned their attention toward social-economic problems during the depression, public affairs forums have been stimulated to new growth. Although no complete list of public forums is available, it is estimated that approximately 500 forums and discussion groups dealing with public affairs are operated under various auspices throughout the country.

**Types of Forums**

The following types of sponsorship and management are largely responsible for the public affairs forums now operative:

1. **Individual leadership.**—Where the forum is the professional expression of a forum leader, who takes responsibility for the financial and organizational development of the venture. Such a forum entrepreneur usually surrounds himself with sponsors and advisers to assist him in gaining public support and attendance. In some cases, the leader compensates himself by the difference between his expenses and the total income from admissions. Generally speaking, however, the leader receives a salary as the executive officer of a nonprofit enterprise.

2. **Religious sponsorship.**—Where the forum is promoted as a part of the program of a church, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., or social settlement house. There is a tendency on the part of large churches to offer a Sunday evening forum in place of a regular religious service. In many cases, the community Y. M. C. A. or Y. W. C. A. alone or in conjunction with churches and other organizations promotes a community forum program as part of its social service function.

3. **University or school administrations.**—Where an institution of higher learning or evening school or public-school system offers a forum program as a feature of its own educational schedule. In a college or university such forums are usually directed by a professor of sociology or some other qualified person on the staff of the institution. In a public-school system the superintendent of schools is in charge. Such forums are free to the public in most cases. Some university extension divisions offer a forum approach to current affairs for which interested people register and pay the regular class fee, take examinations, and receive credit.
4. Citizens committees.—Where the forum is guided by a committee of citizens selected by some interested individual because of the leadership of these citizens in the community, or as representatives of various groups in the community interested in public affairs. Such a forum may be run in cooperation with a church, school, or university, or it may hold forth in a hall of its own. The committee method of sponsorship and management results many times in actually placing the main burden of programing, publicity, finance, etc., on the shoulders of one or two people.

5. Civic or educational organizations.—Where forums are promoted as a part of an organizational program either as a method of “public education” in its own sphere of interest or public affairs discussion generally. Some bar associations have promoted open forums on problems of law enforcement and related subjects; educational organizations have used the forum as a method of inviting public attention to the problems of education, etc.

6. Libraries.—Where the forum or discussion group is fostered as a part of the community program of the public library. These meetings are usually free to the public, and cover a wide variety of subjects in addition to public affairs. Sometimes, the library offers its facilities to a forum actually managed by some public-spirited individual, some university, club, or civic organization.

7. Political and propaganda organizations.—Where the forum is promoted as a means of acquainting the community with the program and point of view of the sponsoring organization. These forums, while serving a function, are not, strictly speaking, “open forums”, because they are managed with the purpose of persuasion rather than impartial inquiry. In some cases speakers who differ from the views held by the sponsoring organization are invited, but often they are used as targets. These forums are financed largely by collections of small admission charges.

In addition to the several types of forum projects now existent, there are a number of sectional organizations concerned with extending the forum movement and raising the standards of adult civic education. Among these may be mentioned: The Chicago Forum Council, the Florida Forum Institute, and the Texas Forum Circuit.

The Open Forum National Council was launched more than a decade ago by George W. Coleman, the leader of the famous Ford Hall Forum in Boston. This national association has been effective in stimulating the initiation and growth of many successful forums. It was active in helping forums to obtain speakers, develop ways and means of increasing attendance, and in training leaders for forum management. For 5 years this council conducted courses at the Summer Chautauqua Institution in New York on forum management.

1 Lurie, Reuben L. The Challenge of the Forum, pp. 141-143.
and organization. It has a membership of many forums in about 30 States.

Some Successful Forums

*Ford Hall Forum:* 1242 Little Building, Boston, Mass., David K. Niles, director. This forum was started in 1904 under the leadership of George W. Coleman as an integral part of the social service program of the Boston Baptist Social Union. It was financed for a number of years from a foundation grant provided by the will of Daniel Sharp Ford, owner of "The Youth's Companion". Not until its third season did this forum enjoy marked success, but since that time it has provided public affairs forums for more than 30,000 people annually. In 1928 it was incorporated as an independent organization with a board of directors including outstanding citizens of Boston. After the withdrawal of foundation funds, it financed its program entirely by collections taken at the door before each meeting. Discussion groups are promoted in addition to the large forum meetings to facilitate a more intimate counseling together of those particularly interested in the subjects considered during the season. An inner group of forum enthusiasts has been responsible for the remarkable and long-continued success of this forum venture.2

*Associated Forums:* 214 Loma Drive, Los Angeles, Calif., F. W. Roman, director. This organization is a federation of seven separate forums in Los Angeles and nearby towns, started at various times during the past decade by Mr. Roman and his coworkers. Each forum specializes in some aspect of public interest, some dealing with art and literature, others concentrating on political and social affairs. The meetings are financed by subscription fees of $10 per season, and admission fees of 50 cents per session.

*San Francisco Evening School Forum:* San Francisco Public Schools, Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, Calif. A series of forum lectures on public questions with an hour of discussion from the floor at each meeting is arranged by the evening school authorities. The meetings are held in high-school auditoriums in different sections of the city once a week and are free to the public. The subjects discussed are varied, but emphasis is placed on local issues and informative talks on city government. Local speakers are used in the main.

*Chicago Forum:* 224 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., Fred Atkins Moore, director. This forum enterprise is managed and sponsored by an incorporated council consisting of representatives of the major racial, religious, and economic groups in the city. It attempts to work through other organizations as well as to present its own weekly forum program during the season. The Forum Council lists among its objectives:

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1 Ibid., devoted to story of Ford Hall.
a. Organizing, conducting, assisting in arranging meetings for the discussion of vital public questions (300 served 1930).

b. Publication of a cooperative adult education journal.

c. Organizing and arranging such projects as the Chicago Adult Education Conference and the Chicago Government Planning Commission.

d. Cooperation with public-school community centers in organizing neighborhood institutes, community forums, and other adult education programs.

The Philadelphia Forum: 1320 Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pa., William K. Huff, executive director. Reaching some 80,000 people during the season this adult education venture promotes a widely diverse program including public affairs lectures and discussions and sponsors plays, dramatic recitals, and musical events. It is financed by membership fees ranging from $10 to $40 per season. It publishes "The Philadelphia Forum Magazine."

New York Town Hall: 119–125 West Forty-third Street, New York City, Robert Erskine Ely, director. Founded in 1894 by a group of women, prominent in the suffrage movement, who believed that people should earn the right to vote through continued education, the Town Hall has carried forward a highly varied program including both cultural and civic educational activities. It manages a series of public meetings which are conducted daily from October to June each year. It is supported by a large membership whose fees are considered as tuition. Full membership entitles a person to attend more than 100 lectures by eminent authorities. A weekly magazine called "The Town Crier" is published which enjoys a national circulation.

This year the important Town Hall forums are broadcast each week over a radio network. The League for Political Education, the parent organization of Town Hall, has become well known on the air for its informal symposiums on current affairs.

The influence of the New York Town Hall has not been limited to its membership or to New York City. Rather, Town Hall has been an inspiration for many other forum enterprises in the Nation.

Washington Town Hall: National Press Building, Room 909, Washington, D. C., Mrs. Richard U. Oulahan, director. With a schedule of 20 public meetings per year, featuring outstanding speakers and leaders of international importance, Washington Town Hall opened its second season in the Nation's Capital on November 24, 1935. During its first season some 20,000 people attended the meetings, which are held at the Shoreham Hotel each Sunday evening during the winter. The lecture-panel, debate-panel, and symposium-panel techniques are used in presenting the subjects for discussion. Na-
tional leaders in all walks of life make their headquarters in Washington, so that the panels are composed of outstanding individually trained in the art of public discussion.

The forum is financed by a membership fee of $15 per season, $8.50 per half season, and by individual admissions of $1 per meeting.

Montclair Social-Economics Forum: 72 High Street, Montclair, N. J., Mr. Linn Bradley, chairman. This is "a community forum based on discussion groups for the purpose of developing broader understanding of vital social-economic issues." It presents a program of six monthly lecture forums and scores of small discussion groups on current problems and special interest topics. These discussion groups are led by local people, and volunteers from the schools and universities. The meetings are free to the public, expenses being met by donations from public-spirited citizens. Between 3,000 and 5,000 attend the large forums, while the smaller groups vary from
season to season according to the number of groups scheduled and the interest manifested in the topics.

The forums briefly described here are by no means the only successful forums in the country. Others like the Florida Forum led by Robert Shailer Holmes, the Dallas Open Forum, the Baltimore Open Forum, the Bridgeport Sunday Evening Community Forum, and a number of others have made important contributions to the adult civic education movement.

On the basis of the limited data available, it may be concluded that the forum movement faces the following problems:

1. How to establish facilities under trained leadership in those sections of the country almost entirely without means for public discussion.

2. How to attract the interest and participation of the mass of adults which makes up the voting population.

3. How to coordinate the various agencies for civic improvement to work for a community-wide understanding of public affairs and the adult forum as a means to that end.

4. How to reduce the cost of adult civic education and yet maintain high standards of public discussion and leadership, thus to enable the masses of people with inadequate incomes to attend the forums.

5. How to obtain really trained forum leadership to guide adults in the process of developing capacity for critical thinking and careful analysis.

6. How to make the public affairs forum responsive to the desires, interests, and needs of the people of the community being served. How to involve the audiences in the planning process, particularly as to subject and speaker selection.

The United States Office of Education will be instrumental in helping the forum movement leaders to attack these problems this year through conferences and research.

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A general survey of existing forums is being prepared and organized in the Office of Education. Data will be published in pamphlet form.
Chapter IV - Techniques for Forum Management

Forum "terms"—Principles of good management—Impartiality—Use of lecture-panel method—Important technical details—Handling the question period—Speeches from the audience—"Cranks" and "time-wasters"—Surveying public opinion—How to stimulate study and reading—Promoting adult civic education—Motion-picture forums—Conclusion

Strictly speaking, the word "forum" is defined as "a meeting place", and refers to the civic centers in ancient Roman cities where assemblies were held to discuss public affairs. The word is used now rather loosely to describe the meeting itself and to label a certain technique for attacking public problems. In its most limited sense, a forum is any meeting of individuals gathered to hear the presentation of any object in which opportunity is given for questions and discussion from the floor. Because the word "forum" is used to cover such a variety of procedures in organizing public discussion, it is well that we devote some space here to a few definitions of terms and some basic principles.

Forum "Terms"

Lecture-question method.—A person assumed to be an expert delivers an address followed by a period of questions and discussion from members of the audience.

Forum dialogue.—Two persons, both experts or one an expert and one acting as chairman and inquisitor, carry on a dialogue or conversation on the subject stated, followed by questions and discussion by the audience.

Symposium.—Three or more persons assumed to be qualified representatives of different positions on a given subject deliver brief addresses, each stating his own views, followed by audience participation.

Informal discussion.—A small group of people constituting the audience discusses a given subject under the chairmanship of a leader who may or may not be qualified to supply facts.

Panel forum.—Three or more persons assumed to be able representatives of different views on a given subject engage in a conversa-
tion discussion before an audience in an attempt to clarify the issues and the points of difference.

*Lecture-panel forum.*—A speaker presents an address following which a panel of three or more persons representing different points of view discusses the main points in the address among themselves and with the speaker, pointing up the issues with questions, usually followed by a question period for the audience.

*Debate-panel forum.*—An adaptation of the lecture-panel forum in which two debaters take the place of a lecturer. Each debater is usually allowed about 25 minutes.

These different techniques may be used in various combinations, depending on the subject and the audience. In most of these types of forums, especially those using panels, it is a great advantage to provide a public address system and a microphone for each member of the panel. Such equipment should be carefully installed and should be operated by a dependable electrical engineer during the meetings.

**Principles of Good Management**

*Objective.*—A forum which is really educational in result and method sets as its main objective the provision of a practical means for the audience to get a clear understanding of the subject chosen for discussion. The subject may be “The Einstein Theory of Relativity” and the audience may be composed of graduate students of physics. Yet the forum method in one of its various forms may be used as the best possible means of providing a better understanding of that subject. Or the issue might be “Shall We Increase the Income Tax” and the audience might be any neighborhood gathering of citizens. Still, the objective of the forum is primarily to facilitate an understanding of the main points of contention as a basis for a better grasp of the problem of taxation. To put it negatively, it is not a proper objective of an educational forum to seek the support of the audience for the views or convictions of the sponsors.

*Method.*—If the objective of a good forum is audience understanding, then it is of next importance that the method of presentation fit both the subject and the audience. Obviously it would be bad forum management to use the informal discussion method with an average community audience to discuss the question, “Is the Soviet Five-Year Plan a Success?” It may be assumed that no one in such an audience had observed it directly; so that the chances of increasing an understanding of that subject by that method would be remote. Probably the forum dialog presenting two experts qualified by observation and study but differing fundamentally would be the best method for producing an understanding of such a subject. If, how-

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ever, all the members of the audience had just returned from a trip to Soviet Russia, the informal discussion method would be highly successful. If the quest of the public forum for understanding is thoroughly appreciated by the forum's management, care will be taken to see that every subject is given a proper vehicle for successful discussion.

Chairman.—Many of the successful large public forums owe much to the fact that the meetings are well conducted by an able chairman. It is important that a skilled person occupy the chair in any such public discussion, and preferably that the same person carry through a season's program with an audience. Many times the chairman may find it necessary to shift a lecture-question forum into a dialog forum for a brief period in order to clarify the speaker's address so that intelligent discussion can ensue. The chairman learns to gauge his audience, to estimate its intellectual receptivity, to catch its temper, and to recognize the "cranks" and "time-wasters." When a forum is lagging, a good chairman quite often picks it up with a well-placed remark or a question. And the audience feels more at ease if it is acquainted with the chairman. A good chairman can bridge the gap always present between an audience and a new speaker and thus enable the speaker to start off his remarks with the sense of audience response.

However, it is important that a chairman assume these duties with the very minimum of participation in the meeting. He should not impose his views, infringe upon the time of the speakers, or attempt to censor or curtail discussion. If the meetings are well planned, the chairman can be, and should be, inconspicuous and brief. Long introductions are both tedious and out of date.

Impartiality.—If the public forum is to serve a truly educational function in American democracy it must preserve a thoroughly impartial platform. The community audience must have confidence in the forum management and sponsorship, and, if possible, be represented in the planning of forum meetings to the end that partisanship be strictly avoided.

A Republican, Democratic, or Socialist Party committee sometimes operates a public forum for the promotion of its views, giving opportunity for questions so that partisan speakers may be better understood. But this kind of forum is not to be confused with a public forum with a truly adult civic education program in which the forum platform is kept free from partisan control, and every view is given a fair hearing. The distinction to be made here regards the purposes of the forum management.

It is a basic principle of the educational public forum that its sponsors and managers should not use the forum to win adherents to their views. This principle applies to public education generally.
One driving purpose should inspire the management or sponsorship of the forum, in a word, the fostering of free and open inquiry into problems of public concern. It should be a rule of forum management never to present one side of a controversial question without providing an equal opportunity for the other side or sides to be heard, if possible at the same meeting.

Impartiality

1. Pressure groups.—Some highly opinionated groups in the community feel it their duty to prevent the expression of views contrary to their own. In numerous ways they bring pressure to bear to keep certain speakers off programs. They even attempt to prevent discussion of certain social and economic questions in institutions of higher education. Any forum management faces the problem of protecting the freedom of inquiry, which is basic to the open forum, from the attacks of such pressure groups. This problem may be met in some of the following ways:

(a) The forum program should be so well balanced and so free from partisan emphasis that no logical case can be made against it on the grounds of fostering propaganda for any group.

(b) Ample education should be promoted in the community through the press, radio, and civic organizations on the nature of the public forum and the importance of academic freedom to its successful operation. The people of the community should learn to welcome the presentation of opinions which may be contrary to the majority views. It ought to be an important function of the forum to spread the kind of tolerance which is essential to public discussion of controversial questions. The forum should promote intellectual individualism and independence among the people. This independence of mind makes people resent a paternalistic pressure group bent on protecting the public mind from what such a group considers dangerous doctrine.

(c) When accusations are made against the forum, it is valuable, if practicable, to invite the accusers to use the impartial platform to express their criticism and discuss the issue in the open.

2. Making the program.—The problem of impartiality must be faced most directly in the process of making a season's program of subjects, lectures, and discussion topics. It is very easy to "load" a forum program with attractive speakers of some particular persuasion and thus violate the audience's confidence in the impartiality of the forum platform. Therefore, in the planning of a forum program, following suggestions are helpful:

(a) If possible take the audience into the planning process. This is sometimes done by organizing an inner group consisting of the more enthusiastic forum members. When the community group or
neighborhood forum is well established so that people know each other, it has sometimes proved practical to ask the group to select a committee to present the recommendations to the forum management.

(b) The starting point in program building should be the listing of general subjects of public interest and current importance. A community-wide forum which has the support of the local press can get an expression of public preference on a tentative list of subjects by publishing them and inviting people to check those they want to hear discussed. Or the desires of the potential forum attendants can be directly ascertained by mail.

(c) When the issues to be discussed have been carefully considered and listed, then the question of what forum technique will best facilitate good discussion becomes paramount. If the lecture-question method is the only one ordinarily used, as is the case with most of the large weekly forums, it is important that only such subjects be chosen as can be well presented by this method. The principle of impartiality is not properly served in program planning by simply scheduling speakers of widely differing views or philosophies. A controversial subject should be discussed by speakers who differ fundamentally.

For example, if the general subject "The New Deal" is selected for discussion by the lecture-question method, it is not sufficient that one speaker who is for or against it be presented. To assure impartiality, this subject should be discussed by at least two speakers—one an avowed supporter of New Deal policies, the other known to oppose the New Deal. In this case, there are two major positions against the New Deal, a conservative and a radical opposition. To assure well-rounded presentation of this subject both of these positions should be heard in the presence of those who support the New Deal.

The forum which conducts a diversified program, with audiences of different sizes, finds it easier to arrange for impartial presentation of various subjects by using several different forum techniques. In any case, the lecture-panel method can be used by most forums, and it provides for an immediate expression of differing opinions on the platform. The forum debate or symposium is frequently used to assure an impartial discussion of a controversial subject.

Use of Lecture-Panel Method

THE straight panel-discussion method was introduced by Prof. Harry Overstreet. Without set speeches a small group of qualified persons discuss a given subject among themselves before an audience as if the audience were not present. It is a sort of informal discussion group composed of students of the subject performing before an audience. The lecture-panel method combines the Overstreet panel idea with the lecture-question forum technique.
A speaker with special qualifications of study and experience is given from 30 to 50 minutes to develop his subject in the form of a prepared address. Surrounding the speaker is a panel composed of from 3 to 6 persons, preferably those who are familiar with that subject but holding different views on it. Some of the members of the panel will be in agreement with the speaker, while others are chosen because of their disagreement or even militant opposition to his views. Following the address, the members of the panel question the speaker and each other, state their own views, add factual data, attack the logic of the speaker or his supporting evidence. An hour may be devoted to the panel. The panel members surround the speaker on the platform, seated at tables in a V-shaped position or semicircle. (See above.) Depending on the people serving on the panel, the subject, and the speaker, the time may be used to understand the speaker on some major points, or to pursue the essence of the subject, merely using the address as a starting point.

When the panel period has elapsed, 20 minutes remains for audience questions. The members of the audience may direct questions to the speaker or to any member of the panel. In this way, a controversial question is viewed from many angles, and attacked by different types of minds in the same evening. Whenever possible, it is advantageous to put well-known local people on the panel. The very fact that a local bank president and some local radical are announced as partici-
pating on the same program enhances the interest of the community in the forum. The citizens may not know the speaker, but they probably do know their local people on the panel.

**Important Technical Details**

TO ASSURE interesting and successful forums for large audiences (from 1,000 to 3,000) it is of great importance that certain technical details be carefully planned.

*Public-address system.*—The public-address system is an indispensable aid to successful large forum management. The first requirement of a good forum is that all persons in the hall hear all the speakers with utmost ease. Therefore, the technique of using the public-address system must be clearly understood by the speakers in advance, microphones must be properly placed, wires checked and tested so that the program runs off smoothly so far as this technical aspect is concerned. It is still necessary to make sure that speakers and members of panels know how to talk into a microphone, realize the importance of not damaging the instrument, and understand how to pitch the voice to get the best results.

*Ventilation, heat, and light.*—Ventilation in the hall is essential to the success of the forum as it is to any public meeting. Planning for proper air circulation in advance is the duty of the forum management.

Light and heat also go to make for technical improvement of the forum. It is well to avoid glaring lights, and especially to make sure that the footlight barrier is not permitted to separate the speaker from the audience. It goes without saying that an overheated or underheated auditorium interferes with the comfort and therefore the receptivity of the audience. Many an otherwise well-planned forum meeting has been ruined by the neglect of the management to check carefully on these technical details.

*Timing.*—The timing of the various parts of the program is a technical matter of primary importance to the speaking program itself. A time schedule should be worked out in advance. The speaker should be carefully instructed, and then the chairman should adhere to the plan. It is a good plan to supply each speaker and member of the panel with a written statement regarding timing, the use of the microphones, and any important element in the planned program. In most forums, the timing schedule is briefly outlined to the audience in the introduction of the program so that everyone knows in advance what time is allotted to the speakers. If this is done, there is no misunderstanding of the purposes and function of the chairman, should it be necessary to call a speaker on time.

A lecture-panel forum program should be restricted to about 2 hours, that being the general period of time during which good atten-
tion can be expected. Somewhere in the program, for example, at the end of the main address, an opportunity for audience relaxation ought to be given.

A question period ought to be definitely limited. If there is a good deal of interest and still many unanswered questions, the people go away looking forward to the next forum instead of being exhausted by the one they have just attended. Sometimes a particularly provocative speaker will stimulate such interest and invite such a volley of questions that the chairman will be reluctant to terminate the discussion at the appointed time. The importance of the speaker and the difficulty of arranging his reappearance may make the extension of time quite justifiable. But in such a case, the chairman will wisely make a break in the meeting to permit the withdrawal of those who wish to or must leave.

The after-forum receptions for visiting speakers are often popular events in the season's schedule. The discussion enthusiasts and strong forum supporters as well as specialists in the subject under discussion will attend these informal affairs to meet the speaker personally and perhaps to carry forward a short informal discussion period.

Handling the Question Period

WITH large audiences it is quite difficult to maintain interest while questions are being asked from the floor which cannot be heard. Frequently, the questioner cannot be seen, and if the question takes 2 or 3 minutes the audience becomes restless and the question period is dull.

It is interesting to an audience to hear and see one of their number while putting a question. This can be planned for by placing a microphone on a table or stand in the center of the room or at front of the platform, and requiring that persons desiring to ask questions or make remarks go to the microphone where they can be heard and seen. Delays in reaching the microphone can be avoided if the chairman will recognize three or four persons in order at one time. In certain audiences this procedure encourages the exhibitionists and "speaker-baiters" and discourages questions from honest seekers too retiring to come forward. However, the development of the kind of self-reliance and independence necessary to make this type of procedure successful ought to be one function of the open forum.

When the hall is very large and unsuitable either for questions to be addressed from the questioner's seat or from a microphone, it is frequent practice to call for written questions to be sent to the chairman. This method has the advantage of making the question period more balanced, because it enables the chairman to select the
best questions and to address them somewhat equally to the various speakers and panel members. This method also prevents a particularly loquacious person from monopolizing time in the attempt to put across his own point under the guise of asking a question.

**Speeches From the Audience**

IN ADDITION to permitting the audience to ask questions of the speakers, some forums provide time for a number of short speeches by members of the audience. In some forums this period is the high point of the evening. In order to give all points of view a chance to be heard, the chairman gives the floor to members of the audience who announce themselves as being of one particular persuasion in rotation. For example, if the subject is one on which three main points of view have been expressed, the chairman sees to it that each one of these views gets equal opportunity for expression on the part of members of the audience. In large halls, it is good practice to divide the place into sections, and call for both questions and remarks in each section so that all parts of the audience are recognized.

A time limit of 1 to 3 minutes is put on such speeches from the floor, and the speaker is required to keep to the subject of the evening. Sometimes, the audience insists on extending the time of a particularly able or popular speaker from their midst, but as a rule the chairman must keep the speaker within the time limit set.

When the audience speech period is included in the forum program, the main speaker is usually allotted 5 or 10 minutes to summarize his position in the light of what has been said by members of the audience.

**"Cranks" and "Time-Wasters"**

SOME open forums are plagued to a certain extent by people who may be listed somewhat as follows:

(a) Ego-centric expressionists who find great personal release in saying something in every meeting, being seen, and participating.

(b) The utopianist who eagerly seizes every opportunity to apply his cure-all plan as the solution to every problem.

(c) The "voice of experience" who must preface his question with a long recital of his personal achievements and special experience.

(d) The muddleheaded questioner who simply cannot make his question clear, or perchance, who fails to understand the discussion of the evening.

As a forum grows to be an institution, some of these people may become permanent appendages. The chairman can expect to see
them eagerly seeking an opportunity to ask a question almost every session, and the audience too soon learns to spot them. In order to protect the interests of the mass of the audience, it is necessary to prevent "cranks" and "time-wasters" from imposing upon their fellows. This is not an easy task. It is one of those problems which require skilled work on the part of the chairman. The presence of such people at public forums is one good reason for continuing the same chairman with a given audience as long as possible. It may be added in passing that talkative "time-wasters" are not always "radicals."

Audience cooperation.—Of first importance in dealing with cranks and time-wasters is audience understanding and cooperation. The chairman of an "open" forum should not arbitrarily stifle discussion. When the audience is acquainted with the rules of discussion and in sympathy with such rules for well-ordered meetings, the chairman is on safe ground in enforcing them. But care must be taken in cutting off anybody when he is within the general rules laid down. The audience is quick to discern any unfair act of a chairman, or any attempt to suppress a member of the audience. Such rules should be made, understood, and approved by the audience as will enable the chairman to prevent "cranks" or "time-wasters" from infringing on the rights of the group. With a definite procedure and audience familiarity with it, the chairman has assurance of audience cooperation when it is necessary to apply the rules to some member of the audience.

Recognition.—It is a simple matter for a chairman in a public meeting to recognize those he chooses and to ignore others. Experience of forum chairmen, however, indicates that the arbitrary use of the power of recognition in dealing with "cranks" is unwise. It is better to give such a person a little time than to prevent him from getting the floor in spite of his obvious precedence over others. His use of the floor can be quite easily safeguarded with the aid of audience cooperation and reference to the rules.

"Crank" questions helpful.—Within practical bounds, the so-called "crank" questioner adds some color to a public forum; for after all he represents a reality in group life. Many times the "crank" questions which bob up with such regularity at forum meetings serve the purpose of giving the speaker an opportunity to deal with his subject in such a way as to reach a large number in the audience given to accepting oversimplified answers to complex problems. A "crank" may, as a matter of fact, represent a goodly body of people by his questions. He is considered a "crank", perhaps, because of his persistence and devotion.
TO make the forum actually serve the needs of the people of the community is a fundamental objective of any forum management. Methods of finding out what the people want and testing the effectiveness of the forum in meeting public wants are numerous. They demonstrate the basic faith of the forum movement in the democratic method.

Questions to be answered.—By a simple questionnaire which can be answered quickly while people are waiting for the forum to begin or during an intermission, many problems which face forum management can be answered. At least, helpful data and information can be collected. College students frequently assist in making surveys on questions concerning community needs and interest. The Des Moines forum management has taken care to express the results of its work in surveys, and to develop its program with the help of its audiences. Among the questions to be answered are:

(a) Why do people fail to attend the forums? After a year of community-wide forums, the management in Des Moines discovered by a survey that 6,789 people who attended no forum or 10 percent of those included in the study did not know about the forums. Twenty-seven percent (17,508) answering the inquiry stated that they were not interested. Another 27 percent were prevented from attending by conflicting home duties and employment hours. Certainly, the first two reasons for nonattendance could be at least partially met by more and better publicity. The people prevented from attending forum meetings because of conflicting occupational demands might be served by providing forums at different times of the day, at noon, or in the afternoon. The business men's luncheon forum is a popular answer to this problem. The afternoon women's forum is one way to better serve housewives.

(b) How to run forums better? What changes to make? Shall certain practices be continued? These questions in specific form can be asked the regular forum audience from time to time. Suggestions for changes can be referred to the audience for decision. For example, in the Des Moines forums the following question of forum policy was put to the various audiences: “Do you favor the adoption of the suggestion to discontinue questions and comments from the audience?” (This proposal applied only to the community-wide forums of more than 1,000 people.) Permitting such problems of actual forum management to be worked out with audience cooperation fosters a practice of democratic action and participation.

(c) What do you think of speakers? Which ones should be invited to return? Which ones were difficult to understand, uninteresting, vague, etc.? Many methods are employed by successful forums to obtain some kind of audience estimation of the value of the various...
speakers and programs. Applause is one indication of audience appreciation. A novel idea has been tried in one forum which is called "the audience rheostat." Before the meeting begins, an usher or some representative of the chairman selects a dozen persons at random from the audience and requests their cooperation in giving their reactions to the speeches and the question period. These people are supplied with mimeographed forms containing items to be checked so that reactions can be recorded as the meeting progresses. The copies are collected by the forum management to be used as guides to program improvements.

**Surveying Public Opinion**

The public forum is not only a medium by which the people may come to a better understanding of public affairs, but may be used to some extent as a means for surveying public opinion on questions discussed.

*Before and after questionnaire.*—When a dialogue or debate forum is presented on a clearly controversial question, audience opinion and change of opinion can be recorded in the following manner: A 3 by 5 card is passed out to the audience as the people enter the hall. It is divided into two parts, one marked, "before," the other "after." The question is briefly stated under both headings, and squares set off to indicate the position of the forum member as (1) in favor of the proposition, (2) opposed to it, or (3) insufficiently informed to express an opinion. The "before" side is checked before the meeting, thus expressing the point of view or lack of it in advance of the discussion. The "after" section is checked when the meeting is finished, thus displaying the position of the members of the audience in the light of the discussion. The results of such a survey of forum opinion and shifts in opinion make excellent publicity for the forum, increase the interest of the speakers and panel in giving the clearest and best statement of their views, and are valuable to political representatives in more accurately understanding public opinion on current issues.

*Survey meetings.*—Forum meetings entirely devoted to expression of audience views on various public questions can be intensely interesting as well as of value to all agencies interested in gaining an accurate picture of public opinion. Editors of local papers, political leaders, or teachers of social sciences may be asked to submit a list of pertinent public questions for such a forum. Such questions should deal with subjects which had been discussed during the forum season. Depending on the number of questions, the chairman allots a proportionate amount of time to each. Qualified speakers pro and con may be selected in advance to summarize their positions in brief statements followed by questions from the audience. Or the time
may be given to members of the audience to put their views. Blanks stating the issues can then be filled in by the members of the audience. It is essential in such blanks to provide for people who do not feel qualified or ready to state a definite opinion.

Such survey meetings are best conducted in the small neighborhood forums, and toward the end of a season of solid discussion on current questions. It should be clear to the forum and to the public that in recording such opinions, the public affairs forum remains neutral, and does not become in any sense an "action" organization.

Study forum survey.—One of the most interesting projects in adult civic education is promoted by the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. It conducts regular luncheon forums once a week at which speakers of note, representing all sorts of views are presented. These meetings are broadcast over the radio. In addition to this activity which serves to maintain the interest of a large membership, the club undertakes to study a number of public problems each year using the informal discussion method, panel discussion, and symposium. The members sign up for special work in the subject of greatest interest to them. At the end of the season a dozen or more survey-forum committees produce reports. These reports attempt to state as clearly and fairly as possible the prevalent views, important issues, and arguments on the subjects chosen for study. They also record the opinions of the members of the groups. As many as five or six hundred persons are thus engaged in definite study and discussion during the year. This forum is an important guide to public opinion in San Francisco.

How to Stimulate Study and Reading

THE public affairs forum as a medium of adult education is not limited in its influence to the particular meetings it sponsors. The byproducts which are produced as a result of the forum program are worth noting. Forums should stimulate the reading of books, newspapers, and magazines dealing with public questions, history, economic and political theory, etc. The natural stimulation which a good forum produces can be made more effective if the forum management will give definite attention to nurturing the interest of the forum audience in further study.

Bibliographies.—Book lists and magazine references can be compiled either by the forum management or by the local librarian at the request of the forum to be distributed in connection with the discussion meetings. It is valuable just to list such books and magazine articles, but greater response to the list will be gained if each book or article is briefly described as to content and approach. Material presenting all views on the subjects should be included in such lists.
Library exhibits.—To gain the cooperation and interest of local librarians is of great importance to the public forum. Attractive book displays can be arranged dealing with the subjects being discussed in the forums. Visual exhibits on certain subjects which portray graphically certain facts or material can be posted in libraries, schools, chambers of commerce, and labor temple buildings, and other places where numbers of people gather. The library offers a real source of assistance to the community forum. Not only does this sort of educational exhibit serve the need of the forum audience, but it publicizes the forum and builds community interest and attendance.

Organization group discussions.—Many civic, labor, and semisocial organizations have small study discussion groups or would form such if the suggestion were made. Some public affairs forums make it a point to stimulate such study groups to carry on public investigation in line with the forum program. The Chicago Forum has been particularly successful in getting numerous study clubs organized within various organizations which cooperate with it. These group study discussions not only advance the general understanding of the problems handled in the public forum, but they are effective in creating community-wide cooperation with the forum, and publicity concerning it in organizations. Such organizations as the League of Women Voters, Federation of University Women, university alumni associations, neighborhood recreational groups, racial and cultural clubs, and youth organizations are helpful agencies for advancing the forum program.

Reading circles.—Some forums find it a successful aid to forum work to organize reading circles to read and discuss certain books dealing with subjects under discussion. This type of activity is particularly good for the rural community. A small discussion group may spend a profitable series of meetings reading a book and discussing its contents chapter by chapter.

Forum publications.—Through forum magazines or bulletins much can be done to promote individual and group study of public questions in which a fundamental interest has been aroused. Book reviews and articles dealing with interesting material are helpful to the average citizen.

Book displays at the forum.—Some forums set up attractive book displays and magazine exhibits at the rear of the forum hall. Some even take orders for books, sell pamphlets, and offer discounts obtainable from publishers by cooperative ordering. Newspaper clippings on “spot news events” can be attractively mounted and displayed in connection with a forum meeting.

Increasing attendance at evening schools.—The forum is an effective means for stimulating adult interest in further study either in evening school classes or university extension programs. Proper
announcements of available opportunities are frequently made in the forum meeting, or posted on a forum bulletin board. Certainly, the forum should promote general public interest in such classes as: Public speaking, history of political thought, economics, and related subjects. The fact that an appalling number of American adults are lacking in even the essentials of an elementary education makes it desirable and important that the public forum promote adult education in all its forms. If the community-wide discussion of public affairs is to be successful, a concentrated effort must be made to equip the masses of citizens with a working grasp of the tools of thought.

**Promoting Adult Civic Education**

THE public forum should not be merely a means for contributing to adult education, but an active force in the community fostering the whole adult civic education movement. The following suggestions are illustrative of what can be done:

**Junior forums.**—Citizen groups influenced by the public forum such as the parent-teacher organizations can be effective in urging the use of the forum technique in the teaching of civics and current events in the secondary schools. The junior forum is a training ground for the adult forum. The future citizens who will be responsible for the future community-wide forum program ought to be trained in the forum method, and encouraged to use this means of constantly preparing themselves for citizenship. The direct participation of young people on panels and in symposium discussion forums trains them as future members of public forums. The natural interest of the parents in the work of their children may be a bridge for transferring these young people from their present position of apathy concerning public questions to an active attendance at public forums.

**Explaining adult civic education.**—The public forum should assist directly in creating public understanding and sympathy for the forum by sending qualified speakers to organizations of all kinds to explain the need for adult civic education programs. Forum demonstrations offer practical means for explaining the function and technique of the public forum. More and more, organizations are opening their convention programs and conferences to the trained forum leader to demonstrate the public forum approach to civic problems.

**Conferences and institutes.**—Some forums promote in addition to weekly or monthly forum meetings, week-end conferences and institutes. These meetings are especially attractive to educators, social workers, ministers, publicists, etc. They may coordinate the work of community organizations, and organize support for the program...
of adult civic education. Such conferences enable the delegates or participants to make a more prolonged investigation and study of a given theme or subject by scheduling a series of forums and informal discussion groups covering 2 or 3 days. They popularize the adult civic education movement in the community.

Radio broadcasting.—This field is pioneer territory for public forum adult education. Experimentation is now being planned with the recognition that the radio medium requires the use of different techniques than the public meeting. The Town Hall in New York is on a national hook-up with its regular forum program. Plans are being made to experiment with forum broadcasting in Washington, D. C., in connection with the Washington Town Hall Forum. While the radio is not a substitute for the public meeting where people may mingle and have opportunity to express themselves, it has a real function in adult civic education. Certainly, the radio can promote popular understanding of the forum and its importance, and help to stimulate the formation of forums everywhere. It is also a means for giving publicity to the local forum program and building attendance.

Newspaper publicity.—Of primary importance is the establishment of good newspaper cooperation with the forum movement. When it is understood by the editors and publishers that every increase in public interest in current affairs is reflected in a wider reading of the daily press, more space and attention will be given to all forum and adult education efforts. There is no reason why these activities should not receive the same attention from the newspaper world eventually that sports, music and drama, and society are now given. In Des Moines the newspapers have enthusiastically backed the forums, and have given much space to reporting the events, even to the point of printing some of the outlines used by leaders to guide discussion groups.

Motion Picture Forums

It is not necessary that the forum limit itself to the speaking medium. Adult education, and for that matter all education, ought to be active in developing the effective use of all modern mediums of communication. Public affairs can be made as interesting and exciting as a Mickey Mouse picture. Indeed, the same sort of technique used by the animated cartoon may be used to clarify public issues. Factual data on which basis any good discussion must rest, can be portrayed to an average audience much more effectively through pictures than by straight speaking. As motion pictures are developed for use in education, they should be appropriated for public forums. The motion picture forum may then become a technique of primary importance on a par with or even more important than many of the other techniques listed in this chapter. For
example, suppose we want to discuss a subject like “Imperialism.” A 15 or 20 minute picture can give us the facts in a graphic as well as interest-sustaining manner, showing the different spheres of influence of imperialist control, trade relations between the imperialist power and its colony or possession, population, structures of administration, etc. Following such an informative and stimulating picture, the audience may then proceed with a discussion of the issues involved.

Or again, it should be feasible to produce a one-reel panel discussion in which local audiences in rural communities and small towns could view outstanding students of various subjects not only discussing an issue, but picturizing the contents of their remarks as they go along.

Pertinent to the eventual development and popularization of this technique we face two needs: (1) A vast increase in the attendance at public forums so that the production of such films will be practical, and (2) recognition by producers that they are dealing with a highly specialized educational problem and that such films must stand the test of merit in exactly the sense in which textbooks must now win approval in a competitive market.

Conclusion

WE HAVE attempted in this chapter to state briefly some helpful suggestions for the forum management in conducting successful educational forums. Many of these ideas have been in use by numerous forums; others represent the experimentation of only one forum. The Office of Education will continue to collect material and will disseminate it in answer to specific inquiries, or in special bulletins from time to time. The forum is of such primary significance to public adult education, that the United States Office of Education feels justified in promoting its use as a regular function of State and local departments of education in meeting community needs.
Chapter V - A Nation-wide Program of Forums

Proposed: A 3-year experimental program—Responsibilities:
Local and Federal—Obstacles: How to surmount them—National unity—Economy.

An emergency relief project involving the organization of public-forum demonstration centers in not to exceed 10 States was approved on November 8, 1935, and an appropriation for a trial period was made for this purpose. The project provides for the combination of professional forum leaders and relief workers in a program of public-discussion meetings on questions of political, economic and social significance.

The program, starting in February 1936, will be managed and organized in the various centers by the public education authorities, and the meetings will, in most cases, be held in the public-school buildings easily accessible to the people in each vicinity. However, meetings may be scheduled in places which prove most convenient to the people. Leaders and the schedule of subjects for discussion will be selected exclusively by the local authorities.

The centers will be selected to exhibit the operation of public forums in different kinds of communities. In some cases the attempt will be made to discover the feasibility of managing forums in a district including both urban and rural communities. In other cases strictly city programs will be promoted. Each venture will exhibit different problems and contribute to a comprehensive demonstration of the possibilities, techniques, and problems involved in an adult civic education program for the United States.

Cooperation of libraries, newspapers, and other agencies will be sought by the school authorities engaged in managing these demonstration centers. The forum meetings will be free to the public and so scheduled that the citizens in a given community will have two or more opportunities to join with groups discussing the same general subject. The local authorities will be free to sponsor a few large lecture-panel forums in connection with the program, but in the main the project is based essentially upon the organization of neighborhood forum meetings under expert leadership. These neighborhood forums are expected to be small enough to permit the maximum expression of opinions and inquiries on the part of the audience. Such groups will possibly average approximately 50 or 75 persons per meeting. The organization of very small informal discussion groups under volunteer leaders will be encouraged.
Although these demonstration centers will be subject to some of the limitations of emergency enterprises, they will represent a distinct step toward a national forum and adult civic education movement through the agency of public education. The program provides in the demonstration centers for the cultivation of hardy democracy in the same way that agricultural experiment stations are centers for the cultivation of better crops.

**Proposed: A 3-Year Program**

THIS experimental forum program to be launched in a few centers should be a stepping stone to a more thorough-going demonstration plan. Following the precedent of agricultural experiment stations, there should be established within 3 years about 60 forum demonstration centers. In the first year approximately 20 of these “experiment stations” for civic enlightenment should be developed. These 20 would require about 200 forum leaders. Communities and the Federal Government should share the expense in this experimental period. The second year the forum program, with a demonstration center in each State, would require approximately 400 leaders. With the operation of 60 centers employing 600 leaders in the third year the experimental period might be considered at an end.

Then, as rapidly as trained leadership could be made available, the forum program could be spread into every city, town, hamlet, and rural district on a permanent basis. Within a decade 10,000 able leaders could be at work in the Nation’s systems of education guiding a process of free inquiry into public problems. Tens of millions of citizens could take part regularly in adult civic education through public forums.

Does this seem an unrealizable dream? Then we have only to look to Sweden where a plan somewhat similar already enrolls a great percentage of the population.

As in Sweden, national and local units would finance a fair share of the permanent program of mass adult civic education.

**Responsibilities: Local and Federal**

WHAT would the local community do in carrying forward this plan for public forums? What would the Federal Government do?

Actual administration of the community public forum program would be in the hands of local education authorities. They would select leaders. They would decide on subjects for discussion. They would plan meetings. The same autonomy that now exists in the management of public schools would govern forums. Such autonomy should be guaranteed in any long-time program. The experimental period would help to discover the practicable ways to provide this
guarantee. Of course, there will be other forums privately controlled and operated just as there are private schools and universities.

The Federal Government, operating through the Office of Education which Congress created "to promote education", would aid the development of civic education through forums in various ways:

First, by allocating to local agencies through State departments of education funds for promoting forums. Once the funds were allotted the local agency would become responsible for selection of leaders and operation of the program.

Second, the Office of Education would aid by holding conferences of leaders to discuss common problems, supply expert consultant service to local centers upon request, prepare and publish documents reporting successful innovations and helpful suggestions, and publish bibliographies of reference materials. The Office of Education would also promote leader institutes, radio forums, and experiment in the use of motion pictures for forum discussion.

Third, the Office of Education would study and record the results of operation of forums, thus making possible the constant revision and refinement of plans in the light of facts determined through research. In short, the Office of Education would itself become a veritable "discussion center", bringing together, interpreting, and disseminating the best practices in this new educational mechanism for the development of civic enlightenment.

Obstacles and How to Surmount Them

IN THE previous paragraphs there has been outlined the emergency and the proposed 3-year demonstration plan for forums and the respective responsibilities of local and Federal agencies. What are the obstacles and objections to such a program?

First will come the objection that such a program will mean the extension of objectionable Federal control over a learning process. This is an important problem. But it does not defy solution. Techniques by which the Federal Government may promote the improvement of phases of American life and yet leave administrative control in the hands of local agencies have been worked out by experience over a long period of years. Through the Office of Education the Government has very effectively promoted vocational education without exercising objectionable Federal control of vocational schools. While there are doubtless some details of this program which may be improved, the pattern which it has established for Federal and State cooperation has proved to be exceptionally satisfactory, and it readily lends itself to cooperative readjustments.

The experimental approach is another guarantee. If, despite the safeguards previously described, difficulties of any kind arise, it is
possible to abandon the experiment without great social cost. This is the great merit of democratic experimentation.

Also, it must not be overlooked that the participants themselves can be trusted to keep forums free from objectionable control. Adults are acutely sensitive of any attempts to control their thinking and immediately offer resistance. Through committees and associations they can readily demand fair administration of the forum programs by local authorities.

Second, may come the objection that leaders to carry a Nationwide public forum program to success are lacking. This, too, is a crucial problem. In answer, it may be said that expansion of adult civic education is already stimulating institutions of higher learning to offer special training in this field. A new profession will soon evolve with standards of its own, and means for specialized training. High standards of compensation essential to success of the program will attract men and women of ability. Forums have a way of putting teaching ability to the test. Enrollment is voluntary. Credits are nonexistent. The leader or teacher who can command the respect and confidence of citizens of all political, religious, and economic ideas and who can demonstrate ability to lead adults to consider public problems has passed one of the most difficult tests ever devised.

Third, may come the objection that, since the forums in the experimental period are not Nationwide, the understanding fostered will be lost in the sea of that great mass not reached. This objection may be answered by making the forum movement truly nationwide in scope in offering mass education for successful democracy. To do this means that the Federal Government through financial assistance and leadership must equalize educational opportunities for adults throughout the Nation. If we are to preserve our democracy we must supply the intelligent citizenship necessary to operate our system of government.

National Unity

ONE of the essentials of any stable government or enduring social organization is a basic unity. We hear very much these days about national consciousness and national unity. Under dictatorships this so-called national unity is achieved by forcefully ejecting whole groups of the population from the life of the community. Predominating forces establish the goals and purposes, dictate the means and methods and ruthlessly put down any individuals who disagree—then they say they have achieved national unity. As a matter of fact, their methods proclaim that the unity is only partial, because it leaves out whole sections of the population and prevents the changing of the goals or purposes regardless of the size of the majority desiring such change.
Democracy on the other hand assumes that one gets the necessary cohesion and collective cooperation through a process of free and frequent adjustment to the conscious goals and objectives of the many by giving equal rights to minorities and majorities in advocating and promoting their respective proposals, democracy aims to bring the dissenters into the orbit of national unity. It does this by promising the minority the right to persuade the majority of people to agree with the minority. In return it insists that the minority shall abide by the rule of the majority in the development of the national program.

Experience has shown that there can be unity without unanimity of opinion; that there can be law and order and yet vital differences on what kind of law and how to maintain order.

Forums contribute greatly to the realization of national unity in accordance with the democratic way. They associate the people of the community with vastly differing views on important and controversial issues in a careful consideration of common affairs.

One of the first steps toward social disintegration which ends in chaos or dictatorship is the breakdown of the community into warring factions which increasingly find no opportunity to face each other. The leaders of each faction play upon the fears and prejudices of their members to develop a hatred of all people with differing opinions. Eventually this hatred breaks out in violent clashes, increasing attempts at suppression, and finally a move to outlaw all people who disagree with the dominant faction. This means the end of national unity on any free basis.

**Economy**

WILL mass education through forums constitute a new, overwhelming burden on Federal and local finances? To operate good forums will require funds. That is true. The cost will be small compared to the amount we spend on roads or national defense. But who among us would care to travel on the best of roads through our country if it were no longer a Nation of free, self-governing people? Who among us will defend the theory that we can remain free unless en masse we pay the price of freedom, which is the effort to achieve genuine, widespread civic enlightenment? Funds for forums will help us maintain that freedom we prize more highly than any other national treasure. It is a price worthy of the purchase.

The economic depression has caused Americans losses running into the billions. The blight it spread will affect many homes for a lifetime. Could forums save us at least some of these terrific costs? There is reason to believe they could. Wrong decisions in national, State, and local elections cost untold millions. Public forums on a Nation-wide basis would be an excellent investment if they saved us only 10 percent of the cost of wrong decisions. Their contribution
to efficient and wise government would repay many times what we would have to spend to support adequate national civic education.

What greater task lies before the educational system than that of supplying the facilities by which citizens in general may become well enough informed to make democracy work? Whether American democracy succeeds and progressively improves, or fails and ultimately disappears, depends very largely upon how much understanding of our common problems can be diffused among the people. Our form of government can work only when those with whom political power is lodged (the people) know how to make it work.

Today millions of citizens who left the educational process in the age of horse-and-buggy transportation are faced with problems involving airplanes and streamlined motor transportation. People who stopped serious study when America owed a huge debt to Europe are now faced with the problem of Europe’s owing a huge debt to us. Those who lived on farms when they studied civics in high school now live in great cities and face the new civic problems that exist in cities. Citizens are asked to know about housing, social-security plans, Federal relief, balancing budgets stated in terms of billions, and other similar public problems which were unheard of only a few years ago. And present birth rates indicate a distinct increase in future years in the proportion that our adult population bears to the total population.

How can citizens exercise intelligent control through democratic processes except by returning to an educational process which is geared to fit the new needs for understanding, and which is organized to give the masses a practical opportunity to share their views and the facts in a search for the human welfare?

The question which this booklet attempts to answer in part is: 

*How can we make democracy work?* The answer it proposes is: We can make democracy work if a large proportion of us know enough about public affairs. We can gain the necessary understanding if we will build the educational facilities by which to discover this understanding for ourselves.
Bibliography on Discussion Meetings

As Developed in Open Forums, Panels, and Discussion Groups

This bibliography presents a short list of annotated references on discussion meetings, their value and techniques in open forums, panels, and conferences. References to their use in the schools have been included also.

Values and Techniques of Discussion Groups

Describes the formal interchange of ideas that concern the world's affairs, using the branch libraries as places of discussion. The plan was started in California by the California association of adult education. Discussion groups at Los Angeles are given as illustration.

Prepares a simplified statement of the value of discussion methods, the job of the leader (characteristics, participation, etc.), preparation for meetings, and general rules for conducting meetings. Intervals between meetings, and possible pitfalls. A valuable manual for beginning groups.

Discussion-Group Leading. Los Angeles, California State department of education, n. d. 4 p. mimeographed.
General remarks on procedure and leadership. One of a series of four leaflets on workers' education.

Discusses the psychological processes between group relations with an emphasis on discussion groups.

Describes what actually takes place in the forum or discussion groups, the methods used, criteria for evaluating success of methods, especially for group leaders, teachers, and supervisors of adult education.

Prepares the subjects of discussion and discussion methods in their relation to public speaking. Thinks that "sophisticated platform speakers find it extremely difficult to adjust themselves to conference methods."

Valuable to leaders of any type of discussion group, giving information on the preparation of emergency leaders, organization of groups, development of plans for group study, for selection and use of materials for study group meetings, etc. Appendices give subjects for discussion and bibliographies.

The town lyceums provided the people of the community with an opportunity for attending "what was virtually an adult (opportunity, perhaps) school"; in this way the young people of the community had the chance for valuable schooling.

"Opportunities for libraries to give the reader a chance to talk about what he reads." Describes two types of discussion groups, those of similar and those of different beliefs. States the advantages of such discussion. Gives bibliography.


A brief presentation of the functions of the discussion leader in educational conferences. This is a new role for the leader in solving political, business, and community leaders in the solution of their problems; suggests what discussion leaders are supposed to do, and of what discussion itself should consist.

Open Forums


Describes the activities of a discussion group at San Pedro, Calif., during its 3 years of operation; a brief study of the personnel, the subjects discussed, and the general purposes and results of the organization.


A very brief presentation of the forum experiment in adult education, and the Carnegie Corporation grant to finance it for a period of 5 years; tells of the speakers on this program, the countries which they represent, and further plans of the movement.


Useful to leaders in groups discussing present-day questions. Detailed outlines of programs and procedures, and references for further reading.


A very brief description of a chain of discussion groups in Florida; the agreement of the members was that "the open forum is the one place in America where the truth may be set forth dispassionately and without fear of consequences."


Describes the forums which met regularly in school buildings throughout the city to discuss current social, economic, and political problems. A grant of money from the American Association of Adult Education made the project possible, the control resting with the Des Moines Board of Education. Gives list of readers and topics for the year, and evaluates the results.


An evaluation of the public forum, the Haarlem House discussion group in particular; this a community concern with a genuine function described briefly.


An attempt to evaluate briefly the Des Moines experiment of holding forums for adults in evening schools. Thinks the intelligent understanding and participation of American citizens in the conduct of foreign policy will result from these and similar forums.


Presents the "value of open discussions in order to gain an understanding of the social, economic, and political environment, with the aim of establishing a control over these elements which will enable them to put in practice a more ideal community life."

Makes plain that forum activities are an integral part of the growing adult education movement, both in this country and abroad. Gives plans and specifications for building in communities such as "House of enlightenment, tolerance, and good will." This includes plans for starting community forums, financing them, program making, etc.


A brief but illuminative article on forums, describing their planning, the vital questions discussed, and their procedure. Reveals reactions to such a project, the attendance at the evening meetings, and the significant features of this form of community adult education.


Describes the launching of plans for a series of free public forums in the Tulsa public evening schools. Lists the subjects of 13 programs, and the significant features of "this new and dynamic type of adult education."


Describes the open forum briefly, giving a list of those now being conducted in various parts of the United States, alphabetically arranged by State and city.


Describes the forum centers carried on in 34 school buildings in the evening, in Des Moines. Their aim is to give practical education to the men in the street as well as the students in high school and college: deals with conditions, programs, and subjects for discussion.


On account of the community-wide adult civic education developed in the Des Moines public forums. Intended for those "interested in improving the American way of making social progress", giving many suggestions concerning the work of leaders of forums, among others, subjects for discussion, instructions to panel members, and samples of study guides.


Describes the forum as conducted by churches in the methods known as "The Socratic sermon", the "U-group discussion method", and "The jury-panel method". The methods have been used in the South Congregational Church, New Britain, Conn., Plymouth Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn.; and others.

Panels


Presents the possibilities of this form of discussion and its value in the development of group thinking and group planning. Thinks meeting would be more efficient if a technique for conducting them could be observed.


An enlightening presentation of the subject of the panel form of discussion, especially in its bearing on adult education. Intended as a "first chronicle of a new and probably useful piece of discussion machinery."

The methods and technique of panel discussions presented. "This new social tool encourages creative thinking on a cooperative scale, and eliminates those twin scourges of conferences—passivity on the part of the audience, and competitive exhibitionism on the part of speakers."


This journal has devoted a large part of the issue to the subject; topics discussed are: Social values, adult education; education for culture; education for citizenship; unemployment educational and guidance problems; and, occupational education.


Also in the Trained Nurse and Hospital Review of October 1931. Describes the "glorified conversation" of the panel method of discussion, which is an attempt to reason together in public, the idea being "come, let us reason together" under the leadership of a chairman. This article is suggestive for such leaders, or chairmen of the panels, showing how the best results may be obtained.


A brief setting forth of procedure in conducting this type of group discussion.

Conferences


Gives an account of the conference method used in one locality as a part of the work of stimulating interest and activity in religious education. Here the discussion method was used as a part of the conference, and an eagerness was shown on the part of those attending to discuss the bearing of religious life problems.


Detailed analysis of the conference committee in industry, and the psychological factors entering into conference methods and procedure.


A report of a series of 4 conferences held by Lambda chapter of Phi Delta Kappa on the application of the techniques and devices of conference leading. Intended as a timely aid to such leaders.


"Advocates conference methods rather than debate and serious study by members. It applies best to groups interested in controversial situations, but the hints to leaders may be used by any leader."


Educational procedure suggested for leaders—materials for instruction, handling men in a conference, group attitudes, and danger points.


Outlines procedures for directing conferences, with digests of typical conference records given. An attempt to show that all conferences, in industry, in education, and in international affairs, are psychologically the same, and are subject to the same rules of procedure.

72
Discussion Techniques in the Schools


Applies to school and college classroom. Discusses the dangers; uses as a type case the discussion of the eighteenth amendment, and has in mind the debate rather than the panel, or round-table type.


The techniques discussed may be used in classrooms of schools and colleges; uses the White House Conferences as typical. Presents material in tabulated form.


A further discussion and reply to the study by De Long and Smith in the May 23 number of this periodical, in which the author takes issue with the latter regarding the value of the method.


Describes her experiences with classes of English in high school, which she thinks were very successful. States that the panel method develops honesty in thinking and expression, and is one of the most interesting possibilities of modern adult and secondary education.

The Open Forum of the College of the City of New York. School and Society 38:459, October 7, 1933.

"Any group of students in good standing at the college...may be granted permission to hold meetings in the college auditorium to discuss matters germane to college interests."


A brief presentation of the advantages of discussions in classroom and young people's club work; and the responsibility we have in training young people not only as individuals but as groups to participate in public affairs, and to cooperate in effective social, economic, and political procedures in our national life.


Gives an account of measuring results in a seventh-grade-panel method; describes its use, and the reactions of the children, in social studies classes. Three groups were used, in order to find measurable comparisons of the panel discussion method and the Morrison unit method.


A constructive study of the technique of group discussion, a typical group being analyzed, namely, a college group to study "disarmament." Deals with treatment of the personnel, the leader, participation, and other points.

A syllabus of materials from a laboratory course for group leaders, given at Columbia University in 1927. Recorded by A. D. Sheffield; conducted by Prof. H. S. Elliott, through the Columbia University extension.


A reply to Dr. Allen Hansen's article in this journal for July 18, 1931. Arguments based somewhat on the learning process and the type of learning that goes on during the discussion period, and the resulting advantages and disadvantages. Mostly at the college level.


Describes and defines the discussion method, gives examples of concrete cases; mentions a number of principles of learning; and tells of the dangers of discussion. The field is class discussion in schools.