

despair, can be devilishly effective in the wrong way. Indeed the essential prelude today to the establishment of a dictatorship, whether of left or right, is the false education of youth. The essential foundation of a free democracy must, in its turn, be the good and true education of youth.

By now I have no doubt given myself away as an ex-teacher. Perhaps there is nothing so tiresome as an ex-anything who presumes to give counsel in matters concerning which he has once had some experience and now has no responsibility. This is a dangerous combination and often produces advice and conclusions divorced from reality and practicability.

I will try to avoid these pitfalls by turning to matters closer to my present profession than to my former.

What I have to say about foreign affairs, however, is certainly closely related to the necessity for good education and for the realization by the community of its vital bearing on our national and international problems.

Those problems today are intimidating, and seem overwhelming, in their complexity and intractability. One unattractive result of this - and education can help to correct this, - possibly as nothing else can, is the growth of defeatism and cynicism; of the feeling that we ourselves can't do much about anything; of an unwillingness even to make the mental effort required to understand. All this results in a growing tendency not only to shift responsibility from ourselves to the state, but to minimize and shrug off the efforts of others who take their responsibilities as citizens more seriously.

I admit that it is tempting to switch from the Citizens' Forum to Jackie Gleason. I have been known to yield to it occasionally. But if the switch became automatic and universal, the results on our democratic society would be disastrous.

I am particularly conscious of the danger of cynicism and defeatism as applied to the solution of international problems; to the search for peace. There are times, I confess, when one feels impotent and frustrated to the point where everything in this field seems almost hopeless. Yet it is essential, both for citizens and for nations to reject this belittling and negative reaction to the discouraging confusion of present day events.

Today, the choice, literally, which we face, is whether we will live in peace or live at all.

This choice between peace and death is not, of course, a very new one. In our own