MANY people attempt to state the values on which America’s destiny rests. Each of us who thinks critically has tried to do so. As we read the news or lie awake at night thinking of the realities of the contemporary world we find ourselves trying to decide which values will enable the United States to continue to provide leadership in the world and which will destroy the American image. What are some of the realities we face?

We live in a world confronted with the possibility of destruction. No longer do we have a complete sense of mastery of events. One night in the summer of 1962 I stood on our lanai in Honolulu and looked southwest over Diamond Head watching the sky to see the high altitude nuclear explosion at Johnston Island 800 miles away. It was my expectation that if we were able to see the blast we would see only a fireball. Instead, as the count-down was reached, the sky turned a ghastly green, faded to a rose-pink and then to a blood-red that covered the sky from horizon to horizon for a period of five minutes. A new radiation belt was added to the earth’s atmosphere. No one could live through that experience without an increased realization of the forces released by nuclear explosions.

Two major countries hold in their hands the power to destroy the world. This responsibility was described forcefully to me by the students in my class at the University of Hawaii the morning after the Johnston Island blast. Many of them came from small countries who have little or no say in the way the two major countries will use the power for destruction that they have. These students said to me quietly, but bluntly, “We hold you responsible for our fate. Unless you discharge your responsibility with statesmanship and good judgment, any efforts we exert are futile. We need to be constantly reassured of your integrity and your leadership skill.”

We live with the possibility of developing a worldwide community. Radio communication around the world is instantaneous. People in one part of the world know what others in the remainder of the world are saying. With the advent of Telstar, intercontinental com-

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communication by television is a reality. Men move easily and quickly from one part of the earth to another. Intermingling and cultural diffusion are occurring at a very rapid rate. In a very real sense the population of the entire earth has better means of communicating than the inhabitants of a state had a century ago.

Science is a central force in shaping the lives of all men now living. Through scientific investigation, forces and machines have been developed that carry within them the power to destroy freedom of choice. A given choice may lead to total destruction with no future choices possible. Many decisions are now being made by scientists without reference to the electorate—decisions that start chains of events over which the individual feels no possibility of control. Huxley stated this problem well when he said that our procedures for participation in decisions need to be revised so that individuals can see the alternatives of different choices in the scientific area and regain some of their feeling of having some control over their destiny.

Many persons find themselves confronted by forces which threaten their sense of worth. The population explosion causes some to advocate restriction of population. Others talk glibly about the destruction of hundreds of millions with the implied thought that the world would be better without these humans. Millions exist in situations where no one seems to care about their welfare or their rights. Person after person is finding that he is not worth as much in the economy as some of the technical machines that man has produced. If this continues, will society reach the point where it ceases to regard the human person as being of ultimate value?

We live in a world with vast differences in resources and the development of human potential. All of these conditions and others must be faced as we attempt to decide which are the values on which America's destiny depends.

Values and Destiny

We must begin in our thinking to attempt to put a priority on values. The consistency that we seek must be in terms of which value is our fundamental value and which other values contribute to its attainment.

Maintaining mankind: Our first value must be the continuation of the human race. If human life is blotted from the face of the earth there is no point in discussing other values.

Some will consider this statement debased. They will say, "I would rather die than live without freedom." Individuals or groups of men have made this choice. They are our heroes. There is real purpose in laying down your life for freedom if there are to be some survivors to enjoy it. Yet, if humanity is extinguished, the sacrifice is an exercise in futility. The choice today is survival through interaction and mutual modification or annihilation. We must see power as something to be used to create a situation in which people can think and plan together, rather than as a way of conquering and subjugating other peoples.

Development of the potential of each individual: Our concern must be for the development of the potential of each human being. Simply maintaining mankind is not enough. The value of the human being over other living matter lies in his potential for development. Justification for making maintenance of human existence the primary value is our dedication to provide the environ-
ment and education that will enable men to fulfill increasingly their potential for constructive and creative activity.

We are so interdependent that poor health practices in Nigeria or New Zealand, and underdeveloped technical skills and economic understanding in the Congo or Poland adversely affect individuals in the United States. No man is an island to himself. The value that we place on developing the potential of the individual, whether he be in the United States or in Indonesia, affects the destiny of America.

We must be concerned with the welfare of each person in the United States and in India and in Africa. We have been demonstrating our belief in this through the aid programs that we have provided, through the development of the Peace Corps, through our support of the Commission on Human Rights, and through our deep concern for the right of certain individuals to be enrolled in American institutions of higher learning. Yet we must see these actions as steps in our manifestation of a fundamental commitment, not as strategy in a cold war.

If America’s destiny is to be one of world leadership, we must implement our concern with the development of the potential of the individual by placing a top priority on equality of opportunity. If the United States is to continue its historic tradition, we must be concerned with guarding the rights of the individual. This concern for protection of individual rights and opportunities of all individuals everywhere is the essential difference between totalitarianism and democracy. We must be concerned with the civil rights of every man, woman and child in the United States but we cannot stop here. To the extent that we condone alliances with governments that deny the rights of the individual, we tarnish our ideals in our own eyes and in the eyes of human beings throughout the world.

As we look back at the period since the end of World War II, it is easy to see that many of our difficulties have arisen out of our compromises of this criterion for strategic military reasons. Because we have failed to keep the torch of liberty for all burning brightly as the symbol of the American spirit, we have opened ourselves to the propaganda attacks of the Soviet Union in all of the underdeveloped countries of the world. Since we are an affluent society, at least for the main portion of our population, the difference between the average income of Americans and the average income of individuals in many regions has been glaringly apparent. Through CARE and our assistance programs, we have taken a step in the direction of demonstrating our concern for the equality of opportunity for all but we cannot stop here. When we take our stand for equality of opportunity, we must recognize that this is now a world culture and must stand for equality of opportunity throughout the world.

A single moral community: Fundamentally, the issue on which the future of the world depends, including America’s destiny, is exclusiveness or inclusiveness. If we hope to survive, we must make the inclusive approach, which accepts all men as being important and provides ways in which all cultures can participate in the creation of a world culture.

We must not attempt to get all people to accept the American culture. We must work to develop a single moral community where all possess the same fundamental rights and obligations. At present, some countries want the rights and
not the obligations. Others, because they assume extra obligations, want special privileges. What we must value is an inclusive approach that will assign all men the same rights without insisting that they live by the same lights.

**Objective evaluation of ideas and values:** We must value and stand for freedom of thought, worship, press and speech. These ideas are basic in our Constitution and our social ideals. They must continue to be so. There is an ever-present danger of losing the opportunity for choice of values. Our preoccupation with external danger has led us to take our lead increasingly from those we fear. Out of a desire for national defense, we have, in the name of security, permitted erosion of our fundamental values of freedom of inquiry and access to information. Unless individuals have the opportunity of stating their values and letting them stand in the common market place, all opportunities for improvement of the present situation will be lost. If America is to fulfill its destiny, we must continue to reaffirm and manifest our belief in these freedoms and seek them for all people.

We must see difference and the exploration of it as the doorway to new insight, not as a threat to our cherished values. The motto on the Indonesian flag is “Strength Through Difference.” Unless we accept this orientation, we will be increasingly bewildered by the diffusion of cultures. We are at the point in history when we must interact with other cultures. If we assume that we must now educate the rest of the world, the result will be disastrous for us. Our values and our leadership will be rejected. Instead, we must see the interaction of peoples as the mutual seeking of more insights.

If we are to fulfill a destiny of leadership in helping to achieve a world culture, we must free our thinking of ethnocentric valuation and the impact of cultural stereotypes. We must become more open rather than more protective. We must really believe that our cultural values are worthy enough to stand in the market place of open examination. Our desire for inquiry must be coupled with the readiness to undergo unrestricted objective comparison. We have moved this far in the scientific field, and we think of innovators in the realm of technology as inventors and pay tribute to them. We have not gone this far in social matters. We must stop thinking of innovators in a social system as rebels or revolutionaries. We must see them as making a most valuable contribution and seek to join their ranks. We must stand for free thinking, free speech, and unrestricted objective evaluation of ideas and values.

**Participation in decisions:** The New England town meeting has been viewed by many as the symbol of democracy, and the right of all to express their opinion and to vote on the issues that confront the community has been a basic value in our tradition. Yet some levels of decision today are broader than the small community. Many decisions are national in scope. A community in Virginia cannot decide whether it will provide public education. A city in Florida cannot decide what air routes a plane will fly to enter it.

As we have come closer together by improved communication and transportation, problems involve people in wider and wider geographic areas. Decisions must be made at a level that covers the entire area. Many problems are con-(Continued on page 554)
of the culture with all the people and so long as there is effort to develop the rich potentials in all the people, there is hope. This is the basic assumption of democratic society. This is why the schools are the most important institutions in a democratic society. It is their task to bring forth and refine the ore which is the most precious raw material, the children. They are the power plants in which is generated the moral power of the people.

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concerns of the entire earth—health, education and nuclear warfare, to mention a few. The question, if the world continues, is not whether we will have world government. This is a certainty. The question is whether it will be a totalitarian one or a government in which people have opportunity to participate through their representatives. We need to put a primary emphasis on participation and constantly seek the form of international government in which participation in making decisions that will affect them is a right of all individuals. To hope to achieve a world government that will incorporate this value means that we must demonstrate that it works by being sure that it functions in our schools and in every town, county, state and national government operation.

An open future: It is impossible to hold onto the past. The explosion of knowledge has been unbelievable. From 1900 to 1950 we doubled the knowledge that
mankind had accumulated during all preceding centuries. From 1950 to 1960 we doubled this again, and will continue to multiply this at an increased rate in each decade of this century. We have changed from "around the world in 80 days" to "around the world in 80 minutes." We have moved into an epoch when we all die or all live together.

For many the change has produced hopeless pessimism, which has grown out of our loss of a feeling of adequacy to deal with the forces that have been unleashed by technological inquiry.

We must return to a state of optimism. We must believe that the future can be better. We must see change as progress because we can make intelligent choices and take each action as a move in the direction of our destiny. Unless a given step is final, each advance can increase our vision and make possible more intelligent planning of our future.

Unless Americans see the future as an opportunity to evolve an even better society, instead of a continuous battle to hold to the way of life we have had, we will lose our sense of destiny and our leadership. A sense of destiny comes from a belief in better things in the future. Leadership is provided by those who seek to help others obtain a better future.

These values—continuation of the human race, development of the potential of each individual, a single moral community, objective evaluation of ideas and values, participation in decisions, and an open future—may not be your list or your priority. If they are not, you should state yours as forcefully and frequently as you can. If the destiny of Americans and the world is not to be destruction, we must use the present to seek mutually the insights that will provide the opportunity for an open future.

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