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AN EXPERIMENT

IN THE TEACHING OF FREEDOM

A Report on the Development

of the

Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project

Prepared by

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For the

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FOREWORD

This document reports a program that is experimental, yet the main procedures described here can probably be applied in most countries participating in the Technical Cooperation Program. If so, then we have here a means for meeting a necessary and significant need--namely a need that all free countries have to strengthen an understanding of freedom among their own people.

I commend this report to the careful examination of all personnel in United States Operations Missions who may be in a position to contribute in any way to the achievement of the goals with which the report is concerned. It should be noted that the report emphasizes this point: A program to strengthen the principles of freedom and democracy within a host country is based upon documents and traditions indigenous to the country in question, not upon statements of principles imported from the United States.

I wish to thank those capable Guatemalans who worked so effectively in the development and execution of the Project; the members of the United States Operations Mission to Guatemala whose faith initiated the Project and whose persistence carried it forward; and the staff of the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, who served as consultants to the group of Guatemalans who developed the program.

I hope this proves to be but the first of many similar efforts to establish programs to teach the meaning of freedom throughout the world.

Kenneth C. Ray
Chief, Education Division
International Cooperation Administration

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I. INTRODUCTION

Although it is too early to evaluate its results finally, the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project has implications worthy of consideration in the technical cooperation programs of all participating countries. Inherent in the story is support for the growing point of view that an element of "know why" must be added to the dominantly "know how" programs for foreign countries, if genuine and permanent gains toward democracy and freedom are to result from United States efforts.

Because of the potential significance of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project to education for liberty in all countries, this report attempts to bring together pertinent information related to the background, development, and status of the program together with an analysis of the difficulties that may impede its progress.

In 1956, a team of six Guatemalan educators spent more than four months in the United States studying techniques of citizenship education used in secondary schools, selecting and adapting such ideas as appeared workable in improving the teaching of citizenship in similar Guatemalan institutions. This project, herein subsequently referred to as the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project, was carried out under the aegis of the International Cooperation Administration, the agency of the United States Government charged with the over-all responsibility of administering the Technical Cooperation Program. Leadership in directing the effort was taken by the Citizenship Education Project staff at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. The work carried on by the Guatemalan educators, however, represents the coordination of the resources of these two agencies, plus the Government of Guatemala and the United States Operations Mission in Guatemala.

The Guatemalan educators spent their first weeks observing in United States schools and analyzing the teaching materials developed by the Teachers College Citizenship Education Project, which since 1949 has worked to help American high schools improve the teaching of responsible citizenship. The Guatemalan team devoted the major part of its time to preparing instructional materials in citizenship education for use by Guatemalan teachers and considering ways and means of launching programs to make use of these teaching aids on their return to Guatemala.

The materials included the following items: (1) for students, a 69-page text, Senderos de Libertad (Paths of Freedom), which explains the principles embodied in the Guatemalan Constitution; (2) a teacher's guide, outlining the purpose of the text and suggesting how teachers may use it to help young Guatemalan citizens to a better understanding of their country's traditions and laws; and (3) a set of fifteen laboratory practices, suggested activities which students may carry out in their school environment to gain experience and skill in exercising civic responsibility.

In accordance with plans worked out cooperatively with the Ministry of Education, the Guatemalans introduced the citizenship teaching materials and techniques at a special teacher work conference in Guatemala City, February 12 to 18, 1957. More than one hundred twenty-five teachers attended the sessions. The President of Guatemala, Carlos Castillo Armas, lent his support to the Citizenship Education Project by addressing the opening session of the conference.

II. THE ROLE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAM

As the post-World War II role of the United States in world affairs has taken shape, it has become increasingly apparent that one of the long-range responsibilities of the United States to the cause of freedom is to continue to offer effective technical assistance to certain countries in fields related to the economic, cultural, and civic development of those countries. It is not intended in this report to judge in any manner the policies of the United States Government in its relations with foreign governments.

An increase in the production of corn, in life expectancy, or in literacy rates cannot be considered as "ends" in the Technical Cooperation Program, but merely as "means to an end." The benefits to the free world or to the United States of the mere facts of more food, longer life, and greater literacy in any country receiving United States technical assistance are not automatic. These factors can strengthen a totalitarian regime quite as much as they can aid a free society. There is a very real danger that, unless effective assistance is provided in strengthening the ideological bases of recipient countries in the direction of democracy, the entire investment in technical assistance and eventually the long, difficult struggle against totalitarianism may be lost.

The hypothesis of this report is that a carefully planned citizenship education program introduced into the educational systems of countries participating in the Technical Cooperation Program would make a significant contribution toward strengthening and extending the democratic

tendencies of the host countries. The assistance in citizenship education would be designed to help host countries develop the educational philosophy, methods, materials, and practices which will produce citizens qualified in terms of knowledge, attitudes, and skills to achieve and maintain a democratic society.

In those instances where United States technical assistance does not result in an increased democratic potential, little more than a delaying action is being carried out with no assurance that, in the long run, more harm than good will not have been done to the United States position. The United States must have some indication that help is not being given to a process that will eventually result in better fed, healthier, more literate opponents of the democratic way of life. "Peace in our time" is by itself not an acceptable goal. Although technical assistance was regarded as an emergency operation in its early stages, it is now fairly obvious that it must be considered a permanent aspect of United States relations with foreign nations and that results must be planned in terms of future generations instead of merely months or years.

It is not proposed herein that willingness to educate for democracy and freedom be a condition for receiving United States technical assistance although it might be possible to present a logical case for this point of view. The points emphasized are:

1. The United States should be prepared to provide effective and specific assistance to the government of any country interested in raising its level of democratic citizenship through its system of education.

2. The United States representatives in foreign countries should be apprised of the development of techniques and

methods of citizenship education which show promise of being adaptable to this end.

3. Appropriately designated representatives of the United States in countries receiving technical assistance can bring to the attention of host governments the possibility of strengthening democratic tendencies and developing the democratic potential of their citizens through public education.

4. The methods and techniques referred to were developed and tested through the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project. They appear to be of a kind that will not subject the host government to attack by its critics.

III. OPERATIONAL PRINCIPLES INFERRED FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPING THE GUATEMALAN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

The larger objective of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project from its beginning was to develop a set of principles and procedures through which the United States could, through the Technical Cooperation Program, provide effective help to any government desirous of nurturing democratic tendencies and processes within its citizenry and strengthening its democratic foundations through its educational system.

This attempt to develop general principles, procedures, and criteria applicable in a variety of countries and cultures was the motivating factor behind the participation of the Citizenship Education Project (CEP) of Teachers College, Columbia University, in the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project. The CEP feels that the Project should be evaluated chiefly in the light of this objective, regardless of other considerations. In other words, the success or failure of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project, influenced possibly by conditions outside the field of education, is incidental to the identification of principles generally applicable in this field.

A number of questions emerge from a consideration of the objectives and procedures. The answers to these questions suggest general working hypotheses and have significance for any future efforts to include citizenship education in the Technical Cooperation Program. These questions and answers follow.

1. Have United States educators, in the process of teaching democratic citizenship and values, developed techniques and procedures which are adaptable to a foreign country and culture?

The Citizenship Education Project staff recognizes that citizenship is a sensitive area of education but believes that it may be possible to adapt the Citizenship Education Project techniques to the educational system of almost any country in which the active support and cooperation of the chief executive, the ministry of education, and the teachers were present.

There is some indication that educational ideas and practices developed in one country can be successfully adapted to the educational needs of another country if there is a desire and need on the part of the recipient country for those ideas and practices.

2. What basic elements would be required of a citizenship education project regardless of the country in which it was developed?

The experience of the CEP in carrying out its program in the United States indicated that a citizenship education project, wherever it was undertaken, would require the following basic elements:

a. A basis of citizenship compatible with democratic ideals which also reflects the potentially democratic ideals of the country in question

b. A procedure for teaching it

c. Materials.

3. Is there apt to be present in the literature and tradition of a foreign culture a basic statement of human values that can serve as the foundation of a program of citizenship education?

This factor will vary a great deal from country to country. In some countries excellent foundations exist for such a statement. But in almost any country that possesses an indigenous culture of any significance, a literature or a tradition relative to human worth and value more than likely could be found to serve as the basis for a citizenship program based on an indigenous ideology that, nevertheless, would be similar to that of all freedom-loving peoples.

In identifying the basic premises and fundamental values upon which a citizenship project could be established in any particular country three types of literature may be examined. The most fruitful source, if such exist, is legal and civil documents of the country in question which would correspond to the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States or to the Magna Carta of Great Britain, basic laws, and leading court decisions. Another avenue through which the values of a nation may be ascertained is its cultural literature, poetry, fiction, and mythology that is universally understood and respected. A third source is the religious literature and similar precepts that guide the behavior of the people. If these sources do not prove adequate, it would be necessary to rely on tradition, legend, and folklore in discovering the ethical and legal premises and values to which a nation adheres. Although the quantity and quality of materials suitable for developing a citizenship education program would obviously vary greatly, it would be possible to initiate a program on the basis of the materials available from one or more of the sources indicated above in almost any country where sufficient interest and support were present.

4. To what extent can the United States Government, United States institutions, or United States personnel be related to the development and operation of a citizenship education project in a foreign country without prejudicing the project in the eyes of the citizens of that country?

This consideration is important and should be carefully thought out in terms of the attitudes existing at the several levels in the foreign government and educational system concerned. It is essential that all procedures be launched in such a way that they will be generally recognized as the product of the participating nationals. Each step in the procedures and methods should be evaluated on the basis of the proper placing of credit, recognition, initiative, and responsibility. The lasting benefits that accrue to the United States through a citizenship education project in a foreign country are the strengthened democratic tendencies in that country, not the publicity and credit given to United States institutions and personnel involved.

5. What changes must be made in the educational system of a country in order to accommodate the citizenship education program?

The adaptation of the procedures described herein to the educational system of any country ordinarily will not require any fundamental reorganization of the curriculum of that country.

The Citizenship Education Project followed a policy of providing highly flexible services to the schools of the United States where 35,000 independent and purely local boards of education control the curriculum. The materials and methods referred to in this report can be integrated with existing courses in civics, history, language, art, etc. A significant change concerns the method of instruction. The introduction of laboratory practices would bring reality to classes which, in most cases, will not have been present previously. Certain text materials based on the basic premises and fundamental values of the country in question would be needed.

6. What determinations should be made by United States representatives before undertaking to assist in the development of a citizenship education project in a foreign country?

The Citizenship Education Project can provide a means of helping the people of a country to do a job that they want to do--not a means of getting them to want to do something. The need for a citizenship education program may be recognized at policy level in a particular country, but policy-makers may ignore, underestimate, or perhaps misunderstand the problems encountered at the operating level. For this reason the Citizenship Education Project staff feels that it is important to assess the chances for success at the operating stage before becoming involved at the policy level. If there is not at least a latent interest present on the part of the educational officials and teachers to engage in this kind of activity, it is doubtful that an attempt should be made to interest the government in it.

The evidence upon which to base a decision could best be gathered through informal discussions of present civic or citizenship education programs and needs with a cross-section of teachers, school directors, and lay citizens. If sufficient interest and recognition of need appears to exist at the implementation level, discussions should be held with officials of the host government who are in a position to take policy steps to initiate a citizenship education project.

7. What degree of understanding of a citizenship education project is desirable on the part of the host country officials before a project should be initiated?

Before deciding to participate in a citizenship education project, the education officials of the host country should understand clearly what a citizenship education project proposes to do and how it operates.

a. They should realize that the primary objective of the project is to increase and strengthen democratic practices through the educational system.

b. They should be made aware of the fact that their own support and cooperation is an important element in the development and success of the project.

c. They should realize that a program of in-service teacher training will be necessary to implement the project.

d. They should be aware of the commitments of finances and personnel required to implement the project.

8. To what extent can citizenship education materials and procedures developed for use in the United States be used in a foreign country?

It is axiomatic that a citizenship education project cannot be the translation of a United States program into a foreign setting. Insights gained through citizenship education efforts in the United States can be used to help the foreign government develop and carry out its own program. The success of the entire project is heavily dependent on the establishment of the feeling by the cooperating nationals that they are responsible for developing the materials and methods applicable to the environment in their home country.

9. Should the preparatory phase of the project be developed in the cooperating country or in the United States?

It is possible that in some instances it would be advisable to develop the plans and materials for a citizenship education project in the participating country without sending a group of educators from that country to the United States. Certain factors in the Guatemalan situation made it desirable that the Guatemalan team develop the major portion of their plans and materials at Teachers College. The administrative difficulties and expense of sending the CEP staff to a foreign country for an extended period of time argue strongly against it. There is an advantage in permitting the foreign educators to observe schools and educational practices of a level somewhat above their own. An enlarged concept and understanding of the part schools can play in the formation of democratic citizenship

would tend to increase their effectiveness in promoting a program in their own country. At the same time, the CEP staff recognizes the necessity to guard against any tendency which might develop among the foreign educators to acquire attitudes toward United States education that would hinder the development of the program on their return. These attitudes might be "defeatist" in the face of the vastly superior physical facilities present in the United States or they might be "idealistic," in which case possibly offensive and unacceptable to their colleagues at home.

10. Is it necessary for CEP staff members to visit the cooperating country in the process of developing a citizenship education project?

It is important that some CEP staff members see the foreign setting in which a project is to be undertaken in order to provide proper assistance and guidance in the development of that project. The length of the visit will vary with the country being served, but it must be sufficiently long to provide some first-hand acquaintance with the cultural, educational, and human resources available.

11. To what extent is language a barrier in carrying out the developmental phase of a citizenship education project and what can be done to overcome this barrier?

In working with foreign educators careful consideration must be given to the problem of language. Since the rank and file of teachers in many foreign countries do not speak English, some provision is necessary in the selection process to make sure that one or more of a team of foreign educators coming to the United States are fluent in English. The CEP staff feels that this is a better arrangement than to have an outside interpreter who has no intrinsic interest in the project. Ample time must be allowed for translation and discussion within the group in their native tongue.

IV. INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES PARTICIPATING IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GUATEMALAN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

A number of Guatemalan and American agencies and institutions were involved in developing the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project. It is important that anyone attempting to understand the step-by-step development of the Project have basic information about these agencies and the relationship they bear to each other. These participating institutions and agencies are described briefly in the paragraphs which follow.

The present Government of Guatemala is a constitutional republic with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. A president serves for six years and cannot succeed himself. The Congress numbers sixty-six and consists of a minimum of two representatives from each of the twenty-two electoral districts. It is elected every four years by universal suffrage. The country is divided into twenty-two departments; each has a governor appointed by the president. The heads of the several ministries are appointed by the president and comprise his cabinet. Control of educational affairs is centralized in the Ministry of Education which maintains small branch offices in each of the departments.

When Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas overthrew the Communist-dominated Arbenz government in June of 1954 and became President of Guatemala, he was faced with a formidable task of economic, political, and educational rehabilitation. In August of 1954, on behalf of his government, President Castillo Armas requested that the United States Government furnish technical assistance to facilitate the economic, social, and political rehabilitation of Guatemala. Representatives of the International Cooperation

Administration (ICA) conferred with representatives of the Guatemalan Government and entered into a general agreement under which technical assistance would be provided.

The general agreement for technical cooperation between the Guatemalan Government and the International Cooperation Administration called for the establishment of the United States Operations Mission to Guatemala (USOM/G). This agency was to be responsible for working out, with appropriate Guatemalan officials, the details of technical aid and administration of the Guatemalan program.

When it was determined by the Government of Guatemala and the United States Operations Mission to Guatemala that aid in the field of education would be included in the Technical Cooperation Program, a general agreement for educational help was executed and a division of education was established within the United States Operations Mission to Guatemala. This division was to work with appropriate Ministry of Education officials in determining the specific educational projects to be undertaken, to develop the details of a training program for selected Guatemalan educators in the United States and in third countries, and to advise and assist the Ministry of Education wherever possible.

The pattern of technical cooperation in Latin America usually requires the establishment in each field of operation an agency supported jointly by the United States Government and by the host government. The agency created to carry out the educational program was designated Interamerican Cooperative Education Service, or in Spanish, "Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Educacion" (SCIDE). The following five projects developed jointly by the Ministry of Education and the Education Division of USOM/G were undertaken by SCIDE:

1. A school to train teachers of home life education
2. A program to improve and extend rural teacher training facilities
3. A program to train industrial arts teachers and equip shops
4. A program to reorganize the urban education system
5. A program of rural school and community development.

The program to reorganize the urban education system offered the most promising setting for the Citizenship Education Project and it was anticipated that it would be incorporated in this program.

In 1949, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, the Citizenship Education Project was organized at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. The purpose of the Project is to provide materials and services to improve the teaching of the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship. The Citizenship Education Project works directly with the administrators and teachers in more than two thousand school systems throughout the United States. It provides assistance in establishing programs to awaken the interest of young people in local, state, and national civic affairs; to improve and strengthen their understanding of and devotion to the free institutions, the historical documents, and the cultural heritage of the United States. The initiative in planning and improving local programs is taken individually and independently by the schools and communities which collaborate with the Citizenship Education Project. The participation of teachers, administrators, pupils, and the general public in planning, carrying out, and evaluating the program is an important aspect of the type of citizenship education program advocated and stimulated by the Citizenship Education Project.

In these programs the insights gained through study and reading are broadened and strengthened through practical citizenship experience in the school and community. Many types of materials designed to promote citizenship education have been developed and distributed by CEP to participating schools which have adapted them to local needs and interests.

Early in 1955, as a result of an Operations Coordination Board directive, Dr. William F. Russell, then Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration and former President of Teachers College, was given the responsibility of discovering or developing means of helping governments receiving technical assistance to strengthen democratic tendencies within their countries through their educational systems. Dr. Russell invited members of the staff of the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College to consult with members of the Education Division of the International Cooperation Administration on this problem. Following a series of discussions it was decided by ICA representatives that the techniques of citizenship education which had been developed at Teachers College, Columbia University, represented the approach to citizenship education most likely to succeed in foreign countries.

Although the American Embassy did not participate directly in the development of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project, the American Ambassador showed much interest in it and discussed the Project at length, on numerous occasions, with USOM/G officials and with the several representatives of Teachers College who visited Guatemala in connection with the Project.

The several agencies and institutions mentioned in this section contributed to the development of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education

Project. The excellent communications which existed between these agencies, Guatemalan and American, facilitated the development of the Project.

V. EXPLORATORY AND DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES IN GUATEMALA

A. Exploration of the Climate of Attitude in the Host Country

The interest of the International Cooperation Administration in the development of a pilot citizenship education project within the Technical Cooperation Program motivated the Education Division of the USOM/G to seek evidence indicating Guatemalan receptivity to such a program. Numerous informal discussions were held with teachers and Ministry of Education personnel on the subject of methods and objectives of civic education. It appeared from these discussions that:

1. Instruction in the field of civics in the schools of Guatemala was highly theoretical, academic, and generally ineffective in terms of informing students about the civil institutions of the country, their basis in certain principles of freedom, and the role of the individual as a responsible citizen.

2. Public school teachers and administrators generally felt that what had been done in the past in the field of citizenship education was not adequate and that improved methods and practices were needed.

3. Teachers were interested in learning new and improved techniques in teaching civics that would result in higher levels of citizenship.

These inferences suggested that a citizenship education program would be well received at school and classroom level if it were proposed by the Ministry of Education.

As the opportunity presented itself, the general problem of educating for citizenship was discussed with members of the Technical Council of Education and other Ministry of Education officials. Out of these discussions there developed a fairly well-defined consensus that education for citizenship should be an important responsibility of the school, and that the schools were not adequately meeting this responsibility.

With generally favorable attitudes toward citizenship education existing among Ministry officials, school directors, and teachers, USOM/G deemed it appropriate to make specific suggestions to the Minister concerning the type of assistance which might be made available in the field of citizenship education. Information about the Teachers College Citizenship Education Project was given to Ministry officials along with translations of certain CEP materials. In answer to questions regarding methods of citizenship education used in schools in the United States, information was supplied to the Ministry officials relating to the curricular and extracurricular emphasis placed upon the development of citizenship skills and attitudes as well as upon the imparting of knowledge in this field.

As a result of these discussions and exchanges, the Ministry of Education expressed positive interest in developing a citizenship education program and requested the Education Division of USOM/G to make arrangements to send a group of Guatemalan educators to Teachers College to study the Citizenship Education Project and to observe methods of citizenship education in the United States. It was expected that this group would develop techniques and materials applicable to the citizenship education problems of the Guatemalan schools and take the lead in initiating a program in Guatemala upon their return.

Early in the developmental stage a full explanation was made of the implications of the Citizenship Education Project to the Director and other officials of the USOM/G. The Project received excellent support from the Mission throughout.

B. Selection of Participating Guatemalan Educators

The task of selecting the educators to participate in the planning and developmental stages of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project was viewed as crucial. The following list of criteria was developed as a guide in the selection process:

1. A participant should possess the traits of personality and character that would enable him to influence his colleagues favorably in promoting citizenship education

2. A participant should occupy a position in Guatemalan education which would insure a hearing for his opinions and command the respect of his colleagues

3. A participant should have a sincere interest in the improvement and extension of citizenship education and a willingness to make sacrifices of time and effort in the interests of promoting it

4. A participant should be familiar with Guatemalan history and current affairs

5. A participant should be articulate and reasonably creative

6. The group of participants should be linguistically self-sufficient in a situation requiring an excellent command of English

7. The group of participants should represent the teaching as well as the administrative point of view.

Three members of the Project staff from Teachers College, Columbia University, visited Guatemala to assist in the final selection from a group of one hundred twenty-five who had applied and others who had been recommended, and to orient Ministry of Education and USOM/G officials on the responsibilities that the Guatemalan group would have in carrying out the Project. The selection criteria were met to a reasonable degree and the six persons chosen proved to be a well-balanced team.

C. Preliminary Survey of the Guatemalan Educational and Social Setting by Teachers College Representatives

In accordance with the objectives and principles enunciated in the foregoing sections of this report, the Citizenship Education Project staff proceeded with the development of the Project. In January of 1956, Professors Paul R. Mort, Willard S. Elsbree, and William S. Vincent visited Guatemala to study the educational setting in Guatemala and to assist in selecting the group of Guatemalan educators who were to develop the program. In a meeting with Mr. Edward J. Martin, Director, and Mr. John B. Robinson, Program Officer of USOM/G, the Teachers College representatives received a briefing on the United States Technical Cooperation Program in Guatemala, and were given assurance that the USOM/G favored a program of the kind contemplated.

In a meeting with the Minister of Education, Dr. Enrique Quinonez, and top Ministry officials, they heard the Minister express a belief in the need for more effective citizenship education and the hope that the Project would accomplish this end.

In a meeting with His Excellency Edward J. Sparks, American Ambassador to Guatemala, the proposed Project was discussed at length in terms of methods, content, and the results which might be expected from its implementation. The Ambassador expressed much interest in the Project and asked to be informed of developments.

President Carlos Castillo Armas received the Teachers College professors and spent almost an hour explaining his point of view with regard to citizenship education and listening to an explanation of citizenship education practices in the United States. The President expressed

the hope that a successful citizenship education project could be developed in the schools of Guatemala.

In a two-hour meeting with a group of Guatemalan educators a discussion was held of activities in Guatemalan schools related to citizenship education and what the Guatemalan educators believed could and should be done in this field. This session provided the Teachers College representatives with an opportunity to gauge the thought of the Guatemalans in the field of citizenship education.

In addition to the meetings described above, the Teachers College representatives inspected the National High School for Boys, the Rafael Aqueche High School, the American School, the Commercial High School, the Belen School for Girls, and several town, village, and rural schools. They also visited the National Library, the University Library, the Indian Institute, the National Museum, the National Palace, parks and playgrounds. The ten days of intensive visitation, observation, and discussion provided the Teachers College representatives with an opportunity to observe at first hand and to understand something of the problems, the strengths and weaknesses, the attitudes, the ideas, and physical facilities to be found in Guatemala. An opportunity was also provided for many Guatemalans to know the thinking of the Teachers College representatives with regard to citizenship education, and education in general.

In June, 1956, Dr. James E. Russell and Dr. Hall Bartlett of the Teachers College Citizenship Education Project staff visited Guatemala. By then a decision had been made that the most opportune time for the Guatemalan group to visit Teachers College would be from September 1 to December 15, 1956. The visit of Drs. Russell and Bartlett was primarily

to discuss with the Guatemalan group the development of a list of "premises of Guatemalan liberty." The Citizenship Education Project staff at Teachers College had made a study of the Guatemalan Constitution and other historical documents relating to the political history of Guatemala and had determined that an adequate basis existed for such a list.

With the guidance and assistance of the Teachers College representatives, the Guatemalan group searched out and compiled sixty premises which constitute the legal and historical basis of freedom in Guatemalan society.

This procedure revealed that a number of major guarantees provided to United States citizens by the Constitution and laws of the United States are also provided by similar Guatemalan documents to the citizens of Guatemala.

The presence in Guatemala of the Teachers College representatives did much to stimulate the thinking of the Guatemalan officials and prospective participants along the lines of citizenship education. Their visit also provided them with a fundamental understanding and appreciation of the problems involved in introducing a citizenship education project into the Guatemalan schools.

VI. EXPLORATORY AND DEVELOPMENTAL PHASES AT TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

A. Experience of the Guatemalans at Teachers College in Developing an Understanding of What Had Been Accomplished in American Education in the Field of Citizenship Education

The group of six Guatemalan educators selected to participate in the development of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project arrived at Teachers College on September 4, 1956, to begin an intensive study of the methods and materials of citizenship education used in the United States.

Through the media of lectures, discussions, films, filmstrips, charts, maps, and literature, a complete account of the development of the Citizenship Education Project was presented to the Guatemalans. During the period of these discussions a series of field trips related to citizenship education was arranged.

To set the stage for understanding of citizenship in its world-wide implications, the group toured the United Nations buildings and listened to the General Assembly in session. They were taken on a guided tour of the New York Stock Exchange where they observed the operation of certain aspects of a free economy.

Schools of all levels were visited over a period of weeks. During these visits the group saw citizenship education practices in action. They met with student councils and witnessed many examples of the acceptance of responsibility by students of all ages.

The group examined all materials developed in the Citizenship Education Project and each member was provided with a complete set of these

materials for his personal use. They examined dozens of textbooks and workbooks used in citizenship education and civics courses in the United States.

Since only two of the six Guatemalan educators were fluent in English it was necessary to allow time for interpretation within the group. A technique which proved effective was to provide for informal discussion sessions in which the group interpreted and discussed materials presented orally by CEP staff members.

The interest which American students took in the national election and the many laboratory practices carried out by classes and individual students in connection with the campaigns and elections provided the Guatemalan group with an excellent opportunity to see one aspect of citizenship education in action.

To promote a high degree of adjustment on the part of the Guatemalans to United States school and community life, opportunities were arranged for the members of the group to attend special school and community functions and to visit American homes. On numerous occasions members of the group were given the opportunity to tell student and civic groups about Guatemala and to show slides. Although certain of these activities were not an integral part of the Project, they proved to be of considerable value in setting the tone and creating attitudes of acceptance and understanding.

B. Adaptation of Certain Principles and Procedures of the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, to the Citizenship Education Needs of Guatemala

Following this initial introduction of the Guatemalans to life in the United States, to the educational system, and to the Citizenship Education Project, the next step was to consider how the experience of the CEP in helping to improve citizenship education in the United States could be used in improving citizenship education in Guatemala's schools.

The following major aspects of the Citizenship Education Project were considered with regard to their adaptability to the needs of Guatemala:

1. Ideological Basis
2. Materials
3. Teaching Procedures
4. Teacher Education Program.

These aspects are treated in the succeeding paragraphs.

1. Ideological Basis. The Premises of American Liberty, as stated in the basic documents of the United States, constitute the civic base of American society and are the basis of the Citizenship Education Project. This fact was made clear to the Guatemalan group. Before leaving Guatemala they had examined constitutional documents of Guatemala and had compiled a list of the premises of Guatemalan freedom contained therein. This list was now re-examined and refined in terms of its possible use as the ideological basis of a citizenship education project for Guatemala. It proved to be very adequate.

2. Materials. The problem of deciding the type of materials required for a citizenship education project in Guatemala was next considered. The group had seen how the basic textbook of the Citizenship Education Project, When Men Are Free, had been written with direct relation to the Premises of American Liberty. The group felt that a basic textbook would be required for a project in Guatemala and decided to write one based on the premises of Guatemalan liberty. The list of premises was divided and two writing teams of three persons each proceeded to write the text. When the writing was completed they exchanged manuscripts and carefully checked each other's work. Paths of Freedom (Senderos de Libertad) was chosen as the title of the text.

Experience in the Citizenship Education Project has demonstrated that classroom teachers are more apt to use citizenship education materials and are able to use them more effectively if they understand exactly the purposes the materials are intended to serve. It has also been found important to suggest the manner in which new materials can be used to best advantage. Since the citizenship education materials and methods would be completely new to the educators of Guatemala, it seemed advisable to prepare an explanation of the purpose, organization, and use of the citizenship education text, which would be provided to all teachers concerned. Such a document was prepared by the Guatemalan group. It emphasizes the importance of citizenship education in the civic growth and development of Guatemala and urges teachers to utilize every opportunity to teach the lessons of good citizenship. It points out the importance of habits and skills in addition to knowledge in the process of developing good citizens. It explains the plan of organization of the text, its relationship to the

Guatemalan premises of freedom and recommends methods for the classroom use of the text.

3. Teaching Procedures. Since citizenship in a complex democratic society involves attitudes and skills as well as knowledge, effective citizenship education must provide for the development of the necessary attitudes and skills. The technique employed by the Citizenship Education Project to achieve this goal is called "laboratory practice." The carrying out of a laboratory practice removes citizenship education from the realm of abstract theory and places it on the action level in real-life situations. The laboratory may be the schools, the community, the home, or the world depending upon the practice used, but, in any event, it calls for action on the part of the students participating in it.

The Guatemalan group studied the use of laboratory practices in citizenship education and read hundreds of descriptions of laboratory practices covering a wide range of topics. They also observed a number of laboratory practices in the process of being carried out in the schools which they visited.

As a result of this study and observation the group concluded that the laboratory practice idea was adaptable to the Guatemalan situation.

In the light of their knowledge of the schools and of community life in Guatemala the group prepared a series of fifteen model laboratory practices which they felt could be carried out effectively in Guatemalan schools. They also drew up an explanation of the various steps involved in the development of a laboratory practice.

4. Teacher Education Program. In the process of developing a program of citizenship education there is no substitute for well-trained teachers

oriented to the materials and procedures to be used. In developing the Citizenship Education Project in the United States extensive use has been made of in-service teacher workshops in which detailed procedures are considered.

It was obvious that some form of in-service training in citizenship education would be an indispensable element in the development of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project. This matter was considered at length by the Guatemalan group in consultation with the Citizenship Education Project staff. It was decided that the work conference technique would be the most effective way to present the citizenship education methods and materials to the teachers of Guatemala who would introduce this citizenship education program into the curriculum.

With advice from the Citizenship Education Project staff, the Guatemalan group drew up a detailed plan for a ten-hour work conference to be given in five two-hour sessions.

The objectives of the work conference were stated as follows:

a. To develop in the minds of the participants a clear concept of what constitutes good citizenship

b. To impress upon the participants the importance of citizenship education as a function of the school

c. To present, explain, and discuss the citizenship education textbook (Senderos de Libertad) and the method of using it

d. To show the relationship between the premises of Guatemalan liberty and the textbook

e. To explain the use of the teacher's guide

f. To introduce and explain the use of the laboratory practice as a technique of teaching citizenship education

g. To assist each participant in planning a laboratory practice to use in his own school

h. To relate the laboratory practice technique to the use of the citizenship education textbook

i. To motivate the teaching of citizenship in the schools of Guatemala.

The completion of the plan for a teacher work conference terminated the work of the Guatemalan group at Teachers College.

VII. THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION WORK CONFERENCE IN GUATEMALA CITY

A. The Work Conference

The Guatemalan Citizenship Education work conference was held from February 12 to 18, 1957, at the Instituto Nacional Normal de Senoritas Belen. The opening ceremony was attended by approximately one thousand teachers, administrators, and lay citizens. This ceremony was broadcast over the national radio and rebroadcast the following evening. President Castillo Armas attended the opening session of the conference and delivered an address in which he emphasized the importance of teaching people how to live together. He referred to the citizenship education conference as "an event of transcendent importance in the educational life of the people of Guatemala."

Following the opening ceremony all social studies, Spanish, and auxiliary teachers and other educators interested were invited to register for the training course. A total of one hundred twenty-five teachers and administrators did so. The participants were divided into three groups of approximately forty each. Two of the Guatemalan instructors trained at Teachers College acted as leaders of each group.

In the meetings, intensive discussions were held of what constitutes good citizenship; Senderos de Libertad was presented and explained; the guide for teachers and the laboratory practices in citizenship education were discussed. Each teacher went through the process of developing a laboratory practice, which was then analyzed and evaluated by the instructors. At the close of the conference, each participant was asked to evaluate his experiences.

Throughout the work conference, interest and enthusiasm was evident on the part of the participants. There was strong indication that the methods and materials presented would be used by the teachers in their classrooms. Participants, generally, manifested a desire to have periodic follow-up meetings to continue the work begun in the conference.

Following each day's session, the staff met with the Teachers College representative, Winfield P. Niblo, for a critique of the day's developments and to coordinate plans for the next day's session.

At the close of the conference, discussions were held with Ministry officials with regard to steps which should be taken in promoting the development of the Project. It was recommended to the Ministry, orally and in writing, that a qualified coordinator of citizenship education be appointed within the Ministry; that periodic discussion and planning meetings of participating teachers be held; that a lay advisory committee on citizenship education be formed; that plans be developed to evaluate the results of the Citizenship Education Project at the end of the school year; that appropriate recognition be given to teachers doing outstanding work in citizenship education; and that plans be made for extending the citizenship education program to all secondary schools in Guatemala. The Minister was either not willing, or not able, to commit the Ministry to the achievement of these recommendations.

B. Work Conference Staff Evaluation

In their evaluation of the conference the instructors stated that they had found an active and sincere interest in citizenship education on the part of the great majority of teachers registered in their groups.

They also felt, as a result of their observations of the participants, that interest in citizenship education had been awakened and strengthened to a marked degree.

Although the opinions of the instructors varied somewhat, the consensus was that the materials and techniques presented in the conference would be used by the majority of the participants to some extent in the school programs and that a basis would be created for evaluation of the effectiveness of the Project at the end of the school year.

While the group of instructors was developing the plans and materials at Teachers College for the Project in Guatemala, they anticipated the possibility of considerable opposition by Guatemalan teachers and school directors who might feel that this was a "North American" effort to influence Guatemalan education. The Citizenship Education Project staff early recognized that such a feeling would be a possible threat to the Project's success. Therefore, an integral part of the Project idea was to conduct it in a manner that would keep the North American influence out, in fact as well as in appearance. The participants' reaction during the conference and the evaluation by the participants and by the instructors indicate that this objective was achieved.

On several occasions participants attempted to inject controversial political issues into the conference discussions. These referred primarily to what appeared to be inconsistencies between rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the conduct of certain government agencies. The instructors by-passed these interruptions on the ground that the purpose of the conference was to present methods and practices in the field of citizenship education in the schools, and not to debate current controversial issues.

The instructors felt that the participants were convinced of the utility and value of the instruction and the instructional materials. When considering how the conference might have been improved, the instructors were unanimous in declaring that insufficient time had been allowed to develop thoroughly the concepts of citizenship education; and that there was a need for more opportunity for discussion. The instructors suggested that some advantage would have been gained if the participant group had been divided, for at least part of the time, according to teaching specialties to permit more intensive discussion of problems related to specific fields.

All instructors thought that a plan should be developed to provide an opportunity for interested teachers to continue to meet periodically to exchange ideas and to discuss ways of improving methods and materials.

They believed that the Ministry should name a coordinator of citizenship education who would have sufficient authority and budget to plan and carry out the extension of this program to all secondary schools in the country. This coordinator would arrange follow-up meetings of teachers and school directors, and develop a plan for evaluating the results of the activities in the schools.

The following statement written by one of the instructors at the end of the conference is typical of the attitude of the instructor group toward the general problem of education in Guatemala. It indicates that the introduction of the citizenship education practices has helped to bring Guatemalan educators to grips with a major problem of education; namely, of providing a type of education that is functional and meaningful in the life of students.

"The real change that our educational system needs is not merely to change the program and curriculum, but to change the attitude of the teachers toward the teaching process. Ours is an eighty per cent theoretical learning situation. The method of teacher exposition is overemphasized along with homework, examinations, rewards and punishment.

"The pupils are prepared to take examinations, but very little for real life, therefore citizenship attitudes are lost in the process of rote learning. Although the students do some practices in civics and acquire some knowledge in this field, it is something apart from the whole learning process. With more lifelike situations provided by the school, the student can find a practical laboratory and develop desirable attitudes and skills of good citizenship along with greater awareness of public problems. Greater interest will lead them into more active participation. All teachers in the workshop feel this need for change in our educational system and are willing to start with themselves."

C. Participant Evaluation of the Work Conference

The attitudes and opinions of Guatemalan teachers with regard to the desirability and feasibility of citizenship education are certain to have a strong influence on the success of any such program undertaken in the schools of Guatemala. To ascertain as objectively as possible the attitudes and opinions of the participants, each one was asked during the final session to complete a form which would indicate his thinking with regard to citizenship education.

The first section of the form dealt with the instructional materials which had been presented and explained during the conference. Eighty per cent of the participants expressed the opinion that Senderos de Libertad would be effective and usable in the social studies program. Twenty per cent said the textbook would be of some value. The teachers' guide was judged effective and useful by seventy-two per cent of the participants. Twenty-eight per cent indicated that the guide would be of some value in the classroom work. The laboratory practices in citizenship education

represent a departure from the conventional teaching methods employed in the Guatemalan schools. Nevertheless, eighty-five per cent of the participants said these could be used effectively in the educational program.

Throughout the conference the participants showed that they were well impressed with the written materials. Many teachers requested additional copies for others in their buildings and the entire supply of mimeographed materials was exhausted on the third day of the conference. Although there were additional copies of Senderos de Libertad available, a limit of two hundred was placed on the distribution at the conference. The final written evaluation of the materials served to confirm the high degree of acceptance.

An overwhelming majority of the participants expressed the belief that the approach to citizenship education presented in the conference was: (1) adaptable to the school program; (2) an improvement over previous methods of citizenship education; (3) worth developing as widely as possible in the school system; and (4) a stimulant toward greater awareness of the need for higher levels of citizenship.

D. Press Coverage and Response to the Work Conference

Reaction of the Guatemalan press to the citizenship education conference and to the idea of emphasizing citizenship education in the Guatemalan schools was positive.

Although President Castillo Armas' decision to make the opening address at the conference undoubtedly influenced greatly the amount of attention given to the Project in the public and private press, the amount and type of coverage was, nevertheless, impressive. All major newspapers

carried front-page stories of the conference. Even those editors who were hostile to the policies and incumbency of the Minister of Education were highly favorable in their comments on citizenship education.

The following excerpt from an editorial appearing in El Expectador, a highly regarded private newspaper, gives an indication of the recognition of need for citizenship education:

> "It is well to repeat that the educational system has done little or nothing towards the formation of citizens in Guatemala. Perhaps because of this our democratic bases have been weak. We should discard, as the memory of a nightmare, the fact of the deviation recently suffered under the extremist influence that dominated a good part of the teaching profession and which undermined the systems in general of the public schools. We should recognize the neglect suffered by these first rights of education. The principle is axiomatic that social and civic progress of the people can only take root solidly through the schools; that the qualities of good citizenship can be created in the school; and the practices of good civic virtues should be cultivated there."

VIII. CONCLUSION

In reviewing and analyzing this "pilot project" the CEP staff at Teachers College feels that, given certain conditions, there is a reasonable basis for believing that similar projects could be successful in other countries. It would be unrealistic to leave the impression with potential initiators of citizenship education projects that all the important questions have been answered or that all the difficult problems have been solved. They have not.

It cannot be overemphasized that each such project should be "custom built" to fit the local situation in which it was being developed and which it would serve. Each aspect of a proposed project would require detailed consideration in terms of the several influences to which it would be subject during and following the planning-development stage.

The CEP staff feels that this report suggests a way to approach the problem of carrying out a citizenship education project in a foreign country which permits the responsibility and the credit to remain with the citizens of the host country. It illustrates one way in which the United States Technical Cooperation Program may assist at least some participating governments to achieve higher levels of democratic citizenship through their educational systems.

Many observers believe that a positive and immediate need exists in Guatemala for special emphasis on citizenship education. During the development of the Project the CEP staff sought the considered opinion of persons whose experience and position qualified them to speak with some degree of authority in this matter.

The following was written by Mrs. Graciela Quan, lawyer, social worker, and Guatemalan delegate to the United Nations:

> "The necessity for citizenship education in any nation is never temporary but permanent, and in our country where Constitutional reform is frequent, this education has to be dynamic, to the effect of placing the citizen in a position to know what changes have been made in his rights, and his corresponding obligations.
>
> "In my opinion, schools, without distinction between public and private, have a fundamental responsibility for the civic education of future citizens; not only an education which consists of legal information upon which the rights and responsibilities of citizens are based, but an active formation of the students by means of permanent democratic practices in their relations with teachers and with the student group of which they are a part.
>
> "I believe that the real error committed by the school has consisted of making civic education a theoretical course, and not a democratic philosophy of practice in operation, that permits the student during all his student life to function in a democratic environment that influences the future life of all students."

Miss Rosalba Galicia, teacher of social studies and psychology, had this to say:

> "Special emphasis should be given to citizenship education in the schools of Guatemala. The many problems and failures that poor attitudes toward public affairs have caused, the indifference of the majority in the participation of public civic problems, the indolence in paying taxes, the lack of respect toward the law, and many other aspects that are a common and daily problem in our country, are strong indices of the urgent necessity of education for citizenship in our schools and among our people. Most citizens have little or no knowledge of the laws, and even those who have this knowledge sometimes misuse it. Most of the time the general attitude is to ask for rights and prerogatives without acceptance of the responsibility. Very often the term 'citizenship' is misunderstood and taken for just political affairs. I think that the roots of the behavior of the people as citizens should be laid in the school, and through proper citizenship education build good attitudes and improve, in general, the participation of citizens in public life. This can only be done through education."

Mr. Edward J. Martin, Director of the USOM/G during the period in which the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project was developed, made the following statement:

> "With the liberation in June, 1954, followed by the inauguration of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, the Government of Guatemala has been democratic and moderate. Remarkable progress has been made since the liberation; but it must be remembered that the new government inherited a plundered treasury, a demoralized force of public servants, a condition approaching economic stagnation, a history of corruption by public officials, and almost universal disillusionment among the populace.
>
> "When the government set forth to rehabilitate Guatemala and substitute democratic processes for communistic totalitarianism, the obstacles were formidable indeed. The fact that substantial gains have been made is truly a tribute to the dedication and determination of the President and other officials of the government.
>
> "In view of the recent history of Guatemala and its democratic alignment since 1954, there is, in my opinion, a special need for citizenship education in Guatemala. This view is predicated on the opinions expressed by the President of Guatemala, officials of the Ministry of Education, and private individuals with whom I had occasion to discuss this matter. At no time was any dissent, reservation or opposition expressed."

Mr. John B. Robinson, Program Officer of USOM/G, expressed the following thoughts relative to citizenship and citizenship education:

> "In probably most underdeveloped countries the politically articulate are few in number. The form and trappings of democratic government frequently exist, but they are largely illusory. If the need for citizenship development and training is demonstrated in the United States, and it is, it is all the more essential in countries where citizens' wants and aspirations exceed the capabilities of the government to provide the substantial benefit of better living. This situation provides fertile soil for development of communism and negative economic and social philosophies.
>
> "Until responsible attitudes are developed among an ever-widening segment of the population, democracy and democratic government must remain a hope and an aspiration

and not a reality. Until a democratic situation does exist, with its implications for its citizens of obligations as well as rights, government paternalism, beneficent though it may be, cannot fully meet the needs and desires of the people.

"Citizenship education holds promise for Guatemala. A real assessment of its value must await the time when today's students occupy positions of leadership. However, the local acceptance of this approach to education is excellent. The techniques evolved in the U.S. appear adaptable to Guatemala. If the promise is realized, and the promise makes the effort worth-while, we may expect a stronger Guatemala, one which will not again lethargically slip to the depths of Communist-dominated tyranny."

Mr. Robert B. MacVean, Director of the American School of Guatemala and student of Guatemalan education, stated as follows:

"Citizenship education is definitely needed in Guatemala and there is an opportunity now to do some effective work in citizenship education.

"Citizenship education through the schools could result in a rewarding program. I find that teachers at nearly all levels are interested in changing their procedures and in working out better plans.

"In my opinion the schools should carry the major responsibility in citizenship education. I am fully aware that education is far from universal in Guatemala; still, to a great extent, the future leaders of Guatemala and the future responsible citizens must come from the school population, reduced as it may be."

The CEP staff considers that the thoughts and attitudes expressed in the foregoing statements constitute significant clues in assessing the favorableness of climate for the initiation and development of a citizenship education project.

The fact that the President of Guatemala has shown much interest in the Citizenship Education Project is significant in its future development. When the Guatemalans returned from their experience at Teachers College, President Castillo Armas called them to his office

and spent approximately an hour listening to the account of their work in the United States, to their plans for propagating citizenship education in Guatemala, and in examining the citizenship education materials they had produced. The President complimented the group highly on the work accomplished. He indicated that he would instruct the Minister of Education to assist as much as possible in carrying out these plans. He volunteered to give the opening speech at the citizenship education work conference. In that speech he expressed his belief in the importance of the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project. His conversations with representatives of the United States Operations Mission to Guatemala and of Teachers College, his interest in the experiences of the Guatemalan group at Teachers College, his public pronouncements in support of improved citizenship all indicate his desire to promote this type of education in the Guatemalan school system. In the judgment of the Teachers College staff, the President of Guatemala will support the Citizenship Education Project to the extent and in the manner necessary to achieve a successful program.

Following the completion of their experience at Teachers College the Guatemalan educators proceeded to Washington, D.C., for an evaluation conference with members of the Education Division of the International Cooperation Administration. Dr. Edward Berman, Chief of the Latin American Branch of the Education Division, in response to a series of questions submitted by the CEP staff indicated that the ICA evaluation group considered that the Guatemalans were extremely well prepared for the task confronting them; that they showed a fine grasp of the problem in all its implications. The ICA evaluation group expressed the thought that the entire project was extremely worth-while.

The Chief of the Education Division of the United States Operations Mission to Guatemala, Mr. Ray Rignall, is the American representative in Guatemala most in touch with the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project and most able to encourage and assist in its development. He has indicated a strong interest in the Project and a recognition of its importance. Mr. Rignall stated that the Education Division will do all it can to assist the Government of Guatemala in its efforts to extend and strengthen citizenship education.

We return, in the closing paragraphs, to the larger considerations which gave birth to the Guatemalan experiment in citizenship education. Much is being said and written by men in high places of the necessity for helping the developing countries and newly-freed colonial peoples of the world to defend their freedom and to help and encourage them to remain independent.

A recent and notable pronouncement in this field is the Statement on National Policy on Economic Development Assistance by the Committee for Economic Development. The matter of economic development of underdeveloped countries and the resultant stability and independence is considered in terms of the national security of the United States; of the commercial advantage that would accrue to the United States as a result of the increased economic development; and the traditional humanitarian concern which the United States has for the well-being of all people.

There seems to be implied in the CED report the belief that economic development in itself will result in stable and truly independent countries. In section three of the CED statement under the heading "A New Concept of Our Security" the Committee states as follows:

> "Finally, the Committee is of the opinion that we must now look upon economic development assistance to the free, underdeveloped nations as a major direct element of our long term efforts to make our freedom secure. Their continued independence is a bulwark to our security, a greater bulwark the greater their own strength and determination to remain independent. Their independence should be the aim of our policy toward them. That objective serves their own interests as faithfully as it serves ours."

The report of the Committee for Economic Development is being cited because the CEP staff feels that it is typical of a widespread but incomplete conception of how a country secures and maintains its stability and independence. According to the theory inherent in the CED report, the tremendous economic development which took place in Japan and Germany from 1870 to 1939, or in Russia from 1917 to date, should have assured the stability and independence of those countries and peoples. The CEP staff believes that it did not. The CEP staff would go a step further and assert that economic development will contribute to the strengthening of whatever form of government or ideology is, or may become, dominant in a country, be it fascism, communism, or democracy. The CEP staff believes that this was the thought which prompted the formulation of the original directive which resulted in the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project.

In concluding this report, the CEP staff would like to emphasize that the achievement and maintenance of independence by a country and its people depends upon certain definite factors. There must be a well-developed understanding on the part of the citizenry of what freedom means in terms of the rights and responsibilities of individual citizens and of their government. There must be present in the body politic deeply rooted attitudes toward the responsibilities of men in a free society which result in a willingness to participate in civic affairs and to accept the obligations

of citizenship. Finally, the people must possess the skills and abilities which will enable them to participate in democratic governmental processes and to assert effectively their prerogatives in a democratic society. People are not born with these understandings, attitudes, and skills. They must be learned and practiced. It cannot be effectively denied that the public schools of America have played and are playing a major role in teaching the lessons of democracy to Americans. Can the United States, as it carries out its programs of assistance to countries with democratic aspirations, afford to neglect the possibilities of strengthening democracy through the educational systems of those countries? The CEP staff submits that the United States cannot afford to neglect this opportunity. The Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project illustrates one way in which this problem may be approached.

In the March 28, 1957, edition of the New York Herald Tribune there appeared a feature article by Mr. James E. Warner, Assistant Chief of the Washington Bureau of that newspaper. In this article Mr. Warner reports an interview with His Excellency Jose Luis Cruz Salazar, Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States, in which the Ambassador tells of the importance of the citizenship education program in Guatemala. In the interview the Ambassador dwelt at length on the citizenship education text, Paths of Freedom, produced in connection with the Guatemalan Citizenship Education Project. Mr. Warner quotes the Ambassador as follows:

> "By issuing this document, the incumbent officials of my government ... have deliberately undertaken a program to indoctrinate our citizens with the idea that the true authority of the state lies with them, and not with us; that such authority as we officials possess is only that which has been freely and explicitly entrusted to us by the people; that we must exercise it according to law; that we must account for our conduct, and that clear-cut courses of redress are available to

> all citizens, individually and collectively, if any official oversteps his stipulated authority. I am most proud and happy to be a member of a government that has the courage and the integrity to do such a thing."

Mr. Warner concludes his article with the following statement which is also an appropriate conclusion for this report:

> "The educational experiment may well warrant close study by governments of other countries, not only in Latin America, but elsewhere in the world."