

## Some Social and Economic Implications of the Youth Problem

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**Y**OUTH is perennial. From that time of historical origins figuratively referred to in the bloody combat between Cain and Abel, there have been youth problems. These problems are at least as old as history, and probably antedate it. Stripped of their filigree, their framework reveals similarities among them from time immemorial.

What are these common elements? The youth problem may be put in the form of a simple question: What is the proper education and training for youth, and how can his social and occupational absorption be best achieved? The question is very simple to put, but it includes subdivisions nothing short of immense in their comprehensiveness, and bewilderingly complex in their ramifications. Here are included implications that are both personal and social in direction. They touch countless points on the circumference of personality, and on the surface of the sphere of the innumerable complex groupings that compose society and government.

But let me reassert that whatever the degree of simplicity or of complexity which the proper solution of the problem presents, the question remains the same: first, what is the proper education and

training of youth, and second, how can youth's social and occupational absorption be best accomplished?

One might say that society is being continually rejuvenated by the youth which it continually absorbs. Or, using another figure, mankind is a constantly running river. Into it are emptying streamlets of youth. In stretches the great stream is sluggish; in some places it is polluted—in spots even miasmatic, filled with stench. Except for the uninterrupted new supply, the main current would continually decrease and finally dry

up entirely. Youth keeps it going in all of the several moods and conditions which compose it.

Under normal conditions this is a relatively peaceful, though not in every respect, pleasant scene. But either the main artery or its tributaries, or even both may become turbulent, and then things begin to happen.

Speaking no longer in terms of figures, mature society consciously and purposefully attempts to condition young people before the latter are admitted to the formal circles of adults. There are requirements along the lines of knowledge to be learned, skills to be acquired, ideals to be accepted, and in general one or

■ *Increased difficulty in seeking a present-day solution to the age-old youth problem has come in the lengthened period within which young people must seek employment. The Chairman of the American Council on Education, in analyzing the situation, expresses the belief that continued unemployment for young people may expose them to "the suggestions of innumerable agencies that can use them for ulterior purposes," or worse.*

more gods to be worshipped. Both the scope and the nature of these requirements change from time to time. They vary according to known needs, and also according to sentiments that dominate any given period. Here is exactly the source of what we now call the youth problem.

In what areas have these judgments and sentiments for change registered of late? Common observation would seem to answer—largely in social and economic areas. What are the factual bases from which these demands have arisen? They do not seem hard to find. At least some of them are:

1. Decrease in general employment, both technological and depressional
2. Need for lengthening the period of formal education of youth so as to provide employment for a larger number of adults
3. Need for an increase in the amount of vocational training of a technical kind during youth, or the unemployment period
4. Need for widely extended adult education facilities, to be available from the inception of employment of youth, for an indefinite number of years thereafter.

Let us state the case more concretely.

"In the United States there are 20,100,000 young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, inclusive. Of these, 4,000,000 are in schools and colleges, 500,000 are in school on a part-time basis, and 7,600,000 are employed on other than work relief jobs. Of these youth 2,800,000 are married women who are not otherwise employed and are not in school. It follows from these data that there are approximately 5,200,000 young men and women who are out of school and unemployed."<sup>1</sup>

The implications of these figures have

come home with stunning reality to many individuals and groups. Some persons have reacted to make constructive contributions toward the solution of the problems involved. But this is not true of all. There are others who have ends of their own which they are trying to serve by taking advantage of youth's turbulent condition. President Coffman in his latest biennial report says: "More than three hundred national societies whose programs involve the exploitation of youth now exist in this country."<sup>2</sup>

One of the outstanding characteristics of these exploiters of youth, he goes on to say, is that they "tend to be destructive in their programs." "They are 'against' things, they constantly are on the hunt for 'issues.' Regardless of time or place 'all's wrong with the world'."<sup>3</sup>

#### NOT A NEW PROBLEM

I need only remind you that the main features in this situation are age old. Why was it that Socrates was condemned to drink the hemlock? Because of the accusations that he was corrupting youth by winning them away from traditional gods; that he was interfering with the desired accomplishments of those entrenched in strong positions of power in the state; that he sought changes in long standing forms of governmental and social procedures.

The main outlines of the problem of youth have always been and always will be essentially the same. On one hand it presents the question: What is the desired composition of the youth stream? This question and any attempted answer to it will involve the classified fields of the social, civic, and religious concepts and practices. On the other hand is the question of where and under what con-

<sup>1</sup> Coffman, Lotus D., *Biennial Message to the People of Minnesota*, 1936, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

ditions the youth stream is to enter the main current. This question and any attempted answer to it involve the concepts and practices of education, occupation, and economics.

Now let it not be supposed that youth itself is just a plastic, inert substance, which lends itself as potter's or sculptor's clay in the hands of whomever for the moment may seek to mold it. You need not be told that this youth exercises varying degrees of self-determination of varying amounts of force. The variations differ in proportion to the particular urge for self expression that any occasion provides, and in inverse ratio to the amount of outside management attempted.

#### AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

The most comprehensively representative illustration of youth assistance that I know is the American Youth Act introduced into Congress on January 14, 1936. What are its main features?

1. It applies to ages 16 to 25. (Sec. 1)
2. It provides vocational training. (Sec. 1)
3. It provides vocational employment. (Sec. 1)
4. It provides full educational opportunities for high school, college, and post-graduate students. (Sec. 1)
5. It provides "for full payment of fees plus living expenses of needy students in high school and vocational schools; provided, that such compensation, exclusive of fees, shall in no case be less than \$15 a month." (Sec. 2)
6. It provides that the wages paid undergraduate and graduate college students shall be not less than \$25 a month. (Sec. 3)
7. It provides that the benefits of the Act shall not be abridged by reason of nativity, race, color, religion, or political opinion, participation in strikes, or refusal to work for compensation or under conditions not meeting trade standards.
8. It provides that the Act shall be administered by a Youth Commission not

less than one-third of whose members shall be elected by youth organizations, not less than one-third of representatives of organized labor, and the remainder of representatives of local social service, educational and consumers' organizations. (Sec. 5)

These are the main provisions of the Bill itself. What are some of the significant things to be learned from it?

First, and as evidence bearing upon what we have already said, the whole act is the abortive outcome of a social-economic commotion of distinctly major proportions and violent character. The even tenor of events had been disrupted by an upheaval which set everything out of regular perspective. Youth was caught in the cataclysm. Both the cause and cure of the upheaval were sought. The most obvious factor being lack of income due to curtailed employment, the solution indicated seemed to be income through guaranteed employment.

Furthermore, the Bill contains evidence of an attempt to improve the general employment situation by assisting youth to remain in school until after the age of twenty-five years. In the sections dealing with minimum wages and personnel of the committee to administer the Act, there are striking indications of the handiwork of organized labor. In the anti-discrimination clause there is the unmistakable evidence of the influence of propaganda groups; there are also expressions of tenets flagrantly antagonistic to certain fundamental policies of labor organizations, as well as those supporting certain trade union standards.

Personally, I do not know how far the original initiative for this Bill came from youth. Credit them with as much of it as you please, the detailed contents go far to prove that it was formulated under the tutelage, if not the direct leadership, of those who were far more interested in

using youth to further favored plans of organizations, than to rescue youth from the mêlée.

Yet this is the bill that the press reported to be the cause for which 5,000 young persons converged "on Washington in a four-day pilgrimage from February 19 to 22, called by the American Youth Congress to symbolize the needs of America."

"Support and indorsement of the bill," it is said, "has come from municipal councils of Cleveland, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Youngstown, numerous State Federations of Labor and labor unions, various councils of the YMCA, National Intercollegiate Christian Council, National Council of Methodist Youth, National Negro Congress, American Student Union.

"An Advisory Board, comprising fifty-nine distinguished Americans recently organized as the organization's 'elder statesmen,' has praised the idea underlying the American Youth Congress."<sup>4</sup> If you are interested you may read the list of the entire membership of this Board in the *New York Times* of January 16, last.

This Bill illustrates another feature indicative of some mental confusion, in attempts to deal with youth in the emergency. Youth is not a class, it is an age group. It has problems that are common with other groups in two different directions. In one direction are those problems which arise specifically in connection with the depression, and these are by no means limited to youth or any other age group. In the other are those which are found in youth as an age group. The latter again are partially due to depression and partially due to age group factors. Those features which are common because of

the factor of similar age, tend to disappear as the members of the group pass from youth into adulthood.

#### DANGER OF EXPLOITATION

Out of this situation arises a danger of introversion upon what may be called problems of youth which tend to disappear with the shifting basis of age. I am entirely in sympathy with considering problems confronting youth today because they are youth, and because they find themselves in an emergency along with the rest of us. But there is serious danger of over-emphasizing the factor of youth in contrast, if you please, with other factors of common experience arising out of the emergency. This seems to be exactly what certain groups have attempted to do and to a degree have succeeded in doing—those who are trying to lead off youth groups into various and sundry directions.

Of course youth has two outstanding needs: opportunity and security. These are what other individuals and groups need also, but are they not present among youth in inverse proportion to age? Youth, looking out upon life, has a wider range of opportunity than security, and at that moment is in less need of economic security than is a mature group, and certainly less than one of advanced age.

Exploitation of youth seems more easily accomplished than exploitation of other age groups because of the lack of experience and responsibility accompanying youthfulness, and because of the commendable desire of youth to have proper opportunity for achievement and for expression.

Let us consider this same issue from a somewhat different point of view. Doubtless some will say that these statements of imputed motives are unfair and biased in their interpretations. Let us admit that there are organizations and pro-

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, January 29, 1937.

grams working unselfishly in behalf of youth and trying devotedly to aid in the solution of its problems. Certainly no intelligent and honest person can deny the validity of such an assumption. Let us consider three such agencies rather briefly—the church, the school, and the state.

#### THE CHURCH AND YOUTH

If I observe correctly, the church is concerned mainly in matters having to do with belief. It is deeply disturbed by the influence upon youth of those forms of thought which challenge and even deny traditional theological dogma, and which tend to foster youth interest and activities along lines which are non-conformist as judged by tradition and general ecclesiastical practice. If anyone thinks that I have especially in mind the Catholic hierarchy, let me assure him in no uncertain terms that I have not. Between the months of May and September, 1936, there were happenings in the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) involving youth programs and their leadership, more dramatic than anything else of its kind that I know. Of course all denominational groups are confronted with this issue in some form.

A common slogan is, "Fight communism with more religion!" This was reported to have been said recently at a national meeting by one occupying a place of leading importance for youth. At the same meeting optimism was expressed because in so many colleges and universities, including the secular, courses in Bible and Religion are being given credit toward the baccalaureate degrees given by these institutions.

At the risk of all that may be heaped on his head—and he in advance can have no idea how much this may be—some one ought to say some things about this. He ought to say that knowledge about a

subject is not in the least a guarantee of such knowledge functioning; that what is needed is not a study of credits given but of character and personality changes in the individual resulting from these studies; that in general these courses are among the greatest snags on the campuses where they are offered; that very frequently football players in particular, who are advised where the easy courses are, will be found enrolled in them; and furthermore, that among those colleges which call themselves religious and even require courses in the Bible and Religion for graduation, not infrequently may be found institutions which in their dealings with their own students, with their own faculty members, with other similar institutions, and with the public, not only indulge in practices but also pursue policies distinctly unethical and even immoral. These are some of the things that ought to be said because youth is condemned as wicked when it doesn't wax enthusiastic over the slogan of "more religion."

Not only these things but some others ought to be said. It ought to be said that young people with a background of study in natural science, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy, cannot be driven to religious beliefs or institutions by fear, as they once were; that they are becoming skeptical of ecclesiastical institutions whose message is mainly vocal and whose voice is mute before great problems of human welfare; that if they accept communism or any other condemned substitute, they will do it because they think it offers a program of action; that they find religion and the church used by individuals and organizations as fortresses behind which to defend long-standing prejudices and even anti-social practices; that resulting from this situation young men and women seek a solution without enthusiasm for institutionalized religion;

and that it is the solution of *living issues* that is uppermost in their minds.

#### THE SCHOOL AND YOUTH

And now to education. Once it directed events; now events seem to direct it. This is certainly true in Russia, in Italy, and in Germany. It is not true in England. There is grave danger of its becoming true in America.

Some may say that the best thing about the YOUTH ACT is its clearly implied pledge of allegiance to education. Yet in education where, it would seem, intelligence ought to reign, there are certainly some strange anomalies.

Here are presidents of three leading American universities. They are unquestionably today the most publicized by the press of any persons in similar positions. In an address delivered last month one of them said that the best college education is that which is the hardest to get; that Cherokee, taught thoroughly, is better than a course in current history. Another has repeatedly said in print that higher education is not interested in the character development of an individual, but only in the intellectual. The third in two recent annual reports has stressed the responsibility of his institution to develop gentlemen with character, and recently was reported to have written a letter to a school girl, most enthusiastically and forcefully recommending the study of the classics as a fundamental basis of a sound education. Although it is not stated, one is left clearly to infer that *if* one studies well the classics, one *will* develop the character desired.

Here are three unquestionably great educational leaders of America who on fundamental issues do not agree. Furthermore, they reveal in the foundations of their thinking logical weaknesses similar to the rest of us.

It is very interesting to note that Plato, of whom some present educational leaders claim to be disciples, committed a fallacy of the same logical character that they are now making. In his *Republic* he states his aim as follows: "Then in our judgment the man whose natural gifts promise to make him the perfect guardian of the state will be philosophical, high-spirited, swift-footed, and strong." Proceeding with his dialectic he says: "This, then, will be the original character of our guardians, but in what way shall we rear and educate them?" This query he treats as follows: "What, then, is the education to be? Perhaps we could find hardly a better than that which the experience of the past has already discovered, which consists, I believe, in gymnastics for the body and music for the mind."

"The mental leap occurs at the point between his characterization of the ideal guardian ('philosophical, high-spirited, swift-footed, and strong') and his prescription of 'music and gymnastics.' Plato has not taken us into his confidence and let us see *why* he thinks that the 'philosophical' disposition can best be trained through 'music and gymnastics.'"<sup>5</sup>

For three hundred years in this country our thinking has been in conformity with Plato *in principle*, though not in subjects. The chief difficulty is that we don't agree on what the youth ought to study. Don't misunderstand; individually each one is certain just what the subjects should be, but others disagree with him, though each knows that the rest are all wrong.

With such radically conflicting opinions in high places is it any wonder that a recent report, based upon investigation of eighty-seven colleges, states that "the average American college is not yet doing much to help its students think clearly on

<sup>5</sup> Charters, W. W., *Curriculum Construction*, p. 7.

social issues"—such as clarification of the problems of peace and war, race prejudice, marriage, and the struggle for a better economic order.<sup>6</sup>

There are three questions which should have been asked about education long ago. The first is: Do those taught actually master what we think they do? In very recent years we have shocking evidence that they do not. The second question is: Does what is mastered have the meanings for those who mastered it, that we claim it to have? The answer seems to be "yes" and "no," with a staggering amount of "no." What seems to be inexplicable is the fact that in spite of the amount and character of evidence available we still go on motivated by our old prejudices, spending huge sums of money, taking extended amounts of time, doing things that are not only debatable but in pronounced respects, to say the least, highly questionable.

There is a third question that needs to be asked—is just being asked. It is: What is the effect upon individuals of the studies they pursue and of other procedures to which they are subjected in their experience which we call education?

For many years there has been heated discussion over the question of what is the function of the school and what it should teach. Frequently during the discussion assertions have been made as to what this or that kind of curriculum or type of education does for the individual pursuing it. Not infrequently these assertions are very sweeping. Few of them are conclusions drawn impersonally from objective data. Another weakness common among them is that the concept of the alleged results is limited almost exclusively to outcomes having to do with factual learning and methods of thinking. This procedure contains two fallacies. One is

that a person's mental processes are influenced more by emotions than by logical habits or processes, and the other is that there are outcomes to the individual which are entirely disregarded, but whose importance to him is probably greater than the intellectual ones. The simple fact of the matter is that in spite of the millions of dollars spent annually, for example, on higher education in the undergraduate college, as far as we know no serious attempt has been made to find out what takes place within a youth while he is in college and by reason of the fact that he is there.

The major determiners to this condition are two. First, those in charge of college education and college youth have, at least until rather recently, failed to think of the student as an entity. They have concerned themselves with only one of two constituent parts of that entity. They do not see the individual for what he is, as body and mind, soul, and intellect, "all at once as coincident aspect of a healthy, normal, integrated personality."<sup>7</sup> Second, our faith—or is it our prejudices—in support of education of its several brands, has as an educational process outrun our intellectual willingness to attempt a careful diagnosis. Yet what person who carefully observes college students today as they are submitted to the pressures of social and athletic activities within institutions, and the ever-increasing pressures of propagandizing groups from the outside, can conclude that the classroom, laboratory, and library are the only major influences determining what any student will be because he attended college?

Furthermore, the typical college entrant is still an adolescent. Studies recently reported leave no doubt that the individual of his age and younger is subject to emo-

<sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 10, 1937.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Suzzallo, "A Program for Tomorrow," *Educational Record*, April, 1932.

tional pressures and disturbances which go far in shaping his character and personality.<sup>8</sup> For education to plod on in its traditional manner while these spotlights shine full blast, is to commit a dereliction of the first magnitude.

After a physician prescribes treatment on the basis of diagnosis, he watches the patient's temperature, respiration, appetite, sleep, et cetera, to determine the effects of the treatment given. We in education diagnose and prescribe—even prescribe without diagnosing, but tend to end our scientific work at prescription. We need a backward résumé, so to speak, a *post mortem* method, if you please, to supplement our prognosis.

Were education, including guidance, on all levels to launch forth into the next step, into the frontiers that lie before it, then there might well come to pass something of the sort stated by James Harvey Robinson in his last volume, *The Human Comedy*. I quote at some length:

. . . Mental processes are, in short, the chief elements in civilization and increase along with man's other arts. They are not a 'mysterious something' implanted in every human being, but a slowly developed awareness of things and the capacity to make more and more discoveries and see how they can be used to better human conditions. The current information and its implication prevailing in any group of people is handed on ready-made to every child. *There can be indefinitely more 'mind' accumulated as time goes on, now that we have the trick.* Never was the 'mind' in general so good as it now is; it has been vastly improved during the past fifty years, and there seems nothing to prevent it from being vastly better fifty years hence. Evidently the mind and body

are not separate things. The body antedated the human mind by hundreds of millions of years and we may expect a great increase of wisdom when we get over the older notions of the mind being an independent entity aspiring to go its way regardless of the shrewd old organism which has proved its ability to manage living so long before the mind came into action. Man's new acquisition 'mind,' while it has enabled him to generate and develop civilization, has not the well-tryed inerrancy of bodily processes and has consequently led to many sad mistakes.<sup>9</sup>

. . . Is this merely the influence of the childish impression of finality or a plausible conjecture that during the next fifty years mankind will be mainly engaged in growing up to what has been discovered during the past half century? This process will involve, no doubt, much increase of knowledge and many rectifications of the beliefs of those who have taken the most pains in reaching them. At least the discovery of man's animal origin, of the methods by which civilization has been built up, including the ready impressionability of childhood and the permanence of beliefs acquired when we were inferiors and dependents, will not be surrendered but expanded and utilized to make education something far more efficient than it could be when the mistakes of the past played so great a part in its conception and methods.<sup>10</sup>

#### THE STATE AND YOUTH

We have spoken of religion and education, let us now turn to the state. What is its relation to the Youth Problem, both social and economic? Out of the depression has arisen a strong and partially successful attempt to reduce child labor. Again we see children made the tool for achieving a goal primarily outside them. In this particular instance youth also benefits. Obviously the primary object was and is to open a larger number of employment

<sup>8</sup> Charters, W. W., *Motion Pictures and Youth*, The Macmillan Company, 1933; Bowler, Alida C., and Bloodgood, Ruth S., *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys*, U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication Number 230; Healy, William, and Bronner, A. F., *New Lights on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, Yale University Press, 1936.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson, James Harvey, *The Human Comedy*, New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1937, pp. 58-59.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.



positions for adults. This can be achieved in part by regulations reducing the number of jobs where children and youth can be employed as workers. Hence child labor laws.

It would be quite untrue to say that this was the only reason impelling such legislation during the depression or even that it is now. But it is useless to deny the significant added momentum given by it.

But if children and youth do not have jobs they must be taken care of by other means; hence the CCC camps and the National Youth Administration with its student aid, the latter first for persons just on the college level, and now for secondary school pupils and post-graduate students also. Again let me point out, the original incentive responsible for the entire program was not by any means just the welfare of youth itself. It was the public welfare, the fear of what irresponsible youth groups, mobs, if you please, would do, even the fear on the part of some that there would be riots or what not if some constructive program were not provided. And again youth benefited by an act whose main objective was outside immediate consideration for him. Considerations of public welfare in an emergency therefore have been initially responsible for the chief financial appropriations made by the Federal government for youth since the last depression broke.

There is another aspect of this entire problem from which one may glean evidence that is not only interesting; it is startling. A number of states in recent years have set up planning commissions. Almost exactly one year ago I sent personal requests to each state which was reported from one source or another to have had a commission of this character, and asked for its report. In response I

received replies from eight different commonwealths. These individual reports vary in length from 14 to 166 printed pages. Topics more or less commonly included are: physiography, natural resources, land utilization, transportation, public works, private industries, water resources, forest resources, power, public health, taxation, crop and live-stock problems, numerous phases of farm problems, et cetera.

Among these eight reports a careful examination of the tables of contents discloses only two that have organized divisions dealing directly with any subject pertaining to youth problems. These two are from Illinois and Minnesota. The discussion in the Illinois report is extremely brief. The Minnesota State Planning Board in Part I of its report, the only part which I could secure, devotes to the subject of education an amount of space relatively proportional to that devoted to other topics such as land use, water resources, power, transportation, public health, welfare institutions, and taxation.

Many states which have not formally set up planning boards have made legislative enactments which in numerous forms and in varying degrees have performed the functions carried out by the boards that have been appointed. Since the samples of reports received cover a geographical distribution from Connecticut to Oregon, it may not be presumptuous to assume that they are a representative sampling in their content of the public attitude and legislative deliberations of the country at large. In fact, a person familiar with the activities of the National Resources Board wrote me under date of February 25, 1936, as follows: "A year ago practically all states had some kind of planning commission, but none had one oriented directly about the human aspects of the problem." This condition should give pause to all who are interested in

human values as distinct from material values.

How this situation in our own country stands in contrast with the far-sighted statements of H. A. L. Fisher, President of the Board of Education for England during the World War! He made one utterance in Parliament during the darkest period of that War which should be emblazoned above the platform of every speaker of a House of Representatives and of every president of a Senate: "*Education is the eternal debt of maturity to childhood and youth.*" To this brave word, spoken when the sound of the great guns could almost be heard across the Channel and when bombs were 'staining the sky,' he, whose monumental work on the history of Europe has given him an undisputed place in the international world, added these words of prophecy:

That nation which after the war employs the best teachers with the highest pay and as part of the best system will be the best governed and therefore the greatest nation. Of that I am absolutely certain.<sup>11</sup>

Today, "Europe, a madhouse of nationalism and communism," stumbling blindly toward another world war, in disillusioned mood hears the conflicting counsels of leaguers, pacifists, and communists; agreed on nothing except staggering rearmament. She is ruled by anarchy that always makes for armaments, for poverty, for unemployment, revolution, and dictatorship, imperialism and war."<sup>12</sup>

For a long time it has been taken for granted that the institutions which have been set up and the individual activities which have been fostered in America automatically resulted in the maintenance and improvement of democratic society.

But now the future of democratic society is challenged, not only in Europe and in Asia but also in America.<sup>13</sup> Automatic democracy never did and never can be a theory that stands the test of reality. It is challenged by events that are indigenous to industrial, commercial, and agricultural organization as they have developed.

Whether employed, as the great majority will be, or in business on their own, the young people as they grow up and become earners will have collective or associational responsibilities. They should therefore have knowledge of these obligations and the power to prevent such activities from degenerating into anti-social interests. If large corporations and small businesses must serve an associational economy they must exist—in any form—with government as their agency. To an increasing degree, irrespective of parties and politics, government is drawn in. "But government does not act in a vacuum under its own motion." The citizens who are called on to obey the law are the makers of the law.

#### EUROPE AND AMERICA

Now Europe and America still differ in this respect: here the democratic ideal still prevails; there it has, except for a spot or two, been swept aside by the mailed fist; here the governing purpose of training youth, whether by church, school, or other state agencies, is still democratic in origin and in method; there no such possible origins or methods are operative; there youth is but the grist for the mill to be made into the product of which the market stands most in need; here, if we can remain faithful to our ideals, youth will not be sold short on the

<sup>11</sup> *New York Times*, Editorial, February 6, 1937.

<sup>12</sup> *Christian Century*, "Britain Confronts the World Anarchy," Feb. 17, 1937, p. 211.

<sup>13</sup> I acknowledge my indebtedness here and later to the report of the Educational Policies Commission entitled, "The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy," Chapter VII.

market. But it will take a struggle to prevent it. For that struggle to be successful will necessitate marked changes of social and economic import in the school, the church, and the state.

First, the conflict—for it is nothing short of that—must be directed by those who unselfishly seek the welfare of young people in a changing economic and social order. Furthermore, even they can do this job better if they in the meanwhile are not trying to assist in the establishment of their own chosen social or economic order.

Second, this task is going to be a particularly difficult one because of the lengthened period within which young people can find desirable, or even any employment. Unemployed, they will be restive and open to the suggestions of innumerable agencies that can use them

for ulterior purposes. But what is still worse, these young people, during these years of uncertainty, will be under the shadow of the terrifying thought that all their additional training may end in disappointment, in failure of opportunity. Should these fears become realized on the part of continuing groups of appreciable numbers, democracy will have shown a weakness that without stretch of the imagination may result in its final undoing.

Toward the solution of this, government, industry, and social and educational leadership must cooperatively contribute. This is not a problem involving the mere routine of adjustment. To deal with it constructively lifts leadership out of the routine into the bold and creative thinking which the founders of the Republic dared to enter.