

Great Britain's Foreign Policy Two - Day?

What are the ^{modern} causes of ~~our~~ present weakness in intern. affairs?

Is It Old England Still?

An Outsider's View.

Address at The Annual Meeting of the English Speaking Union of the U. S. A. at Denver, Colo., on Friday Oct. 9th, 1936

By Dr. Karl Polanyi.

Introduction

It is a great subject indeed on which I, as a foreigner in, though by no means ~~or so~~ ^{also} as a stranger to, this country have the high appreciative privilege of addressing this ^{distinctly} gathering tonight.

But if frank and fearless discussion of all subjects pertaining to the question of the relationship of the English speaking nations be, as I understand, one of the aims of this union, my ~~mother's~~ ^{modest} contribution cannot fail but attempt to conform to these standards and to deal with the subject-matter of tonight either frank and fearless fashion called for by ^{in the} ~~our~~ ^{intrinsic importance.} statutes.

The subject matter is; what is the significance of England's present weakness ^{in international affairs} from the point of view of the English speaking nations of the world?

~~First~~ For the educated European ~~European~~ of a liberal background, the Anglo-Saxon tradition of religious tolerance, political democracy, and of a general humanitarian outlook is ~~a~~ ^{invaluable} most treasured asset to the ^{common front} ~~founder~~ of Universal peace and progress.

In many a European capital ~~where/what/paths~~ whether Paris, Budapest, or ^{Prague} it is either Westminster, in London, or the Capitol in Washington, that ~~is~~ ^{is} the beacon ~~is~~ on which progress orientated its march towards the goals of liberty and constitutional freedom.

~~and~~ ^{and} From Lafayette or Széchenyi and Kossuth to Benes and

Massaryk, it is the Anglo-Saxon tradition which permeates all that

most noble
is ~~best~~ in European progress.

It is in this spirit of gratitude, trust and sympathy ~~in~~ *that* which I intend to make my most realistic comments on the subject *of tonight*.

For realistic these comments shall be. It is only thus that I ~~we~~ can hope to be of some service to the great community to which you belong. The world cannot afford an easy going attitude today. We cannot pride ourselves ~~on~~ having attained a ~~very~~ ^{water} high mark on the road of peace and security. ~~W~~ On the contrary, the peace of the world is run on a narrow margin and we cannot afford to close our eyes to the perils of the age.

And now let us descend with both feet on the solid ground of fact and put ~~the~~ question bluntly:- What is the root cause of Gr. Britain's obvious weakness in this present world situation? The answer may lie in a rather unexpected ^{quarters} direction.
ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

England's one unchangeable point of mind is no war with the U.S.A.
Great Britain is a maritime power and therefore naval considerations are naturally paramount in her foreign outlook. But that these considerations make her policy ^{to-day rather inflexible.} ~~less~~ and ~~not more~~ flexible, has its reasons in the technical character of present-day navies. A country like England does not build a fleet and increase that fleet in a general way as you set up an increase ~~in~~ land army, division by division. Naval bases, ^{stations, naval communications} refueling, crusing range etc., are the determining factors which decide the kind ^{of} fleet you actually build. For as I said, you build one kind of fleet or another kind of fleet, not a fleet in general. And once you have embarked on building the one kind, it may take you a five year ^{long} struggle to complete it, and a decade to change its character altogether. The naval policy of England today is ^{thus} the rigid framework into which her land policy must be fitted.

contrast of the sea combat

oil storage, dry dock, etc.

Now the one underlying fact, ^{in this naval policy} is the one power standard of the United States of America. England is resolved not to fight the U. S. A. on any issue whatsoever. In fact she is unable, ~~to do so~~ to do so, even if she wished to, for various reasons, both of a military and of a political character too closely linked up with her general empire policy to need to be enumerated here.

This puts England into a very difficult position in the Pacific. The tension between Japan and the U. S. A. whatever it amounts to involves a very real danger for England. She is not able to defend her outlying ~~possessions~~ ^{possessions} against Japan, in case of war. The U. S. A. are neither able nor willing to do so. ^{In face of this,} England's policy consists in making it worth while for Japan ^{an} to keep the peace. This is the basic reason why England cannot veto Japan's tendency to move toward the Asiatic continent, ~~even~~ ^{even} though such a ~~policy~~ policy on England's part inevitably entails sacrifices on her own part. Still, England can do one thing and that is do ~~to~~ reflect Japan's westward thrust towards the north, as far as possible. --- ~~dash~~ towards the far-eastern positions of the U. S. S. R.

Openly of course, England cannot proclaim her determination to side with the U. S. A. in case of a conflict in the Pacific. This would bring the roof down in the Pacific at once, or rather knock the bottom out of the ^{situation} security. Think of the 3;5;5: ratio of battle ships. What would have been the chances of persuading Japan in London to continue on this Washington ratio and to accept them as an expression of actual naval equality, if England had openly made it a 3-10 affair by revealing the basic ^{weak} parallelism of her policy with that of the U. S. A.?

A romantic interpretation? - Sir John Simon's mistake. - England not retreating, but putting a head against the Chinese.



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rapacity displayed by the predatory powers of the West in seizing Chinese territory. The Chinese made haste to make up for lost time. Thousands of students and teachers were sent to the western countries, especially the United States, for purposes of study and large numbers of foreigners brought to teach in Chinese institutions.

China had learned the lesson so early appreciated by Japan, namely, that the distinctive factor of western civilization, the factor that differentiated that civilization from all others, was the place occupied in it by science. Hence the determination to hasten the introduction of western medicine, sanitation, and education. Chiefly because of the important place occupied by the handicrafts in Chinese life, western industry in the form of factories, was a later development and largely because of the pacifist element in Chinese civilization and the despised position occupied by the soldier, militarization lagged. With the growing feeling of nationalism and other fundamental social changes among the Chinese people, militarism and industrialism have been much developed in recent years.

Nevertheless, despite the helpful contributions that the Chinese believe they have received from the West, they too have experienced something in the nature of a change of heart. More and more elements in the civilization of the West assumed a repulsive appearance. The desire for reversion to their own cultural heritage became a prominent factor in public discussion. A deliberate policy was adopted to develop their own universities and to reduce the number of students and teachers going to the West to study. Moreover, like the Japanese, the Chinese believe that cultural relations with the West should include a real exchange. They believe that they have much to give the West as in turn the West has much to give them. It is gratifying to know that the Harvard-Yenching cooperation has been so successful and that a few, lamentably few, exchange fellowships have been established to enable serious advanced western students to study Chinese civilization in China itself and in the Chinese language.

STEPHEN DUGGAN.

OBSERVATIONS ON EDUCATION FOR POLITICS
IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

KARL POLANYI

There is a gulf between the structural life of the two great Anglo-Saxon countries which makes a parallel of any single aspect of the two societies almost impossible. Rather than attempting a parallel, therefore, I shall write a few notes on the process of education for

politics in England and the United States, using the terms *education* and *politics* in their broadest sense.

The United States was established as a society rather than as a state. It is probably the only instance known in history that such a task has been deliberately undertaken or even conceived of. All other countries now in existence were born as states, most of them as the outcome of conquest. By refusing to recognize the necessity of territorial sovereignty and state power as the prerequisite for society, Americans rejected the idea of politics, which refer directly to the establishment of such sovereignty and power. As a result politics, in every sense of the term, have remained a peripheric and subsidiary sphere in the great American experiment.

In England, as in all other countries of the Western type, the state and politics occupy the centre of the stage. The road to change leads mainly through national legislation. State and politics are the sole instrument through which members of the community can direct society. The citizen in England, therefore, is related primarily to politics, whereas in America he is related to society direct. Education for politics in England means education for the use of power, personal preparation for rule. In America, education for politics is almost a contradiction in terms, the corresponding process would be education for society. Instead of being a preparation for rule, it is a preparation for adjustment to one's surroundings.

In the matter of foreign policy English and American mentality differ. Great Britain, an island empire depending not only for her security but also for her raw materials and markets upon her possessions overseas, regards her participation in world affairs as a matter of course. The United States, on the other hand, with few possessions overseas, tends to be indifferent to happenings on other continents. Americans have difficulty in realizing that neutrality is not a state that can be secured by the mere wish to adhere to it. While the English have developed a remarkable capacity for a pragmatic understanding of foreign conditions and conflicts, which helps them greatly in refraining from taking sides in the latter, the American public lacks the technique of swift appreciation of the relevant facts on both sides and is easily persuaded that principles of universal validity must exist which, if properly applied, should settle the rights and wrongs of a dispute. That illusions of this kind are not conducive to the attainment of the coveted neutrality is readily understood by intelligent anti-isolationists who realize the great importance of education on international affairs as a technique of maintaining peace.

In the matter of change and stability English and American social structures are manifestly poles apart. America of today is the out-

come of one long sustained surge of change and since it did not look to the state to shape its social destiny, it was necessary to evolve some educative process to do this. Hence, Americans have acquired knowledge of the manifold correlations involved in social change. English society, which continues to embody the principles of feudal social organization more completely than any other society of Western industrial civilization, has become a society of stability and security—a security, however, based upon social inequality.

Education for politics in such a society is the education of a privileged class for the task of leadership, responsibility and rule, supplemented by the corresponding education of the other classes to be led and ruled. Only through the grant of a scholarship to a higher educational institution can the offspring of the common people in England escape this socially degrading form of aphasia. In such a case, however, the privileged child must join a higher strata for good and all. For if later in life his children were to consort with their less fortunate cousins, they would be in danger of picking up an accent and thus losing caste. In England distinctions of speech have almost the rigidity of a color bar. Segregation of the children of the poor is the consequence. The English have become so accustomed to segregation of social classes that the political unity of the nation instead of being endangered, has been, at least in the past, definitely strengthened by this system. The Labour Party as a whole, like the English working class itself, shares the national outlook and refuses seriously to challenge the dual system of education. This explains the continued rule of the upper class in England whatever the complexion of Parliament happens to be.

It is doubtful whether England will be able to hold her own in the international field under her present system of education. The outlook of the upper class in world politics is practical and realistic. Public schools like Eton, Harrow, Rugby, or Winchester; the old universities of Oxford and Cambridge; an admirable tradition of conferences, debates, summer schools and carefully prepared discussions, help to keep the upper classes up to the mark. The outlook of the working classes, on the other hand, is sentimental and idealist in the sense of being out of touch with reality. This fact may be of serious consequence for Great Britain's national policy in the near future. During the Ethiopian crisis the failure of the Labour Party to face the realities of the situation was due to absence of any political education of an active and positive kind in the masses. The efforts which the Workers Educational Association, are making to supplement this need, seem at present hardly adequate to the task.

More is involved than may be apparent on the surface. The big

industrial countries, whether democratic or not, are proceeding towards a unification of their cultural and educational life on a national scale. Some countries, including those with a Fascist régime, are achieving this on an authoritarian basis; others, like the United States, have attained an unparalleled unification of the average level of national culture and education on the basis of political democracy. The United States is today, except for the segregated races, overwhelmingly a nation of one speech, one behavior, one standard of manners, one outlook, irrespective of income classes. They can compete in educational unity with any type of authoritarian state.

Still the United States will not, presumably be able to forego for long an education for politics in the strict sense. The problem of the federal, i.e., the national government is posed by history. Whatever the answer will prove to be, the task of educating public opinion in both domestic and foreign affairs, will be present in the future. Many a new and complex problem will have to be faced.

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SALE OF "ACADEMIC DEGREES"

The attention of the Institute is frequently directed to so-called "educational institutions" in the United States which offer to confer degrees upon the payment of a fee. However, this country is not the only one in which the sale of degrees is a profitable industry. A copy of a letter used to secure books as well as money in this way which has been received by a number of educators, follows:

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Mr.

Cordially yours.

As homage to your great technical merits and in gratitude to the services you have contributed to teaching in America, the Congregation of this Academy resolved to confere you a Diploma of Doctor in Chemistry, in Honoris-Causa.