Empire Imaginary:
International Understanding and Progressive Education in the United States

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA BY

Andrew John McNally

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Kevin Murphy, Adviser

August 2017

Acknowledgements

The writing of this dissertation was never a linear process. Many experiences far from the archives shaped the project, and the thoughts of many who seemed tangential at the time offered stimulation and support. My current students in Philadelphia tease me for being "obsessed" with Minnesota. But it's true that, despite the contentions of PhD life, the years I spent in graduate school were years in which I spent time with many whom I admired and respected. The stereotype holds that PhD means professionalization, hyper-specialization, and dissertation completion, but I have been fortunate that my experiences reveal so many with an abiding dedication to principle and intellectual community. If it's true that the writing of a dissertation is a thankless occupation, all the truer of those who support its writing.

First, no student can thank enough the often unheralded training that faculty invest in graduate education; that holds especially true for those who have served on my committee. Thanks most of all to Kevin Murphy for his endless generosity. When I was an undergraduate, Kevin's work piqued my fascination with the innovative scholarship that was possible in cultural history. As any graduate student in American Studies will say, Kevin's ability to show both extraordinary kindness and integrity has inspired me to live my teaching and scholarship to his example. The feedback that he provided on early drafts was formative, as was his work developing a dissertation writing group with Reg Kunzel and Jigna Desai. Elaine May's scholarship opened the doors for many aspiring historians, including myself, to understand the intersections of cultural and political history in exciting ways. Her Cold War seminars provided a foundation for thinking about the broader historical contexts of this dissertation. As a faculty member, her astounding diligence and stimulating questions continue to inspire. Malinda Lindquist's seminars "Comparative Masculinities" and "Intellectual History of Race" provoked challenging conversations about race and gender which shaped many of the priorities for my scholarship; her readings are some that I keep and cherish to this day, and her probing questions sparked new ideas. Mary Vavrus's "Media and War" seminar sparked my interest in the relationship between peace movements and cultural studies, and provided a basis for identifying an important place for critical media studies in this work.

Other faculty provided tremendous help in many forms. John Wright's Harlem Renaissance course introduced me to some of the literary criticism skills which I most cherish. Bianet Castellanos' Teaching Practicum, which I often remark was the best course that I took in graduate school, not only helped me refine some of the pedagogical principles which I carry to this day, but also made me more conscientious of sociopolitical contexts of teaching within the university. Riv-Ellen Prell's compassionate yet tough questions in her Dissertation Seminar helped to refine a much earlier version of the dissertation into a more focused scholarly agenda.

Second, I have to thank the specialists without whom archival work would be impossible. No segment of academics, in my experience, have proven more reliable,

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The "Understanding Heart" in the Twentieth Century

International Friendship -- what do these two words mean? Do you think of travel and faraway places? Do you think of folk dances and songs, of works of art, of interesting customs, and different languages? Many people do. But international friendship is much greater than the sum total of all those things. It stands for friendship among people of many nations. It is based on understanding and love. It begins within your own heart and in your own home. It spreads from home to home, community to community, and country to country. As it spreads it grows stronger. It brings with it peace among all the people of one nation and all the peoples of the world. It is an exciting adventure in getting to know yourself and your neighbors, whether they live next door or thousands of miles away.
   --Girl Scouts Handbook (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.), 1953[1]

...the human heart is the only thing in the world that will take upon itself the burden that the divine gift of action, of being a beginning and therefore being able to make a beginning, has placed upon us. Solomon prayed for this particular gift because he was a king and knew that only an "understanding heart," and not mere reflection or mere feeling, makes it bearable for us to live with other people, strangers forever, in the same world, and makes it possible for them to bear with us.
   --Hannah Arendt, "Understanding and Politics," 1953[2]

The Gentleman's Agreement

This dissertation is a history of "international understanding" in U.S. education. The

modern meaning of "international understanding" has a recent provenance.

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the term "international

---

[1] 1953 Girl Scout Handbook. New York: Girl Scouts of America (207)
[2] Hannah Arendt. "Understanding and politics." *Partisan Review* 20, no. 4 (1953): 377-92.

understanding" usually meant "diplomatic agreement" or "treaty," as when in an 1879 *Harper's* article about copyright treaty with Britain, Senator Lot Morrill held that "there was no equitable or constitutional reason for an international understanding,"[3] or when *The Lancet* reported from an 1882 international conference on hygiene that the attendant governments "have everything to gain by coming to an international understanding on sanitary matters."[4] Into the 1910s, writers in Britain and the United States called for "international understandings" on "industrial affairs,"[5] shipwrecks,[6] languages,[7] commercial law,[8] and currency.[9] To use international understanding to mean, as the Girl Scouts handbook suggested about the synonymous phrase "international friendship," "getting to know your neighbors" - would have seemed unusual to many.

---

[3] Henry Alden Mills, "Editor's Easy Chair." *Harper's New Monthly* 930 volume 58 (1879)

[4] The Geneva 1882 International Congress of Hygiene and Sanitation. *The Lancet Reports of the International Congresses of Hygiene and Demography.* Balantyne, London (1891): 8

[5] John Graham Brooks. "The Social Question in the Catholic Congresses." *International Journal of Ethics* 6 (1896): 219.

[6] *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United States to the International Universal Exposition Paris 1900.* Vol. 6. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (1901): 241.

[7] Louis Couturat. *A Plea for an International Language.* London: George J. Henderson. (1905): 25.

[8] F Meili. In *International Civil and Commercial Law*, translated by Arthur Kuhn. New York: Macmillan (1905): 144

[9] *Report of Proceedings of the International Bimetallic Conference.* London: Effingham Wilson & Company (1894): 129.

Around 1907, however, the term began to mean something broader. When local officials in San Francisco decided to segregate children of Japanese immigrants and Japanese-Americans into schools separate from white children, the federal government avoided a confrontation with officials from the Japanese government by preventing segregation of these students and restricting further Japanese immigration to California. This "Gentleman's Agreement" accorded by the U.S. and Japanese governments, however, was not the "international understanding" some talked of afterwards. Commenting on Secretary of State Elihu Root's remarks on the memoranda of agreement with the Japanese government, writers in the *American Monthly Review of Reviews* noted that "in so far as one people are correctly informed of the attitudes and claims of another, in such measure will future international misunderstandings be impossible."[10]

Notably, such "understanding" reinforced white Americans' racism and xenophobia - yet even as such the "Gentleman's Agreement" suggested a dramatic change. No longer a contract between sovereigns, according to the writers, international understanding meant "diffusing a wider popular understanding of international law,"[11] in this case with respect to schooling. Increasingly, it meant not only legal knowledge, but a mutual comprehensibility, a reconciling of differences in

---

[10] "Progress of the World" *American Monthly Review of Reviews* ed. Albert Shaw Volume 35 January June, Review of Reviews Company: New York (1907): 529
[11] *Ibid.*

attitudes, and a perception of amity across national boundaries. The descent of international understanding from diplomats to educators signaled a more general shift, one in which the use of war and peace to govern the life and death of populations became extended in the United States.

International understanding now suggested not only that peace was an educational problem, but that it was a problem of *educating populations.* Of course, the U.S. state had long governed populations, black lives, Native lives, Mexican lives, and the lives of other people who lacked access to whiteness by mobilizing the threat of war and the lure of "peace." Such governance was intimately interwoven with the institutionalization of education for black, Native and brown lives. But a combination of factors - among them the expansion of the United States' colonial reach into yet broader, more distant places, its contact and competition with other empires which required more expensive investments in economic and political capital, the United States' growing integration into a global system of capital and labor migration, and an increasingly activist state whose citizens had new expectations for involvement - meant that war, peace, and militarization affected more people on a daily basis. As the example of the Gentleman's Agreement showed, not only war, but also peace could factor into the state's ability to maintain whites' political supremacy in their decisions about local school districts. Conversely, maintaining peaceful relationships with a powerful overseas empire

required coordinating closely with local groups at home. If war required mobilizing vast groups of people, so did peace. Peace was not only a matter of persuading elites. It was a matter of teaching whole peoples ways of talking, thinking, and feeling.

Today, of course, the project of teaching peace seems more imperiled, complicated, and necessary than ever in the United States. Long-standing white supremacism and misogyny have empowered fascism and nativism in the United States to unprecedented strength. While that fascism (purportedly though of course not in practice) promises an end to imperial adventure, it also exudes a sickening distaste for any type of understanding, most of all international in nature, and imagines a peace only truly available to those with access to white privilege. What happened to the project of international friendship contained in the Girl Scout handbook, as complex and troubled as it may have always been - to the "understanding heart" that Hannah Arendt suggested "makes it bearable for us to live with other people, strangers forever, in the same world"?

"International Understanding" and the History of Nonviolence
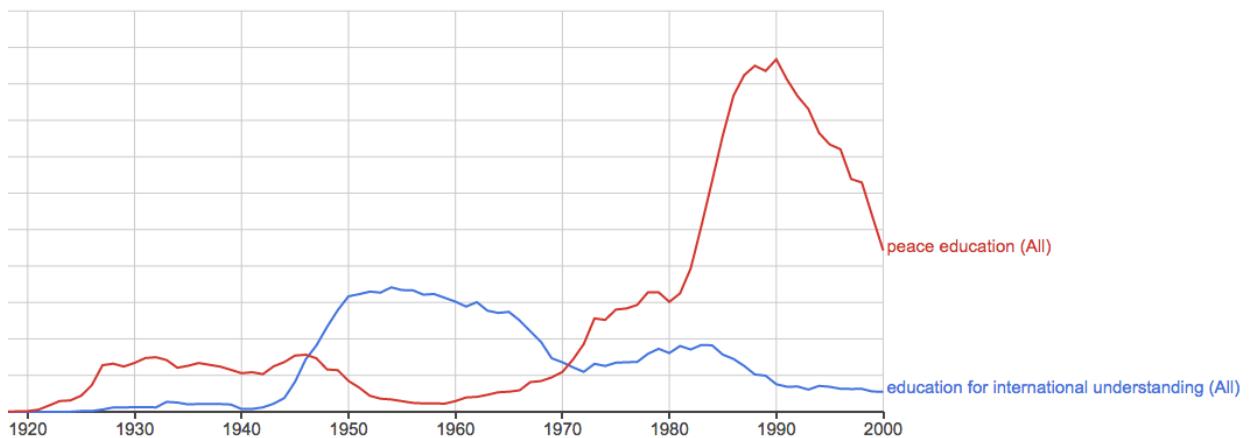
Figure 1: Google N-Gram Search

Although Secretary Root and others imbued the term "international understanding" with this new, pedagogical meaning by 1907, the term never achieved widespread popularity until 1920. Figure 1 represents the rise and decline of international understanding in education. Using a Google search tool known as N-Gram, it measures the percentage of publications that mention each key term ("peace education" and "education for international understanding") between 1920 and 2000. As the graph indicates, comparatively fewer people in the English speaking world born after the 1970s have heard of the term "education for international

understanding," while quite a few have heard of "peace education." During the height of the Cold War, however, the opposite was true: the term "education for international understanding" was mentioned with fifteen times greater frequency than the term "peace education." In fact, until the revival of the nuclear disarmament movement during the 1980s, "peace" and "international understanding" in education appear on the graph move in almost opposite directions. "Peace education" became popular during the mid 1920s before "international understanding" skyrocketed at the beginning of the Second World War, before collapsing again as the Vietnam War slowed to a halt.

"International understanding" – as well as similar terms like "world friendship," "world brotherhood," "international good-will," "international friendship," "world citizenship," and "world-mindedness" -- achieved special prevalence among educators between the late 1930s and late 1960s. Charles Howlett and Ian Harris have shown that while most assume that "a major effort to make peace history and peace studies a permanent feature of the American education experience began in the 1960s,"[12] the teaching of peace and international understanding goes back much further in history. This dissertation argues that it was during the 1940s that the movement fully flourished and became institutionalized. By the 1940s, a movement of 'education for international understanding' widely

---

[12] Charles F. Howlett and Ian M. Harris. *Books, not bombs: teaching peace since the dawn of the republic*. IAP (2010): 1.

promoted nascent forms of tolerance education, progressive teaching styles and the molding of youth as 'citizens of the world.' International summer camps brought together thousands of young people across the world for the sake of international understanding. Extracurricular activities such as Model UN represented training for young people in global democratic citizenship. Feminist educators produced international art exchanges between elementary school students in different countries. Girl Scouts held "World Friendship" parties. Filmmakers made thousands of 16mm shorts promoting peace and the appreciation of global cultures. Social scientists tested students on how "world-minded" they were. Septima Clark held dialogues in civil rights Citizenship Schools about the United Nations. The National Education Association's leader, William Carr, focused on how to "internationalize" the teaching profession. Much of the movement was not without considerable prejudice and Eurocentrism. But at a time when war seemed to be everywhere and national chauvinism was reputedly unquestionable, educators' call for world peace, love and understanding was not isolated to a small group of pacifists.

What accounts for the rise and decline of this term in discourse about learning? And what does the idea of "international understanding" mean for the way that we think about the United States' position in the world and the intertwined histories of citizenship and education within it? A reductive answer to these questions might suggest that "international understanding" simply represented a less

controversial synonym for "peace" when, at the height of the United States' confrontation with the Soviet Union, an antiwar politics might be viewed questionably by anticommunists. But as the Girl Scout Handbook intimated, "international understanding" and "international friendship" meant something far more than the absence of war: the terms meant the sight of a new place, the learning of a new cultural expression, and a new type of hospitality.

Above all, "international understanding" was considered an "exciting adventure" in learning about new places: an imagined community, a worldmaking practice. The group of educators who pushed for "international understanding" in the schools borrowed extensively from progressive educational philosophies that stressed cultivating the expressive individuality of young people. They borrowed extensively from Cold War liberalism's emphasis not only on individual tolerance, but also on cultivating "creativity" in young people,[13] generating open-mindedness,[14] and the educational importance of play.[15] The kinds of peace and social organization that international understanding implied were not statically defined as the opposite of war. People actively dreamed utopias, created new forms of governance, produced new ideologies to create a dynamic stirring of international relations.

---

[13] Amy Fumiko Ogata. *Designing the creative child: Playthings and places in midcentury America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press (2013)

[14] Jamie Cohen-Cole. *The open mind: Cold War politics and the sciences of human nature*. University of Chicago Press (2014)

[15] Howard P. Chudacoff. *Children at play: An American history*. NYU Press (2007)

The answer to these questions, as such, means that historians will need to rethink the ways that not only ideologies of war and violence, but also ideologies of peace shaped the postwar international order (for both better and worse). Over the last twenty years, cultural historians have once again made the critique of empire and colonialism important in their scholarly framing, revealing both how extensive the presence of empire has been in the making of everyday life in the United States, and how specific and variable the forms of empire have been. But rarely do historians cast the same attention to the opposites of empire. As Ian Tyrrell and Jay Sexton have shown, historians have not cast as much attention as they do to empire as they do to anti-imperialism, a complex strand of social movements that has long achieved broad popularity in the United States in different forms- and which has even become a justification for the same imperialism which it opposes.[16]

Similarly, while war and militarism have long represented important subjects for cultural historians of the United States, the history of peace and pacifism in the United States have long been subjects limited to historians specifically interested in antiwar social movements themselves. Studies have most usually revolved around the peace movement prior to World War II, the movement for nuclear disarmament,

---

[16] Ian Tyrell and Jay Sexton, eds. *Empire's Twin: US Anti-imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism*. Cornell University Press (2015)

and the Vietnam antiwar movement.[17] These studies have usually focused on the utterly crucial subjects of movement organizing tactics, institutional changes and origins, and capturing the differences in the movement. Yet they have been less likely to reflect on the ways that such movements, or others, shaped exactly what is meant by "peace." While "peace" is clearly as historical a concept as war,[18]historians are more likely to assume that peace represents a static entity that does not in itself have a particular politics.

While at no time since the early twentieth century has the position of internationalism seemed so at threat in the United States as it does today, at no time has there been greater clarity about the nature of peace: that it, too, has a politics, that its blessings can be extended and expanded or excluded from groups of people. 2016

---

[17] One exception is Amy Swerdlow's work. Amy Swerdlow. *Women strike for peace: Traditional motherhood and radical politics in the 1960s*. University of Chicago Press (1993). The scholarship on the peace movement is considerable, but below are some of the books that I have found most helpful. David S. Patterson. *Toward a warless world: The travail of the American peace movement, 1887-1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press (1976); Merle Eugene Curti. *Peace or war: the American struggle, 1636-1936*. JS Canner (1959); Charles Chatfield. *For peace and justice: pacifism in America, 1914-1941*. University of Tennessee Press (1971); Lawrence S. Wittner. *Rebels against war: The American peace movement, 1933-1983*. Temple University Press (1984); Paul Boyer. *By the bomb's early light: American thought and culture at the dawn of the atomic age*. University of North Carolina Press (2005); Kenneth J Heineman. *Campus wars: The peace movement at American state universities in the Vietnam era*. NYU Press (1992); Adam Garfinkle. *Telltale hearts: The origins and impact of the Vietnam anti-war movement*. Macmillan (1997); Charles Chatfield and Robert Kleidman. *The American peace movement: Ideals and activism*. Twayne Pub (1992)

[18] Antony Adolf. *Peace: a world history*. Polity (2009)

saw the stunning rise of fascist "antiglobalist" forces, which promised peace for

some, violence for many, and an end to both the worst excesses of global capitalism

and the racial tolerance and inclusivity which it wrongly associated with capital.

While few believe anymore that war reflects a natural default state for human beings,

neither do many believe in earnest that war represents an impermanent part of human

life. As Susan Sontag wrote more than a decade ago:

> Who believes today that war can be abolished? No one, not even pacifists.
> We hope only (so far in vain) to stop genocide and to bring to justice those
> who commit gross violations of the laws of war (for there are laws of war, to
> which combatants should be held), and to be able to stop specific wars by
> imposing negotiated alternatives to armed conflict.[19]

Thus while as Mary Dudziak notes, the "assumption of temporariness [of wartime]

becomes an argument for exceptional policies"[20] that threaten democracy, it's also

true that peace seems like an impossible condition when peace itself seems

indefinitely temporary. Paradoxically, perhaps a critical look at the distributive

politics of peace movements is necessary to reconstitute the abolition of war as a

more just goal. And perhaps the first step to recapturing a broad enthusiasm for

ending war lies with reestablishing a sense that peace and nonviolence, like war, are

historical: that because they have a complicated politics they require ordinary people

to shape them in more equitable and liberatory ways. For this reason, understanding

---

[19] Susan Sontag. *Regarding the pain of others*. No. 1. Presses Universitaires de France (2003)
[20] Mary L Dudziak. *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press (2012): 4

why education for international understanding failed to become a more widespread movement takes on greater urgency.

The Empire Imaginary

The argument that this dissertation makes about "education for international understanding," the flourishing of internationalist teaching and learning after the Second World War, is that it constituted an "empire imaginary": a set of interrelated visions of global harmony that also helped extend the United States' governance of its population at home and abroad. International understanding was not an ideology. Most histories of U.S. social movements or intellectuals centered around war, peace, or diplomacy have concentrated on identifying the kinds of discrete, fully elaborated, intellectually consistent "isms" which are most likely to be archived if the writers of such beliefs have considerable access to leisure time, education, power and the public sphere. These histories, as such, tend to marginalize the views of those with less access.

These histories also tend to artificially silo intellectual traditions that share goals and perspectives. The historical scholarship tends to be divided between histories of pacifist thought (often separated between radical, religious, liberal, socialist), "globalist" thought (often used to denote a *realpolitik* inflection of internationalism), cosmopolitan thought, anti-imperialist thought, or internationalist

thought (sometimes split between liberal, feminist, Marxist). All of these different movements responded to one another, aligned with one another, opposed one another, reacted to one another, to varying degrees that are not often accounted for in the scholarship. Many were likely influenced by any combination of these ideologies, sometimes unconsciously. The consequence of thinking about internationalism as just an ideology leaves an incomplete picture of the ways that different types of international thinking worked, often furthering the perception that high-level policymakers were unaffected by grassroots movements.

International understanding lacked the characteristics of an ideology. Among those educators who used the phrase, there was no consistent set of beliefs, no well-developed institutional center. Educators espoused philosophies that combined internationalism with globalism, or pacifism with anti-imperialism, or even anti-imperialism with globalism, often in contradictory ways. They worked for diverse institutions with diverging interests and goals. They often disagreed on crucial points.

What these educators did possess was a common language, and a shared way of looking at things which I call an "imaginary." In the most general sense, "imaginary" means a framework, a shared set of images, beliefs, and feelings that a group of people uses to make sense of the world. The philosopher Susan Buck-Morss defines the "political imaginary," after the Russian philosopher Valerii Podoroga, as

"a topographical concept in the strict sense, not a political *logic* but a political *landscape*, a concrete, visual field in which political actors are positioned."[21] For example, an imaginary of gender might not articulate a cohesive way of thinking about gender, so much as it articulates the universe of images that make up a group of people's understandings of gender: the images of different gendered bodies, of different roles, of concrete perceptions of manhood and womanhood and gender nonconforming. Imaginary represents something, therefore, which everyone participates in when it comes to the social field.

In a more specific sense, though, "imaginary" means something closer to the way that the play theorist Brian Sutton-Smith uses the term—as a mental faculty that suggests "imagination, fancy, phantasmagoria, creativity, art, romanticism, flexibility, metaphor, mythology, serendipity, pretense, deconstruction, heteroglossia, the act of making what is present absent or what is absent present, and the play of signifiers."[22] I do not mean in any way, of course, that internationalism, its goals, or its common resort to violence, has been fictional. Rather, I use the term to suggest that internationalism depended on collective acts of intellectual pretending, pretending that was accessible to and influenced by ordinary people. As Amy Ogata has shown, the Cold War represented a flourishing of respect in

---

[21] Susan Buck-Morss. *Dreamworld and catastrophe: the passing of mass utopia in East and West*. MIT press (2002): 12

[22] Brian Sutton-Smith. *The ambiguity of play*. Harvard University Press (2009): 127

educational circles for the value of creative play among children. As such the "imaginary" was mobilized by teachers with particular readiness to both tie together the parts of empire and make them seem unreal.[23] The "empire imaginary" as such means that this dissertation will make an argument about a group of shared images that people used to make sense of their world -- but the dissertation also makes an argument about a *way* of thinking, the use of creativity, fancy, and imagination. It will tell the story of the way that teaching and learning played a privileged role in establishing such an imaginary, the ways that it allowed many in the United States to benefit from forms of imperial power that they felt was fictional and the ways that people created new forms of resistance to empire.

Twentieth century liberal intellectuals knew well the relationship between imagination and liberal internationalism. In his 1950 critical masterwork *The Liberal Imagination*, Lionel Trilling argued how important a literary imagination was for liberalism, as liberalism's moral single-mindedness (for Trilling) made it difficult to understand the complexities of human action.[24] But Hannah Arendt may have articulated the relationship between understanding and imagination most clearly when she alluded to King Solomon's prayer for an "understanding heart," which in her 1953 *Partisan Review* essay "Understanding and Politics" she associated with

---

[23] Amy Fumiko Ogata. *Designing the creative child: Playthings and places in midcentury America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press (2013)

[24] Lionel Trilling. *The liberal imagination: Essays on literature and society*. New York Review of Books (1950)

"imagination." Imagination, unlike "fantasy," Arendt argued, was "concerned with the particular darkness of the human heart and the peculiar density which surrounds everything that is real." "True understanding," Arendt argued, "does not tire of interminable dialogue" and assisted in the "bridging the abysses to others."[25] The imagining of others' position, the "understanding heart" for Arendt, would reveal the true essence of the Other - in the case of this essay, totalitarianism.

Imaginaries, dreamworlds shape and organize people's lives, and perhaps none so much as in twentieth century America: the televised suburb, Disneyland, the "American Dream." According to Buck-Morss, both U.S. and Soviet Cold War regimes justified state sovereignty by connecting the process of industrial modernity to the promise of what she calls "mass utopia." Even if it was an anti-imperialist empire, the empire imaginary held out similar promises of mass utopia; indeed, the utopian visions of global unity were precisely what allowed its imperial politics to remain invisible. Visions of internationalism constituted an "imaginary" in the sense that they created a shared symbolic language which held together these networks of power, even as they created a symbolic field to contest them.

While every set of terminologies will be imperfect, so central is the idea of an empire imaginary to the dissertation that it's worth addressing two reasonable objections to the term at the outset: first, that the term "imaginary" is too vague, and

---

[25] Hannah Arendt. "Understanding and politics." *Partisan Review* 20, no. 4 (1953): 377-92.

second that the term "empire" is too harsh. To the first objection, it should be said that in the words of Potter Stewart an imaginary is something which we can't intelligibly define but we'll all know it when we see it. The empire imaginary is everywhere around us: in Pepsi commercials that appropriate diversity to obscure corporate exploitation, the Presidents who lead us to hope and call for love and peace but launch missiles and violent invasions in the night, in the popular songs which present an image of the United States as a place of humanitarian justice without exposing the injustices of the United States' foreign policy, and in the presentation of universities as centers of cosmopolitan feeling when they represent a shiny front end of a segregated school-to-prison pipeline. Here lies the empire imaginary: at the intersection of the harmonious and the violent.

And this leads to the second, also reasonable objection: that "empire" is too harsh a term for the subjects we discuss here. The objects of the dissertation are children's summer camps and geography documentaries, school extracurricular activities promoting "understanding" and kindness, exchange programs and literature classrooms and funny television shows. Most, if not all of the key actors in the dissertation acted not only with honorable intentions, but with peaceful, and often anti-imperialist, intentions. Surely so many concerned with friendship, world-mindedness and cosmopolitan feelings could not be further from a disposition to "empire."

By empire I mean the global preponderance of US-centered cultural, military, and economic governance power during the twentieth century. According to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's formulation, "empire" means something different from "imperialism." Imperialism, a predominant political organization during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, centered around European, North American, and Japanese nation-states' formal political and extractive domination of various places in the global South. "Empire," on the other hand, represents something more complex. While centering around the U.S. nation-state, U.S. Empire, according to Hardt and Negri, implicated other, nonstate actors who were influenced by U.S. power, usually in informal and oblique fashion. Multinational corporations, global flows of culture and capital, global governance organizations like the IMF and World Bank, world NGOS, and even other nation-states are part of empire – all of which are influenced, but not directly controlled by, the U.S. state.[26] Empire imaginary, therefore, refers not only to the imagined aspects of institutions of the U.S. government, but a concatenation of state, corporate, and nongovernmental bodies that helped project U.S. power.

To say that some participated in an empire imaginary was not to suggest that none of them were well-intentioned, nor that none of them made a positive impact. Even the best intentioned among us are capable, in different ways, of helping to

---

[26] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Harvard University Press (2001)

further imperial power. Just as could be true of other world powers and previous empires, the United States and its citizens were fully capable of calling nations whom they dominated economically and politically "friends" and to justify violent conflict in the name of peace – the empire imaginary means the landscape of images which helped to mediate this paradox.

Early Internationalisms in the U.S.

Cosmopolitanism in education was not unique to the United States nor the twentieth century. Long before white settler colonists occupied North America, many Native Americans demonstrated highly developed, complex ideologies of peace.[27] Even among the Western European states which became the metropoles of empire, before the consolidation of nation-states during the nineteenth century, many formal institutions of learning had been cosmopolitan. As the nation-state became an important political formation in parts of Europe, some intellectuals justified the idea of international education by marrying *tabula rasa* models of human selfhood to the dream of peace and international cooperation. In 1817, for example, French scholar Marc-Antoine Jullien called for the creation of a "Commission on Education" that would promote peace through international learning and establish a science of learning through comparative studies of educational institutions. In 1876, John

---

[27] Gregory Schaaf. "From the Great Law of Peace to the Constitution of the United States: A Revision of America's Democratic Roots." *American Indian Law Review* 14, no. 2 (1988): 323-331.

Eaton, the US Commissioner of Education, called for an international conference of education. In 1885, a Dutch pacifist named Herman Molkenboer published a book that suggested that an international conference of educators could teach young people world friendship and prevent war. Molkenboer also attacked textbooks that were too bellicose and celebrated warfare. Jullien, Eaton, and Molkenboer's ideas exemplified both elite forms of nineteenth century Euro-American pacifism and the making of professional communities in science, medicine, and law.[28]

During the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, in the United States white settler colonists rarely engaged with sustained efforts to internationalize formal education on a mass scale, and those whom they enslaved, dispossessed, and disenfranchised who attempted to sustain such work had a hard mountain to climb. First and most importantly, whites who had direct interests in maintaining a myth of America as an "anti-imperialist" nation controlled the vast majority of financial and social capital that were required to sustain formalized educational institutions, meaning that internationalist antiwar teachings remained comparatively deinstitutionalized. Second, formal education as a widespread experience, rather than an elite experience, was new even in the United States where the common school movement emerged. The common school movement emerged only in the mid nineteenth century, and widespread access to high school and college even for white

---

[28] P. Rossello *Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education* London: The Yearbook of Education tr. Marie Butts (1945)

Americans only became normal in the 1930s and 1940s. Therefore, little apparatus or incentive existed to internationalize teaching and learning.

Second, as Charles Chatfield points out, until the late nineteenth century, white pacifisms and internationalisms were rarely nonreligious, and almost always private: the white peace movement of the nineteenth century was mainly composed of Quakers, Mennonites, and Brethren viewing their pacifism as a religious doctrine. Being religious, as Chatfield points out, such pacifists "were concerned mainly with specific cases of suffering or injustice, and gave little thought to changing the social order."[29] For example, Christian pacifists generally based their belief on the principle of "nonresistance": rather than questioning the justness of war itself or its necessity for the state, they justified conscientious objection based on a private, religious rejection of individual participation in violence. Peace was far less a *public* political position, and far more a private distancing from state violence.

As such, the notion of "world citizenship" would have held little secular meaning for many. A student who had the opportunity for formal learning might spend time accumulating geographic literacy, memorizing the Nile River and its location, the capital of Russia or the conquests of Genghis Khan, but few teachers would have understood such lessons as a commitment to a global community building. As late as 1932, the historian Charles Beard wrote, "the child is usually

---

[29] Charles Chatfield. *For peace and justice: pacifism in America, 1914-1941.* University of Tennessee Press (1971): 8

taught nothing about sex, and it may be added that ordinarily he is taught to believe realistically in the existence of only one nation." While history and geography teachers taught lessons about other countries, Beard noted, for a student "they are generally viewed as abstractions remote from his life as an American citizen."[30]

Likewise, many of the early twentieth century attempts to create international educational institutions were short-lived, theoretical, or private. While the work of American pacifist groups like the American Peace Society had long concentrated on using educational tactics to spread their message, this education tended to be elite-focused and personally based, rather than focused on affecting systemic change. Exceptions existed: Charles Howlett and Ian Marris, for example, point to Alfred Love and Elihu Burritt as examples of peace activists who stressed popular, and not just elite education. Aline Stomfay-Stitz has shown that educators such as Margaret Fuller and Horace Mann viewed peace as important as well.[31] Even then, however, they rarely made inroads into school curricula.[32]

Historians have previously rooted the emergence of "international education" in the hands of the wealthiest and most powerful elites in the early twentieth century. According to the conventional narrative, the earliest institutionalized peace education

---

[30] Beard, Charles Austin, and August Charles Krey. *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*. C. Scribner's Sons (1932): 50

[31] Aline M Stomfay-Stiz *Peace Education in America, 1828-1990: Sourcebook for Education and Research* The Scarecrow Press: Metuchen NJ (1993)

[32] Charles Howlett and Ian Harris. *Books, Not Bombs: Teaching Peace Since the Dawn of the Republic*. Information Age Publishing Charlotte NC (2010)

emerged in an alliance between the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, and intellectual celebrities of the early twentieth century like Columbia President Nicholas Murray Butler. After the First World War, according to this narrative, international education became further institutionalized within this elite in the form of International Houses, the founding of the "comparative education" discipline, and study abroad and student exchange programs.[33] During and after the New Deal, the story goes, a more liberal foreign policy invited partnerships between private sponsors of international education and public officials interested in cultural diplomacy, spurring Fulbright Fellowships, Good Neighbor exchanges, and expanding study abroad. In the context of this conventional narrative, it would be easy to assume that the rising prevalence of "international understanding" in education was the product of elite cultural diplomacy priorities being imposed from above on college campuses.

In the first chapter, this dissertation argues that on the contrary, what eventually became "education for international understanding" emerged at the pedagogical grassroots, led by encounters between schoolteachers and their students. The first mass movement of internationalist pedagogy, I argue, began with the school teacher Fannie Fern Andrews and her founding of the American School Peace League in the early twentieth century. Examining the curriculum which Andrews

---

[33] Frank A Ninkovich. *The diplomacy of ideas: US foreign policy and cultural relations, 1938-1950*. Cambridge University Press (1981); Liping Bu. *Making the world like us: Education, cultural expansion, and the American century*. Praeger Publishers (2003)

created called *A Course in Citizenship*, the chapter argues that a sentimental brand of social studies education attempted to produce good world citizenship by disciplining feelings. While disciplining feelings attempted to counter the contemporaneous work to discipline bodies that was part of school militarization movement, the chapter argues that the League's education programs idealized forms of citizenship conducive to the United States' expanding imperial reach.

In the second chapter, the dissertation explores the expansion and transformation of education for international understanding during the interwar years. This education, the chapter argues, shifted from a disciplinary mode to a governmentalizing mode during this time: whereas the League's attempts to build global awareness concentrated on disciplining feelings, the efforts of educators like Quaker pacifist Rachel Davis Dubois attempted to promote peace by "liberating" individual creativity and cooperation. Drawing on the work of the League, the empire imaginary of these years coalesced around the principles of U.S. liberal internationalism - namely, that reducing state intervention produced a natural "harmony of interests." Progressive Education's emphasis on learning that liberated children's natural interests, the chapter argues, stemmed from U.S. empire's use of similar governance strategies.

That education for international understanding emerged at the grassroots does not mean that such pedagogies of internationalism were not implicated in the

gendered or racialized politics of the time. Because of the systemic nature of discrimination and segregation of education, activism, teacher training, white educators were overrepresented in leadership roles, and their work reflected the racist and imperial nature of education in the United States. At the same time, women educators represented some of the most important voices marrying a message of cultural tolerance at home with a message of ending war and militarism abroad -- far more influential than better known male peers in the foundations or universities. White men tended to view 'internationalist education' as a form of elite intellectual exchange or scientific research, but not as the integration of internationalism into curriculum or as a form of mass pedagogy.

The thirty years between 1940 and 1970 marked the heyday of liberal internationalism and education for international understanding. Educators across the United States promoted visions of peace that would proceed not from structural change but from well-adjusted interpersonal behaviors. In particular, education for international understanding held that creativity, cooperation, colorblindness, and conversation were essential to the "understanding heart." In the third chapter, I explore a series of summer camps founded by child psychologist Dr. Doris Twitchell-Allen called Children's International Summer Villages (C.I.S.V.), showing the ways that cultivating creativity and cooperation were designed to build good, peaceful citizens in the image of U.S. liberalism. Drawing on the themes and

activities of earlier iterations of international understanding, C.I.S.V. helped balance the movement's roots in maternalist feminist ideologies of pacifism with the Cold War's growing emphasis on the necessity of psychological expertise for the building of well-adjusted citizens.

The fourth chapter, in an exploration of the International Film Foundation and the broader genre of the classroom geography film in the postwar era, argues that education for international understanding helped to create a new filmic language of racial liberalism for young Americans. While that language attempted to promote peace by reimagining cinematic viewing as "innocent" and a promoter of tolerance, it also obscured the imperial violence at the core of the United States' position in the world by imagining an anti-racist world as one of colorblindness. The chapter argues that these documentaries accomplished this imagining of colorblindness through the universalization of normative heterosexual family life. The classroom geography film became the principal filmic representation of empire abroad, shifting filmic discourse away from the previously prominently exploitation narratives found in cinema spaces.

The fifth chapter examines the interrelated histories of conservative humanist pedagogies and the world federalist movement during the late 1940s, arguing that the resurgence of interest in "classic Western literature" and the teaching of it in U.S. universities was also, paradoxically, a piece of the "education for international

understanding" movement, and that during the 1940s and 1950s, the resurgence of interest in classical learning was fundamentally about the same goals of expanding liberal empire. The chapter explores the work of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, a group of influential, Chicago-based intellectuals such as Mortimer Adler, Robert Hutchins, and Rex Tugwell who headed the most elaborated postwar effort effort to imagine the construction of a cosmopolitan government, and who also constituted the core of a movement in literature curriculum to restore the exclusive teaching of 'the Great Books of the Western World' at American universities.' They argued that 'peace' itself was constituted through the intellectual conversation that could only be obtained through a literary canon that they constructed and which consisted entirely of European males before the twentieth century. Their work shows the way that white Cold War academics used the pretense of 'world citizenship' to claim power over the meanings of 'peace' in imperialistic guises.

The Significance

The story of these educators stands on its own as a case study in the ways that well-intentioned teachers with interesting ideas can still become implicated in reproducing structural oppression. At the same time, the discourses of "international understanding" offer new insights into the way that historians think about three

fields. First, by applying the lens of cultural history to the critical histories of international relations, the dissertation helps to shift discussions about postwar internationalism away from a narrative that foregrounds a "top down" imposition of beliefs from states, NGOs, intellectual elites, and foundations. Instead, the study unveils the grassroots political actions that helped constitute 'education from international understanding' both in alignment with and opposition to the state. Second, by bringing together the critical histories of US empire with studies in society and education, the dissertation unpacks the international thinking that helped to produce social education in America, and foregrounds the spectral, unrecognized presence of empire in the history of education reform, as Roland Sintos Coloma has indicated in calling for a "transnational history of race, curriculum, and empire."[34] Third, by bringing the contexts of broader cultural histories of race, gender, and empire to bear on society and education, education for international understanding opens new ways of thinking about the politics of progressive education.

As historians, the sources that we choose and how we interpret them are always political, and the first contribution that this dissertation attempts to make is to push diplomatic historians to embrace the social and cultural dimensions of internationalism. Despite growing interest in the histories of cultural diplomacy and

---

[34] Roland Sintos Coloma. "'Destiny has thrown the Negro and the Filipino under the tutelage of America': Race and curriculum in the age of empire." *Curriculum Inquiry*, 39(4), (2009): 495–519.

international education, historical narratives around the liberal internationalist 'moment' between the Second World War and the Vietnam War have usually focused on the most powerful actors: famous thinkers, elected political figures, diplomats at the United Nations, and employees of powerful foundations. This focus has often affirmed the stereotype that few Americans contested the government's Cold War foreign policy objectives until the Vietnam War. Over the last twenty years, scholars have begun to overturn this stereotype, showing that through consumer action, popular culture, and social movements, people in the United States and elsewhere managed complex political engagements with US foreign policy.

This dissertation takes the social history of diplomacy one step further. Rather than just engaging with issues of diplomatic history, this dissertation shows that teachers played an essential role in constructing and contesting the liberal internationalist moment. They first invented the ideas and the principles of liberal internationalism. They first put them into action. And they first critiqued and reimagined the ideas they had put forward. That does not mean that we should celebrate the politics of this movement: as we will see, education for international understanding reproduced the privileges of whiteness on a large scale, and excluded from the mainstream were many black internationalists and internationalists of color who had divergent perspectives on internationalism. At the same time, no longer can

we reasonably reproduce the myth that liberal internationalism was exclusively crafted by the most powerful diplomats, businessmen, and bureaucrats.

Gender plays a particularly important role in the narrative of education for international understanding. Because of the exclusion of women from professional political positions, especially diplomatic relations, education for international understanding represented a crucial opportunity for many women to participate actively and influentially in world politics. The first originators of education for international understanding, particularly Fannie Fern Andrews, were women schoolteachers and educators. What began, even in Andrews' case, as a movement to support peace, increasingly became one which avoided the gendered, raced, and activist connotations of the term "peace." This occurred in the larger context of a broad expansion of federal and state government into the roles played by women's charitable organizations-- an expansion led by generally male social scientists who used a masculinist rhetoric of professionalization to deride the emotional, maternal, and religious character of women's work. In the work of peace education, male social scientists - often funded by wealthy donors in the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations - used the 'scientific' language of 'international understanding' to discredit the previous peace work of internationalism and insulate the work of ending war from charges of being unmasculine. Part of the story of this dissertation revolves around this conflict: the ways that women's labor and participation in the work of

spreading internationalism was essential to policy changes and changes in political attitudes, but also the ways in which such work was often rendered invisible.

By centering the ways that empire structured learning experiences, this dissertation also offers cultural historians a new vocabulary for understanding and critiquing the legacies of postwar racial liberalism. Most cultural historians will immediately recognize the similarities between "international understanding" and racial liberalism. Both involved an analysis of racial inequity that depended on an individual, prejudice-based understanding of discrimination and which called on legislative protections of civil liberties, and on changes of attitude, to remedy inequity. As Leah Gordon has shown, the foundation of racial liberalism lie with its belief that prejudice was an "educational" problem -- a matter of teaching 'prejudiced' people new attitudes, rather than effecting structural change.[35] Most cultural historians will also recognize a long tradition of critique around the ideology of racial liberalism, a critique that has argued that liberalism's emphasis on colorblindness and attitudinal (not structural) change not only set the stage for new forms of racial oppression, but often buttressed American exceptionalism by portraying racism as a matter of the United States "living up to its ideals" rather than as a structural feature of the United States' imperial ways of life.

---

[35] Leah N. Gordon. *From power to prejudice: The rise of racial individualism in midcentury America*. University of Chicago Press (2015)

The argument of this dissertation turns the tables on this academic conversation: rather than racial liberalism representing a convenient 'Band-Aid' which allowed the United States to double fake being both imperial and peaceful, racist and inclusive, I argue that we must understand racial liberalism as part of a larger discursive shift in which internationalism itself became a pedagogical problem. Rather than primarily a moderate, preventive ideology, racial liberalism instead represented a system that "taught" new knowledge and habits of behavior conducive to the United States' growing international power. 'International understanding' represented one strategy among many in which anti-racism became narrated as a journey from ignorance to knowledge, unskillful to skillful, and from isolated to empathetic.

The third contribution which this dissertation makes is for teacher practitioners. If the tradition of progressive education is embedded in histories of colonialism, how do we know how to reshape teaching and learning to undo those histories? The answer to this question which this dissertation poses is that the consequence of "education for international understanding" in the history of education was to both contribute to progressive education's diminishment by failing to engage responsively with communities of color, and to preserve and petrify progressive education intellectually by placing it beyond the radical social movement critiques of the mid twentieth century. What education for international

understanding achieved with pedagogical thought was to associate progressive teaching so strongly with supposedly universal desires for human liberation, the hopes for peace, and a message of racial tolerance. As a result, only recently have curriculum theorists begun to question the anti-racist credentials of progressive pedagogy. If we are to end war and empire, this dissertation argues, radical teachers must engage far more critically with the assumptions that lie at the root of progressive methods.

As such, this dissertation engaged closely with a newer group of diplomatic historians who have begun to unravel the ways that peace, humanitarianism, benevolence, and compassion have become tools for imperial violence.[36] While not providing an overarching agenda, part of the dissertation's lens is to engage the history of humanitarian feeling in the long legacy of Michel Foucault's writings about discourse, biopower and governmentality. Because Foucault wrote about the politics of race and sexuality by imagining power as diffuse and productive rather than negative and concentrated, this legacy offers a powerful way to think about how ordinary people participated actively in broader intellectual conversations. But that

---

[36] See for example, Michael Barnett. *Empire of humanity: A history of humanitarianism*. Cornell University Press (2011); Sara Fieldston. *Raising the World*. Harvard University Press (2015); Julia Irwin. *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening*. Oxford University Press (2013); Melani McAlister. *Epic encounters: Culture, media, and US interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. Vol. 6. Univ of California Press (2001); Christina Klein. *Cold war Orientalism: Asia in the middlebrow imagination, 1945-1961*. University of California Press (2003)

legacy also invites a kind of strategic negativity, challenging scholars to understand the ways that even the most liberatory gestures reflect vexed political relationships.

This project began long before Steve Bannon became a household name. While "education for international understanding" - in its valuing of expressive individualism, promotion of tolerance, and embrace of positive emotions like love and kindness - embodies precisely the imaginary which Trumpism seeks to counter, this dissertation cannot explain the rise of Donald Trump. It can, however, shed new light on the failures of liberal internationalism. If we know the failures of the "understanding heart," maybe we can better understand why it's foundering now, and how like-minded progressives can build something more just after it.

CHAPTER ONE

Disciplined Feelings:

Empire and Progressive Education, 1897-1919

From a contemporary vantage, two institutions - early twentieth century formal empire and early twentieth century progressive education - appear very different. For sure, their rise and fall seem to coincide precisely: John Dewey first formulated his 'pedagogic creed' the year before the explosion of the *Maine*,[37] and the Progressive Education Association began its sudden collapse shortly before the Philippines achieved independence from the United States.[38] But in their connotation, empire and progressive education could hardly seem further. Scholars usually associate Progressive Education with a respect for the capacity of individuals to achieve fulfillment and expression. The movement's bible was *Democracy and Education*. When we think of Progressive Education, we think of understanding, cooperation, and community, not to mention Montessori schools and arts-and-crafts learning. John Dewey himself, as well as other important Progressive educators like Jane Addams and David Starr Jordan, were also ardent opponents of the United States' occupation of Cuba and the Philippines. What except empire could be further from a

---

[37] John Dewey and Albion W. Small. *My pedagogic creed*. No. 25. EL Kellogg & Company (1897)

[38] Lawrence A. Cremin. *The transformation of the school: Progressivism in American education, 1876-1957*. New York: Vintage Books (1961)

philosophy of teaching that attempts to provide each person with the capacity to be an autonomous, self-governing citizen in a democracy?

When we ask this question from the perspective of *fin-de-siècle* thinking, however, empire and progressive pedagogy have more in common. Consider the similarity between the justifications for American imperialism and Lawrence Cremin's classic 1961 definition of "progressive education" in his field-defining book on the subject, *The Transformation of the School*. According to Cremin, Progressive Education

> began as part of a vast humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life - the ideal of government by, of, and for the people - to the puzzling new urban-industrial civilization that came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century...broadening the program and function of the school to include direct concern for health, vocation, and the quality of family and community life...applying in the classroom the pedagogical principles derived from new scientific principles derived from new scientific research in psychology and the social sciences...tailoring instruction more and more to the different kinds and classes of children who were being brought within the purview of the school…Progressivism implied the radical faith that culture could be democratized without being vulgarized.[39]

American empire had been justified on almost precisely the same terms at precisely the same time. To be sure, William Taft, the appointed governor of the Filipino occupation viewed the military administration of the Philippines as a learning process, calling the occupation "tutelage" of the Filipino subjects. As Paul Kramer writes of the Philippines, "Education organized the colonial state's myriad tasks into

---

[39] Lawrence A. Cremin. *The transformation of the school: Progressivism in American education, 1876-1957*. New York: Vintage Books (1961): viii

a single one: providing Filipinos the necessary, if elusive, political rationality required for successful self-government."[40] The McKinley administration's policy of "Benevolent assimilation" was likewise a "humanitarian" tutelage designed to teach "self-governance" to occupied territories. Likewise, colonization produced educational systems designed to teach its students "health," "vocation," and "family and community life." Likewise, imperialism justified itself based on supposedly "scientific" principles of colonial subjects' learning capacities. Likewise, empire attempted to expand the inclusivity of American governance and assimilate its subjects. Likewise, empire operates in part by evangelizing "culture" to a people who are supposedly without culture. While both empire and progressive education were also fundamentally about other things as well (managing racial difference, the accumulation of capital and accessibility of markets, for example) the central rhetorical appeal for both progressive education and formal empire was the "tutelage of self-governance," the teaching of populations the correct forms of citizenship.

Synthesizing scholarship in the history of peace movements, social science, diplomacy, and education and exploring the history of an early instance of the empire imaginary - educator Fannie Fern Andrews' "American School Peace League" - this chapter argues that "empire imaginary" emerged at the intersection of pre-World War II internationalism and pre-World War II educational reform. The

---

[40] Paul A. Kramer. *The blood of government: Race, empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. University of North Carolina Press (2006): 203

beginning of modern "social studies" curriculum - one of the principal components of early twentieth century Progressive Education - represents the first instance of "the empire imaginary." It first became formalized and popularized among white, middle class teachers, most of whom were progressives and suffragists. Paradoxically, the empire imaginary was shaped by many of those teachers who held pacifist and even anti-imperialist beliefs. The emergence of progressive social studies in the first two decades of the twentieth century reflected white middle class women's contradictory labors in making claims to citizenship within the circumstances of the United States' expanding empire. These women both critiqued U.S. empire and mobilized the ideologies of civilization underpinning empire to make claims to full citizenship; they both accepted masculinist discourses of professionalization and embraced religious sentimentalism of the missionary movement; they both resisted the militarization of the classroom and embraced support for war as a means to achieve full citizenship.

Empire was both an opportunity for anti-imperialist white women to critique the lack of self-governance among Filipino and Puerto Rican colonial subjects but also to profess an ideology of white women's unique capacity to civilize. Focusing on the emergence of Andrews' youth organization, the American School Peace League and its attempts to prevent the militarization of the classroom during the First World War, I argue that what came to be understood as "Progressive Education"

reflected teachers' negotiation of these contradictions in the teaching of citizenship during the First World War. In turn, Progressive Social Studies, with its secular stress on the connection between local and global communities and teaching of interpersonal skills, became an important early site for producing the images and feelings of the empire imaginary.

By examining these educators, I argue that we can find the era of Progressive Education in its imprint, in its broader transformation of US society. The discourses of civilization had always contained within it a pedagogical mission. But the effect of Progressive Education in the United States was to produce new relations that justified empire. Originally, many progressive educators opposed not only war but imperialism, and indeed played an active role in the Anti-Imperialist League opposition to the Philippines. But as the years wore on, this anti-imperialism changed. Whereas earlier critiques of war had included a vigorous opposition to imperialism, the experience of empire in the Philippines taught progressive educators to accept imperial violence as a foundational condition for peace. After the First World War, the very conception of war changed for many pacifists and progressive educators. An emergent cultural tolerance grew to accept, paradoxically, the violence of the state against colonial subjects.

This alternative history of the Progressive Education movement reveals that many of the driving debates and ideas of Progressive Education were foundationally

about the contradictions between American empire's stress on self-governance and its dependence on militarization. Internationalist education emerged from women teachers who were influenced by the international contacts they made, but also responded to the exigencies of local classrooms and politics. From this perspective, a new trajectory of Progressive social studies education emerges. Rather than being driven by changes in the professionalization of male intellectuals, the new social studies curriculum of the 1910s and 1920s emerged from women teachers' resistance to the militarization of textbooks and classrooms and their attempts to internationalize citizenship studies. As many militaristic school curricula attempted to install compulsory military training that disciplined bodies, an emergent empire imaginary in Andrews' curricula attempted to build peace by disciplining feelings.

Pacifists, Preparedness, and the Imperial Origins of Social Studies

In an issue published just two weeks after a million and a half died at the Somme, *Everyland* proclaimed an incongruous fantasy of internationalism – a message of tolerance cloaked with racism, and a message of power cloaked with innocence. In typical fashion, this issue of the Christian missionary magazine *Everyland: A World Friendship Magazine for Girls and Boys* celebrated the world as fundamentally happy, benevolent, and safe. Racist caricatures of children from different parts of the world dance around a globe, harmonized by the outstretched arms of a Santa Claus - a symbol not only of the season but of the saving power of white charity. The issue contained cheerful stories that recognized the purported heroism of the Christian missionaries who sponsored the magazine, illustrations and photographs that exoticized people of color that were bent on making them seem passive and innocuous, and essays that taught children the value of meekness and compassion for

the "less privileged." This vision of world friendship in the midst of world war might have seemed unrealistic, insular, even naïve.[41]

But in fact, this early example of the empire imaginary – a complex mix of the religious and secular, the sentimental and political, the innocent and the global – reflected a strategic, pragmatic political calculation on the part of the magazine's publisher, Susan Mendenhall. At the time, tens of thousands of young people were joining citizen military training in the Plattsburg Movement, as war raged in Europe. Pro-Preparedness advocates like Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood attempted to include compulsory military training in schools and colleges, training which pacifist teachers had wanted to prevent.[42] The ultra-nationalism that accompanied Preparedness also swirled with nativist and white supremacist beliefs. The imaginary of *Everyland* was thus an antidote to an increasingly masculinized, bellicose public discussion about the United States' looming entry into the First World War - and as part of a much broader debate about the way that teachers thought about the relationship between race, citizenship education, and international relations.

---

[41] *Everyland: A World Friendship Magazine For Girls And Boys* (1909)

[42] John Patrick Finnegan. *Against the specter of a dragon: The campaign for American military preparedness, 1914-1917*. No. 7. Greenwood Publishing Group (1974); Michael David Pearlman. *To make democracy safe for America: Patricians and preparedness in the progressive era*. University of Illinois Press (1984); Robert D. Ward. "Against the Tide: The Preparedness Movement of 1923-1924." *Military Affairs: The Journal of Military History, Including Theory and Technology* (1974): 59-61. Chatfield also has an excellent discussion of anti-preparedness in various parts of his work: Charles Chatfield. *For peace and justice: pacifism in America, 1914-1941*. University of Tennessee Press (1971)

In that debate, the empire imaginary of *Everyland*, and not the militarism of

the Preparedness Movement, had captured the consensus of U.S. educational elites.

Just months before, the National Education Association had published *Social Studies*

in Secondary Education, today viewed as the origin point of modern "social studies"

curriculum. In its opening section, the authors of the report provided a new definition

of citizenship and society:

> "society" may be interpreted to include the human race. Humanity is bigger
> than any of its divisions. The social studies should cultivate a sense of
> membership in the "world community," with all the sympathies and sense of
> justice that this involves as among the different divisions of human society.
> The first step, however, toward a true "neighborliness " among nations must
> be a realization of national ideals, national efficiency, national loyalty,
> national self-respect, just as real neighborliness among different family
> groups depends upon the solidarity, the self-respect, and the loyalty to be
> found within each of the component families.[43]

Like the report, the illustration in *Everyland* signaled a new internationalism in the

teaching of young people. More importantly, *Social Studies in Secondary Education*

signaled this internationalism in sentimental terms. Rather than stressing strength as

previous curricula had,[44] the report used ideas like "neighborliness," "loyalty,"

---

[43] Murry Nelson. *The social studies in secondary education: A reprint of the seminal 1916 report with annotations and commentaries*. ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2805 East Tenth Street, Suite 120, Bloomington, IN (1994): 9-10

[44] Ronald W. Evans. "The social studies wars, now and then." *Social Education* 70.5 (2006): 317; Cogan, John J. "Civic Education in the United States: A Brief History." *International Journal of Social Education* 14.1 (1999): 52-64; Catherine Cornbleth, "The Changing Faces of Civic Education," *Theory into Practice*, Vol. 10, No. 5, (1971), 323-327; Hazel Hertzberg. *Social studies reform 1880-1980*. Boulder, CO: SSEC Publications (1981)

"sympathy" and "self-respect," relating the personal graces learned within the intimacy of the family to the achievement of a world community. Both unmistakably rejected the rhetoric of previous regimes of citizenship education, most notably an 1893 report completed by the National Education Association that claimed the role of history was principally "the development of distinct national life."[45]

This section argues that these two changes in teaching and learning - from national to international, and from stoic to empathetic - were closely related. Historians generally agree that between 1890 and 1916, citizenship curriculum within U.S. public schools transformed from a "history" basis that was individualistic and intellectually focused, toward a "social studies" basis that was social and behaviorally focused. Generally they have assumed that the 1916 report played the most important role in creating this shift, causing an immediate turn in which school teachers across the country adopted a curriculum imposed upon them by national policymakers.[46]

Yet *Everyland*, as well as similar, affiliated movements, appears to contradict the primacy of this committee report in producing a citizenship education that was

---

[45] National Education Association of the United States. Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies. *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies: With the reports of the conferences arranged by the committee.* National Education Association (1894) 62

[46] Fallace makes this observation in Thomas D. Fallace "Did the Social Studies Really Replace History in the Local Curriculum? The Case of Elyria, Ohio and the North Central States," *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 37:4 (2009) 458-483

empathetically and internationally minded. First published by missionary and educator Susan Mendenhall in 1910, long before *Social Studies in Secondary Education* was written, the widely circulated magazine exposed young people to global geographies, emphasized compassion and kindness, and encouraged active participation in community life. *Everyland* certainly shows that a curricular shift toward a nondisciplinary, social, behaviorally focused citizenship education predated *Social Studies in Secondary Education. Everyland* also underscores the fact that the "history-to-social-studies" narrative, in which mostly women schoolteachers of the country obediently accepted a curriculum imposed upon them by policymakers, does not represent the whole story. Such a narrative plays into pervasive sexist narratives about women school teachers which Geraldine Clifford has summarized as follows: "well-meaning but passive followers of men who manage patriarchal institutions and impersonal bureaucracies."[47]

While the report may have been important in the shift to social studies, the groundwork for it was a contemporaneous transformation in U.S. based peace movements, at that time highly popular among women school teachers. David Patterson has shown that between 1887 and 1914, there was a shift in antiwar

---

[47] Geraldine J. Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes : A Social History of Women Teachers in America.* Baltimore, US: Johns Hopkins University Press (2014): x

movements from "noninstitutional pacifism to institutional internationalism,"[48] one in which informal efforts to teach the moral virtues of absolute peace, anti-militarization, and anti-imperialism gave way to elite attempts to establish formal political institutions that managed collective security, attempts which culminated in the League of Nations. C. Roland Marchand has shown a similar shift in the antiwar movements, arguing that this shift reflected both gender and class dynamics: consisting primarily of white male elites who held a deeply technocratic distrust of populist democracy, "institutional internationalism" also represented an attempt to wrest control of the movement from women peace leaders who were identified as "sentimentalist."[49]

Building on this research on peace movements, this chapter argues that a peace education movement played a crucial role in the transition from "noninstitutional pacifism" to "institutional internationalism." This movement, created by school teacher and international relations scholar Fannie Fern Andrews in the American School Peace League (ASPL), consisted of mainly women school teachers like Andrews who used peace education to imagine a world community bonded intimately by domestic, familial emotions like sympathy and kindness, and resisted efforts from male historians to impose masculinized, militarized forms of

---

[48] David S Patterson. *Toward a warless world: The travail of the American peace movement, 1887-1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press (1976): 256

[49] C Roland Marchand. *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889-1918*. Princeton University Press (2015)

citizenship education. Concentrating on "disciplining feelings," the work of women like Mendenhall and Andrews reached far more people than that of other pacifist or internationalist groups between 1898 and 1917, and their work contributed in meaningful ways toward the shift from "history" to "social studies" curriculum.

Just as many white anti-imperialists in 1898 became inured to the United States' formal empire, the chapter argues, Andrews' empire imaginary resisted the militaristic citizenship education associated with the Preparedness Movement. It did so using two moves common in the rhetorics of white supremacy: first, by incorporating the logic of the United States' occupation of the Philippines (which made peace the condition of self-governance), and second by reconstructing the history of racial emancipation as a liberation from inefficiency, from what Andrews called the "slavery of bad habits." Using Social Darwinism and recapitulation theory, these teachers used these conditions of self-governance not only to teach young people the tenants of respectability, but to exclude people of color and ethnic whites from first class citizenship and participation in world politics. In this way, precisely by enabling the institutionalization of internationalism, white teachers like Andrews generated an "empire imaginary."

The Historiography of Early Social Studies

In order to understand the schooling context of Andrews' American School Peace League, we have to understand some of the crucial unanswered questions in the history of early social studies education. Scholarship on early social studies education has concentrated on two questions: first, the *causes* of a shift from a history based curriculum to a social studies based curriculum; and second, the *nature* of this change. In answering the first question, scholars have suggested two answers: causes that were internal to social science and teaching disciplines, and causes that were external to social science and teaching disciplines. Scholars that cite *internal* changes, in turn, generally cite two specific causes. First, they cite dramatic changes in the professionalization of academic historians, academic social scientists, and scholars of education. These changes pushed historians to concentrate on college teaching, while social scientists and educators increasingly pushed to occupy primary and secondary curriculum.[50] Second, they cite changes in the way that all of these disciplines thought about human behavior. Thomas Fallace, for example, has persuasively argued that the key shift in ushering Progressive social studies

---

[50] N.R. Hiner. "Professions in process: Changing relations between historians and educators 1896-1911." *History of Education Quarterly*, 12 (1972): 34-56; Stephen T. Leonard ""Pure Futility and Waste": Academic Political Science and Civic Education." *PS: Political Science & Politics,* 32.04 (1999): 749-754; Hindy Lauer Schachter. "Civic education: Three early American Political Science Association committees and their relevance for our times." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 31.03 (1998): 631-635.

education lie with a change in thinking about student motivation, from one based in faculty psychology (which thought of learning as helping a student's "will" discipline the student's "interests," and thought of a student's "mind" as a type of muscle that needed to be exercised to do so) to new forms of psychology that felt that "will" and "interests" were the same, and thus that teaching should focus on meeting students where they are at in motivating them.[51]

Scholars citing external change claim that transformations in gender, race, and class in the early twentieth century contributed to these changes. For a considerable time, scholars have argued that Progressive Educators, invested in both racist and gendered ideologies, and in expanding the ameliorative power of teaching, pushed for a "social studies" that focused on behavioral and remedial, rather than intellectual, types of teaching and learning.[52] Julie Reuben has shown that shifts in the broader definition of citizenship lie at the center of these transformations. According to Reuben, social studies' emphasis on behavior and community responsibility reflected an expansion of the definition of citizenship to women and

---

[51] Thomas D Fallace. "From the German Schoolmaster's Psychology to the Psychology of the Child: Evolving Rationales for the Teaching of History in US Schools in the 1890s." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, no. 2 (2011): 161-186.

[52] Raymond Callahan. *Education and the cult of efficiency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); For the strongest critique, see Thomas Fallace, and Victoria Fantozzi. "Was there really a social efficiency doctrine? The uses and abuses of an idea in educational history." *Educational Researcher* 42, no. 3 (2013): 142-150.

black folks who were deprived voting rights.[53] Others have shown that many

Progressive Education reformers wanted to change the school system to better

assimilate new immigrant groups in the cities.[54] Likewise, scholars have also shown

that the key shift in social studies -- toward a more child centered civic education --

resulted from the scientific racism espoused by child study advocates like G. Stanley

Hall, as well as the practical influence of vocationally based schools for blacks,

American Indians, and Filipinos.[55] As Sarah Bair argues, in the view of the new

advocates of social studies, "the assimilation of Blacks [and presumably Native

[53] Julie A. Reuben. "Beyond politics: Community civics and the redefinition of citizenship in the progressive era." *History of Education Quarterly* 37.4 (1997): 399-420.

[54] Michael Lybarger. "The political context of the social studies: Creating a constituency for municipal reform." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 8, no. 3 (1980): 1-27.

[55] Thomas D Fallace. "Was John Dewey ethnocentric? Reevaluating the philosopher's early views on culture and race." *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 6 (2010): 471-477; Fallace, Thomas. "The savage origins of child-centered pedagogy, 1871–1913." *American Educational Research Journal* 52, no. 1 (2015): 73-103; Thomas D Fallace. "John Dewey and the savage mind: Uniting anthropological, psychological, and pedagogical thought, 1894–1902." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 44, no. 4 (2008): 335-349; Thomas Fallace. "Repeating the race experience: John Dewey and the history curriculum at the University of Chicago laboratory school." *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (2009): 381-405; Paula S Fass. *Outside in: Minorities and the transformation of American education*. Oxford University Press, 1991; Michael Lybarger. "Origins of the modern social studies: 1900-1916." *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1983): 455-468; Strickland, Charles E. "The Child, the Community, and Clio: The Uses of Cultural History in Elementary School Experiments of the Eighteen-Nineties." *History of Education Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1967): 474-492. For a more positive view of education's effects, see Mirel, Jeffrey. *Patriotic pluralism: Americanization education and European immigrants*. Harvard University Press, 2010.

Americans] through education would be an important step toward preventing the kind of "social protest" and independent political power and civil rights demanded by DuBois and other like-minded Black scholars."[56]

The causes of the change also bear on the second question which scholars of social studies education have asked, which is the *nature* of this change -- including the consequences of the change, as well as how rapid and monolithic the change was. In brief, the debate about consequences boil down to either "history good / social studies bad," or "history bad / social studies good."[57] The former views historical studies as the intellectually-based curriculum whose "loss" to a behaviorally focused "social studies" meant that civic education became diluted, disorganized, and non-rigorous.[58] The latter views social studies as a fresh, relevant, integrated, creative alternative to a previously stale, didactic, teacher centered discipline of high school history teaching.

---

[56] Bair, Sarah D. "Educating black girls in the early 20th century: The pioneering work of Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879–1961)." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 36, no. 1 (2008): 9-35.

[57] For a slightly more complex overview, see Fallace, Thomas. "John Dewey's influence on the origins of the social studies: An analysis of the historiography and new interpretation." *Review of Educational Research* 79.2 (2009): 601-624.

[58] Orrill, Robert, and Linn Shapiro. "From bold beginnings to an uncertain future: The discipline of history and history education." *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (2005): 727-751.

Other scholars have complicated this view.[59]Some have questioned whether the shift to social studies happened immediately and monolithically, and have suggested that the shift was applied differently and unevenly depending on local class and racial contexts.[60] Some have shown that the difference between "social studies" and "history" curriculum leaders were not so clear cut, and that signs of social studies were present in earlier examples of curriculum reform.[61] Perhaps most importantly, a growing group of scholars has pointed to the much longer history, going back to the nineteenth century, of home geography and expanding horizons curriculum. Social studies, according to these scholars, originated in part through the accumulation of a primary school curriculum which emphasized learning society by

---

[59] Evans, Ronald W. "The social studies wars, now and then." *Social Education* 70.5 (2006): 317; Cogan, John J. "Civic Education in the United States: A Brief History." *International Journal of Social Education* 14.1 (1999): 52-64; Cornbleth, Catherine. "The changing faces of civic education." *Theory into Practice* 10, no. 5 (1971): 323-327; Hertzberg, Hazel Whitman. *Social Studies Reform 1880-1980*. SSEC Publications, Boulder, CO, 1981.

[60] Fallace, Thomas D. "Did the social studies really replace history in the local curriculum? The case of Elyria, Ohio and the north central states." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 37, no. 4 (2009): 458-483.

[61] Ken Osbourne, "Fred Marrow Fling and the Source-Method of Teaching History," Theory and Research in Social Education 31 (Fall 2003); Keels, Oliver M. "In the beginning—Albert McKinley and the founding of the Social Studies." *The Social Studies* 85, no. 5 (1994): 198-205; Bohan, C. H. "Early vanguards of progressive education: The Committee of Ten, Seven and social education." *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 19(1) (2003): 73-94; Whelan, Michael. "Albert Bushnell Hart and the origins of social studies education." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 22, no. 4 (1994): 423-440; Saxe, David Warren. "Establishing a voice for history in schools: The first methods textbooks for history instruction 1896–1902." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 22.4 (1994)

doing, and used a progressive curriculum in which younger students learned about more local contexts like the social geography of their family or neighborhood, while older students learned about a successively wider series of horizons, such as state, nation, and world.[62]

All of these arguments, however, have assumed that the shift, however unevenly it may have happened, was either positive or negative, and that it was imposed from the top down. The example of Andrews' American School Peace League shows that the changes were produced by the work of ordinary teachers dealing with complex teaching situations having to do with both their own claims to citizenship and their own responses to their students. The changes happened unevenly and involved a series of contradictions that were worked through rather than the imposition of an ideological monolith. Rather than good or bad, the changes merely reflected new ways in which patriarchy, white supremacy, and empire deployed power. In this way, we can see the primarily white women school teachers

---

[62] Barton, Keith C. "Home geography and the development of elementary social education, 1890–1930." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 37.4 (2009): 484-514; Halvorsen, Anne-Lise. "Back to the future: The expanding communities curriculum in geography education." *The social studies* 100, no. 3 (2009): 115-120; Schwartz, Sherry. "Finding the expanding environments curriculum in America's first primary schools." *The Social Studies* 93, no. 2 (2002): 57-61; Akenson, James E. "Historical factors in the development of elementary social studies: Focus on the expanding environments." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 15, no. 3 (1987): 155-171; LeRiche, Leo W. "The expanding environments sequence in elementary social studies: The origins." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 15, no. 3 (1987): 137-154.

who produced curriculum and interacted with their students as both agents of creating change within schools (rather than passive implementers), and as complicit in the complex political structures of their times. It is in negotiating these complexities, I argue, that "the empire imaginary" was first produced.

The years between 1900 and 1920 represented the high watermark of the teaching profession's feminization in the United States: as the number of schoolteachers nearly doubled from 432,000 to 723,000, the percentage of male school teachers was cut in half, from 29% to 16%.[63] As Geraldine Clifford has shown, teachers chose their professions for a variety of reasons, usually a combination of enjoying the work, wanting to secure wages while avoiding the drudgery of factory work, and limited opportunities in other fields.[64] Because of the limited opportunities afforded to women of color, white women were disproportionately represented in the teaching profession. Black women teachers tended to come from upper middle class backgrounds, while white women teachers tended to come from middle or lower middle class backgrounds. Thus both race and gender played an important role in the teaching profession. Many teachers, white and black, played crucial roles in the suffragist and other progressive political causes, yet

---

[63] Clifford, Geraldine J. *Those good Gertrudes: A social history of women teachers in America*. JHU Press, 2014.
[64] *Ibid*

many white women teachers also mobilized racist ideologies to support their growing claim to citizenship.

In their pursuit of new types of citizenship, the young, white middle class women who constituted the lion's share of primary and secondary teachers at the turn of the twentieth century engaged in a complex gender and racial politics. For the most part, these white women were upwardly mobile, bright and ambitious, and politically active. They tended to be leaders, in their local community or even nationally, in a variety of reform and humanitarian causes, including suffrage, prohibition, anti-imperialism, and pacifism. The turn of the century, as many historians have pointed out, reflected a crucial moment in the reproduction of gender ideologies. As women made growing claims onto the public sphere and political life through suffrage, prohibition, and reform movements--and as an expanding state blurred the distinctions between separate spheres that had helped define normative, white middle class life--white men in particular reacted by performing more embodied masculinities, ridiculing the religious sentimentalism that underpinned earlier women's reform efforts, and creating a cult of professionalization, all designed to exclude women from the public sphere. Women responded, in turn, by

reimagining more independent, publicly active, physically mobile models of womanhood.[65]

At the same time, these white women benefited from their class and racial positions, and had views on racial justice that were varied, complex, but increasingly supremacist. A debate remains about the extent to which women suffragists' invocation of white supremacist and biological racist ideas reflected genuine belief, strategic claims, or both. But as Gail Bederman and Louise Newman have shown, white supremacism was inseparable from many white suffragists' claims to equal citizenship. White women, according to this ideology, had a special capacity which uniquely suited them to perform a civilizing mission on colonized subjects, ethnic white immigrants, and people of color living within the United States.[66] Moreover, the idea of whiteness representing a type of supremacism was signified in terms of

---

[65] Baker, Paula. "The domestication of politics: Women and American political society, 1780-1920." *The American Historical Review* 89.3 (1984): 620-647; Fraser, Nancy, and Linda Gordon. "A genealogy of dependency: Tracing a keyword of the US welfare state." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19.2 (1994): 309-336; Murphy, Kevin P. *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform*. Columbia University Press, 2013; Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917*. University of Chicago Press, 2008; Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and sports in protestant America, 1880-1920*. Harvard University Press, 2009.Kunzel, Regina G. *Fallen women, problem girls: Unmarried mothers and the professionalization of social work, 1890-1945*. Yale University Press, 1995.

[66] Newman, Louise Michele. *White women's rights: The racial origins of feminism in the United States*. Oxford University Press, 1999; Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917*. University of Chicago Press, 2008.

the extreme gender difference which was part of the gendered ideologies of the time: according to this belief, civilized white women had high levels of sex differentiation from men, while "uncivilized" women had low levels of sex differentiation.

Both whiteness and womanhood, in turn, were implicated in complex ways in questions of diplomacy, internationalism, and empire. As Bederman, Amy Kaplan, Kristin Hoganson, and others have shown, the decision to enter the 1898 war against Spain depended intimately on representing the act of war as a matter of masculine honor and chivalry.[67] The decision to continue or not continue the colonial occupation of Cuba, Philippines, and Puerto Rico, moreover, depended on ideologies that concerned who thought whom fit to achieve self-governance--a question which itself turned to race and gender, as white men had justified their exclusive possession of citizenship on the belief that they had unique capacities for independent judgment and civic belonging.

The way that individual women teachers interacted with internationalism and empire, however, was more complex than these generalizations can capture. The profile of school teachers closely resembled the profile of feminist pacifists as

---

[67] Kaplan, Amy. "Romancing the empire: The embodiment of American masculinity in the popular historical novel of the 1890s." *American Literary History* 2, no. 4 (1990): 659-690; Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917*. University of Chicago Press, 2008; Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American manhood: How gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars*. Yale University Press, 2000.

Harriet Hyman Alonso has described them: middle class, Anglo-Saxon, liberal Protestant.[68] Some white suffragists were imperialists, many were anti-imperialists, and many were both, depending on the circumstances and time. Some were pro-war, many pacifists, and probably most were both in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Most, whether imperialist or anti-imperialist, pacifist or pro-war, had beliefs that were undergirded by white supremacist ideologies of self-governance. According to Allison Sneider's work on U.S. empire and suffrage, the imperialism question among suffragist women "deepened and complicated" racial difference in the movement. On the other hand, according to Sneider, empire and the problems that it raised allowed the very self-government questions which in previous suffrage debates had been left to the states to become a national question: "expansion was an inherently national project, and when legislators discussed the precise ways of governing those at the borders of an expanding union, they raised questions of self-government, self-sovereignty, and voting rights to the level of national debate."[69] Sneider's argument is that the elevation of the conversation itself was what mattered in empire's influence on women's voting rights.

Intellectual historians have shown that racialized discourses about civilization filtered deep into knowledge production and the way that turn of the century

---

[68] Alonso, Harriet Hyman. *Peace as a women's issue: A history of the US movement for world peace and women's rights*. Syracuse University Press, 1993. (57)

[69] Sneider, Allison L. *Suffragists in an imperial age: US expansion and the woman question, 1870-1929*. Oxford University Press, 2008 (7)

Americans thought about child psychology. These scholars have shown that many forms of knowledge production -- including psychology, history, literature, and political science -- were implicated in the structuring of the United States' empire. Gail Bederman and J. Garrison have shown that psychologist G. Stanley Hall's embrace of a recapitulationist theory of childhood and adolescence was grounded in the racial and gendered dynamics of empire.[70] Robert Vitalis has shown that international relations -- which began with Hall's founding of the *Journal of Race Development* -- likewise emerged as a means to control colonial possessions.[71] Likewise, Roland Sintos Coloma has shown that US imperial education in the Philippines was constructed around imperial subjectification: "the 'child' or 'student' in schools," Coloma argues, "was constructed as White who embodied a normalized US identity, while Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders remained marginalized."[72] Coloma, Anne Paulet, and William Watkins have likewise shown considerable intellectual exchange between global pillars of imperial education -- American Indian boarding schools, African American vocational institutes, Filipino schools, South African schools for blacks -- and the emergence of Progressive social studies

---

[70] Garrison, Joshua. "A problematic alliance: colonial anthropology, recapitulation theory, and G. Stanley Hall's program for the liberation of America's youth." *American Educational History Journal* 35, no. 1/2 (2008): 131.

[71] Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

[72] Coloma, Roland Sintos. "Disorienting race and education: Changing paradigms on the schooling of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders." *Race ethnicity and education* 9, no. 1 (2006): 1-15.

education.[73] According to Watkins, colonial and vocational school administrators'
belief in white supremacism led them to a focus on less "intellectual" types of
education for their students -- types of education which became the basis for social
studies: according to Watkins, "health and hygiene; knowledge of the physical
environment; knowledge of domestic life and culture; and knowledge of recreation,
i.e. the art of creating a sane and elastic personality, self-controlled, poised, serene of
mind, and capable of happiness."[74]

Indeed, the foundation of progressive education - a shift from a psychology
based on believing student motivation acted like a muscle one needed to discipline,
to a psychology based on the belief that teachers should cater to student interests -
was grounded in colonial questions. G. Stanley Hall's landmark *Adolescence*, which
helped pioneer this view adopted by Dewey, ends with a long chapter about
"Adolescent Races." In that chapter, Hall calls for a new approach to colonial
occupation, one in which, mirroring the new understanding of adolescents, he calls
for a colonial approach which governs by cultivating their already existing habits and
feelings. Rather than forcefully imposing values on colonized subjects, Hall argued,

---

[73] Coloma, Roland Sintos. ""'Destiny has thrown the Negro and the Filipino under the
tutelage of America": Race and curriculum in the age of empire." *Curriculum
Inquiry* 39, no. 4 (2009): 495-519; Paulet, Anne. "To change the world: The use of
American Indian education in the Philippines." *History of Education Quarterly* 47,
no. 2 (2007): 173-202; Watkins, William H. "Thomas Jesse Jones, Social Studies,
and Race." *International Journal of Social Education* 10, no. 2 (1996): 124-34.
[74] Watkins *Ibid*

what was necessary was to treat them with the benevolence of children: "they need," he argued, "the same careful and painstaking study, lavish care, and adjustment to their nature and needs."[75] Thus, Hall, himself an anti-imperialist, called for a more humane mode of colonial occupation, one in which "education" and "statesmanship" became inseparable.

In the context of these gendered, racialized and colonial ideas about child-centered teaching and learning, women encountered the contradictory labors of claiming and teaching citizenship, wary of both the tutelary conception of empire and self-governance, the work that became "social studies" negotiated different modes of empire: between the religious missionary and the secular professional, between militarism and pacifism, between racial supremacism and racial tolerance. The defining characteristics of progressive social studies -- its student-centeredness, anti-disciplinarity, focus on behavioral change, and its civic and community engagement -- these emerged, in part, out of these women teachers' making more expansive claims to citizenship in a globalizing world.

At the center of this negotiation was sentimentalism. Sentimentalism had played a crucial role in the lives of middle class women in the nineteenth century, and had undergirded women's activism in causes associated with pacifism, like the

---

[75] Hall, Granville Stanley. *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*. Vol. 2. D. Appleton, 1916.

abolition movement (most famously, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*). Socially, sentimentalism was concerned with the power of feeling and emotion, idealizing the private life of the domestic world.[76] As a literary form, sentimentalism was defined by its disembodiment. The December 1916 cover of *Everyland* reflects sentimentalist feeling: expressly intended to teach a lesson rather than gratify a longing, the minstrel-like children become caricatured and disembodied, totally consumed in a stereotype of domestic children's play.

The essence of *this* particular (though certainly not all) sentimentalism was the essence of racist doctrine: this form of sentimentalism taught that bodies of color did not matter. For the white child to whom *Everyland* was directed, the magazine taught that the only value a child of color could have for them was a particular form of friendship: one in which white children cultivated "civic depth"[77] by learning the enjoyment of friendly contact with children of color, and in which children of color were thoroughly dependent on white missionaries for their existence mattering. Founded by Susan Mendenhall in 1910, *Everyland* emerged from the Young People's Missionary Movement. Mendenhall filled the quarterly magazine with stories, poems, photographs and illustrations of missionaries "elevating" young

---

[76] Streeby, Shelley. *American sensations: class, empire, and the production of popular culture*. Vol. 9. Univ of California Press, 2002 (31); Klein, Christina. *Cold war Orientalism: Asia in the middlebrow imagination, 1945-1961*. Univ of California Press, 2003 (13-15)

[77] Castiglia, Christopher. "Abolition's Racial Interiors and the Making of White Civic Depth." *American Literary History* 14, no. 1 (2002): 33-59.

people from the "four fifths" of the nonwhite world. For example, the first story in the first issue describe a missionary's successful attempts to bring kindness and scientific enlightenment to a Congolese tribe under the spell of a "witchdoctor."[78]

This sentimentalism in the service of teaching a virtuous lesson became the defining characteristic of the ur-social studies modes of teaching found in the American School Peace League. The most formalized example of these was the League's 1914 *A Course in Citizenship*, which was headed by five teachers and scholars from Massachusetts: Fannie Fern Andrews, the philosopher Ella Lyman Cabot, Fannie Coe, Mabel Hill, and Mary McSkimmon. The authors of *A Course in Citizenship*, to be sure, designed the curriculum strategically rather than theoretically. Rather than producing a whole or systematic new course of learning, they gave each teacher a set of practical tools and ideas to use at their discretion, to insert into existing history curriculum, provide ideas for morning warm-ups and afternoon story time, or to use as an object lesson if an unexpected event in the school or community required discussion. Too, the course was structured logically and methodically.

Rather than centering around the logic of history, Andrews et. al structured *A Course in Citizenship* around the logic of sentimentalism. The course took historical

---

[78] *Everyland: A World Friendship Magazine For Girls And Boys*, 1909.

periods and used them to discipline feelings to become more conducive to peacemaking, to teach crucial, transcendent values like "kindness," "faithfulness," and "making peace." Andrews and her colleagues designed the course around sentimentalizing world politics. Beginning in the First Grade with teaching of proper domestic feelings within the family, *A Course* proceeded to teaching the importance of peace and sympathy at school in the second grade, then the neighborhood, town, nation, and finally in the "world family" in eighth grade. Drawing on a structure common in nineteenth century social learning called *heimatkunde* in Germany and "home geography" in the United States,[79] *A Course* thus not only appealed to sentimentalism by the set of virtues around which it was structured, but by *not* being structured around an increasingly popular model of child development based around physical and sexual maturation. Childhood, in other words, became an affective category rather than a physical or maturational one - quite literally disembodied.

The disembodied sentimentalism in *A Course* likely evolved to resist two claims on the attentions of young people, both of which were about the disciplining of bodies: first, a sensationalist mass print culture that frequently centered around adventures in global, exoticized locations; second, from many male historians who sought to impose a disciplinary, militarized form of citizenship education that

---

[79] Barton, Keith C. "Home geography and the development of elementary social education, 1890–1930." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 37, no. 4 (2009): 484-514.

centered around a newly embodied masculinity. As Shelley Streeby and Amy Kaplan

have shown, mass print culture had long played a crucial role in young people's lives

during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[80] Dime novel Westerns and

historical romance novels had created models of embodied, militarized masculinity

that became incorporated into the rhetorical justifications for empire in Mexico,

Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Kaplan has persuasively shown that the

embodied masculinity of historical romance novels during the 1890s assisted in

making the "disembodied empire" of the United States' occupation of the Philippines

more palatable.[81]

Whereas dime novels had exoticized colonial locations as the site of

adventure, danger, and sexual exploit, *Everyland* exoticized them as opportunities for

demonstrating the white child's depth of sentiment, kindness, and compassion. In

1910, one reviewer immediately recognized the ways that this mission served the

interests of the United States' hunger for capital. Claiming that missionaries had long

been "opening the way for new markets," the reviewer felt that there was a:

> new need of training a generation that must carry on commerce intelligently
> and successfully with the ends of the earth, that must enter sympathetically
> into the point of view of savages dominated by witch doctors, and

---

[80] Kaplan, Amy. *The anarchy of empire in the making of US culture*. Vol. 32. Harvard University Press, 2005; Streeby, Shelley. *American sensations: class, empire, and the production of popular culture*. University of California Press, 2002.
[81] Kaplan, Amy. "Romancing the empire: The embodiment of American masculinity in the popular historical novel of the 1890s." *American Literary History* 2, no. 4 (1990): 659-690.

comprehend the habits and capacities of all black and white and "'lasses colored" creatures…[*Everyland*] is imbued with the new spirit which should appeal to every lover of chivalry, every one who perceives the enormous new possibilities of America in carrying civilization into the less privileged corners of the earth. We shall fail of our great opportunity if the rising generation is not inspired and fascinated by the romance and dignity and glorious possibilities of this new world movement toward 'Togetherness.'[82]

As such, *Everyland* strove to redefine the civic chivalry of internationalism in terms of togetherness, sympathy, and humanitarianism. The pleasures and propriety of accessing the colonized world became associated with proximity and emotional care rather than exploitation and distance. For a school teacher or parent struggling to garner the attention of a student whose interest was captured by a popular dime novel filled with gratuitous violence and sexual innuendo, *Everyland* offered the opportunity to capture a child's interest while doing so in a wholesome way.

Beyond competing with the informal institutions of a child's learning, though, sentimentalism became used by women teachers to resist the imposition of a militarized form of citizenship education focused on cultivating embodied masculinity. As Kevin Murphy has shown, militarism became a language that embodied many of the values of Progressive politics.[83] Progressives strove to impose order and discipline on a society that appeared increasingly fragmented, an order that ostensibly would be meritocratic and in which women would be excluded from the

---

[82] LAM. "" Everyland." The New Magazine for Boys and Girls." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* (1909): 260-260.
[83] Murphy, Kevin P. *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform*. Columbia University Press, 2013.

civic realm. Because they associated modern militaries with order, merit-based achievement and masculinity, Progressives frequently extended the model of the "army" into municipal reform causes from social hygiene to anti-corruption work. Although many parts of what would come to be called "Progressive Education" would explicitly resist a military model, the types of of history education that most elites endorsed between 1893 and 1916 was teacher-centered, disciplinary, and highly war-centered.[84] No progressive better exemplified this strategy than William James' famous 1910 essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War," which argued that society required a peaceful version of militarism to discipline and harness human energy toward harmonious pursuits.[85]

Among teachers, these gendered forces came to a head during the lead up to the First World War. Between 1915 and 1917, a push to include military training as a standard part of curriculum for boys swirled as war in Europe raged. A number of states considered compulsory military training in high schools. Military training skyrocketed from being taken by 1.8% of students to being taken by 16% of high

---

[84] On the war-centered nature of textbooks, see Martin, George H., Homer B. Sprague, Fanny Fern Andrews, and William A. Mowry. "The Teaching of History in the Public Schools of the United States with Special Reference to War and Peace." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 68, no. 5 (1906): 100-107. On being teacher centered and disciplinary, see Cremin, Lawrence A. *The transformation of the school: Progressivism in American education, 1876-1957.* New York: Vintage Books (1961).

[85] James, William. "The moral equivalent of war." (1910) from Oates, Joyce Carol, and Robert Atwan. *The Best American essays of the century*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2000.

school students, a phenomenon which eventually became the basis for ROTC and physical education in schools. Even G. Stanley Hall praised preparedness as a crucial aspect of schooling.[86] But the vast majority of teachers disapproved of preparedness. As Susan Zeiger has shown, women teacher activists of the American School Peace League mobilized to oppose the militarization of the schools in their local communities and national organizations like Playground Association of America and the National Education Association. These teacher activists resisted critiques that women school teachers "feminized" boys, stressed the "vulnerability" and innocence of children, and rejected the militarization of society.[87]

Antimilitarism was a common theme among the many early twentieth century women who were both feminists and pacifists - most famously, Jane Addams. In the same year as the founding of the American School Peace League, Addams published *Newer Ideals of Peace*. In this book, she argued that the plurality of mass urban life itself would become the basis of a shift from human society based on war and militarism toward one based on peace and tolerance. In that book, Addams placed the making of peaceful institutions within the city at the center of the Progressive social reform project, one which would eliminate the militarism and

---

[86] Carr, William George. *Education for World-citizenship*. Stanford University Press, 1928. (116)

[87] Zeiger, Susan. "The schoolhouse vs. the armory: US teachers and the campaign against militarism in the schools, 1914-1918." *Journal of Women's History* 15.2 (2003): 150-179.

conflict which she observed in radical social movements and replace it with a "cosmopolitan affection" which they would find "in the dim borderland between compassion and morality."[88]

Both the opposition to militarism and sensationalism emerged out of larger narratives about race and empire at the turn of the century. As many historians have shown, the occupation of the Philippines depended on narratives of "tutelage" and "benevolent assimilation," narratives which stressed Filipinos' unfitness for self-government with the practice of teaching which was imagined as caring and compassionate.[89] Simultaneously, many scholars have shown the rapprochement in popular culture and history books -- in particular, the Dunning School -- in which intra-Anglo-Saxon rivalries within the Civil War and in the American Revolution were increasingly deemphasized.[90]

The *Course* exemplified such opposition to militarism and sensationalism. For example, the *Course* frequently constructed the tutelage of self-governance by reinventing the history of the United States' deprivation of human beings of self-

---

[88] Addams, Jane, Berenice A. Carroll, and Clinton F. Fink. *Newer ideals of peace*. University of Illinois Press, 1907. (9)

[89] Kramer, Paul A. *The blood of government: Race, empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2006; Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American manhood: How gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars*. Yale University Press, 2000; Wexler, Laura. *Tender violence: Domestic visions in an age of US imperialism*. UNC Press Books, 2000.

[90] Hale, Grace Elizabeth. *Making whiteness: The culture of segregation in the South, 1890-1940*. Vintage, 2010.

government. In one lesson called "Government By the People" taught in Fifth Grade (concentrating on The Nation), "slavery" is reimagined - not as an unjust deprivation of black Americans of their life, freedom, and labor, but as a chosen state of mind:

> What is the opposite of self-government? Slavery, tyranny, or even anarchy, which means having no government. Have you ever seen anyone who was a slave to his bad habits? We are slaves if we can't make ourselves work, but have to be driven like cattle; slaves if we can't resist temptation; can't say no when someone asks us to do what is wrong; can't make ourselves go to bed or begin to study when it is time; can't resist looking out of the window and wasting time. Cultivate the power of governing yourself; keep your desk in good order.[91]

This reimagining of the meaning of slavery was not merely a metaphor, especially at a moment in which many historians attempted to write the significance of slavery out of the Civil War and reimagine Reconstruction as an unjust imposition on the Confederacy. Paradoxically, according to Andrews et. al. one became a slave only when one became punished for violating the norm of self-making, which made the project of becoming a slave itself a self-made project, in the writing of *A Course in Citizenship*. The book exemplified, as such, a sentimentalism that also embodied the imaginary of white supremacism, particularly as it deemphasized any war in U.S. history between white people.

Similarly, *A Course in Citizenship* used sentimentalism to reimagine colonial occupation as a form of peacemaking. While the course downplayed discussion of

---

[91] Cabot, Ella Lyman, et al. *A course in citizenship*. Houghton Mifflin, 1914. (198-199)

war between white Anglo-Saxons, it allowed discussion of wars which established Euro-US settler colonialism, US imperialism in Mexico, and Spanish conquests. Whereas in letter (though not in fact) the principle of self-governance had always assumed that the legitimacy of "peace" rested on a people's consent to be governed and that armed resistance was justified without such consent, the Philippine Organic Act of 1902 made the absence of armed resistance (peace) and the completion of a census (participation in the state) the condition of a people's self-governance: according to the act, only after "the existing insurrection in the Philippine Islands shall have ceased and a condition of general and complete peace" could an elected Assembly be convened.[92] The election of 1900 between William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan had revolved around the question of formally annexing the Philippines, a debate that McKinley and those who favored annexation won resoundingly. The Philippines' chief colonial administrator, then President William Howard Taft wrote the introduction to *A Course in Citizenship*, commending the course's emphasis on cultivating "friendship and sympathy" across nations but focusing primarily on the course's emphasis on creating discipline in the home:

> There is no necessary connection between democracy and rudeness and slouchy conduct and manner. There is no necessary connection between

---

[92]"Philippine Autonomy Act". *The Corpus Juris*. http://www.thecorpusjuris.com/constitutions/philippine-bill-of-1902.php. One article that has been helpful in understanding the complex issues of sovereignty at stake in the U.S. occupation of the Philippines is Kaplan, Amy. "Where is Guantánamo?." *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 831-858.

> democracy among adults and in government and a lack of discipline in our schools. There is no necessary causal connection between the abolition of privilege, caste, and class, and bad manners.[93]

The tutelage of progressive citizens that became celebrated in the 1916 report and in the idea of "social studies" was thus an expansion of the tutelage logic of the Filipino occupation: it expanded the logic of the "peaceful" citizen being the only self-governing citizen to all people, and through a sentimentalist ideology incorporated white women into the colonial project. The transcendence of a "social studies" curriculum was not a "victory" over the history curricula formalized in the 1893 report. Rather, it was an extension of that curriculum in the context of global, formal empire and a refashioning of it in a sentimental, rather than sensational, mold. This new curriculum embodied the ideology of "tender violence" that Laura Wexler has found in white women photographers in turn of the century United States, in which white women's claims to be "above" politics allowed them to use ideologies of domesticity to exclude men and women of color from political life and first class citizenship, and to justify imperial subjugation.[94]

Much as Kristin Hoganson suggested women pacifist opponents of the Spanish-American War did in the late nineteenth century, *A Course in Citizenship* drew on recapitulationist theories of human development to collapse clear

---

[93] Cabot, Ella Lyman, et al. *A course in citizenship*. Houghton Mifflin, 1914. (xiii)
[94] Wexler, Laura. *Tender violence: Domestic visions in an age of US imperialism*. UNC Press Books, 2000.

distinctions between the public and private. First, they personalized political relationships in ways that served to naturalize colonial power differentials. The use of metaphors like "neighborliness," "family of nations," or "brotherhood of man" in *A Course* were frequent, and they usually served to naturalize colonial influence. In one story called "The Forgiving Indian,"[95] a white pilgrim (who of course stole the Indian's land) denies an Indian man food when he comes in from a snowstorm, then later becomes the beneficiary of the Indian's generosity - a story whose effect was to teach white children that they should expect people of color to be generous even when whites have not extended the same generosity to them. Similarly, describing the United States' abuse of China after the Boxer Rebellion, Andrews claims that "The United States has always maintained the attitude of an older brother toward China."[96] The *Course* also advised children to "learn to recognize the rights and feelings of the Chinese laundryman, the Italian fruit-dealer, the Jewish tailor."[97]

At the same time, they elevated feminized labor such as community service and charitable work to the level of civic duty, de-emphasizing the significance of men's military service to citizenship. The course referred to this trope as "Courage in everyday life."[98] The *Course* generally used two tools to showcase "courage in everyday life": first, the modeling of "peace heroes" and the elevation of women or

---

[95] Cabot, Ella Lyman, et al. *A course in citizenship*. Houghton Mifflin, 1914. (64)
[96] *Ibid 309*
[97] *Ibid* 87
[98] *Ibid* 271

men performing feminized labor to the level of celebrity; second, the revaluing of sentimental affects as a central aspect of masculinity. In a section called "The Kindness of Great Men," *A Course in Citizenship* departed from masculinized vision of manhood and cited a poem from Bayard Taylor: "The bravest are the tenderest / The loving are the daring."[99]. A poem from Ralph Waldo Emerson describes the cherishing of a homosocial male "lover."[100] Similarly, *A Course* created a canon of civilian heroes, "Great Men" (some of whom were women) who made contributions outside of military life. For example, the book praised the vision of Clara Barton's battlefield nursing and the practical contributions of pioneers and scientists to human betterment. "Every advance," it sought to show, "has meant courage, sacrifice, cooperation."[101]The role of the teacher, they claimed, was "fanning a great flame of patriotism that shall burn all corruption from politics."[102] Thus in the first grade, rather than teaching the importance of creativity, ingenuity or intellectual achievement, the teaching of the life of the "Home" begins with a poem called "What is Good?" that defines kindness as the higher virtue, included readings and lessons on sharing, thoughtfulness, helpfulness and making people happy. Charles

---

[99] *Ibid* 27
[100] *Ibid* 47-48
[101] *Ibid* xxi
[102] *Ibid*

Dole's piece "The Army of Peace" refers to bureaucrats and members of the government as part of an "army" of peace.[103]

In collapsing the distinction between the public and private, sentimentalism mobilized Social Darwinist and recapitulation theory not only to teach young people the tenets of respectability, but to exclude people of color and ethnic whites (whom many whites viewed as biologically inferior) from first class citizenship and participation in world politics. Recapitulation theory, popular at the time among child studies scholars and imagining that child development "recapitulated" the narrative of racial evolution that white supremacists espoused. Since *A Course* expanded outwardly, from civic participation in families and local communities in lower grades toward national and global participation, its undergirding recapitulationist principles assumed that only white children could participate in those fields of power.

A Course reflected the summation of a much broader peace education movement founded by Andrews. Founded in 1908 - following Andrews' attendance at the celebrated pacifist Hague Conference - The American School Peace League had as its mission the education of young people in the values of peace. The League expanded rapidly: by 1914, the organization had established chapters in all but three states, and its guide for celebrating "Peace Day" sold 65,000 copies (about 15,000

---

[103] *Ibid* 230

high schools existed at the time).[104] The League promoted pageants which celebrated different national interests, supported essay contests which encouraged students to write about the value of peace, and encouraged young people to sing songs about peace and understanding. By the time that *A Course in Citizenship* was published in 1914, Andrews had turned the attention of the League toward lobbying the National Education Association toward opposing compulsory military training in public schools.

The greatest driving influence of the organization, Andrews was born to a working class family in Canada; in her childhood her family moved to Massachusetts. She went to normal school, taught, married, and by 1902 had obtained her bachelor's degree from Radcliffe College. As war "jingoism" swept the country, Eastern Massachusetts (the home of the American Peace Society) and Radcliffe in particular stood out as isolated hotbeds of pacifist and anti-imperialist politics. With a special skill for cracking the tough nuts in the classroom and a reputation for vivacity and brilliance as an undergraduate, Andrews engaged with stridently anti-imperialist faculty like William James and George Santayana.[105]

After college, she continued to teach but became ubiquitous in Massachusetts suffragist and peace organizing. Within a few years, she had joined the directors the

---

[104] Howlett, Charles F. 2008. "American school peace league and the first peace studies curriculum" *Encyclopedia of Peace Education.* New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University.

[105] Andrews, Fannie Fern. *Memory pages of my life*. Talisman Press, 1948.

American Peace Society. Between 1905 and 1906, Andrews headed a committee commissioned by the Peace Society that investigated "The Teaching of History in the Public Schools of the United States with Special Reference to War and Peace." In July 1906, between 700 and 800 teachers attended a conference about the teaching of peace, organized by Lucia Ames Mead, who later organized the Women's Peace Party. Andrews attended, proposing a resolution that deemed all teaching should be infused with the "peace spirit" and that a committee to design peace curriculum should be produced. She attended both the National Peace Congress and the famous Hague Conference of 1907. The following year, Andrews met with a small group of fellow peace advocates to found the American School Peace League.[106]

Though Andrews went on to work for the US Commissioner of Education, expand the work of her league to 45 states and 100,000 students, become one of the first people to earn a PhD in international relations, write the first important work on the Mandate system in Palestine, and found the International Bureau of Education - the first international education bureau and the precursor to UNESCO - history has remembered little of Andrews' efforts compared with reformers far less versatile and accomplished. When they have remembered her, they have underplayed her influence. In a fascinating article, Susan Zeiger argues that the ASPL reflected (like

---

[106] Martin, George H., Homer B. Sprague, Fanny Fern Andrews, and William A. Mowry. "The Teaching of History in the Public Schools of the United States with Special Reference to War and Peace." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 68, no. 5 (1906): 100-107.

Andrews' contemporary pacifists) a conservative vision of peace education.[107] According to Zeiger, "...while the curriculum clearly sought to transform individual children into peaceful adults, it was notably more ambivalent about broader questions of social action and social change."[108] Zeiger claims that the ASPL produced a vision of social change in which "quiescence or obedience was the foundation of peace."[109] But in her own lifetime, Andrews made an equally persuasive claim to the considerable contributions of her work. In her biography, Andrews noted that hundreds of thousands of school children had been directly affected by the league's work in a short period of time. She also claimed that the result of the league was "indubitably to train up a body of opinion seeking a closer understanding among the nations,"[110] and that it even played a central role in making the United States turn away "from the notion of pure nationalism to the desire for a liberal and enlightened policy"[111] in its foreign policy. In other words, while Zeiger argues that the league did little to promote change, Andrews argues that the league contributed significantly to Americans' growing internationalism.

---

[107] Zeiger, Susan. "Teaching peace: Lessons from a peace studies curriculum of the progressive era." *Peace & Change* 25.1 (2000): 52-70. Lindsey Ellis has made a similar argument about *A Course,* suggesting the extent of the influence of the Lake Mohonk arbitrationist movement for Andrews' work. Ellis, Lindsay. "Law and order in the classroom: reconsidering A Course on Citizenship, 1914." *Journal of Peace Education* 10, no. 1 (2013): 21-35.

[108] *Ibid* 54

[109] *Ibid*

[110] Andrews, Fannie Fern. *Memory pages of my life*. Talisman Press, 1948. (45)

[111] *Ibid*

Both Zeiger and Andrews were right: the American School Peace League was equal parts conservative and progressive, quietist and transformative. The organization was bankrolled by a wealthy magnate, and the organization certainly viewed the route to change as passing through legal and electoral action rather than protest. Unlike more militant contemporaries, Andrews never actively practiced civil disobedience. But that does not mean she was exclusively obedient, or that she encouraged "quiescence." Andrews' intervention in the public sphere - particularly one as rarefied and masculinized as diplomacy - was in part an act of rebelliousness. Like many middle class women, she used discourses of respectability to amplify her claims to civic contribution in works like *A Course*. She used the league not only to channel her passion for teaching, but eventually to catapult herself from the limited opportunities provided for women professionals into leadership roles of early international organizations. Most importantly, though, Andrews used these discourses to create the largest mass, grassroots peace movement of its time. Judging by its scope and stretch, the American School Peace League surely made a bigger impact than most of its contemporary internationalist organizations like the American Peace Society, the World Peace Foundation, or the Carnegie Institute.

Andrews made this impact because she combined elite connections with the keen skills of a modern organizer. This balance - between active change and order - reflected the shifting contours of American pacifism. It was at this time that Andrews

became a member, then a member of the board of directors, for the American Peace Society. These, and all of the most visible peace activists of turn of the twentieth century United States were overwhelmingly patrician and patriarchal. Waspy industrialists, clergymen, and lawyers, as C Roland Marchand shows, in many respects peace activists' involvement in the peace movement was motivated by a deeply technocratic distrust of populist democracy.[112] Many were driven by ideologies of Anglo-Saxon racial supremacy, and felt threatened by a modern, global society that appeared disordered, and an American democracy that was increasingly driven by mass consumer culture and populist politics. They responded, according to Marchand, with a conservative vision of a worldwide, British-American-led arbitration system that would combat claims to the public sphere made by people of color, working class people, and for many of the male arbitrationists, women. Many of these prominent peace activists were, paradoxically, favorable to American overseas expansion in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Those who opposed imperialism often did so on racist bases, believing that war was antithetical to Anglo-Saxons' claim to higher racial superiority in establishing a peaceful world based on the rule of law. Even the most absolute of pacifists--those who opposed all participation in war based on Christian beliefs--operated on the principles of "nonresistance," in which they refused participation in war as a personal matter but

---

[112] Marchand, C. Roland. *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889-1918*. Princeton University Press, 2015.

did not question the state's monopolization of violence or ability to deprive people of life. These absolute pacifists were overwhelmingly Quakers, Brethren, and Mennonite, Eastern seaboard Protestants who usually were upper middle class and identified politically as conservatives. Thus while she moved to establish broad connections with children and teachers, she also proceeded from and within a genteel culture that valued order and guarded privilege.

One goal of the American School Peace League was the effort to greatly reduce the treatment of war and militarism in history textbooks. At the time, history textbooks tended to be highly war-centered. In a 1906 study that Andrews conducted, she found that the relative focus on wars in textbooks had gradually decreased, especially in books published after 1885. But there was no mention of whether older or newer books were more popular or frequently used, and Andrews felt that several widespread problems required urgent attention. Too often, Andrews claimed, they found "bloody details of the battles, picturing brutal treatment with grewsome [sic] word pictures of savage cruelty."[113] Too rarely, she claimed, were the causes of the wars described, or the negative effects on soldiers or civilians emphasized. Andrews recommended that the graphic details of battles be left out to "avoid fostering the spirit of militarism" and to replace such descriptions with

---

[113] Martin, George H., Homer B. Sprague, Fanny Fern Andrews, and William A. Mowry. "The Teaching of History in the Public Schools of the United States with Special Reference to War and Peace." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 68, no. 5 (1906): 102

detailed accounts of technological progress and stress the necessity of settling conflict through arbitration.[114] Seventy three out of one hundred twenty six superintendents surveyed believed that war should play less of a role in in the teaching of history. Summing up the view in sentimentalist terms, the committee wrote that "the nations are sister nations; and as kindly a spirit should always prevail in their dealings with each other as between members of the same family."[115]

When Andrews and other textbook reformers wrote about removing descriptions of war from textbooks, however, they often meant removing descriptions of particular kinds of wars: those that interrupted the history of "Anglo-Saxon" racial unity. In her report, for example, Andrews lamented depictions of the Revolutionary War which treated the British too unkindly, and responded enthusiastically to a revisionism that represented the Confederate cause more favorably. Similarly, in 1911 Albert Bushnell Hart -- another crucial figure in the making of modern social studies -- wrote an article called "School Books and International Prejudices" that literally called only for the removal of prejudice toward the Anglo-Saxon race. "The true principle in writing text-books," Hart argued, "ought to be to dwell on our glorious heritage of all of England down to the

---

[114] *Ibid* 103
[115] *Ibid* 106

Revolution."[116] As one might expect, neither Hart nor Andrews mentioned removing depiction of wars in the Philippines, the "Indian Wars," or the US occupation of Mexican lands as receiving too great attention or requiring more moderate representations. This racial supremacism was common in the pro-peace arbitration movement, fostered by the ambition to spread the supposed unique racial capacity of Anglo-Saxons for self-government to the rest of the world. The efforts to reform and demilitarize textbooks reflect a crucial part of the shift toward a social studies curriculum that focused on civic and community participation, but they also envisioned that participation as exclusionary and imperial.

The attempt to demilitarize textbooks became the celebrated cause of the American School Peace League, and insofar as this move attempted to deemphasize the role of militarism in civic participation, Andrews mobilized with great success strategies women had used a decade earlier to advance the cause of suffragism. Kristin Hoganson has argued that women suffragists used an active involvement in the 1890s arbitration and peace movements to justify their inclusion in US political processes. Pressured by the New Woman's more vocal claims to voting rights during the 1890s, Hoganson claims that anti-suffragist men responded by placing military heroism (which of course excluded women's participation as combat soldiers) at the center of civic duty. Hoganson goes so far as to argue that this fervor for a

---

[116] Hart, Albert Bushnell. *School Books and International Prejudices*. No. 38. American Association for International Conciliation, 1911. (13)

masculinized, militarized citizenship led to the defeat of the peace movement's greatest accomplishment in the 1890s, the arbitrated Olney-Pauncefote Treaty of 1897. Likewise, opposition to the Spanish American War a year later was derided as feminized and 'weak.'[117]

Andrews encountered similar obstacles. She balanced, for example, her knowledge of teaching with "the intricate and withal cautious diplomacy of The Hague."[118] Resistance came from those who called the American School Peace League "the use of schools for political reasons."[119] She noted "denunciatory utterances" and fear that "children become pacifists and thereby traitors to the national spirit."[120] Yet despite these accusations, Andrews' ability to balance an erudite knowledge of diplomacy with more action-oriented teaching methods allowed the American School Peace League to expand rapidly.

Given the extent of Andrews' influence, it's not unreasonable to assume that *A Course* influenced other social studies educators. We cannot be certain that Andrews or the Peace League influenced the direction of the 1916 Committee report which is often credited with founding social studies. While Clarence Dempsey and William Orr served as reviewers for both the 1916 report and the 1914 *Course in*

---

[117] Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American manhood: How gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars*. Yale University Press, 2000.

[118] Andrews, Fannie Fern. *Memory pages of my life*. Talisman Press, 1948. (31)

[119] *Ibid* 32

[120] *Ibid*

Citizenship, and while Andrews attended the NEA regularly and ran in many of the same circles as the 1916 report authors, the direct relationships are unclear. Whatever we might say about the Committee report, however, it was surely true that the School Peace League directly influenced far more teachers far earlier than the Committee report. Indeed, what was so striking about the membership of the 1916 Committee *vis-a-vis* the 1893 report was that it was made up of mostly teachers rather than professional historians. Surely most of these teachers had had students who had celebrated Peace Day or were affiliated with the League in some capacity by 1915 or 1916.

The more persuasive explanation for the birth of social studies, therefore, was not so much that historians lost track of or control over standardized curriculum, but that an expansive, grassroots movement of pacifist school teachers began to abandon a history curriculum they felt celebrated war far too much and appeared (like military training) far too focused on sensation over sentiment. It seems likely that the1916 committee formalized practices that had long existed informally which emphasized peace and cooperation.

1916 was a celebrated year in the intellectual history of education. It was also the year that John Dewey published *Democracy and Education*, now considered a masterwork of progressive educational thought. Only rarely have scholars put Dewey's book in the context of the First World War and the growing pervasiveness

of militarism in schools. Charles Howlett has written a book-length study, for example, about Dewey's struggle with antimilitarism. Dewey began as a vocal opponent of Filipino occupation, an opponent of Preparedness and U.S. entry into the First World War, then during the war became a vocal proponent of the war. Howlett, however, generally views Dewey's thoughts on pacifism as an outgrowth of his pragmatist philosophy and educational views.[121]

Perhaps it was the other way around, though: perhaps it was as much Dewey's ongoing engagement with the militarization of teaching and learning in the United States which influenced his views about the necessity of Progressive Education. Perhaps it was the incorporation of so many anti-imperialists and pacifists into the militarization of the United States in the leading to the First World War. The central thesis that Dewey popularized in *Democracy and Education* was essentially to do the same that the American School Peace League had done: to collapse the public and private, the individual and community, between culture and vocation. In the midst of heavily reported violence abroad, *Democracy and Education* begins by establishing that the purpose of education is precisely the governance of life.

But it is the collapsing of the distinction between play and work which represented the most dogged of Dewey's theses in the book, and in one of the most

---

[121] Howlett, Charles F. *Troubled philosopher: John Dewey and the struggle for world peace*. Associated Faculty Press Inc, 1977. Recently Howlett and his writing partner Audrey Cohan expanded this argument in Howlett, Charles F., and Audrey Cohan. *John Dewey, America's Peace-Minded Educator*. SIU Press, 2016.

crucial passages of *Democracy and Education* Dewey calls for the reformation of geography education by accomplishing much of what ASPL pioneered: by making the play of imagination the lure into the occupation of new worlds. "Geography is a topic that originally appeals to imagination," Dewey wrote, and that it "shares in the wonder and glory that attach to adventure, travel, and exploration…. The mind is moved from the monotony of the customary." Dewey lamented when the geographic "imagination is not fed, but is held down to recapitulation, cataloguing, and refining what is already known," that is, when they were "laboriously learned."[122] The purpose of history and geography learning instead, argued Dewey, was as:

> instruments for extending the limits of experience, bringing within its scope peoples and things otherwise strange and unknown, they are transfigured by the use to which they are put. Sunlight, wind, stream, commerce, political relations come from afar and lead the thoughts afar. To follow their course is to enlarge the mind not by stuffing it with additional information, but by remaking the meaning of what was previously a matter of course.[123]

Play and the unleashing of the imagination became central to cultivating desire for going abroad and occupying new places.

Roland Coloma has shown that in Progressive Era schooling, "the child or student in schools was constructed as White...while Asian Americans and Pacific

---

[122] Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to Philisophy of Education*. Macmillan, 1916. (203)
[123] *Ibid*

Islanders remained marginalized."[124] Fred Margonis has pointed out the central

tenets of Deweyan Progressive education - child-centered individualism, cooperative

problem-solving, and safe communities - were constructed with white children, and

not children of color, in mind. "The portraits of ''the student'' and ''the classroom

community','" Margonis argues, "that lie at the center of his pedagogical

prescriptions are — implicitly — European American and often obscure the

dynamics of learning for students of color within a racially polarized society."[125]

According to Margonis, Dewey's stress on safety was racialized, as progressive

schools often were located in predominantly white, "pastoral" or "suburban"

settings. His stress on a tradition-breaking expressive individualism, according to

Margonis, aligned with settler colonial ideologies which were used to dispossess

Native lands and destroy Native traditions.[126]What Coloma and Margonis have not

considered, however, is whether it was precisely Dewey's ongoing engagement with

questions of empire, internationalism, and race during the years leading up to 1916

may have been essential to the making of *Democracy and Education*: that the

fundamental principles of progressive education may have been borne of the

---

[124] Coloma, Roland Sintos. "Disorienting race and education: Changing paradigms on the schooling of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders." *Race ethnicity and education* 9.1 (2006): 1-15.

[125] Margonis, Frank. "John Dewey's racialized visions of the student and classroom community." *Educational Theory* 59, no. 1 (2009): 17-39.

[126] Margonis, Frank. "John Dewey's racialized visions of the student and classroom community." *Educational Theory* 59, no. 1 (2009): 17-39.

sweeping interest before and during the war in the problems of educating young people for the sake of war.

Democracy and Education and the proliferation of progressive social studies during the war signaled an "empire imaginary" which mobilized a sentimental pedagogy that both resisted the compulsory militarization of schools advocated by Preparedness Movement advocates and also replicated the racist, imperialist beliefs about self-governance that governed the logic of the United States' expanding influence in the world. In imagining a pedagogy which stressed not a militaristic discipline but a disciplining of martial feelings, and stressing the necessity of interpersonal friendship for the making of good self-governance and peace, Andrews' American School Peace League helped expand the imaginary after the war.

CHAPTER TWO

A "Harmony of Interests":

Intercultural Education in the Interwar Years

In late 1924, a Quaker pacifist named Rachel Davis Dubois read a now forgotten article published by W.E.B. DuBois in *American Mercury.* "Where are the pacifists?" Dr. DuBois asked in "The Dilemma of the Negro." The consciousness of the pacifist Davis Dubois jolted, Dr. DuBois continued: "Where are the real people who fight war by the commonsense method of doing away with the things that cause war, instead of waiting until war and insanity and murder are here and then prancing to jail with a yell and a fine flourish?" Noting a Europe "strewn with dead youth" and "bereft of the flower of its manhood," the author of *The Souls of Black Folk* asked the pacifists what they would do "today and here, in America?"[127] DuBois was not writing of military intervention abroad. He was writing about racial segregation in the United States, which he warned could precipitate a catastrophic war or revolution. Remembering the violent race riots that had scarred dozens of cities in

---

[127] DuBois, W.E. Burghardt. "The Dilemma of the Negro." *American Mercury* 28 (1924)

the five years since the First World War, (Rachel Davis) Dubois immediately set about constructing what she came to call "intercultural education."[128]

While Nicholas Montalto, writing a dissertation some fifty years later, was wrong to argue that Dubois' work was the first example of "ethnic studies"- whose formation in the late 1960s reflected very different goals - her reading of "Dilemma" signified a shift in the management of racial difference. In the story that she later told, Dubois immediately became a social studies teacher, later earned her doctorate, and set to using school assemblies to showcase the 'contributions' of racial and ethnic minorities to American culture. During the 1930s, convinced that large scale racial violence could only be prevented by teaching "tolerance" through understanding, Davis Dubois founded a short-lived New York City department using a neologism, the Service Bureau of Intercultural Education. While the Bureau closed in 1941, its name persisted in modified form: 1941 also marked the first popular use of the word *multicultural* in *The New York Herald-Tribune's* review of Edward Haskell's *Lance: a Novel About Multi-Cultural Men*.[129]

This origin story both reveals and obscures. In many ways, that Rachel Davis Dubois attributed the origins of "intercultural education" to W.E.B. DuBois' prediction of war contrasts with typical narratives about race and internationalism in

---

[128] Montalto, Nicholas V. *A history of the intercultural educational movement, 1924-1941*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1982
[129] Montalto, Nicholas V. *A history of the intercultural educational movement, 1924-1941*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1982

the United States during the 1920s. During the 1920s, according to this narrative, the United States turned inward, implementing both isolationism and racist, restrictive immigration policies. Even those historians who acknowledge a highly active peace movement during the 1920s that supported the Kellogg-Briand Pact tend to view these politics as non-interventionist, as part of the turn "inward." For Dubois, however, the turn "inward" was a turn "outward." She justified the work of internal cultural education in terms of preventing external violent conflict. The story also reveals the appropriation problem that would persist in the period's intercultural education movement: while she used Dr. DuBois' ideas to justify her educational ideas, Rachel Dubois never accepted Dr. DuBois' far more reconstructionist visions of internationalism, and the movement rarely actively included teachers of color.

Like any origin story, however, this one obscures as much as it reveals. By tracing the emergence of "intercultural education" to DuBois and the threat of racial violence, the story obscures a broader context of debates about cultural pluralism, ethnicity, and 'nativism' that raged during the 1920s, and transformations in Quaker pacifism that increasingly stressed service work and racial justice. It ignores the changing politics of racial consciousness for black Americans. And it ignores a longer, broader history of teaching international education stretching back at least to Fannie Fern Andrews.

For Lawrence Cremin, the 1920s represented a fundamental transformation in Progressive Education, as it became deprived of its social, reformist nature. As Progressive Educators became professionalized, they lost their contacts with the basis of Progressive Education in a broader political movement. The consequence was to leave, for Cremin, a hollow shell of pedagogical thought stripped of its political, action-oriented core: Progressive Education now merely meant a child-centered pedagogy that stressed individual self-fulfillment, creative expression, and "learning by doing" rather than stressing social transformation. To explain these changes, Cremin also turns to a flood of Freudian theorizing about learning and what he views as a more general shift toward an individualizing, privatized culture.[130] Yet Davis Dubois' outward-looking, action-oriented "intercultural education" seems to contradict this narrative, too: precisely by looking "inward" at improving young people's interpersonal relationships, Dubois looked "outwards" toward creating a more peaceful world.

Indeed, in this section I examine a series of examples of intercultural education beyond Dubois, arguing that during the 1920s, internationalist education expanded rather than contracted, but it also changed in fundamental ways. I argue that the questions raised by the intercultural education movement were central to a broader shift in Progressive Education. During the 1920s, the sentimentalism of the

---

[130] Cremin, Lawrence A. *The transformation of the school: Progressivism in American education, 1876-1957*. New York: Vintage Books (1961).

American School Peace League which attempted to discipline feelings faded. Teachers replaced more didactic, socially purposive lessons about kindness and sympathy across national lines to intercultural activities that were intended to liberate children's creative impulses and realize every person's unique "contributions" even as they mobilized cultural appropriation extensively. Dubois' "intercultural education" associated full citizenship with achieving *civic breadth*, developing individual expression, creativity, and the consumption of a variety of cultural experiences.

Just as earlier forms of internationalist education had incorporated the logics of embodied U.S imperialism (which made "peace" and the abolition of a "slavery of bad habits" the condition of self-government), this new internationalist education reflected the new management of national liberation movements that had motivated the founding of the League of Nations. Just as the liberal internationalists after the First World War had emphasized the fundamental "harmony of interests" among all nations and peoples, this new internationalist education stressed methods of "learning by doing" without political content precisely to harmonize interests of different national backgrounds. The consequence was not to deemphasize the significance of the tutelage of self-governance in the making of peace, but rather to change the nature of the pedagogy: rather than explicitly teaching the type of habits that produced proper self-governance, the matter became taking already-existing

interests and harmonizing them by requiring cooperative work on a common contribution.

In the previous section, we saw a shift, an emergence in civics curriculum in the early twentieth century out of teachers' negotiation of their own claims to and teaching of citizenship in the context of gender, empire, and race. Peace, in this curriculum, meant mainly the absence of war: colonial subjects had to refrain from armed conflict in order to become subjects. But Dubois' founding moment of what became an apolitical, "appreciation"-based form of cultural education suggests that teachers had begun to mobilize the teaching of tolerance learning by the 1920s to manage populations, racial difference, and the risks of violence -- in other words, what Michel Foucault has called *biopower*.

This chapter explores the expansion and transformation of the empire imaginary after the First World War. This imaginary more fully flourished during the 1920s, but it also became increasingly co-opted by elite white men who found it useful for connecting their need to manage racial difference to broader global interests. Before the war, white men's involvement in peace education had generally been limited to research into the causes and prevention of war, which had been a going concern of many elite intellectuals like Columbia President Nicholas Murray Butler and powerful capitalists like Andrew Carnegie and John Rockefeller. After the war, scholars generally cite the emergence of "comparative education" at

Columbia University and the expansion of student exchange programs to show the growth in international education.[131] Perhaps as important, I argue, was the flourishing of the "intercultural education" movement, most prominently led by Dubois in New York City but mobilized independently across the nation. Rather than comparative and international education filtering down to below, I argue, comparative education emerged from below and was adopted by intellectual elites above as a mode of managing racial difference.

Both Dubois' contemporaries in the pacifist movement and within education increasingly saw it as much. Writing to fellow activists in 1915, peace movement leader Leon Fraser noted that "pacifism at present has taken a pronounced educational turn." Explaining that the new pacifism, unlike the old, "follows the path of preventive medicine; it seeks to stop the scourge at its source." Finding the causes, Fraser, continued, meant that war "can be unmade by man - like the ideas of trial by ordeal, witchcraft, magic, and religious persecution."[132] He argued that the more recent "educational" peace movement, unlike the "Christian" and "humanitarian" versions of the nineteenth century, relied on professionalized, scientific approaches to ending war rather than moral appeals.

---

[131] Bu, Liping. *Making the world like us: Education, cultural expansion, and the American century*. Praeger Publishers, 2003; Howlett, Charles F., and Ian M. Harris. *Books, not bombs: teaching peace since the dawn of the republic*. IAP, 2010.
[132] Leon Fraser "Educational Factors Toward Peace" *International Conciliation* American Association for International Conciliation 1915

In 1927, Paul Monroe, founder of the discipline of comparative education, placed education at the center of a shift in which nations centered around "blood relationship" to one centered around "common culture." According to Monroe, a crucial discovery on the part of modern nations was that "common culture is an artificial product and can be manufactured. The process of this manufacture is by education."[133] Monroe attributed considerable power to the force of education:

> Practically all modern nations are now awake to the fact that education is the most potent means in the development of the essentials of nationality. Education is the means by which peoples of retarded cultures may be brought rapidly to the common level. Education is the means by which small or weak nations may become so strong through their cultural strength and achievements that their place in the political world may be made secure. Education is the means by which nations, strong in the strength of the past, may go through the perilous transition to the modern world, as has Japan and as will Russia. Education is the only means by which the world can be 'made safe' for the national type of organization. / Thus the history of nationality during the nineteenth century is closely bound up with the problems of education. And on the other hand the education of the present may find an interpretation of all of its problems, whether of purpose, of subject matter, of organization, or even of method, in terms of nationality.[134]

Monroe's description of a consciousness of education's power closely resembles the shift which Foucault describes in the emergence of biopower, from a medieval regime grounded in "sanguinity" to a modern regime grounded in an "analytics of sex," in which "the mechanisms of power are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to

---

[133] Monroe, Paul. *Essays in Comparative Education*. Vol. 2. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932. (2-3)
[134] *Ibid*, 4

dominate, or its capacity for being used."[135] Monroe's comparative education as such became a mode of regulating and extending life.

Indeed, the emergence of comparative education as a field during the 1920s revealed just how extensive the presence of internationalism in schools was, and just how extensive its intellectual power could become. The presence of international education had been widespread, but it was only during the 1920s that professional academics began to measure the attitudes of teachers and students toward teachers in a systematic way. They "discovered" for them a surprising attention to international issues, going against the assumption that the 1920s were marked by cultural isolationism.

Perhaps the most significant study of international education in the 1920s revealed striking opinions among high school students about international relations. In 1926, Teachers College faculty graduate student George Neumann published a survey study of 1100 high school students' "international attitudes." Neumann measured students' opinions on a range of dimensions like "racialism," "militarism," "imperialism," "nationalism" and "humanitarian attitudes," and he concluded that these students had "very strong nationalistic tendencies," were "undecided" with regard to "racialism," harbored strongly "anti-imperialist" tendencies and mixed feelings about "militarism" and "international cooperation."

---

[135] *Ibid*

The survey responses reveal to some extent what one might expect from a survey of opinions of high school students in predominantly white, Northern, urban schools: strong belief in white supremacism and American exceptionalism, support for Filipino independence, virulent anticommunism, and a puzzling commitment both for the disarmament movement and for greater military preparedness. But the study reveals other things. Most importantly, as Neumann himself declared, high school students generally had very strong views of civic, international issues. While many of these views were racist, it's not true that students were disengaged or failed to pay attention to issues beyond U.S. borders. Thus, the question that Neumann and later educators posed in the question of international education – whether students were *prepared* for an international world – could not merely be a question of whether students would be internationally-minded, but in what way they would be prepared.[136]

Another study produced for the World Federation of Education Associations by an education professor at Indiana University found a wide range of practical applications of teaching in world friendship, even as such efforts were given to cultural appropriation. The study pointed out, for example, extensive work conducted

---

[136] Neumann, George Bradford. *A Study of International Attitudes of High School Students: With Special Reference to Those Nearing Completion of Their High School Courses*. No. 239. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.

in international education in metropoles like New York and Los Angeles. But it also

noted a Marion, Indiana school in which

> The various members of the class came to party dressed in the costume which each one had studied. The costumes of many nationalities were represented. Each child brought a gift of art from the country suggested by his costume. A reception committee met and greeted the guests as if they had been actual visitors from the countries…[137]

In the same school, "The children in the school which conducted the project

described above also made a portfolio containing art work by all the members of the

class" called "Beauty Spots of America' and exchanged with Hungarians."[138] One

Maryland school made use of "The Bazaar of Nations." "The Bazaar of Nations is

another event," the report stated, similar in some respect to the pageant, which can be

used effectively to further the development of world friendship and understanding.

Children should know that other nations have means of entertainment which are as

enjoyable and as interesting as their own. "[139] Apparently the "Bazaar of Nations"

consisted of children dressing in the national costumes of different nationalities and

pretending to sell supposedly representative wares of each nation.

Such "intercultural efforts" which often traded in cultural appropriation were

commonplace, and they often grew independently of one another from the local

---

[137] Henry Lester Smith, Sherman Gideon Crayton "Tentative Program for Teaching World Friendship and Understanding in Teacher Training Institutions and in Public Schools for Children Who Range from Six to Fourteen Years of Age." May 1929 No. 5 *Bulletin of the School of Education Indiana University* (46)
[138] *Ibid*
[139] *Ibid*

circumstances of the place in which they grew. For example, one international school program was created in 1926 by school superintendent Susan Dorsey as part of a much broader effort among Southern California whites to "Americanize" Mexican immigrants.[140] By 1931, the program encompassed a district wide "celebration of Armistice and International Good-will Day with appropriate plays, pageants, recitations, and talks," oratory contests, ongoing global pen pal programs, model League of Nations, "World Friendship Clubs" in high school, Christmas card contests for world friendship, monthly radio talks, and when the National Education Association met for its annual conference in Los Angeles, a series of exhibits for the participants. The programs were strongly endorsed by the US Commissioner of Education, William John Cooper, and by a representative from the League of Nations.[141]

Yet also in evidence in the discussion about the Los Angeles program was the ongoing conflict between those attempting to professionalize the work of internationalist education and those teachers resisting that professionalization. The former tended to emphasize the mere necessity of the absence of prejudice from textbooks and teaching materials, while the latter tended to stress curriculum in

---

[140] Sanchez discusses this process at length in the wider context of racial politics in Los Angeles at this time. Sánchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945.* Oxford University Press, 1995.

[141] Evaline Dowling, ed. *World Friendship* Los Angeles City School District School Publication No 214, 1931.

which children actively cultivated their "contributions" within the school community. A UCLA English Professor, Alfred Longueil, argued that while peace was "a problem in practical education," and while it was a matter of "strengthening a new habit of mind based on the idea *cooperation*," this education was not "emotional" but a "thoughtful, realistic facing of facts, and then an intelligent attempt to work out an international way of life based on facts."[142] According to Longueil, "In international matters the sentimentalist, whether he be sentimental about war or sentimental about peace, is as great a nuisance as a fifth wheel on a wagon. Wise effort here as always is the product of cool thought."[143]

The activities that children engaged in, however, never really focused merely on the teaching of "facts." The simplistic notion that producing world "friendships" merely on the basis of "facts" seemed not only counterintuitive but against the grain of Progressive Education. Faced with the paradox of professionalizing forces that stressed abandoning rote knowledge approaches to learning on the one hand and on the other hand, international educationalists stressing of "unsentimental" learning of facts, these teachers turned toward project methods of learning that actively engaged students in creation while also carefully policing the neutrality of the content learned. In Los Angeles, the materials heavily resembled the structure of *A Course in Citizenship*, beginning with personal relationships in Kindergarten and the First

---

[142] *Ibid* 49
[143] *Ibid*

Grade, then moving out to the city and world. The curriculum was more explicitly international from the beginning, though, and focused more seriously on engaging students' interest than unlearning of "bad habits." In Kindergarten there was a focus on the arts and music of China.[144] The theme of the first grade was "A Boat Trip to Foreign Lands,"[145] and was described as follows:

> Pictures of scenery, especially those in which children are shown, and dolls in costume are helpful here. As each country is visited, a language lesson, combined with the social study should be developed...Children who can sing or speak in a foreign language should be encouraged to feel that they have a valuable contribution to make.[146]

Characteristic activities in early grades included exploring the plants found in other nations, art projects involving the coloring of foreign flags or children, the singing of peace songs, constructing different articles of clothing, or decorating a classroom "from a Japanese standpoint."[147] The fourth grade focused on comparative studies of "family," the fifth grade (with a "Pan-American" theme) culminated in creating a "Pan-American Market" and "Pan-American Pageant."[148] The sixth grade looked at world geography. The third grade compared different types of "labor" across the world. Arthur Chung, a Chinese immigrant, delivered an oration critiquing the European occupation of China, while a young Harry Hay (later founder of

---

[144] *Ibid 113-114*
[145] *Ibid 115*
[146] *Ibid*
[147] *Ibid 119*
[148] *Ibid 125*

Mattachine Society) won a songwriting contest with a tune called "Friendship," in which he proclaimed that in the "Millwheels of Progress" he felt "the clasp of a friendly hand."[149]

The logic of progressive, learning-by-doing styles of teaching sought to include and acculturate students with diverse ethnic backgrounds by both teaching tolerance for a multiplicity of cultural expressions and by making the principal condition of good citizenship the making of a "contribution." Flora Kelley, who headed up the Americanization Department of the school district claimed that it was "by drawing out the contribution which immigrants can make and by utilizing their full powers that identity of interests is finally established."[150] Rather than teaching self-government by teaching the disciplining of the "interests" by the "will," these new forms sought to produce a "will to contribute" exactly by cultivating a student's interests. Kelley argued that the school became a unique site for acculturation:

> At the community gatherings in the schools, American-born and foreign-born become acquainted through music, folk dancing, games, and dramatics, with the happy result that prejudices, distrusts, and hatreds gradually disappear, superseded by neighborliness and friendliness regardless of national differences.[151]

Such active learning activities sought to produce "international" relationships through creative play.

---

[149] *Ibid* 239
[150] *Ibid* 239
[151] *Ibid* 250

In one study of educators completed for the World Federation of Education Associations, teachers, principals and superintendents expressed consensus support for the goals of international education. Over 90% of those surveyed supported the claim that "world understanding and international-mindedness on the part of individuals is an objective worthy the best efforts of any or all institutions of modern society," and nearly three quarters agreed with the statement that "The really important task before the world today is the creation of a new state of mind, a state of mind which will permit an understanding and appreciation of the character, attainments, and traditions of other peoples."[152] Likewise, many educators seemed to recognize a growing split between those who advocated for the importance of education and those who advocated for the importance of collective security, and realize that their power over diplomacy ran in inverse proportion to the latter. For example, broad support among those surveyed existed for the statement that "agreements and organizations for the promotion of peace can succeed only when formulated or established on a basis of thorough and sympathetic understanding among the peoples represented." More directly, a vast majority agreed with the statement: "Internationalism, properly interpreted, implies an extended conception of citizenship rather than a super-government with its consequent minimizing of

---

[152] Henry Lester Smith and Leo Martin Chamberlain "An Analysis of the Attitude of American Educators and Others Toward a Program of Education for World Friendship and Understanding" *Bulletin of the School of Education Indiana University* No 4 March 1929 (13-15)

national importance."[153] Educators positioned themselves as allowing for a balance between national and international citizenship without compromising the United States' national integrity.

More controversial, however, were questions rooted in gender and race. Relatively fewer of those surveyed believed that racial prejudice and ethnocentrism were rooted in childhood, for example, suggesting that many felt that lifelong education was crucial. Most interestingly, however, was the pushback against the study's authors' attacks on "sentimentality" in teaching international education. For the survey statement "world-mindedness is largely intellectual and must be based upon knowledge rather than sentimentality," the authors received considerable criticism, perhaps because it may have seemed to silence the work of women educators who had designed much of the curriculum that they went on to endorse.[154] Effectively, the implication was that international understanding was merely a matter of understanding the facts clearly rather than building emotional bonds. Many educators pushed back against this claim, nonetheless leading the authors to conclude that while "they would not so regard sentiment and real emotions" as undesirable, what was undesirable was "sentimentality."[155]

---

[153] *Ibid*
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] *Ibid*

In terms of how to implement the teaching of world-mindedness, teachers generally preferred approaches that allowed them the greatest flexibility and capacity to integrate activities into already existing curricula, and which saved them from the time and energy that might be exerted toward political battles over content or complex logistical problems. Rather than creating new textbooks or methods for the teaching of world friendship, teachers preferred overwhelmingly revising older materials, textbooks and methods and incorporating these materials into existing classes rather than create a new subject or new textbooks. Most teacher surveyed agreed that training of teachers to instruct in world friendship "should suggest to the teacher the element of danger in presenting subject-matter which has local political significance." Most teachers felt strongly that these methods should be "extremely practical and usable"[156] and somewhat more preferred to "give the truth concerning other peoples and other nations" without the emphasis on understanding," rather than pointedly "promoting international-mindedness."[157] Popular techniques included "visual education," "a continuous emphasis on the interdependence of peoples," and "correspondence between the children of your school and children of similar grades in foreign countries." Less favored were techniques that were extra-curricular, impractical, or time-consuming, like pageants, the creation of a "World Friendship League," or the studying of flags or holidays. As one teacher wrote: "The teacher

[156] *Ibid*
[157] *Ibid*

cannot assume too much responsibility for all programs of this nature. Her first duty is to teach school."[158]

The proposal of the World Federation of Education Associations thus used the imprimatur of science and "knowledge" to justify the curriculum, but did little more than assemble curricular materials that had long been generated by teachers for years. The changes that they did make were generally negative, which was to deemphasize emotional connections between people of different places and instead emphasize the accumulation of "objective" knowledge. At the same time, they essentially used the same structure and many of the same ideas that the American School Peace League had formalized decades earlier. Unlike the work of the American School Peace League, the construction of an internationalist education on the part of the World Federation of Education Association was far more individualistic and far less socially or politically oriented. Much as Cremin argued about changes in progressive education after the First World War, international education became far less politicized and far more about mere self-expression and self-actualization, being detached from the broader social movements of which it was a part.

This broader change in education went in the opposite direction from changes in the ways that Americans viewed pacifism and internationalism. During the First

---

[158] *Ibid 76*

World War, Charles Chatfield argues, pacifism fundamentally shifted from being primarily a movement of religious objectors espousing the doctrine of nonresistance to a type of state violence they felt necessary, to those who embraced secular pacifism as an ideology of nonviolence and the total rejection of state violence as a political goal. According to Chatfield, the vast expansion of the U.S. state during the First World War- the fact that the war touched almost every aspect of life and behavior - made it difficult for pacifists to draw the line between cooperating the war effort and not. To what extent, Americans were forced to reckon, did any action in one's life conditionally support the state, and therefore the war, now that the state had become pervasive and totalizing?

Whereas previously, education would be understood as a complement to peace by instilling obedience, by the 1920s there was a split in the peace movement between organizations (predominantly women-led organizations) that concentrated on teaching "international understanding," while predominantly male-led organizations concentrated on lobbying and the idea of "collective security." The biggest symbol of such a split lie between those peace movement advocates who supported the Outlawry of War movement (those associated with international understanding) and those who supported involvement in the League of Nations. Whereas the peace movement had previously been conservative and elitist, during and after the First World War the peace movement became far more leftist, a

coalition of "action-oriented peace advocates, feminists, social workers, publicists, and social-gospel clergymen."[159] Leading religious pacifists, especially Friends like Dubois, reimagined their peace work as part of a broader social justice effort, including humanitarianism, the production of an "enlightened capitalism," and racial justice - but at the same time far more focused on swaying popular opinion."[160]

In *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, William Appleman Williams has argued that after the First World War and in spite of the failure of the U.S. entry into the League of Nations, U.S. pursuit of its liberal internationalist agenda expanded rather than contracted, and that in fact the differences between those who supported the League and those who opposed it were much smaller than the similarities that united them. Williams argued that this liberalism was characterized by what he called a "harmony of interests": a natural order on the international stage in which the pursuit of individual national interests would produce a natural harmony; the "national pursuit of self-interest would," according to the American doctrine, "produce peace and prosperity throughout the world."[161]

In this light, it was less that by adopting a more interpersonal slant of international understanding, one less concerned than that of Andrews' League with

---

[159] Chatfield, Charles. *For peace and justice: pacifism in America, 1914-1941*. University of Tennessee Press, 1971. (15)
[160] *Ibid 54*
[161] Williams, William Appleman. *The tragedy of American diplomacy*. WW Norton & Company, 1988. (101)

law and order, that educators of international understanding strove for a less "political" or reform-oriented type of education, as Cremin had argued. As Susan Zeiger shows about the transformation from a militant Women's Peace Party during the First World War to the more educationally-focused women's peace activism of the Committee on the Causes and Cure of War during the 1920s, the shift was not from political to apolitical.[162]

Rather, it was precisely in keeping with a broader liberal shift that resonated in both international relations and educational relations, a shift from disciplinary power to biopower in the governance of populations. As Thomas Fallace has argued, the popularization of progressive social curriculum in these years depended precisely on a re-envisioning of the meaning of "interests" as such: whereas previous visions of social learning suggested that interests were like muscles which teachers needed to discipline, progressive education imagined interests as coincident with discipline, and that teachers rather than disciplining needed to cultivate and cater to students' "natural" interests in order to achieve proper citizenship and governance.[163] Just as America's liberal empire promoted the ideal of a "a harmony of interests," so did the shift from Andrews' peace league to Dubois' international understanding mean a

[162] Zeiger, Susan. "Finding a Cure for War: Women's Politics and the Peace Movement in the 1920s." *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 1 (1990): 69-86.
[163] Fallace, Thomas D. "From the German Schoolmaster's Psychology to the Psychology of the Child: Evolving Rationales for the Teaching of History in US Schools in the 1890s." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, no. 02 (2011): 161-186.

shift from disciplining feeling to cultivating children's natural individual interests as a mode of creating peaceful relations. Just as in the global real liberal internationalism argued that liberating peoples to participate in liberal democracy would unleash a natural state of peace and harmony, so did the creativity, individual centered philosophy of the new progressive education unleash young people to become their true, peaceful selves through creative expression; it was through allowing children's natural interests to flourish that they would achieve a "harmony of interests."

On a global level, Eckhardt Fuchs has shown that the institutional history of interwar collective security institutions like the League of Nations was intimately interwoven with the development of such a governmentalizing philosophy. Fuchs shows that the League of Nations' non-security issues focused almost entirely on "child welfare" (including child labor and especially human trafficking) and educational coordination. Fuchs argues that in promoting the work begun by Andrews, the League of Nations both assisted in the professionalization of education for international understanding, and expanded "the focus of nineteenth-century transnational networks on child welfare" which had tended to be private in nature "to basically all fields of education."[164] Likewise, Fuchs shows that the basis for

---

[164] Fuchs, Eckhardt. "The creation of new international networks in education: The League of Nations and educational organizations in the 1920s." *Paedagogica historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199-209.

international cooperation on educational issues which grew during the 1920s had as its basis networks of progressive educators - or what he calls proponents of the "New Education." "The New Education," Fuchs argues, "became the main agent of an institutionalized pedagogical internationalism in the 1920s."[165]

By 1932, Spencer Stoker, an education professor, noted that 1919 represented a turning point in introducing schools to "international understanding."[166] Even so, one disappointed American scholar took stock of such efforts at the end of the 1930s as primarily consisting of textbook revisions, and characterized those participating as either lip service patrons or "impractical idealists."[167] Despite being widespread, educational internationalists never achieved during this time any of their stated policy goals, like removing nationalistic or war-glorifying language from textbooks, exchanging primary or secondary school students internationally, or teaching about the value of the League of Nations, an institution famously and roundly rejected by many Americans. Most institution building for international education occurred in or about Europe. Yet the evidence in this chapter suggests that throughout the 1920s, even if internationalism failed to yield such concrete policy goals within

---

[165] Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Educational sciences, morality and politics: international educational congresses in the early twentieth century." *Paedagogica historica* 40, no. 5-6 (2004): 757-784.

[166] Stoker, Spencer. *The schools and international understanding*. University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

[167] Prescott, Daniel Alfred. *Education and international relations: A study of the social forces that determine the influence of education*. Vol. 14. Harvard University Press, 1930. (6)

international institutions, even within the United States instances of the "empire imaginary" - the Bazaar of Nations, the pageants, the Peace Day arts and crafts activities - had become a commonplace in the United States. While never achieving standardized textbook revisions, they did accomplish goals centering around creating emotional connections to international understanding which most teachers believed far more important. The empire imaginary thus became the principal product in the United States of this "pedagogical internationalism," seeking to harmonize the interests of nations by harmonizing curriculum to the interests of children.

The effects of this pedagogical internationalism during the 1920s were significant in the broader scope of the United States' position in the world. During this same time, a deeply restrictive and racist immigration regime became implemented in the United States – along with the suppression of non-liberal internationalisms such as Garveyism, the black internationalisms of W.E.B. Dubois, and the socialist internationalisms which were suppressed during the 1920s Red Scare. Quotas restricting immigration based on nationality became law of the land between the 1920s and 1960s. While Dubois intended for her projects to be unifying, building community and respect across national boundaries, the implied view of race and heritage in such classroom activities – as immutable and fixed nationalities – aligned closely with the implied view of race in the National Origins Act. Just as the National Origins Act was, in part, a response to fears of left internationalism and

aligned closely with racialized suppression of black internationalisms like that of the UNIA, so was Dubois' pedagogical internationalism a defensive response to the alternative internationalisms increasingly prominent in black and immigrant communities at the time. By identifying and recognizing minoritized subjects and ethnic minorities through their contributions to a broader "civilization" and by rendering such subjects as immutable national origins, R.D. Dubois' pedagogical internationalism denied self-determination and alternative views of an international order. In other words, it attempted to spread a type of internationalism that was in the interests of white liberals.

Toward the Cold War

During the 1930s and 1940s, the institutions which educators like Dubois and Andrews had developed became increasingly widespread and institutionalized, but they also became increasingly criticized. As cultural historians like Lizabeth Cohen and Michael Denning have shown, the cultural values of the New Deal era provided a ripe atmosphere for pluralist and internationalist teaching, learning, and cultural

exchange.[168] The celebration of internationalism and pluralist heritage became far more commonplace during this period, as scout troops embraced cultural pageants and social studies textbooks encompassed increasingly global viewpoints. According to Hazel Hertzberg, the 1930s reflected a marked internationalization of social studies curricula.[169]

At the same time, explicitly political iterations of such curricula came under increasing scrutiny, most famously during the late 1930s when a history curriculum created by Harold Rugg became a flashpoint for accusations of Progressive Education being "un-American." With leftist social studies educators like Mary Beard, Charles Beard, Harold Rugg, and George Counts increasingly in charge of the Progressive Education Association in the United States, "international understanding" became a more central feature of progressive education in the United States. But it also became a target for conservatives looking to extirpate alleged communists from the school system. School districts' opposition to Rugg's history textbook, *Man and His Changing Society* in part for its internationalist sympathies.[170]

[168] Denning, Michael. *The cultural front: The laboring of American culture in the twentieth century*. Verso, 1998.; Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a new deal: Industrial workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[169] Hertzberg, Hazel Whitman. *Social Studies Reform 1880-1980*. SSEC Publications, Boulder, CO, 1981.

[170] Evans, Ronald W. *This happened in America: Harold Rugg and the censure of social studies*. IAP, 2007.

Nevertheless, under the New Deal internationalism achieved unprecedented popularity in the United States, and not merely among policymakers. When historians talk about liberal internationalism, they often talk about it as something that happened mainly on the pages of peace treaties or academic journals written by political scientists, or that it mattered only to those granted credentials to the Bretton Woods or Dumbarton Oaks conferences. As the diplomatic historian Mark Mazower has argued, in the Anglophone academy especially, historians have made the study of international law marginal.[171]

But more recent historians have shown that internationalism was not only the province of the most powerful. The work of David Churchill and Daniel Hurewitz has ably shown the ways in which postwar homophile movements mobilized transnational connections and the decolonization discourse of individual self-determination to organize the political identities of sexually minoritized subjects.[172] The enormous body of research on the complexities of interwar and postwar Marxist and socialist internationalism in the United States is simply too vast to summarize here. And the growing body of scholarship by historians and theorists such as Grace

---

[171] Mark Mazower, "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933-1950," *The Historical Journal* (2004), 380. Mazower argues that the history of human rights is usually divided between what he calls the "Eleanor Roosevelt" narrative and the "Adolf Hitler" narrative, all of which usually concern the making of human rights by the "big" people.
[172] Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* UC Press, 2007; David S Churchill, "Transnationalism and Homophile Political Culture in the Postwar Decades," *GLQ* (2008)

Hong, Mary Dudziak, Nikhil Pal Singh, Christina Klein, Penny von Eschen, Jodi Melamed, and Thomas Borstelmann on the critical role that transnational racial formations and especially black internationalism played in Second World War and postwar US history.[173] Elaine Tyler May's *Homeward Bound* has similarly shown the relationships between private life and international politics.[174]

---

[173] Hong, Grace Kyungwon. *The ruptures of American capital: Women of color feminism and the culture of immigrant labor*. U of Minnesota Press, 2006; Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War civil rights: Race and the image of American democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2011; Singh, Nikhil Pal. *Black is a Country*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004; Borstelmann, Thomas. *The cold war and the color line*. Harvard University Press, 2009; Melamed, Jodi. "The spirit of neoliberalism from racial liberalism to neoliberal multiculturalism." *Social text* 24, no. 4 89 (2006): 1-24.

[174] May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward bound: American families in the Cold War era*. Basic Books, 2008, 92-113; Boyer, Paul. *By the bomb's early light: American thought and culture at the dawn of the atomic age*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2005; Whitfield, Stephen J. *The culture of the Cold War*. JHU Press, 1996; Joanne Meyerowitz. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994; John D'Emilio. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: the Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; George Lipsitz. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990; Margot A. Henriksen. *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Lary May ed. *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989; Prevots, Naima. *Dance for export: Cultural diplomacy and the Cold War*. Wesleyan University Press, 2012; Field, Douglas. *American cold war culture*. Edinburgh Univ Pr, 2005; Corber, Robert J. *In the name of national security: Hitchcock, homophobia, and the political construction of gender in postwar America*. Duke University Press, 1996; Corber, Robert J. *Cold war femme: Lesbianism, national identity, and Hollywood cinema*. Duke University Press, 2011.

The conventional narratives of American internationalism may differ in terms of how pervasive they see internationalism becoming during the Second World War and just after, but they do all seem to assume that internationalism expressed a form of publicity and civic engagement. In these accounts, pioneered first by Robert Divine as the "triumph of internationalism," the popularity and urgency of the internationalisms reflect both the return of a long-repressed American liberal-left, and a high watermark of American public spiritedness.[175] By extension, the decline of U.S. internationalism becomes associated with the privatization of US political culture, a privatization that goes as follows. As the Depression deepened and fascism swept Europe and parts of South America, artists and intellectuals in the United States swung far to the Left, blaming the world crisis in part on modernism's purported individualism, ahistoricism, and political insularity, mobilizing an

---

[175] Divine, Robert A. *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America Duriing World War II*. New York: Atheneum, 1967. One of the best new representations of this view has been Fousek, John. *To lead the free world: American nationalism and the cultural roots of the Cold War*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2000. Also see Warren, Frank A. *Noble Abstractions: American Liberal Intellectuals and World War II*. Ohio State University Press, 1999. Sherry, Michael S. *In the shadow of war: The United States since the 1930s*. Yale University Press, 1995. Gaddis, John Lewis. *The United States and the origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*. Columbia University Press, 1972. Ambrose, Stephen E. *Rise to globalism: American foreign policy since 1938*. Penguin, 2010. Some, particularly John Morton Blum, see the Second World War as an eminently private moment, but they still understand this privacy as resulting in a highly nationalist, rather than internationalist, culture in the United States. See Engelhardt, Tom. *The end of victory culture: Cold war America and the disillusioning of a generation*. Univ of Massachusetts Press, 2007; Blum, John Morton. *V was for victory: Politics and American culture during World War II*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1976.

emergent mass cultural apparatus to form a broad left-liberal New Deal coalition that pushed Americans into supporting internationalist positions.[176] On the other hand, the economic and demographic transformations of the Second World War and postwar years coincided, for historians of the liberal consensus, with the United States' growing commitment to a vision of freedom that was negative and private, a freedom that was defined, against the Soviet Union, as a freedom from the state's intrusion into the domestic sphere. While historians have differed significantly over the years in terms of where they see the moment of privatization beginning and the civic era of the 1930s ending, privatization for all has tended to mean a parochialization, and the growing nationalism of Cold War culture reflected in part a

---

[176] "[T]he public character" of Left culture, the literary historian Alan Wald explains, "was a natural brake on the modernist tendencies to believe that one's unique sensibility can only be expressed through a private language and to proclaim the self, as poet, an autonomous power in the world." Wald, Alan M. *Exiles from a Future Time: The Forging of the Mid-Twentieth-Century Literary Left*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2002; For just a few examples of this body of scholarship, see May, Lary. *The big tomorrow: Hollywood and the politics of the American way*. University of Chicago Press, 2000; May, Lary. *The big tomorrow: Hollywood and the politics of the American way*. University of Chicago Press, 2000; Denning, Michael. *The cultural front: The laboring of American culture in the twentieth century*. Verso, 1998; Brinkley, Alan. *The end of reform: New Deal liberalism in recession and war*. Vintage, 2011; Brinkley, Alan. *Liberalism and its Discontents*. Harvard University Press, 1998; Wall, Wendy L. *Inventing the" American way": the politics of consensus from the New Deal to the civil rights movement*. Oxford University Press, 2009; Gerstle, Gary. *Working-class Americanism: The politics of labor in a textile city, 1914-1960*. Princeton University Press, 2002; Lipsitz, George. *Rainbow at Midnight: Labor and Culture in the 1940s*. University of Illinois Press, 1994; Wald, Alan M. *Trinity of Passion: The Literary Left and the Antifascist Crusade*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2011.

loss in the civic engagement of the Depression and Second World War.[177] Most recently, the diplomatic historian Elizabeth Borgwardt has claimed that the principal groundwork for American postwar internationalism was framed by the popularity of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and, more broadly, what she calls the "New Deal idiom."[178]

One consequence of this narrative has been to mark the Second World War as a political watershed in the progress not only of racial equality, but in the politics of recognition more generally—in gender equality (Rosie the Riveter) and the formation of modern gay and lesbian political identities, for example, as Allan Berube has shown in his interpretation of the blue discharge movement, and as historians of the homophile movement have usually maintained.[179]

---

[177] See especially May, Lary. *The big tomorrow: Hollywood and the politics of the American way*. University of Chicago Press, 2000; Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a new deal: Industrial workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[178] She notes, for instance, that the Atlantic Charter was the first expression of human rights law, made months before Pearl Harbor, and was congruent with world view of majority of Americans, which "did not include direct exposure to the atrocities of the Third Reich or imperial Japan, or even to direct combat. What it did include was exposure to the ravages of the Great Depression, and to the perceived success of society-wide programs in dealing with this huge, transnational and seemingly intractable financial crisis. This was the difference that made a difference in US foreign policy in the wake of the Second World War." Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World*. Harvard University Press, 2007. (85)

[179] Bérubé, Allan. *Coming out under fire: The history of gay men and women in World War II*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010. As Marc Stein has remarked, despite the recent move on the part of Margot Canaday and Nan Boyd to decenter queer and LGBT history from the Second World War as a "watershed," it remains a crucial turning point. See Stein, Marc. "Theoretical politics, local communities: the

Yet as the next chapter will show, international education continued to flourish during the Cold War, even as it continued its trajectory in rejecting structural changes in favor of individual change. As it became dispersed and institutionalized through a network of educators, foundations, and government organizations, "education for international understanding" also continued a trajectory in both assisting and negotiating U.S. empire abroad. In the context of the Cold War, the "empire imaginary" continued many of the traditions begun by Andrews, Dubois, and many other teachers in the United States, but expanded both their scope and importance. In chapters three through five, I argue that the empire imaginary coalesced around four crucial values: "creativity," "cooperation," "colorblindness," and "conversation." By stressing that the keys to peace lie with interpersonal friendship, educators for international understanding built an imaginary that both disguised the contours of U.S. empire and became a method of governing people's lives. Offering a snapshot of each developmental stage - from summer camps for elementary school, to classroom films for high school, to literature curriculum for college - these chapters also explore a different political legacy of international understanding (left, right, neoliberal).

---

making of US LGBT historiography." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 11, no. 4 (2005): 605-625.

CHAPTER THREE

"Friendship Without Frontiers":

Childhood, Race, and Play in International Summer Camps

On August 22, 1977, retired child psychologist Dr. Doris Twitchell-Allen received a letter dispatched from the Central Intelligence Agency. The Agency, according to the letter, had recently "located several thousand hitherto undiscovered documents relating to activities funded by the CIA as a part of Project MK-ULTRA in the 1950s and 1960s."[180] Twitchell-Allen learned that the international children's summer camp which she founded, Children's International Summer Villages, (much like dozens of other social scientific projects) had unwittingly received research funding from MK-ULTRA in 1960 through a front organization. Surveilling the camp would be valuable, the Agency reasoned in its grant approval, for the purpose of "the identification of promising young foreign nationals and US nationals who may at any time be of direct interest to the Company."[181] They had sought the eleven years old at the camps as informants and objects of study for nonverbal communication. Clearly, In the Cold War, not even child's play was child's play.

---

[180] Letter from Anthony A. Lapham (General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency) to Doris Twitchell-Allen. Written August 15, 1977. Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA96-17. Box 3, Folder 10. (239, August 12 2015)

[181] *Ibid.*

This essay examines the founding and first fourteen years of the summer villages between 1951 and 1965, during which time the organization hosted roughly 35 villages in 10 different countries, with representative children from 40 countries and five continents (the exception being Australia and Antarctica).[182] For a global group whose mission was teaching young people "peace through understanding," the 1960 attempt at surveillance resonated with the unclear distinctions between peacemaking and militarization during the Cold War. To be sure, the institutional connections appear to be limited: no evidence suggests that the C.I.A.'s involvement in Twitchell-Allen's summer villages extended beyond this brief incident, and Twitchell-Allen publicly expressed her distress once she learned about the grant seventeen years after the fact.[183] The camps were, unlike many U.S. based summer camps, racially integrated. Child participants included children of diverse races and ethnic backgrounds, and included Muslim, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant children during this time.

But much like other institutions of postwar racial liberalism and the empire imaginaries of the progressive era, the camps reframed racism, war, and empire as

---

[182] Doris Twitchell Allen "Growth in Attitudes Favorable to Peace: Outcomes from Experiences at Children's International Summer Villages - A Ten Year Study." Presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association August 31 through September 6 1961. Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22. Box 3, Folder 55. (7)

[183] Letter from Doris Twitchell-Allen to Associated Press. Written October 21, 1977. Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections *A96-17. Box 3, Folder 10 (269, August 12 2015)

personal rather than structural problems, viewing the solution to war as the teaching of emotional care, friendship, and the deemphasizing of cultural difference.[184] Like institutions of post-World War II internationalist development such as the Strategic Hamlet Initiative or the Peace Corps, C.I.S.V. defined the *means* of achieving peace and prosperity in narrow terms that aligned with the interests of U.S. capital and national security.[185] They argued that creativity and cooperation were essential to the building of well-adjusted young people capable of creating peace. And much like child-focused internationalist institutions extending back to the interwar years, the organization used social science to justify the surveillance and production of knowledge about children- in particular, their capacities for international understanding; the fact as Twitchell-Allen suggested "friendship has no frontiers."[186] This chapter argues that the observation of play - in its ability to place creativity and cooperation at the center of citizenship - could in fact become a means of teaching self-governance.

---

[184] Gordon, Leah N. *From power to prejudice: The rise of racial individualism in midcentury America*. University of Chicago Press, 2015; Feldstein, Ruth. *Motherhood in black and white: Race and sex in American liberalism, 1930-1965*. Cornell University Press, 2000; Jackson, Walter A. *Gunnar Myrdal and America's conscience: Social engineering and racial liberalism, 1938-1987*. UNC Press Books, 1994.

[185] Latham, Michael E. *Modernization as ideology: American social science and nation building in the Kennedy era*. University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

[186] Radio Transcript - "For Everyman." Saturday June 11, 1955. Writer Ralph Vines. (28) Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22. Box 4 Folder 16

Historians have shown growing interest in the ways that international institutions and global human rights law have figured children and childhood. Sara Fieldston, for example, has shown the way that internationalists mobilized intimate friendship and children's creative play in order to project American power abroad.[187] C.I.S.V. attempted to go a step further: it attempted to produce psychologically "healthy" young people who were therefore capable of proper self-governance, and therefore peace: it attempted to give young people the tools to become good, liberal self-governing subjects. Examining this issue creates two problems. First, the histories of peacemaking, and foreign relations more generally, have often revolved around conceptions of historical agency constructed through adulthood - and white male adulthood especially. As Mary Jo Maynes has argued, even subaltern histories conceptualize agency in ways that exclude children and girls in particular, as they "tend to structure their narratives around moments of political rebellion or heroic action in the public sphere."[188] At their most inclusive, histories of peace and antiwar movements in the United States have concentrated on institutions to which children have limited access: diplomacy (both cultural and political), protests, conscientious objectors, and social movement organizers.

---

[187] Fieldston, Sara. *Raising the World*. Harvard University Press, 2015.
[188] Maynes, Mary Jo. "Age as a category of historical analysis: history, agency, and narratives of childhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1.1 (2008): 116

If peace studies scholars agree that peace means "more" than the absence of war, the contributions to the history of peace must also take into account what that "more" means. As Antony Adolf has shown, the meanings of peace are historical and shaped by their cultural contexts.[189] In this way, C.I.S.V. shows that contributions to the history of world peace could seem far more tangential than the contributions made by those with most access to power. Peacemaking did not only mean debates at international conferences, public lectures, mass movement organizing, or acts of civil disobedience or nonresistance. It could also be play: children reaching out to organize around sleeping times or common food necessities, children shaping new or alternative perceptions of their political future, or children imagining new, cross-national types of belonging through creative work. By imagining children's play as a kind of archetype of peaceful relationships, Twitchell-Allen could naturalize a conception of peace based on interpersonal relationships rather than structural change. At the same time, children could actively shape alternatives to the kinds of peaceful relationships which Twitchell-Allen idealized.

C.I.S.V. shows that children influenced conversations around peace in important and often autonomous ways, but ways that are often overlooked in histories of peacemaking and diplomacy. Where the camp organizers avoided politicized conceptions of peace, children imagined structural changes as the basis

---

[189] Adolf, Antony. *Peace: a world history*. Polity, 2009.

for peace. Where the camp organizers insisted that the disciplining of time was crucial for ensuring a harmony of interests, children resisted normative time. Where the camp organizers used camp surveillance to train children's consumption habits, children created private languages and rejected normative narratives of gender development. Without question, the camps mobilized creative unstructured play in ways that reflected Cold War liberalism.

But in contrast to Twitchell-Allen's intended vision of a culture free, borderless world - what she called "friendship without frontiers" - children constructed the villages in more contingent ways, ways that opened opportunities for organizing across lines of race, class, gender, and nationality, but which also recognized difference. In thinking of the contingent, rather than universal, nature of the children's relationships in these temporary, internal border spaces, this essay argues not only that we must understand the meanings of peace as historical and discursive. We also have to look for the histories of peace in unexpected, private, even hidden spaces. By following the spaces and times of borderland - the moments of hybridity and cultural exchange that emerge inside as well as along national boundaries - we may find new narratives.

Play in the Making of Children's International Summer Villages

Doris Twitchell was born and went to college in Maine, the only daughter of white Protestant couple. Her mother was a teacher, her father a doctor. In 1930 she earned a PhD studying clinical psychology at the University of Michigan, and studied in the early thirties in Germany under the eminent social psychologist Kurt Lewin, who - facing anti-Jewish persecution - fled to the United States during the early years of Nazi Germany, leaving Twitchell to return. Upon returning to the United States, Twitchell-Allen took jobs as principal of the Out of Doors School in New York City and as a research director for the Children's Education Fund. In 1936 she married the patent lawyer, Erastus Allen, had a child they called Rusty, and became founding director of the children's ward at Longview State Hospital in Allen's home of Cincinnati, eventually becoming the Chief Psychologist in 1944. Twitchell-Allen also secured an appointment in the Psychology Department at the University of Cincinnati between 1949 and 1962. Through the 1940s, Twitchell-Allen made fast inroads into the civic life of Cincinnati's white elite, an elite which as Robert Burnham has shown prided itself on self-purported racial tolerance, even while it supported urban renewal projects that displaced thousands of African Americans from their communities.[190]

---

[190] Doris Twitchell Allen Curriculum Vitae. ca. 1967 Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22 Box 40, Folder 40; on race relations during this time in Cincinnati: Robert Burnham, "The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee: Cultural Pluralism and the Struggle for Black Advancement."

Play reflected an early, and important concern for her. Pottery classes which she took at night stimulated her interest in this issue. Finding projective personality tests like Rohrschach or Draw-A-Person inadequate for assessment of children, she became intensely interested in the use of children's play as a method of testing. Taking inspiration from "pre-dynastic Egyptian" and what she called "primitive Han" earthenware of which she had learned in pottery class, she fashioned a set of beige, generic geometric forms into a "three dimensional test." By engaging children in physical play with such "primordial" shapes, Twitchell-Allen reasoned, the stories which children told with the shapes could be interpreted in ways that had universal applicability across cultures - what she called a "culture free" personality test. For Twitchell-Allen, when children played they were in their most natural state.[191]

Her pursuit of the "culture free" personality test through play was the product of a transitional moment in the way that social scientists thought about the relationships between race and human development, and Twitchell-Allen's thinking on the subject reflected the contradictions of these transitions. The other psychologist who frequently used the term "culture free" was Raymond Cattell, whose pursuit of

---

from *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970* ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr, University of Illinois Press (1993)

[191] Doris Twitchell-Allen "The Twitchell-Allen Personality Test " n.d.ca. 1948 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA96-17 Box 20, Folder 45 (1)

the culture free intelligence test was undergirded by the biological racism which held

that there were innate differences in "native intelligence" according to race.[192]

Yet as the 1940s progressed, even as she maintained the term "culture free,"

Twitchell-Allen clearly aligned herself more closely with the opposite point of view,

that of the culture-and-personality school. By 1946 she had developed working

relationships with Otto Klineberg and Margaret Mead, and even contributed to a

symposium with them in 1955. Like many other social psychologists of her time, the

influence of Elton Mayo's Hawthorne Studies and human relations movement

showed in her considerable interest in the power of observation to influence human

behavior and in small group psychology. Oliver Gale, a participant in CISV and an

important proponent of Mayo's human relations movement, published a laudatory

article about the group in the *Journal of Human Relations*.[193]

Most importantly, Twitchell-Allen was influenced by the growing interest

during and after the war in the "contact hypothesis," popularized in Gordon Allport's

The Nature of Prejudice and a hallmark of racial liberalism.[194] The contact

hypothesis held that the best way of reducing inequities based on race was not

---

[192] See Cattell's article: Cattell, Raymond B. "A culture-free intelligence test. I." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 31.3 (1940): 162

[193] Oliver Gale "The CISV - Steps Toward World Unity." *Journal of Human Relations* University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 16 (12); For more on the influence of small group psychology, see Immerwahr, Daniel. *thinking small: the United States and the lure of community development*. Harvard University Press, 2015.

[194] Allport, Gordon Willard. *The nature of prejudice*. Basic books, 1979.

structural change, but intergroup contact. Twitchell-Allen's views were quite her own, though, less systematic and more instrumental, as much intended to define a practical plan for engineering peace in children as a cohesive theory of peaceful relations. Much as Joanne Meyerowitz has characterized the culture-and-personality school of the mid twentieth century, Twitchell-Allen believed that "social scientists could redesign the character of a culture by modifying the child rearing of its future generations."[195]

The international summer village was also the product of contradictory tendencies of the developing Cold War at the end of the 1940s, embedded both the brief postwar optimism in international institution building that Elizabeth Borgwardt has called "the zeitgeist of 1945,"[196] and in the *realpolitik* anxieties of post-Truman Doctrine America. The stories which Twitchell-Allen told about the origins of the idea reflect these contradictions. The first story that Twitchell-Allen told took place in 1946 as she worked on a consulting job in New York City for the Child Education Fund.[197] According to Twitchell-Allen, she sat down one morning on a bench in Carl Schurz Park and read a *Times* article by the well-known university administrator and internationalist Alexander Meiklejohn calling for a world university. Immediately,

---

[195] Meyerowitz, Joanne. ""How Common Culture Shapes the Separate Lives": Sexuality, Race, and Mid-Twentieth-Century Social Constructionist Thought." *The Journal of American History* 96.4 (2010): 1057-1084.

[196] Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World*. Harvard University Press, 2007.

[197] Doris Twitchell-Allen "Background History of CISV." n.d. (2) University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 18, Folder 1

she claimed, she realized that it was far more important to create such an institution for young children than adults, using "the principle of educating the emotions in the very early years."[198] The second story that she typically told happened a few months later when she claimed that her young son approached her directly and asked "There won't be any more wars, will there be?" Optimistic about the promise of international institutions but also fearing her own son's life if he went to war, she had found abiding personal motivation for her work in founding the organization.[199]

Almost immediately, however, her project encountered serious headwinds as optimism about the possibility of peace through international organizations declined, and as she encountered the sexism of internationalist bureaucracy. These headwinds forced Twitchell-Allen to radically change her plans. At first, Twitchell-Allen developed an elaborate plan that resembled an expanded version of the Pestalozzi Children's Village - a postwar European camp for children orphaned by the war.[200] In 1947 she went to the UNESCO General Conference in Mexico City, trying to pass a resolution in support of her plan to "reach millions of children of all countries by a carefully planned program of communication by mass media," one in which children from all over the world would vote for delegates to an international village and

---

[198] Doris Twitchell-Allen "History and Present State of the Plan for Children's United Nations Chapters." n.d. ca. 1948 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 17, Folder 21
[199] *Ibid*.
[200] Buchanan, Mary Elizabeth Torrance. *The children's village: the village of peace*. University of London Press, 1954.

follow the proceedings virtually by way of filmstrips and pen pal exchanges."[201]

Although Twitchell-Allen recruited key intellectuals and attendees of the conference,

UNESCO's Howard Wilson, backed by a largely male bureaucracy at UNESCO,

dismissed her proposal and told her that she had taken too much of the group's time.

According to Twitchell-Allen, Wilson signified "that although every speaker

UNESCO and the United Nations has urged citizens to rise and act, that the official

system is not ready to accept action in an open arms way."[202] While in 1949

Twitchell-Allen traveled to Paris and secured the endorsement of UNESCO in her

plan, the organization later recanted this endorsement and never funded it.

With little support from UNESCO or the U.S. State Department, Twitchell-

Allen turned to her overseas networks that she had established while in Germany,

and her own relationships with Cincinnati's civic community. As the group raised

funds to bring children from around the world to a retreat center called St. Edmund's

outside of Cincinnati, her group frequently identified the project with the United

States' anticommunist globalism. One co-founder of the organization, her husband,

wrote to a donor that the program was "the kind of plan which can continuously

build cross-national goodwill and in that sense serve as a bulwark against the

infiltration of communism. This is going to be very important when Marshall Plan

---

[201] Doris Twitchell-Allen "Education for International Understanding." University
of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 17, Folder 44
[202] Doris Twitchell-Allen "She Shall Be Bold for Peace Through UNESCO!" (7)
University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 17, Folder 25

aid ends and the 'Santa Claus' regime is over," presumably referring to the plan's imagined generosity.[203]

This was an apropos reference, because the connection which Twitchell-Allen made between institution building and personality building was common among postwar internationalists - a humanitarian tradition of using Western social science to engineer peace which Vanessa Pupavac has called "therapeutic governance."[204] Such therapeutic governance, best elaborated by modernization and development theorists, were distinctive visions of benevolent imperial tutelage. They imagined political and social development not only as linear, but integrative, requiring not only changing economic investments, but also psychological changes. For many such intellectuals, infrastructural and institutional changes would fail without transformations in the affective constitution of the members of a society. As Daniel Immerwahr has shown, development projects in India and the Philippines drew on small group social psychology - the same that had influenced Twitchell-Allen - to create communities which reflected the ideal citizens of modernization.[205] As Michael Latham has shown, in practice the funding commitments in modernization projects such as the Alliance for Progress or the Peace Corps came

[203]Letter from Erastus Allen letter to Powel Crosley Jr, April 4 1950 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 6
[204] Pupavac, Vanessa. "Therapeutic governance: psycho-social intervention and trauma risk management." *Disasters* 25.4 (2001): 358-372.
[205] Immerwahr, Daniel. *Thinking small: the United States and the lure of community development*. Harvard University Press, 2015.

with ideological strings attached: they attempted to shift attention away from the political causes of poverty and underdevelopment and reimagine poverty as a "state of mind"[206] and a matter of personal "will."[207] For the social psychologist and development theorist Alex Inkeles, modernization required subjects to become "informed participant citizens," to feel "personal efficacy," or that they can change the future rather than being resigned to the past, that they were "autonomous of traditional sources of authority," and that they were "ready for new experiences."[208] The sociologist Daniel Lerner similarly argued that "empathy," or what he felt was the ability to adapt to new circumstances by understanding others vicariously, represented the central attribute of a "modernized" citizen.[209]

Likewise, Twitchell-Allen believed that children who were mentally unhealthy - a description often infused with gendered and psychosexual meanings - could become aggressive, war-prone adults. The centerpiece of the summer villages, therefore, lie in the use of her "culture free" psychological test to measure changes in children's mental health over the course of their four week contact with children of other national groups. The rhetoric of "aggression," "security," "tension," and

---

[206] Latham, Michael E. *Modernization as ideology: American social science and" nation building" in the Kennedy era*. University of North Carolina Press, 2000. (91)
[207] *Ibid* 94
[208] Inkeles, Alex. "Becoming modern." *Ethos* 3.2 (1975): 323-342.
[209] Lerner, Daniel. "The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East." (1958); Shah, Hemant. *The production of modernization: Daniel Lerner, mass media, and the passing of traditional society*. Temple University Press, 2011.

"hostility," a rhetoric so prevalent in postwar psychoanalysis, took on new meanings in the context of her analyses of the children at the "peace" village. In one child, for example, she described a "warring" conflict between two aspects of the child's personality between individuality and belonging, one which he attempted to keep at "peace." Twitchell-Allen believed that this warring tendency "appears to be one of the chief dynamics leading people into communism and similar ideological pursuits."[210] Another child was attempting "to rebel against" her limiting mother who "she felt that she was punished through deprivation and permanent loss of her fantasied strength."[211] Another, according to Twitchell-Allen, "seems to be prepared to wage a defensive battle" with her family, while another "feels impelled to defend herself against attack."[212] One girl who was cited as having a "tomboyish orientation" was described as being "rebellious and savage" and wanting to be "ruthless," "annihilate," "kill" and "vanquish," all tendencies which Twitchell-Allen proudly claimed at the end of the camp had themselves been "crushed" in the girl.[213] Such analyses tied children's gender or family difference, according to the standards of U.S. social science, to the broader social problem of war and peace.

---

[210] 3DPT Assessment. University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 36
[211] *Ibid.*
[212] *Ibid*
[213] *Ibid*

While C.I.S.V. intended peace rather than development *per se* as its final outcome, the means -- a modernized, empathetic, liberal, willful psychological subject -- resembled the therapeutic beliefs of Cold War culture upon which development was based. Twitchell-Allen was not alone among Cold War anti-war activists in appealing to therapeutic beliefs. Social scientists like Talcott Parsons, Otto Klineberg, Harold Lasswell, and Quincy Wright likewise believed that psychology, including gender and family relations, could influence the making of peace and war. And as Amy Swerdlow has shown, some feminist white women peace activists, particularly those from generations prior to the Second Wave, used strategies for appealing to peace which mobilized "traditional" motherhood and gender formations -- suggesting that the gendering at the heart of Cold War psychoanalysis was used in prominent ways to oppose war.[214]

For Twitchell-Allen, ending war would be administered through pedagogies of individual, interpersonal transformation informed by social scientific expertise and often highly gendered perceptions of psychological health. According to her logic, war and political instability were the consequence of psychologically unhealthy people and of racial and national prejudice, racial and national prejudice were the consequence of a lack of contact across groups, and the best way to produce friendly contact among children was to get them to play together in a U.S. based

---

[214] Swerdlow, Amy. *Women strike for peace: Traditional motherhood and radical politics in the 1960s*. University of Chicago Press, 1993.

summer camp environment. The camps would produce psychologically secure children, psychologically secure children would be free of prejudice, and adults free of prejudice would be less likely to go to war. Therapeutic governance for Twitchell-Allen thus explicitly avoided - partly of choice but partly not - the antiwar traditions of nonresistance, civil disobedience, conscientious objection, and social movement organizing which had been essential for antiwar activism in the past.

In one crucial respect, C.I.S.V. did make an implicit statement about race that went beyond the therapeutic, even if that statement went only so far. Unlike many U.S. summer camps at the time of its founding in 1951, C.I.S.V. was affirmatively racially integrated. The villages taught the importance of rejecting prejudice, and actively sought children of color within the United States, and within its first ten years children from many countries in Central and South America, as well as Ghana, Israel, India, Turkey, Morocco, Japan, South Korea, and even the Soviet Union.[215] There were limits, however, on the organization's integration. Since the majority of the villages over the first fifteen years were hosted overseas, the most diverse villages tended to be hosted outside the United States, and the first village was predominantly European and white American children. The organization decided

---

[215] Doris Twitchell Allen "Growth in Attitudes Favorable to Peace: Outcomes from Experiences at Children's International Summer Villages - A Ten Year Study." Presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association August 31 through September 6 1961. Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22. Box 3, Folder 55. (7)

against any political positions on race or segregation in the United States, and the leadership of the organization consisted of few people who were not white Europeans or Americans.

Rather than make political statements, the summer camps provided opportunities for children from around the world for intercultural contact and play, emphasized ending prejudice through interpersonal emotional learning, stressed fun and recreation, and offered an environment that Twitchell-Allen once called "laissez-faire,"[216] unstructured play. The children had breakfast, lunch, and dinner, usually with one morning swim session and one in the afternoon. The remainder of the morning would generally consist of some combination of nature study, music, arts and crafts, or sports. Depending on the camp, children might also produce camp radio shows or a camp newsletter. Evenings after dinner were reserved for entertainment and special events. Each morning and night began and ended with the children joining hands around a United Nations flagpole and singing a song in which they pledged: "Here we come to understand / one another's point of view / learning through the things we do / How alike am I to you."[217] All the while, adult researchers hovered around the camp and carefully tracked the children's play. They conducted

---

[216] Doris Twitchell Allen Untitled Notes from Austrian Village. Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22. Box 3, Folder 56

[217] The CISV Song can be found publicly, and I have found no evidence that it has changed since first written in 1951

entrance and exit interviews accompanied by different types of personality tests, made detailed notes taken on where children of different nationalities sat together at lunch and on buses, recorded observations about how the children ate at lunchtime and dinner, and transcribed diaries kept by each of the camp counsellors.

If the camp used unstructured play to avoid political statements, however, unstructured play also obscured the political investments of the camp designers. Play under surveillance would help children to progress to becoming self-governing, liberal citizens. As an imaginative act that stoked vicarious thinking, play at the camps would promote cooperation and empathy among children. "[B]eing-loved," Twitchell-Allen claimed, was "a requisite basis for loving others,"[218] a principle which she believed should be the basis of the camp. Eleven year old participants were partly selected on the basis of what the intellectual historian Jamie Cohen-Cole has called the "open mind," the Cold War belief that democracies depended on psychologically healthy, politically undogmatic citizens.[219] The villagers had to come from "stable homes," could not be "enmeshed in current institutions," nor in "international hostilities," according to Twitchell-Allen.[220] Such well-adjusted

[218] Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Document University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 36 (5)

[219] Cohen-Cole, Jamie. *The open mind: Cold War politics and the sciences of human nature*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.

[220] Doris Twitchell Allen "Growth in Attitudes Favorable to Peace: Outcomes from Experiences at Children's International Summer Villages - A Ten Year Study." Presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association

children would not just be "passively receptive" to building friendships, but would best be able to practice "building a unified society composed of different races and varying cultural backgrounds."[221] Twitchell-Allen believed that the center of the camp should be a "Children's Council" which would democratically govern the programming of the camp, set the camp rules (to a limited extent), and determine how to enforce them.[222] A secure and playful camp life would thus allow young people to "play at" liberal forms of citizenship, learning "parliamentary procedures, committee work, group discussions, and self-government."[223]

Unstructured play was central to this logic. During the 1930s and 1940s, social psychologists shifted from understanding play in biologically racist terms, as G. Stanley Hall did, as the recapitulation of primitive human behaviors. By the 1940s, they had begun to theorize play instead as cultural -- not hearkening to the past, but as a type of practice or preparation for the future, for adulthood -as Erik

---

August 31 through September 6 1961. Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22. Box 3, Folder 55. (10)

[221] Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Document University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 36 (1)

[222] Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Document University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 36 (2)

[223] Doris Twitchell Allen "Growth in Attitudes Favorable to Peace: Outcomes from Experiences at Children's International Summer Villages - A Ten Year Study." Presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association August 31 through September 6 1961. Doris Twitchell Allen Papers. University of Cincinnati Special Collections. UA84-22. Box 3, Folder 55. (10)

Erikson and Jean Piaget did.[224] As Amy Ogata has shown, during the Cold War

children's play increasingly shifted to becoming designed to produce creativity.[225]

U.S. based summer camps reflected this transformation in psychologists'

understanding of play. As Leslie Paris and Abigail Van Slyck have shown, summer

camps shifted from early twentieth century camps that mimicked military

encampments and reproduced disciplinary, settler colonial ideologies of producing

civilized white masculinity, to mid twentieth century camps which rejected this

militaristic and disciplinary ethos and instead focused on cultivating interpersonal

relationships, centering around consumerist fun and recreation.[226] Just as

internationalist narratives of development negotiated nations' relationship between

tradition and modernity, so did summer camps, according to Paris, attempt to

negotiate this relationship on an individual level. Play, particularly in the summer

camp form, thus represented an opportune space for cultivating self-governing

citizens who conformed with not just any peace, but a peace which aligned with the

perceptions of many liberal internationalist of the Cold War.

---

[224] Chudacoff, Howard P. *Children at play: An American history*. NYU Press, 2007 (72-73) Hall, Granville Stanley. *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*. Vol. 2. D. Appleton, 1916; Erikson, Erik H. *Childhood and society*. WW Norton & Company, 1993.

[225] Ogata, Amy Fumiko. *Designing the creative child: Playthings and places in midcentury America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

[226] Van Slyck, Abigail Ayres. *A manufactured wilderness: Summer camps and the shaping of American youth, 1890-1960*. U of Minnesota Press, 2006; Paris, Leslie. *Children's nature: The rise of the American summer camp*. NYU Press, 2008.

C.I.S.V. reflected this shift, in the flag raising and lowering that marked the beginning and ending of each day, and in the ways that Twitchell-Allen narrated the children's transformation. Instead of stressing discipline, the song spoke of "com[ing] to understand one another's point of view." Rather than emotional control, the camps emphasized "talking," "laughing," and "weeping," the "sharing" of "hopes and fears." And instead of invoking a militaristic or pioneer ethos as previous sleeper camps had done, the song's final stanza stressed the camp's purpose in terms of the future: "That our children so may grow in a world we did not know."

Resisting Therapeutic Governance

For CISV world peace, in other words, meant not only the absence of war, but universalizing attributes which were conditions for self-governance, a universalizing which took place through young people's willing participation in normative narratives of childhood. If many white social scientists in the late 1940s had begun to recognize the particularity of Western models of childhood, family, gender, and sexuality, many also - like Twitchell-Allen - believed that some models of childhood produced better social outcomes than others, and that "modern" social relations took a universal form. This belief, common among liberal internationalists like Twitchell-Allen, long became embedded in the way that intellectuals have understood childhood. Bianco Premo, for example, has argued that "the history of childhood has

been defined and developed as a 'Western' narrative of modernization." According to Premo, the key elements of modern childhood, including "romantic notions of youthful innocence, practices involving segregating children from adults and protecting them from work, the replacement of charity with welfare,"[227] have been used to support the very modernization narratives in which the United States had deeply invested during Twitchell-Allen's life.

From the perspective of the village organizers, a peaceful world was unimaginable without adults who "grew up" successfully, and successful growing up meant rejecting traditions which might be anathema to U.S. liberalism. There was no space in peace, for example, for the acceptance of the authority of traditions, strong national identification, or a view of time which might look different from the forms of development accepted by Western social science. The summer camp design helped universalize not only a cultural form specific to the United States, but also the vision of childhood as temporally distinct from adulthood and profoundly malleable. Its therapeutic governance imagined psychologically healthy children in terms of highly specific norms of gender difference, psychosexual maturation, family stability, political open-mindedness and individualism.

The very conception of the summer camps meant that they failed to attend to the underlying political structures and global dynamics of race that offered different

---

[227] Premo, Bianca. "How Latin America's History of Childhood Came of Age." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1.1 (2008): 63-76.

opportunities for different childhoods -- in particular, the ways that global economic and political structures ensured that the ideal of a carefree, leisurely childhood was more accessible to some children than others. Yet precisely because the young villagers were understood to be learning self-governance, the children were best positioned to produce different, or even oppositional meanings for peace - peace that was not therapeutic.

Among the most striking aspects of the summer camps was the extent to which they were premised on the idea that consumption could enable cross-cultural bonding. While utopian, the villages were not anti-capitalist, anti-modernist arcadias building peace in the transcendentalist mode by creating inner serenity in remote, natural settings. These were not rural communes. The organization itself, or at least its U.S. based branch, was thoroughly embedded in what Lizabeth Cohen has called the "consumer's republic," the postwar ethos that associated good citizenship with consumer capitalism.[228] Board members of CISV included not only prominent civic leaders, but also advertising executives associated with Procter and Gamble. P&G, as well as Armco Steel, asbestos manufacturer Philip Carey, United Fruit, Coca-Cola, General Electric, and business oriented social clubs like Rotary and the Jaycees, all

---

[228] Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic. The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America.* (2003).

contributed to CISV financially or in kind over the first fifteen years.[229] All of these businesses, especially Procter & Gamble, had growing overseas stakes during the 1950s, especially in Central and South America. C.I.S.V. acquired their sponsorship by noting the positive publicity they could gain overseas from the sponsorship. In exchange, the companies offered free consumer goods and food and sponsored delegations' travel.

The camps reflected, too, the uniquely consumerist belief that a better future could be built by buying a set of experiences. The camps themselves, as consumer goods, became symbols of the camp's core belief in providing children with a better future - of building a "world we did not know" celebrated in the camp's song, and of the passage to a more peaceful adulthood. Indeed, as the application forms for many of the parents applying for the camps demonstrate, part of the attraction of C.I.S.V. was its value as a travel and educational opportunity. It was a comparatively cheap, and sometimes free, way to provide children both a unique learning experience and the status symbol of a vacation abroad. The trip to another country reflected a type of tourism. Consumer life played an important role even within camp culture. Generally each camp had a day or weekend devoted to shopping in town and experiencing local

---

[229] Oliver Gale "The CISV - Steps Toward World Unity." *Journal of Human Relations* University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 16 (12); Erastus Allen "Letter to Harry Freiberg." February 28 1955. University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 17; Ted Wuerfel. "Report by Village Director." University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 15

consumer pleasures, like baseball games in Cincinnati or Mozart's home in Vienna. In one village, a camp counselor described children going to town and bonding over their experiences buying dolls, water fins for the swimming pool, tickets to the amusement park, pencils, clothing, raincoats, and cowboy hats.[230]

Yet children at the camps built cross-national relationships around consumption in ways that did not always reflect the interests of Procter and Gamble, the touristic ethos of camp planning, or the therapeutic ends of the camp. Adults complained frequently about children's table manners, which one counsellor called "individualistic" since they failed to cooperate in sharing the food, and instead grabbed all the food to eat before she did. "Some children drink the whole bottle of milk," one counsellor said, "even before the blessing is asked."[231] In one camp there was also a serious controversy about how quickly the children went through a huge package of Coke bottles that Coca-Cola had donated for the children to drink. One camp counsellor felt that the Coca-Cola had been "horribly abused": "children of this age," the counsellor suggested, "are capable of making decisions…[but] on the points of Coco Cola [sic] I do not think they are capable of making the decision.."[232]

[230] "Counsellor's Report," University of Cincinnati Special Collections, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 11
[231] "Counsellor's Report." p 4 University of Cincinnati Special Collections, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 11
[232] *Ibid* p 3

Evidently, the camp had to impose a strict rationing scheme on the bottles of Coke.[233]

Likewise, children exercised control over their consumption collectively by exchanging coins, stamps and pictures according to one camp counsellor "with utter disregard for monetary values."[234] During interviews, the children also expressed strong, and differing opinions about which kinds of foods they liked and which kinds they disliked, and which kinds they would prefer to see, often requesting types of food with which they were familiar.[235] In one camp council in August 1954 in Austria, children collectively raised their concerns about the food to adults, suggesting that they needed more than two slices of bread in the morning, and that their morning drinks should be less sweet than the hot cocoa provided.[236] After considerable discussion, the children agreed to a compromise in which they were served coffee two, and cocoa one, day out of every three days. Adults also agreed to reduce seasoning, provide more potatoes at dinner, and ensure that sugar and napkins were available at every table. Such questions are, given the opportunity which young people have to influence discussions, relatively inconsequential - yet they still

---

[233]Counselor's Report" University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 15

[234] Counselor's Report" University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 9

[235] "Background Data - Horndlwald Austria." University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 3, Folder 6

[236] "Interviews - by Otto Ehrenberg." University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 3, Folder 51.

represent examples of collective, cross-national and interracial organizing, and more akin to peace work than the consumer experiences so central to the camp design. They involved communicating across language barriers, recognizing common interests, developing institutions, and working collectively toward a better set of circumstances.

Perhaps the most important struggle in the camp between children and adults, however, lie with time. According to Nick Cullather, the social sciences surrounding therapeutic governance like modernization theory represented "a science of history, a method for managing the passage between a timeless "tradition" and an equally timeless ultimate state of modernity."[237] The theories of development popular among postwar social scientists made time synchronous and linear, made change incremental rather than revolutionary, made time proceed according to fixed stages, and sharply segregated different types of time -- work time, family time, playtime -- from one another. According to David Ekbladh, Cold War development theory meant that a modern state required "forward-looking worldview, as opposed to 'traditional' outlooks of passivity or fatalism."[238]

So time represented a primary site of struggle between children and adults in complex ways. Even if they may have had little conception of development theory,

---

[237] Cullather, Nick. "Research Note: Development? It's History." *Diplomatic History* 24.4 (2000): 641-653.

[238] Ekbladh, David. *The great American mission: Modernization and the construction of an American world order*. Princeton University Press, 2011. (12)

children clearly understood that control of one's own time, and others' time, was a crucial resource. The camp organized time in the obvious ways, like producing schedules, adhering to synchronous time, and establishing set bedtimes and wake up calls. By the same token, the enforcement of these rules was not always consistent. One child who played when he was not supposed to was considered too childish, yet another child who preferred to read or do work when they were supposed to play was considered too mature. At one camp, a child who was thought to be acting up was threatened with having his privileges taken away; "they were said to be children and that somebody grown-up will move to the boys-house to take care of them."[239]

Children resisted these contradictory impositions regularly. Some children stayed up late, slept in early, arrived late to activities, and bothered other children while sleeping. When it was time to play a game, some did not want to, and when it was time to make crafts, some did other things. At one point during a village in 1955, the children apparently resisted an older counselor's attempt to discipline children who played after bedtime. They discussed the problem at a Children's Council meeting, and developed a plan to solve the problem.[240] More often, however, children's resistance to normative time came in the form of boredom, inattentiveness, daydreaming, or narrative disjuncture. Children during meetings sometimes showed

[239]Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Notes from Austrian Village. University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 3, Folder 48

[240]Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Notes from Olive Branch Village. Nd 1955 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 17

no interest in the proceedings, made jokes, teased one another, or acted up. During sports they decided to sit out. During crafts they failed to follow the instructions.

The newspapers that children in the villages produced for themselves lacked overarching narratives or interpretations, something that a number of the researchers at the camp critically noted.[241] These newspapers usually captured the ephemera of the camp that the children found most interesting: new songs that they had collaborated on creating together, the scores of table tennis and soccer games, reminiscences of home, and accounts of field trips they had taken together.[242] But they also included stories that did not always reflect the camp orthodoxy of uniformly harmonious friendships between children and adults. One story was a going away letter from a boy who had to leave the camp early (for unclear reasons). Another story in a newsletter at a Swedish called "No More Pillow Fights" left out the reasons that the pillow fights stopped abruptly, simply writing "The nice pillow-fights, 'putte-krig,' stopped after two successful nights the 29th of July. Yesterday everyone was silent after 10. Even the girls stopped their usual night-screams."[243] Children's participation in the psychological assessments also often resisted cohesive, progressive narrativization that Twitchell-Allen looked for, instead turning

[241] "Report of V. Dobson" University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, No Folder

[242] Village Newsletter p 4. University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 3, Folder 57

[243] Village Newsletter NP University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, No Folder

to discordant, unclear, highly imaginative stories, or drawing pictures of people that were gender nonnormative, incomplete, or odd.

These types of behaviors might seem more like typical children's behaviors rather than examples of children's agency in peace discourse. Yet this assumption suggests far more about the ways that socially constructed categories of childhood are ingrained than anything about what typical childhood consists. Ideologies of childhood help to naturalize what for adults might be political struggles with respect to time. Walter Benjamin, for example, has suggested that among nineteenth century French flaneurs and dandies, such types of boredom and inattentiveness were modes of resistance to a process of modernization. According to Benjamin, boredom rejected the way that modernity disciplined time in linear fashion according to "progress" narratives; for dandies was an "index to participation in the sleep of the collective,"[244] a way of standing apart from a time over which one had no control, but also imagining alternatives to the present. These types of children's resistance were not just typical. They were in similar respects resistance to the progress narratives - the "in our hands the future lies" stories - which helped organize time in the camp, imagining that only children coming together in a particular, predetermined way could bring together the world in perfect harmony. If play represented a central tool for constructing a particular type of peace, boredom and

---

[244] Benjamin, Walter, and Rolf Tiedemann. *The arcades project*. Harvard University Press, 1999. (108)

the rejection of normative time were opportunities for stepping outside that conception of peace.

Nowhere was the importance of this ability to step outside of time more important than in the role that nationhood and culture played in the villages. As Leslie Paris has argued, summer camps, much like ideologies of nationalism, were institutions which negotiated individual citizens' temporal relationship between tradition and modernity.[245] Particularly in promoting a "culture free" play, the villages attempted to reorder children's conceptions of nationhood, specifically by using a form of pageantry. Instead of a traditional campfire song or pageant as in other U.S. summer camps, each national group would dress in their "national dress," perform "traditional" folk songs, and perform brief sketches designed to demonstrate their "national character."[246] For example, one camper noted at one village in 1953 that the Greek delegation, performing just after a massive earthquake in Greece, gave a speech about the history of the Olympic games, sang "traditional" Greek songs, showed a Greek movie, and after the movie "collected money for the poor people...in

---

[245] Paris, Leslie. *Children's nature: The rise of the American summer camp*. NYU Press, 2008. (163)

[246] Doris Twitchell-Allen and Rowland Shepard. "Research Report Part 1 Cincinnati's 1951 International Summer Village. Cincinnati Ohio June 1952 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. Box 1 Folder 38

the U.N. flag" who had suffered from the earthquake in Greece.[247] At another

village, according to Twitchell-Allen:

> ...when ten CISV delegations arrived at the railroad station on the same train and walked into a public plaza to be greeted by the City Mayor, we had alumni of the host country walk beside each Delegation and carry large placards, each placard a different color, and each bearing the name of the country of the respective Delegation.[248]

Children often described as their favorite part of the camps not only the listening to

such songs, but the exchange and learning of such songs.[249]

These types of performative, expressive intimacy -- singing songs, engaging

in dance, performing in national costume -- became ways to produce new

cosmopolitan types of belonging that nevertheless were under the control of adult

leaders. Twitchell-Allen emphasized that the schedule was created "not to teach the

children the 'American Way.'"[250] These "nationality nights" and other forms of

performance, however, tapped into a distinctive tradition of ethnic pageants in the

United States which were rooted in the acculturative ideologies of ethnic pluralism -

in the words of Louis Adamic, the United States as the "nation of nations." David

Glassberg has shown that civic pageants played a crucial role in the civic life of the

---

[247] "Friendship Without Frontiers" Village Newsletter University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. Box 2 Folder 25

[248] Doris Twitchell Allen "Scientific Learning Gained During the Years of CISV Experience." ND p 3 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA96-17 Box 3 Folder 26

[249] "Friendship Without Frontiers" Village Newsletter University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. Box 2 Folder 25

[250] *Ibid.*

United States during the first half of the twentieth century.[251] As noted in Chapter Two, similar activities became popular in educational settings during the 1920s as ways of encouraging appreciation for cultural differences.[252]

These pageants reflected the belief in what Lizabeth Cohen has called a "culture of unity."[253] In the case of C.I.S.V., Twitchell-Allen defended the use of nationality nights as a central feature of the camps' emphasis on "educat[ing] for unity <u>in the face of differences.</u>"[254] Yet the purpose, she went on to explain, was to stress the "dominant emphasis on sameness" - that the "needs and likes of eleven year olds" across racial and national differences were "the same," and that age was "more basic than nationality." According to Twitchell-Allen, the purpose of the nationality nights was that a child "appreciates the inconsequentiality of those differences."[255] The effect of the nationality nights, in other words, was to stress that Twitchell-Allen's perception of children - their age - was more fundamental than national or cultural differences.

---

[251] Glassberg, David. *American historical pageantry: The uses of tradition in the early twentieth century*. UNC Press Books, 1990.

[252] Shambaugh, Mary Effie, and Anna Pearl Allison. *Folk festivals for schools and playgrounds: folk dances and melodies*. AS Barnes & company, incorporated, 1932.

[253] Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a new deal: Industrial workers in Chicago, 1919-1939.* Cambridge University Press, 1991.

[254] Doris Twitchell Allen "Scientific Learning Gained During the Years of CISV Experience." ND p 3 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA96-17 Box 3 Folder 26

[255] Doris Twitchell Allen "Scientific Learning Gained During the Years of CISV Experience." ND p 4 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA96-17 Box 3 Folder 26 (August 12 209)

One college student, Virgie Hortenstine, who served as a counsellor at one of the camps described the singing of songs as having an imaginative, transportative power in which she "developed an international loyalty."[256] Other aspects of the camp similarly attempted to reorganize national identification. A number of counselors agreed with Homer Edington that sporting events seemed to be the place in which "nationalities were completely forgotten."[257] Commenting on a soccer game organized between one camp's villagers and a local American team, counselor Sue Schroder said that it was "amazing how quickly language barriers are broken down when playing and having fun...all nations playing together for one cause."[258] Likewise, pageants pointed to the constructed, performative nature of nationalism and nationhood. But they also reduced nationhood to its most superficial symbols, deprived nationalist movements of their potent political content particularly in the postcolonial world, and imagined nationhood in terms of a wearable tradition. If the villages like other summer camps attempted to negotiate children's relationship between past and present, tradition and modernity, C.I.S.V. invoked heritage precisely to dissolve it.

---

[256] Virgie Hortenstine University of Cincinnati Special Collections Doris Twitchell Allen Papers UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 15

[257] Counselor's Report" University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 9

[258] Counselor's Report" University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 1, Folder 9

The reality was far more complex than the narratives proffered by adults which imagined children as pure images of "culture-free" utopia. The children successfully resisted the pressures from adults to embrace this "nation of nations" ideology and the surveillance of play that accompanied it, opting for more contingent types of community. They used their own language rather than English to speak with one another, preventing the English-language researchers from understanding their talking to one another. Some of the researcher observers noted that the children during their time at the camp created "secret child languages"[259] which they may have used to prevent surveillance of their conversations. Many may have even dissembled compliance and happiness as a mode of resistance. Others openly rejected the regime of surveillance in the villages. In interviews and psychological tests, many children refused to answer or provide complete answers. "We don't want to be asked questions any more!" once child told an interviewer. Another said: "Why do we have to draw our families...always looking whether there is something wrong with our brains."[260] By the late 1950s, the organization had increasingly abandoned the psychological testing and research, largely because of children's resistance to it.

This imaginative expression which rejected therapeutic governance allowed many children to show great power to think far beyond the adults' apolitical

---

[259] Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Notes from Olive Branch Village. Nd 1955 University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 17
[260] Doris Twitchell-Allen Untitled Notes from Austrian Village. University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 3, Folder 48

prescriptions for reducing prejudice. In an essay written during a camp called "In Our Hands the Future Lies," one girl expressed nascent prison abolitionist sentiments:

> In our new world there must be neither race discrimination nor prisons. Minors will not have to work. Obviously, a man and a woman who perform the same work shall have equal pay...When the day comes when we take part in the running of the world, we shall have friends all over the world and we shall know their problems. Certainly we will then do a lot to help them and we will teach our own children to make friends all over the world. So, maybe in 100 years or so there will be no more wars.[261]

Another child proposed, in the 1950s, a volunteer project extremely similar to a number of international youth volunteer corps proposals which eventually became the Peace Corps.[262] Another yet proposed that the United Nations should create a global youth parliament which would discuss and propose solutions to world problems to the U.N.'s main body.[263]

Play and the Empire Imaginary

CISV does not merely show that peace can represent a type of therapeutic governance. Writing children as active agents of peacemaking fundamentally expands the way that we look at such histories. Since the history of peace has

---

[261] Ulla Britt. "In Our Hands the Future Lies." University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 4

[262] University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 4

[263] University of Cincinnati, Doris Twitchell-Allen Papers. UA84-22 Box 4, Folder 4

revolved around active struggles to *create* peace in the public sphere, rarely have historians addressed how what it has meant to *live* peace. Twitchell-Allen's centering of peace on the making of *play* points to the centrality of play, as much as work and labor, to the making of such meanings. Most literally this took the form of Olympic competitions, ping pong diplomacy, in the globalization of cricket, soccer, and baseball, and in the globalization of toys and leisure activities. It also took the form of performances, both used in cultural diplomacy and broadcast around the world for mass audiences. As one of the best known theorists of play - Johan Huizinga- has shown, many of the conventions of diplomacy and international relations, and attempts to regulate war, reflect themselves a type of play.[264] Even one of the central intellectual bases of Cold War diplomatic policies was called *game theory*.[265] From this vantage point, children's participation in the camps, and the modes of play themselves, do not seem altogether separate from the political maneuvers of high level bureaucrats at the United Nations.

The decision on the part of the national security apparatus to surveil the camps was motivated by complex factors - a desire to build relationships with future informants, to create a cover for other projects that were less savory, to learn more

---

[264] Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Cult*. Beacon Press, 1955.
[265] Belletto suggests that game theory became an important cultural trope during the Cold War beyond its intellectual bases. Belletto, Steven. *No Accident, Comrade: Chance and Design in Cold War American Narratives*. Oxford University Press, 2014.

about children's use of nonverbal communication. But it's also possible that an unstated reason for the interest was that children's play reflected a national security concern. Play has been notoriously difficult to define.[266] It does seem, however that the characteristics frequently attributed to play lend themselves to obscuring the structural investments of liberal citizenship. For Huizinga, play is:

> ...a free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious,' but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner.[267]

If we define it in this way, unstructured play represented the ideal vehicle for obscuring the structural investments of Cold War liberal citizenship. Children's play could be presented as both completely spontaneous and yet completely ordered. It could be presented as both ideologically innocent and ideologically liberal, as both the most individualistic and cooperative. The fact that play for social scientists could represent both the most natural, disinterested activity and the most inherently interesting activity could universalize conceptions of children's best interests.

By placing creative play at the center of visions of teaching good citizenship, Twitchell-Allen participated in the empire imaginary. C.I.S.V. became a means of proscribing the route to peace through U.S.-centered modernization narratives, in

---

[266] For the most comprehensive account of varying definitions see: Sutton-Smith, Brian. *The ambiguity of play*. Harvard University Press, 2009.

[267] Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Cult*. Beacon Press, 1955. (13)

which the development of childhood through creative play became an analogy to the development of good liberal citizenship. Eventually, Twitchell-Allen's commitment to peace led her to far more radical stances during the 1960s. She pushed for an integrated summer camp held in the Mississippi Delta in 1964, and began to speak out against the Vietnam War. For reasons that remain unclear to me, Twitchell-Allen was pushed out as leader of the organization at around the same time.

Despite featuring a racially integrated group of students, I found little evidence that, during the era in which the first steps toward school desegregation in the United States, C.I.S.V. took many affirmative steps toward actively advocating a policy of desegregated schools as a matter of policy in the United States. In this way, C.I.S.V. helped demonstrate (and justify) the core contradictions of U.S. empire during the Cold War. On the one hand, it presented an image of the United States as an equal participant in a world community and a force for justice, equality, and understanding. On the other hand, it did little to change the profound racial inequities inside the United States, or even to draw attention to such inequities. The ugly and ongoing legacy of school segregation in the United States was as such facilitated by the empire imaginary, insofar as this imaginary created the image of a peaceful and just U.S. role in the world while obscuring the nation's central injustices.

CHAPTER FOUR

"People in a Timeless Sense":

Race, Family, and Classroom Geography Films

Filmmaker Julien Bryan's 1946 documentary short, "Children of Russia," begins on a shot of an open book with Cyrillic script. "What language do you think this is?" Bryan asks, his voice sunny and inviting. "These are Russian letters," he explains, "Here they spell 'Tom Sawyer.'" Just as the the page of the book turns, the camera reveals the bow of a small wooden ship labeled "Missouri River." While he was traveling through the Ukraine, Bryan explains, he "saw a strange sight." In the film, we see a group of children raising an American flag. As shots move closer to friendly-looking, smiling children, Bryan's voice-over explains:

> What looked like a Missouri River steamer flying the American flag. And village
> children were staring at Tom Sawyer and Becky Thatcher. And Sidney. And Huck Finn.
> Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* was being made into a movie for Soviet youngsters by
> Ukrainian school children during their summer vacation.[268]

---

[268] Julien Bryan. "Children of Russian." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

Describing from the vantage of what he "saw," Bryan's film continues to show (with a tone of mild bemusement at the familiarity of a place expected to be unfamiliar) scenes of Soviet children playing, going to school -- "to me like school anywhere" -- and of them visiting museums and art galleries "as do children in America," a playground with ice cream and a jungle gym that makes him "feel right at home." The film shows a summer camp with picnics he compares to California, in which Bryan, observing children eating lunch, exclaims "they make Dagwood sandwiches in Russia, too!" In one scene, we see a military parade, with giant pictures of Stalin, Lenin, and Molotov lifted in the air. In its filmic contemporaries, like the *March of Time,* this scene would have been accompanied by foreboding music. Here, however, it becomes a picture of fun and celebration, with a cheerful band, clapping children, shouting women, and men wrestling their way through the crowd toward the parade.[269]

Bryan had been showing these clips for nearly fifteen years by the release of "Children of Russia." He had shown the clips throughout the 1930s to accompany a travel lecture he gave to foreign policy associations, schools, community clubs and general audiences at Carnegie Hall and elsewhere. Everywhere Bryan showed his films, audiences applauded the objectivity and innocence of Bryan's cinematic gaze. In 1933, the *Christian Science Monitor* commented:

---

[269] *Ibid*.

> Mr. Bryan talks like neither a tourist or a travel lecturer, but as a man impelled by interest in his subject to record and share it with others. There was neither prejudice nor propaganda, no talk of the great experiment, no flat facades of imposing edifices, no exploitation of people as types. But human people swarmed the film, moved in and out of the famous buildings which they have made their own, and lived before us with almost breath-taking realism.[270]

For the *Monitor* and other observers, the effect--or the cause--of this "breath-taking realism" was Bryan's appreciation of the 'humanness' of the Soviet people. A 1934 *Wall Street Journal* review of Bryan's lecture using the same set of silent film noted that the films "give us the idea that the five year plans are not all steel and power, and there is perhaps something which may be called culture taking form"--the Soviets, it noted, "after all, are people."[271] In its released form twelve years later, the movie contained a prologue stressing that it "does not emphasize war or a political philosophy," going on to claim that "it is the people who get the emphasis...people in a timeless sense--people living, playing, working for life itself."[272]

In this chapter, I take a deep dive into Bryan's classroom geography films, arguing that educational filmmakers of the international understanding movement attempted to reconstruct the act of filmic viewing as politically innocent. For Bryan's contemporaries, what gave the classroom geography film its realism and timelessness was the spectatorial presence that it invoked, imagining white children

---

[270] M.L.. The Christian Science Monitor [Boston, Mass] 15 Dec 1933: 2

[271] The THEATRE: The Russians Are People Wall Street Journal May 14, 1934; 3

[272] Julien Bryan. "Children of Russian." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

watching nonwhite or nonwestern children engaging in Americanized domestic life and leisure culture: the Soviets possessed a "humanness" because they possessed an 'everydayness' apart from the state, and appeared to participate in US models of ideal, happy childhood. While Bryan, like the classroom geography film in general, has generally been ignored in the history of documentary filmmaking, I argue that his influence resonated far beyond his immediate oeuvre. Classroom geography films reflected a shift in the spatial configurations of Americans viewing colonial subjects in the United States. Prior to the heyday of classroom geography films, the chapter argues, colonialist viewing practices in the United States primarily occurred in cinema space; however, films like Bryan's shifted the viewing practice to school space. As the viewing of colonial subjects shifted from the public (but nonstate) space of the cinema to the semi-private (but statist) space of the school room, the content of filmic geography shifted from the spectacularization of racial and sexual difference to the total exclusion of sexual difference in representing racialized, colonial subjects. Since the intersection of the queer and the racialized became increasingly unrepresentable in both public and private life, I argue, the queer of color became the locus of constructing the US imperial intervention as an innocent non-intervention in filmic discourse. Indeed, so unrepresentable was the colonized subject of color engaging in nonnormative family life that one of the earliest

moments of the late twentieth century right-wing revolution emerged around the classroom geography film's representation of the queer of color.

The example of classroom geography films helps to rewrite the history of documentary filmmaking. Bryan's films, this chapter argues, offer a clear counterexample to the conventional narrative of documentary filmmaking, typically understood as a shift from early documentary films concerned with the power of the state, to later documentary films concerned with the experience of everyday life. In this narrative, the early documentary project has been viewed as being constituted in relation to the state, in a back-and-forth between the films that projected the power of the state onto nationhood and those that disrupted that power through *avant-garde* techniques. According to Bill Nichols, this early period of documentary gave way during the late 1960s to forms of filmmaking that shifted from the state to "everyday life": the observational movies of the Maysles brothers and French *cinema verite* for example.[273]

In Bryan's films, however, far before the Maysles brothers and even in the employ of the state within schools and other government agencies, classroom geography films distinctly ignored the state to focus on the commonalities of everyday life in other nations. Bryan's films did not, moreover, participate in the same genealogy typically attributed to documentary film, since it generally lacked

---

[273] Nichols, Bill. "Documentary film and the modernist avant-garde." *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 4 (2001): 580-610.

traces of either modernist fragmentation as Nichols has claimed others do. In fact, Bryan's films achieved the opposite effect of what is typically attributed to the documentary film. According to Nichols, documentary during Bryan's lifetime imagined a viewer achieving fulfillment through the elimination of a flaw in the nation.[274] But the persuasive element in Bryan's films, this chapter argues, instead reassures the viewer that anticipated flaws do not exist outside the nation and citizenship can be achieved merely by viewing. In other words, whereas the conventional narrative about documentary filmmaking would suggest that the spectator and subject are implicated in a political relationship, Bryan's documentaries imagined this relationship as a politically innocent one.

To understand the ways that classroom geography films constructed such "innocence" beginning in the 1930s and 1940s, this chapter argues that we must understand the position of race, sexuality, and colonialism in the broader history of documentary filmmaking. Prior to the 1940s, Euro-US documentary and travelogue films racialized by signifying the sexual difference of colonial subjects. Indeed, at the time that Bryan began developing the template for classroom geography films, these films represented colonized and Soviet bloc peoples as sexually nonnormative in ways that justified colonial occupations. During the 1930s, these exotic exploitation travelogues had become the norm in documentary representations of the

---

[274] *Ibid*

global South. Beginning in the Soviet Union and the Western Hemisphere and expanding to the Pacific, Southern Europe and parts of West Africa, Bryan's classroom geography films reacted to these exploitation films. Whereas exploitation films could not imagine a global South in which sexually "normative," heterosexual families existed, the classroom geography films could not imagine one outside the norms of the U.S. middle class.

By minimizing cultural difference and constructing the global South in the image of the US family, Bryan universalized US ideologies of childhood and family life and imagined childhood itself as a nonpolitical social formation. Whereas exploitation films reflected an imperial gaze that brazenly looked at colonial bodies as threatening or as objects for exploitation, Bryan's films reimagined the United States' global presence as innocent, passive, objective, and reciprocal. Indeed, after the Second World War classroom geography films constructed the imaginative power of the cinematic gaze not only as innocent, but as the central task of teaching "international understanding." Classroom geography films such as Bryan's, as such, played a key role in the broader history of US cinema: not only did they make family ideologies a condition for a people's self-governance, but they played a key role in constructing the terms under which cinematic looking was considered non-exploitative.

Thousands of classroom geography films were made in the United States between the 1930s and 1960s, but focusing on the work of Julien Bryan and the organization that he founded for the purpose of promoting "international understanding" through movies, the International Film Foundation, allows us to see the bigger picture with clarity and depth. Bryan filmed in dozens of countries in his lifetime, from the Soviet Union to Uruguay to China to Egypt to Mali. Although the output of his organization, the International Film Foundation, paled in comparison with those of other filmmakers like Encyclopedia Britannica, Coronet, and United World Films, Julien Bryan was among the best known names--and most familiar voices--in educational filmmaking. A 1965 article about integration films noted that Bryan was a "leader" in a "spate of films on the general theme of brotherhood."[275] One 1971 article remarked that during the Second World War, he was "the most beloved figure" in the educational film industry, and that his organization had "always been both an amalgamation of established talents in the field and a proving ground for young artists on their way up."[276] And what Bryan may have lacked in output he made up for in influence and achievement: he was one of few educational filmmakers of his time to have received an Academy Award nomination, and an article by Hanna Hyatt notes that he made an important contribution "as it has moved

---

[275] Sloan, William J. "The Documentary Film and the Negro: The Evolution of the Integration Film." *The Journal of the Society of Cinematologists* (1964): 66-69.
[276] Hyatt, Hanna, "Julien Bryan, Internationalist". Film Library Quarterly, Winter, 1970 - 1971.

from the stereotype of the classroom teaching film to the artistic production that lends itself to straightforward enjoyment for the individual viewer, or to use as an effective tool for the creative teacher, community group, or library programmer."[277]

Because he chose to eschew the mass production of his competitors in favor of limited production of high quality works, Bryan became among the most influential educational filmmakers. He created a model for an aesthetic and pedagogically engaging classroom geography film that departed from those produced by larger, more commercial filmmakers. Companies like Encyclopedia Britannica, United World Films, and Coronet (famous for social guidance movies like "Are You Popular?") often used bland lecture voice-over and stock footage of landscapes, cityscapes, and industrial processes to map the economics, politics, and physical geography of a country or city. Bryan's films instead focused on people and culture, but almost exclusively through the eyes of children and the private existence of normative nuclear families in different countries. That he achieved an unparalleled perception of innocence in the representation of the colonized world through this structure of films measures his broader influence on documentary filmmaking: its aspirations and ambitions.

Because Bryan crossed paths with both a legacy of "artistic" documentary film and the more commercialized world of educational moviemaking, this chapter

---

[277] *Ibid* 35

examines "documentary" and the "realist" conventions which some scholars have attributed to the genre less as distinct artistic tradition, and more as a set of strategies for securing different types of innocent cinematic looking. By understanding "realism" and "documentary" as methods for obscuring the filmmaker and spectator's implication in practices of imperialism, or the politics of race and sexuality, both terms begin to expand the significance of cinemas outside the "Western art tradition" -- "minor" cinemas like classroom films -- and also implicate documentary film in crucial issues like colonialism and sexuality.

To view documentary as a set of strategies for representing what "life" and "real life" consist of is to build on a scholarly tradition which views seeking the "truth" of "life" as the essence of documentary. Questions about how to see the "truth" of "life" have always been important to documentary filmmaking. The Soviet documentarian Dziga Vertov famously formulated the role of documentary to be to capture life between "life as it is" and "life caught unawares."[278] As Russell Campbell has suggested, documentary filmmakers in the United States drew on longer literary and artistic traditions of "naturalism" and "social realism" which strove to represent in as great possible detail the actuality of life. In the view of such

---

[278] Campbell, Russell. *Cinema Strikes Back: Radical Filmmaking in the United States, 1930-1942*. UMI Research Press, US, 1982.

scholars, the "realism" which documentary sought to create was produced, constructed, not simply received.[279]

Among his contemporaries, Bryan was understood for a long time as true to his word: representing "life" as it actually happens, but precisely in having such a reputation Bryan is the perfect example of just how historical was documentary "realism." What appeared in Bryan's time as life unfolding as it actually does now appear stilted. Scenes are clearly reenacted. Children are clearly scripted. The voice-over skews our vision of documentary action. Indeed, what made Bryan distinctive among classroom geography documentarians was the care and meticulousness that he applied to his work: rather than taking a few spontaneous shots of a place, Bryan took thousands of shots that he then carefully edited. Rather than selecting scenes randomly, Bryan cultivated relationships with the families he photographed. Rather than shooting first and planning later, Bryan developed very carefully designed treatments of movies before shooting his films.[280] The expressions of a desire to capture "actual life" that historians have often assumed are a given can also serve to *transform* perceptions of what "actual life" represents. How, this chapter, ask, did Bryan's claims to the "realism" of life, his attempts to define the "timelessness" of

---

[279] *Ibid*

[280] Bryan describes his filmmaking process Julien Bryan "Friendship is a Passport". *This I Believe*, edited by Edward R. Murrow, Simon Schuster, 1952. Also see "The 1958 Kenneth Edwards Memorial Address". University Film Producers Association Journal, vol. II, pages 4 - 7, Fall, 1958.

human nature captured in film, in establishing a shared understanding of what makes a representation of "life" realistic or not, play into the broader picture of documentary history?

This chapter answers that question by arguing that classroom geography films retrained Americans' ways of looking at race, and their ways of unseeing colonial practices: what E. Ann Kaplan calls the "imperial gaze."[281] In a real sense, a rhetoric of anticolonialism and racial liberalism which increasingly became an ideological hallmark of US foreign policy after the Second World War had novel features compared with previous racial ideologies of empire. Yet viewed in the long term, there was nothing unprecedented about the required transformations in colonial viewing, nor in the strategies for transforming those viewing practices. Indeed, even as many historians have rightly pointed to the "end" of scientific racism (or rather its diminishment) during and after the Second World War, in its mobilization of science and sentimentalism to naturalize colonization as a reciprocal, innocent, and passive social relation, the International Film Foundation's documentary aesthetic roughly resembled what Mary Louise Pratt calls the "anti-conquest" travel narratives of late eighteenth and early nineteen European naturalists and explorers. During this earlier period, according to Pratt, European contact narratives changed from predominantly concentrating on stories of aggressive, active conquest to focusing on

---

[281] Kaplan, E. Ann. *Looking for the other: Feminism, film, and the imperial gaze*. Psychology Press, 1997.

the taxonomic categorization of "undiscovered" wildlife and on passive, reciprocal observation of cultural life of "natives" of South America and Africa. These narratives of "anti-conquest," Pratt argues, served to justify colonial presence by naturalizing European modes of looking and the rendering of the looker as sentimental, innocent, passive and reciprocal.[282]

If "anti-conquest" for Pratt refers to "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment they assert European hegemony,"[283] classroom geography films such as those made by Bryan can be understood as the Cold War "anti-conquest" narrative *par excellence*. They married the scientific with the sentimental, catered to a spectator (young white children) represented as innocent and passive whose only desire was to understand, and trained a form of looking that de-exoticized and de-spectacularized through the form of the family. At a moment when previous racist representational strategies had been rendered guilty, classroom geography films provided narratives of "anti-conquest" and retrained ways of looking that asserted US power while protecting the status of the act of looking as an innocent act. Understanding classroom geography films as "anti-conquest" narratives designed to secure the racial innocence of the looker helps to explain a broader change in documentary film, what I call the "de-

[282] Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation.* Routledge, 2007.
[283] *Ibid* 7

spectacularization of ethnographic film," in which the genre of ethnographic film and travelogues of the 1930s fell from popularity in favor of more "authentic" narratives about the decolonizing world during the 1940s and 1950s. While many scholars have observed this change, few have effectively explained why it happened. I argue that classroom geography films, while usually neglected from the broader history of documentary, can help explain this change.

Race, Sexuality, and Documentary Innocence

Bryan's innocent eye as a filmmaker was bolstered by the fact that he came to photography not as an artist or professional photographer but as an amateur. Born in 1899 to a middle class, white Presbyterian family in Titusville, Pennsylvania, Bryan's first serious work as a photographer was published in his autobiographical account of service in the American Ambulance Field Service between January and July 1917, *Ambulance 464*, a book that consciously strove to represent the humdrum realities of the First World War objectively and without political commentary.[284]

This innocent eye became a hallmark of Bryan's early work in educational media during the 1930s, which tended to be presented in what was then a dying form: the travel lecture. After the First World War, Bryan graduated from Union Theological Seminary at Princeton, became director of the Brooklyn YMCA, and

---

[284] Bryan, Julien. *Ambulance 464*. Macmillan, 1918.

with the well-known Soviet authority Maurice Hindus, Bryan began traveling to the

Soviet Union in 1932 to take film footage.[285] As early as 1933, Bryan began touring

in the United States with the famed travelogue lecturer Burton Holmes to

considerable acclaim; one of these lectures played in Chicago for two months. While

the transcript of these lectures have been lost, the footage that he used for the

lectures later became used in several of his short films made during the 1940s

(including "Children of Russia").[286]

Bryan received praise for these lectures for representing images of Soviet

family life. While one observer noted that in the showing of one lecture, the "loudest

enthusiasm was raised when the speaker showed a Russian church being torn

down,"[287] the *Christian Science Monitor* noted that he shone "vivid enlightenment

on an awakened country."[288] A 1934 article in the *Wall Street Journal* claimed that

Bryan demonstrated "that the Comrades in the Soviet Union, after all, are people":

> Mr. Bryan's films give us the idea that the five year plans are not all steel and
> power, and there is perhaps something which may be called culture slowly
> taking form...Mr. Bryan's camera has directed its fluttering eye upon the
> more happy aspects of the Soviet regime. He shows us the views of the baby
> clinics, whose youngsters compare well in cuteness with the American
> product, and the pleasant outdoor activities of the Young Pioneers, who do
> not seem to mind bathing (without suits) and receiving their quota of

---

[285] *Ibid*
[286] Chicago Daily Tribune Mar 5, 1933
[287] Carr, Harry. *Los Angeles Times* 03 Feb 1934: A1.
[288] M.L. *The Christian Science Monitor* 08 Dec 1934: 4

sunshine along with the first principles of Communism any more than our boy scouts objects [sic] to absorbing our own brand of patriotism.[289]

Bryan's work during the 1930s focused on this type of retail, face-to-face conversations about the Soviet Union that more closely resembled community organizing than filmmaking: for example, he used films to promote the peace movement's hailed Ludlow Amendment,[290] presented at the national conference of the Progressive Education Association,[291] and apparently led tours of the Soviet Union.

At a moment when the travelogue and travel lecture declined in popularity, Bryan's decision to focus on building a career in the travel lecture circuit might appear puzzling. As Jennifer Lynn Peterson points out, while travelogue films (or "scenics") had been popular at the turn of the century as a happy medium between instructional and entertaining films, by the 1930s film travelogues had increasingly become criticized for the reputation they had developed as didactic and kitschy, the essence of bourgeois "masscult."[292] James FitzPatrick's *TravelTalks*, ubiquitous in Depression Era cinema, became relentlessly lampooned and parodied for their staid, formulaic brand of travelogue movie. Burton Holmes, once a wildly popular figure

[289] "The Theatre: The Russians Are People." *Wall Street Journal*; May 14, 1934; 3
[290] "Ludlow War Referendum Opposed in Springfield." *The Christian Science Monitor*; Jan 10, 1938; 10
[291] Eunice Barnard. "In the Classroom and On the Campus." *New York Times*; Nov 8, 1936, N6
[292] Peterson, Jennifer Lynn. *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film*. Duke University Press, 2013.

known for his lectures accompanied by self-made travel films, entered the twilight of his career. The omniscient narrator, according to Peterson, in documentaries about foreign lands became a symbol of authoritarian control over meaning. Given the opportunity for reaching wider audiences by selling his films to schools or by using his footage in theatrical documentaries, the travel lecture circuit appears an obsolete method for presenting his work. But the choice to use the lecture circuit makes more sense when viewed in the context of Bryan's likely desire to exercise control over his work. Given the broader shape of travelogue filmmaking up through the 1930s Bryan's decision to use the travelogue circuit to promote what Peterson described as Holmes' ideology of "a liberal-humanist tolerance of difference" by "making all mankind acquainted"[293] makes more sense, since such films tended toward an exploitative treatment of its subject matter in ways that made such messages impossible.

To understand how such films became exploitative, it's useful to understand the longer historical context for documentary. Historians such as Peterson, Allison Griffith, and Fatimah Rony[294] have shown that documentary filmmaking began in the last decade of the nineteenth century as a form of *ethnographic* filmmaking that

---

[293] *Ibid* 53

[294] Griffiths, Alison. *Wondrous difference: Cinema, anthropology, and turn-of-the-century visual culture*. Columbia University Press, 2013; Peterson, Jennifer Lynn. *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film*. Duke University Press, 2013; Rony, Fatimah. *The third eye: Race, cinema, and ethnographic spectacle*. Duke University Press, 1996.

attempted to document the scientific objectivity of race. Felix-Louis Regnault, often cited as the first ethnographic filmmaker, set out in 1895 to document a scientific basis for racial difference by tracking the movement of Wolof women at the World's Fair in Paris. Widely considered the first "documentaries," Fatimah Rony has shown that Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* and *Moana*, while ostensibly attempting to reflect the 'humanity' of its Inuit and Tahitian subjects, in fact staged a Western reconstruction of "authentic" "savagery" in a broader tradition of "salvage anthropology."[295] The more contemporary development of modern documentary in British filmmaker John Grierson's work in the late 1920s likewise developed both from an attempt to shift away from Flaherty's exoticized representations toward more "socially realistic" subjects, but generally examined subjects from a class-based perspective and always made films that addressed the lives of people in the United Kingdom or the United States. In the United States, as such, less exoticized subjects became the subject of "documentaries"--for example the Communist-influenced work of the Worker's Film and Photo League or its successors, Nykino and Frontier Films.[296] The travelogue film during the 1930s, however, "goes into decline" according to the film critic Andre Brezon, as it "shamelessly" exploited the

---

[295] Rony *Ibid*

[296] Alexander, William. *Film on the Left.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

spectacular aspects of cultural difference.[297] Brezon goes on to argue that a return after World War II to "documentary authenticity" in which it is necessary to make documentaries that are "believable" for the public. No longer after the 1930s were human beings framed as "exotic animals." Brezon cryptically attributes this interest in 'authenticity' to a growing interest in 'exploration'; he claims that the authentic cinema of exploration was centrally about "understanding."[298]

Jeannette Eileen Jones and Anna Everett have shown that "jungle films" which came to vogue during the 1930s played into the popular "Darkest Africa" conception of the global South.[299] They were either adventures "featuring a white hero searching for lost treasures, civilizations, and tribes in Darkest Africa" or melodramas "which evoked the jungle as a place whose darkness illuminated the qualities of the white hero."[300] These jungle films invariable represented the indigenous inhabitants as primitive, naked, and often cannibalistic, but they usually made extensive use of documentary footage taken from European colonial expeditions, helping to blur the distinction between fact and fiction in the movies. While in movies like *When Africa Speaks* (1930) often used a narrator and the

---

[297] Bazin, André. *What is cinema?*. Vol. 2. Univ of California Press, 2004.
[298] *Ibid*
[299] Jones, Jeannette Eileen. *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884-1936*. University of Georgia Press, 2011; Everett, Anna. *Returning the gaze: A genealogy of black film criticism, 1909-1949*. Duke University Press, 2001.
[300] Jones 182

premise of an anthropological expedition to lend documentary legitimacy to the films, in fact they usually strove to exploit and sensationalize racist discourses, trading for their appeal on the taboos of interracial sexuality, white slave myths, female nudity, and violence perpetuated by black or brown folks on white folks. Jones and Everett have shown that while criticism of such films within the United States, especially from black folks, was strong and common, these films held strong popular appeal. Indeed, Fatimah Rony has shown that one of the most popular movies of the decade, *King Kong* (1933),[301] mobilized the conventions of the exploitation genre for an era after the emergence of the Code.

During the 1930s little space existed in the US theatrical market for the kinds of films that depicted normative family life outside the United States and Europe. While Bryan later capitalized on the voice-over narrative structure that stitched together reenactments and found footage popularized during the mid-1930s by *March of Time* and *This is America*, and he did sell some of his footage to these programs, the films that he created himself were generally made with far looser editing and longer shots than the rapid-fire pace for which *March* was known, his films were centered around home and family life, and unlike *March*, lacked a driving editorial position. While the content of his films resembled that of Robert Flaherty's

---

[301] Rony *Ibid*

ethnographies like *Nanook of the North,* his films approached the subjects in more didactic fashion and spurned Flaherty's striving for exoticism.

The Good Neighbor Family

During the early 1940s, these kinds of exploitation travelogue narratives became displaced by new narratives which more closely resembled Bryan's ideologies of tolerance. Jeannette Eileen Jones has shown the ways that US pan-Africanists and US naturalists helped to end the kinds of exploitation narratives centered around tropical Africa,[302] and Christina Klein has shown the rise of a "middlebrow" film offering more favorable representations of China and Southeast Asia.[303] Perhaps no transformation was as stark, however, than that which occurred in representations of "Latin American" countries, in part because of direct government investment during the Second World War.

Bryan's travelogue narrative of tolerance found an institutional home during the Second World War in the Office of Inter-American Affairs' educational filmmaking unit. During the war, the Roosevelt administration commissioned Nelson Rockefeller's OIAA to promote the friendly relationships between the United States

---

[302] Jones, Jeannette Eileen. *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884-1936*. University of Georgia Press, 2011.
[303] Klein, Christina. *Cold war Orientalism: Asia in the middlebrow imagination, 1945-1961*. University of California Press, 2003.

and other nations of the Western hemisphere. The cultural extension of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, the OIAA attempted to limit Axis influence in Central and South America while striving to transform the discursive representation of "Latin America" in US cultural forms. While better known for producing fictional motion pictures like Walt Disney's *Saludos Amigos* and *The Three Caballeros*, the OIAA also produced and helped promote about three dozen short educational films. [304]

In directing about a dozen of these, Bryan created a film style that would become the template for his later productions under the International Film Foundation. His films did not merely construct "Latin America" as a modernized geographic space or fight common stereotypes about Latinos. They reconstructed Latin America in the image of normative U.S. family life. Bryan's movies stressed not only the similarities between the United States and nations to the South and not only enjoined the viewer to understand the differences, they constructed the cultural comprehensibility of "Latin America" in terms of private, normative family life and attempted to generate a familial intimacy between its viewer and subject. Made during the height of government sponsored documentary filmmaking in the United States, Bryan's OIAA films were significant because they synthesized aspects of the

---

[304] Cramer, Gisela, and Ursula Prutsch. "Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Quest for Pan-American Unity: An Introductory Essay." Cramer and Prutch, eds.,¡ *Américas Unidas: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs.(1940-46)* 2012

"social realist," "ethnographic" and "human relations" strains of documentary filmmaking into a single, universal grammar for classroom geography films. That grammar was the "Good Neighbor Family," the universalization of US middle class family norms, and one which successfully represented the US's imperial gaze as innocent and free from political implications.

Scholars have written about the Office of Inter-American Affairs, but mainly from the perspective of the OIAA as cultural diplomacy rather than the office's position in the history of documentary filmmaking. The Second World War marked a watershed in the documentary filmmaking in the United States, exactly because of the expansion of government-sponsored production, largely for noncommercial purposes. Besides the OIAA's sponsorship of educational shorts and feature films, Hollywood collaborated extensively with the Office of War Information to produce educational films for the US war effort, from *Why We Fight* to military training videos to home front propaganda movies. The Second World War marked a particularly important moment in the federal government's recognition of the pedagogical power of filmmaking. Beyond these films' instrumental significance in promoting certain behaviors and ideas, however, as Robb Aitken has pointed out, scholars have generally accepted that this period of intense government-sponsored filmmaking was, like the war, fleeting and uninfluential. Generally, scholars have

assumed that postwar documentary filmmaking was wholly derivative of the work of pioneering British documentarian John Grierson at the Empire Marketing Board.[305]

Yet as Aitken has shown, US documentary filmmaking styles emerged gradually and in hybrid fashion during the Depression and the Second World War.[306] Whereas Grierson's "progressive" filmmaking attempted to expose the social causes of British people's conditions, "human relations" documentaries privately sponsored by institutions like the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States more often emphasized individual behavioral change and "a particular kind of psychological interior; a self not oriented to the social world but to the internal spaces of psychological and personality development."[307] Aitken points out that such "human relations" documentaries often had highly progressive goals. Alice Keliher, the progressive educator who spearheaded the Commission on Human Relations, believed that human relations movies could help to create "world peace." But this progressive emphasis gradually faded in the United States in favor of documentaries that focused on governing the mentality of individuals.[308]

The imagining of the "Latin American" as having a normative family had no small significance in U.S. film culture. Not only had sexuality played an important

---

[305] Aitken, Rob. ""An Instrument for Reaching Into Experience": Progressive Film at the Rockefeller Boards, 1934–1945." *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2015)
[306] *Ibid*.
[307] *Ibid.*
[308] *Ibid*

role in the construction of "Latin Americanness" in US cinema, but that sexualization played a crucial role in the construction of US cinema spectatorship. Ernesto Chavez and Allen Woll have shown that before the 1930s and 1940s, "Latin Americans" in Hollywood were usually limited to a few stereotypes: the hyper-violent, sadistic "greaser" villain or bandit, the "Latin lover" represented by figures like Rudolph Valentino or Ramon Novarro (men who were or read as brown who were identified as inherently passionate, emotional, and sexualized),[309] or what Woll describes as "an effete asexual comedic figure, who always loses the heroine when she meets a Yankee stranger."[310] Rarely if ever were "Latin American" characters found in normative families.

At the same time, the figure of the "Latin lover" (even when played by someone of Italian descent, like Valentino) became a key issue in the creation of female spectatorship in American cinema during the 1920s. As Miriam Hansen has pointed out, the commodification of sexual desire through figures of uninhibited desire like the "Latin lover" became a crucial aspect of women's participation in cinema culture after the First World War, even as the reason for the film industry's seeking of white women's spectatorship was the sexual respectability that they

---

[309] Chávez, Ernesto. "" Ramon is not one of these": race and sexuality in the construction of silent film actor Ramon Novarro's star image." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20.3 (2011): 520-544.
[310] Woll, Allen L. *The Latin image in American film*. University of California, 1980. (23)

brought to the perception of cinema audiences.[311] Thus not only did representations of Latin Americans generally exclude the sexually normative, but Hollywood held strong investments in commodifying Latin American sexual desire.

Making Bryan's direction all the more surprising, scholars have generally argued that the "Good Neighbor" films of the 1930s and 1940s, which reflected more positive representations of Latin Americans, merely spectacularized the racialization of Latin Americans rather than insisting on normativity. Using the example of the Nelson Rockefeller-produced *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), Adrian Perez Melgosa has argued that Good Neighbor films often represented "Latin American" countries as exoticized spaces in order to replace previously dominant "abject" representations.[312] According to Melgosa, a common representation during the Roosevelt administration of Latin American countries was as contradictory and zesty but fundamentally stable, contradictions that became stitched together frequently in the form of the cabaret. He argues:

> The cabaret stage, a space where all is possible as long as it is presented as a spectacle, renders believable the film's representation of every Latin-American character simultaneously as dim-witted and talented, lazy and highly industrious, primitive and sophisticated, ignorant and cultured. This reconceptualization of Latin American identity as malleable does not release it from the confines of the stereotype, rather it reveals an awareness, permeating all of *Flying*'s narrative, that traditional models of racialization along the primitive/modern opposition would work against US ambitions to

[311] Hansen, Miriam. *Babel and Babylon*. Harvard University Press, 1994. 245-297
[312] Melgosa, Adrián Pérez. *Cinema and inter-American relations: Tracking transnational affect*. Vol. 17. Routledge, 2012.

gain greater control over the hemisphere's markets, labor and raw materials.[313]

In contrast, Bryan represented Latin American society has highly orderly, and families in Central and South America as normative and 'stable.' The films used this ideology of family to establish intimacy and familiarity between an imagined white, US viewer and the Latin American subject. Bryan's OIAA short *Good Neighbor Family* (1942) was typical in this way. Rather than assume an entitlement to the surveilling of the private life of a Latin American family, the movie begins by framing the spectator as a "visitor from the north" who was luckily "invited" into the home of a family. At the beginning of the film Bryan explains that the "study of family life among Latin Americans is an essential key to understanding their culture."[314] The first part of the film introduces the viewer to the life of an upper class family, watching as a young man introduces a girlfriend to his home through a tour of his family heirlooms. Focusing on close ups of the family engaging in everyday affairs - taking care of family business, eating breakfast, casually talking - Bryan explains that the patriarch's authority over his family "is not a rule by force

---

[313] *Ibid 20*

[314] Julien Bryan. "Good Neighbor Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1942.

but by sentiment and loyalty. You can sense it in the genuine respect shown by the children...It never occurs to the younger generation to complain of this authority."[315]

The film then follows this family in its Sunday journey to church, followed by a sequence comparing the similarities of Latin American churchgoing to churchgoing in the United States. As the film shows congenial Americans dressed in their Sunday best, Bryan claims that "we would be a weak people if our family life were weak. And we all know that it is not weak." This representation of "Latin America" as non-individualistic, traditional, family-oriented and sentimental becomes an implied thesis of the short. Bryan goes on to compare the relative freedom granted by US families to young children to enjoy themselves and mix with different sexes to what he sees as the subservience of that freedom in Latin America, for example, goes on to represent the family as the basic unit of work in Latin America (rather than the individual in the United States), and represents the divisions between whites and the poor and indigenous as more rigid. Summarizing the laboring culture of Latin America, Bryan claims that "personal pride gets mixed up with family pride," and that "self respect becomes respect for the family."[316]

Like all of his OIAA films, *Good Neighbor Family* preached a broad *understanding* of cultural difference, and generally minimized the significance of those differences: "if Latin Americans feel differently," Bryan claims at the end of

---

[315] *Ibid.*
[316] *Ibid.*

the movie, "we must try to understand them as we want them to understand our way of life."[317] Yet the movie, like so many of Bryan's films, also defined the understandability of those differences, and made such understanding the conditions for intimacy with Latin Americans. By framing the movie as an invitation into the home and claiming that family life lie at the center of Latin American culture, the movie makes private, rather than political life or class difference, the central site for producing knowledge about Latin American culture. By stressing a greater role of "authority" in "Latin American" family culture, Bryan renders Latin Americans less politically active than people in the United States and plays into stereotypes of Latin Americans as less freedom-loving than Anglo-Saxon Americans. While the construction of a middle class "Latin American" family as ruled "not by force but by sentiment" is clearly designed to mediate between representations of the "Latin lover" as sexually excessive and the "greaser" or "bandit" as violent, it also reinforces older representations of Latin American society as hierarchically and traditionally organized in ways antithetical to Anglo-Saxon individualism.

This construction, of course, ultimately matters more to how Bryan obliquely represents the United States rather than how he directly represents Latin America. In essence, while the movie preached broad tolerance, it indirectly played into the United States' discursive self-construction as exceptionally democratic owing to a

---

[317] *Ibid*

supposedly more egalitarian family structure. This self-construction prevents not only a more direct, political interrogation of the cultural geography of "Latin America," but a more serious political interrogation of the United States. Most notably, the film indirectly perpetuates the myth of less rigid class hierarchies in the United States than elsewhere.

Indeed, in many of the OIAA films it is unclear whether Bryan's narrative was not laden with some desirousness of his representation of a "Latin America" that mixed modernity with European social custom. In "Montevideo Family" (1943), Bryan praised Uruguay's capital for being "not complicated, modern but not self-conscious about it."[318] As the movie's opening shots show bustling streets, modern buildings, people sitting at sidewalk cafes and cars passing by, Bryan claims that Montevideo has a "truly Latin American character" yet it also is "a city you would feel at home in, a city you would like."[319] Bryan begins the film by explaining that as in the United States there exists a very large middle class, but he goes on to represent the middle class Garvista family as a pleasant, slightly more culturally conservative family than found in the US middle class. Showing a husband and mother drinking "monte" while the children play games in the morning, Bryan shows the daughter Raquel "learning the precepts of feminine charm" while the father puts on a suit. The

---

[318] Julien Bryan. "Montevideo Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.
[319] *Ibid*

film shows the maid getting the milk, the children drinking coffee, later in the day the "servant girl" mopping the tile floor. Praising Montevideo's Old Europe manners, Bryan also notes that women's clothes are "fashionable but conservative" and notes that the daughter, Raquel, attends a convent school, was "already" "beautiful," wore pierced ears, played piano, and learned "the precepts of feminine charm."[320]

In other places, Bryan's OIAA films seemed more palpably enamored of instances of modernization in "Latin America" than tradition, and uses the family as a way to personalize modernization by representing it as a generational and private, rather than political, transformation. "Fundo in Chile" (1943), for example, tells the story of agricultural modernization in Chile. Introducing the Tornaca family at the outset during a family funeral, Bryan announces that the head of the family, "Don Francisco," is "dead." Dividing up the will in the drawing room of a country estate, the camera shows a lawyer from behind opening a landscape map of the estate, granting "San Miguel" to Don Francisco's son Roberto and "Santa Rosa" to his son Juan. In the film, Juan takes his responsibility lightly, moves to Santiago and sits with a "pretty young friend" in a rooftop pool in a hotel. Showing the farm that Juan serves as absentee landlord on, Bryan explains that a family gardener keeps the flowers and shrubs beautiful and workers keep the crop fields maintained,

---

[320] *Ibid*

contrasting directly Juan's easy lifestyle in the city with the hard work of Chilean agriculture absent technology. In San Miguel, however, the movie shows Roberto looking out over 15,000 acres who "represents an entirely new element in Chilean agriculture."[321] Trained at agricultural colleges in the United States, Roberto wants to implement modern agricultural techniques to his foreman. Roberto, the movie shows, replaces horses with mechanized threshing machines, doubling the farm's wheat output. Soon, Roberto implements an irrigation system on the farm and hires veterinarians to improve his livestock herds. While the movie works hard to demonstrate Roberto's investment in technology and modernization, it also shows the ways that modernization allows Roberto to become more compassionate and emotionally close to his workers. He shows how on Roberto's far "hot soup" is prepared for workers and given to them in the field, provides farm workers with modern housing for families and schooling and daycare for children.[322]

Bryan's film "Housing in Chile" (1943) likewise represents a family's transition to a single-family home as the starting point of both a happier and freer life. While beginning with shots of Santiago's modern architecture and bustling traffic, Bryan claims that "until recently many people have lived in slums without

---

[321] Julien Bryan. "Fundo in Chile." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.
[322] *Ibid.*

hope of change,"[323] shifting to shots of women carrying buckets of water on a darkened corner of an impoverished district of Santiago. Beginning again with a family, the narrator explains that this Chilean family living in a tenement has little money, the wife asks whether "we should be glad to have a roof over our head," and sad music plays as the narrator notes that the family's son is sick. The next title card notes, however, that "something can be done." The family applies to a government program for a new, single family home purchased by a government. A social worker investigates the family's house, approves their application, and soon the family is furnishing their house as Bryan claims that "a better family life begins." With other family members they dance the Chilean national dance. The title slide announces that "the new home brings new friends" and "new recreations." In the final scene of the short, a birthday party becomes the occasion for political discussion. As the men play a game at the party they are, according to Bryan, "outspoken in their beliefs," since "Chileans are firm believers in free speech, and the right of every man, even the most radical, to be heard."[324] The final scene announces not only the personal happiness inspired by nuclear family living, but that nuclear family life represents the foundation of freedom and democratic citizenship.

---

[323] Julien Bryan. "Housing in Chile." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.
[324] *Ibid*.

Even those OIAA films that did not explicitly concentrate on the "single family" template reinforced the common representation in Bryan's films that free democracy was tied intimately to family structure and child-rearing. "Young Uruguay" (1943), for example, concentrates on demonstrating the similarity of young people's experiences in the United States and Uruguay, noting the country's high degree of literacy and compulsory education in the country, and intertwining discussions of Uruguay's liberal political culture with representations of its educational system and of young Uruguayans' consumer culture identity. "Perhaps no one of them will be a great leader in the conventional sense," Bryan says at the end of the movie over a montage of children's faces, "but they were borne in a free land."[325] Likewise, in "Schools to the South," Bryan relates an expanding educational system in South America to a growing similarity to the "new unity" shown between North Americans and South Americans.[326]

Equating normative nuclear families with democratic values, Bryan's OIAA films personalizes the modernization projects crucial to the Roosevelt administration's imperial mission in Latin America. Rather than constructing, as was typical then, Latin America as a space of sexual excess and non-normativity, it was

---

[325] Julien Bryan. "Young Uruguay." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.
[326] Julien Bryan. "Schools to the South." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1940.

precisely in Bryan's imagining of the nuclear family as a vehicle for democratic modernization that characterized the "social realist" nature of his documentary films.

The Educational Film Library Association & Films for International Understanding

Bryan created the International Film Foundation several weeks after the signing of the United Nations charter, during a moment of euphoria among documentary filmmakers about the possibilities of cinema for creating "international understanding." Many documentarians, and teachers, saw enormous potential for movies to circulate ideas across national borders. Many imagined as model the International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Italy, founded in 1929 by the League of Nations to produce "mutual and precise understanding, a mutual co-operation among all the peoples."[327] Writing in their inaugural journal, the founders of the Institute claimed that in the future,

> the cinema will be regarded as one of the greatest and most powerful factors towards social peace, especially if, by divulging from one continent to another documentary visions of the life, strength and characteristic aspect of the other countries, it may help to dispel the erroneous or false impressions created by the words or writings of men conveying a one-sided or impassioned view or conception.[328]

---

[327] "Introduction." *International Review of Educational Cinematograph* First edition International Educational Cinematographic Institute of the League of Nations. July 1929.
[328] *Ibid* 8

Nevertheless, the Institute soon collapsed, and UNESCO absorbed its remnants after the war. On the day that Harry Truman signed the treaty committing the United States to UNESCO, June 14 1946, a group of around eighty educators and filmmakers arrived in Washington DC to attend the first "Conference on the Use of Audio-Visual Materials Toward International Understanding." Bromides about the universality of film abounded; one person claimed that "pictures are the common language of all people."[329] At the conclusion of the conference, attended by Bryan, the group recommended that UNESCO use film to promote itself, conduct research on the use of audio-visual materials in education, and for a national voluntary coordinating group to emerge.

Yet precisely because they claimed that film spoke in a universal language--that film could somehow tell a truth that was beyond culture--the institutions of educational filmmaking struggled to clearly define what was strictly "educational" about educational films. The definition of "educational" film, in 1946, was no philosophical matter. During the Depression, the League of Nations had attempted to eliminate tariffs and import quotas on all films deemed "educational." The measure failed to catch on because of the disruptions of the Second World War, but many in

---

[329] Conference Proceedings. "The Conference on the Use of Audio-Visual Materials toward International Understanding" jointly sponsored by American Council on Education and Film Council of America, in DC June 14-15 1946 American council on education. Studies. Ser. 1. Reports of committees and conferences, no. 25. Vol. x, November, 1946. (36)

the postwar Conference - observing that the United States was the only nation that lacked import quotas or tariffs on films -wished to revive it. A consensus felt that education should be viewed broadly, especially the conference's chair, George Zook, President of the American Council of Education. Zook argued that they should include "informal education" in the definition.[330]

Yet considerable contention emerged around whether to allow fictional films to be considered educational. Irene Wright, the Department of State's chief information officer, argued that in order to truly promote "international understanding" educational film should navigate the "Scylla and Charybdis" of entertainment and propaganda by explicating only hard facts, methods, processes.[331] Wright assumed, and others argued, that films certified as educational must also be true: "comprehensive," "accurate," and "objective." Others, however, claimed that the idea of 'international understanding' was itself a (laudable) form of propaganda, and that many forms of entertainment could not only be considered educational, but were essential to the promotion of international understanding. Some cautioned, moreover, of creating an international board with the power to certify (and censor) films that one person might not consider "objective." On the one hand, everyone seemed to believe that the medium of film represented a language that was universal because of its unique objectivity. On the other hand, no one seemed to think that it

---

[330] *Ibid*

[331] *Ibid*

could act that way without excluding at least some subjective or propagandistic material.[332]

In a follow-up book the following year produced by the Educational Film Library Association - founded at the 1946 conference - this debate became more focused. Richard Griffith of the National Review Board, for example, pointed out that while the founders of film thought it was a universal language, the fact that foreign films had made virtually no inroads into the American cinema market indicated that cultural barriers mattered: "Differences in manner and folkway, subtler values, slower tempos, a more tragic view of life, made these films either incomprehensible or dull to family audiences in search of relaxation"[333] One bureaucrat working for the Department of Education claimed that, rather than merely absorbing facts, 'understanding' other cultures through films meant attaining "a mutual respect for the rights of others...and to accept the cultural differences that exist among all peoples as a source of added cultural richness and enjoyment."[334] Elementary school teachers Dina Bleich and Esther Berg pointed out that the value of films was that they "simplify" language into pictures, yet at the same time they claimed that they made other nations "real" and complex: "real places where people

---

[332] *Ibid*

[333] Flory, Elizabeth Harding, ed. *Films for International Understanding: Elizabeth H. Flory, Editor*. Curriculum Service Bureau for International Studies, 1947. (35)

[334] *Ibid* 20

live and participate in cultural, social, and economic activities"[335] And even though they made other places seem like "real places," Berg and Bleich suggested that in order to attain understanding and respect, a teacher needed to select movies which have as their goal to "avoid over-emphasis on the atypical but emphasize those aspects of life which are similar to our own."[336] They even claimed that achieving international understanding through film was not only a matter of film's universal power, but of the respect the audience itself cultivated. "They must not be ridiculed," they wrote of non-Americans represented in films, "no matter how queer or different their customs may appear."[337]

The film historian Miriam Hansen has argued that similar claims about the "universal language" of film were common in the early decades of film, but they served a very specific, and very political, purpose. In fact, the myth of film as a "universal language" helped precipitate the conventions of classical Hollywood cinema which aimed to dissolve the space of the cinema, control the flow of content and the spectator's influence, absorb the audience's attention, and abstract a plural audience into a private spectator. "By elevating immigrant working class audiences to a symbol of divine providence," Hansen explains, "the invocation of the universal-language myth came to mask the institutional suppression of working class behavior

---

[335] *Ibid* 52
[336] *Ibid* 52
[337] *Ibid* 52

and experience"[338] in cinema. Moreover, the "universal language" myth was not only used to exclude working class and minoritized experiences, but to exclude culturally different film conventions developing in other nations. A move in classical Hollywood cinema toward narrativizing context necessary to understand the film, rather than leaving that context up to the viewer, meant that films strived to be more "self-explanatory." A shift toward more psychologically complex characters likewise signified the idea of a "universal language" by an ostensibly "unmediated" approach to sympathy and emotional exchange.[339]

Motivated to use the myth that film possessed a unique capacity for "international understanding" in order to expand the extent of the United States' cultural capital, Bryan's creation of the International Film Foundation reflected these contradictions: on the one hand, an exuberant faith in the power of film to create 'understanding' through objectivity; on the other hand, a fear of the emotional appeal that film could offer the "wrong" message. Strangely, the purest expression of the International Film Foundation's documentary ideologies were not conventional documentaries at all, but educational animated shorts called "Boundary Lines" (1946) and "Picture in Your Mind" (1948), both directed by the title illustrator for Bryan's previous shorts, Philip Stapp. Accompanying abstract art with avant-garde musical composition, the shorts creatively visualized the idea that racial and cultural

---

[338] Hansen, Miriam. *Babel and Babylon*. Harvard University Press, 1994. (78)
[339] *Ibid*.

difference were imaginary. Unlike Julien Bryan's documentaries, these animations never referenced ideologies of family and never used a personal, photojournalistic style. However, these animations did explore the core components of the IFF's documentary ideology: namely, they associated the power of a (child's) imagination and creativity itself with the basis of racial and colonial innocence. These animations did this by using animation to psychologize political issues of war and peace and racialize aggressive impulses as 'primitive,' ideas underpinned by the sexual ideologies of postwar psychoanalysis.

Calling itself "a film about the imaginary lines that divide us as people from each other," "Boundary Lines" begins with an opening animation sequence that follows an imaginary line as it transforms itself from a pictorial representation of water, mountains, trees, people, words, lights, and worlds. "A line," the narrator notes, "is just an idea."[340] Through both "Boundary Lines" and "Picture in Your Mind," the cursive line running across the screen, outlining the scenes and characters remains a unifying visual motif for the animation. The line represents a reminder of the animator's presence, of the film's constructedness, and of the film's main idea, which was the constructedness of national, racial, and cultural boundaries. The sequence following the opening sequence depicts two young boys named Jim and Joe, drawn like paper dolls, getting into a fight over a game of marbles and drawing

---

[340] Julien Bryan, Philip Stapp. "Boundary Lines." Directed by Philip Stapp. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

boundary lines between themselves. Their fight is scored by a semi-operatic chant, underscored by heavy timpanis, repeating the phrase over and over again "Boys Will Be Boys." While Jim and Joe make amends, the narrator explains that this drawing of boundaries expands as more boys see differences between one another, causing gang and street fights - direct allusion to the pressing postwar concern with juvenile delinquency.[341]

After a sequence which shows the effects of walls and boundaries -- a medieval walled city ransacked by invaders, pictorial representations of lynching, concentration camps -- the film goes on to claim that in modern times no one is completely protected by a national border. It demonstrates this fact through a striking animation sequence which begins with a man (represented as primitive) launching an arrow from a bow. As the arrow passes across the screen it goes through representations of different periods of time, changing with each period of time -- from an arrow to a spear to an axe to a cannon ball to a bullet, until finally it becomes an atomic bomb that drops in a city. "Boundary Lines" concludes by returning to the line motif, using the line to symbolize the scientific achievements and progress made by "mankind" before calling on all people to use lines to "draw a

---

[341] *Ibid*

circle around all our differences, a circle to be united" as it represents peoples of different ethnic costumes within the circle.[342]

For being less than ten minutes long, "Boundary Lines" marks a rich achievement for Stapp's animation, one which condensed many of the principles and contradictions of postwar racial liberalism and internationalism and reduced them to their barest bones. On the one hand, the film (much like Bryan's documentaries) seems to strongly privilege the personal, the particular, and the representational: Stapp's humanism, like Bryan's, at its core detests the notion that an "idea" like an abstract "line" could affect real people. The film's only antagonists are abstract ideas like "greed" or "hate," while the heroes are those people susceptible to being seduced by those ideas. On the other hand, the film's form celebrates the abstract and the experimental, coordinating the film's score to the movements of a line that has a mind of its own, reveling in sight tricks, and often looking something like a Disneyfied version of an abstract expressionist painting. Even then, though, the nod to abstract painting only confirms its alignment with the internal, psychological, apolitical ideologies that abstract expressionists represented. If difference is merely imagined, for "Boundary Lines," then there is no room for the thesis that ending war requires political transformation.

---

[342] *Ibid*

Equally so, while "Boundary Lines" opposes some lines that divide people, it also embraces linearity in other respects. The shooting arrow sequence underscores, for example, the assumptions that Stapp makes about the linear, progressive nature of history. The fact that the film, like so many examples of internationalism of its time did, equates the call for the creation of peace with other scientific progressive achievements, confirms this belief. Of course, in a variety of different ways "Boundary Lines" confirms the acceptance of cultural difference while also identifying the psychological aggressions it assumes lie behind war and conflict with cultural particularities that the film identifies with "primitivism." Aggression and conflict in the film are underscored by heavy beating drums, a musical motif that particularly in the postwar period was heavily racialized. At one point the narrator notes that "Jim and Joe grow up to be civilized men" (as each figure is clothed with a suit, briefcase, and hat), shows them with wives and children, and the narrator notes that "the line which divides them now is only a fence"[343] as a white picket fence appears between the two families. Signifying the acceptable boundary lines as those of private property ownership in the context of a (suburban) heterosexual family life serves a central role in the film: it distances the film's message of opposition to boundaries from the implication of economic collectivism. Nevertheless, the sound

---

[343] *Ibid.*

of a beating drum interrupts this sequence as the narrator says, "Listen! What is that sound beating beneath the clothing of civilization?"[344]

Whereas "Boundary Lines" asserts the artificiality of differences, "Picture in Your Mind" (1948)[345] visualizes a history of common human origins. Beginning on a gray, barren landscape to which the narrator asks whether this is the dawn or dusk of civilization, the narrator invites the spectator to choose a future of either darkness or brightness. The movie continues by representing the history of human evolution from the origins of life until the time of first settlements, a moment that Stapp pictorializes as the Garden of Eden. Claiming that different "tribes" spread across the earth and founded isolated settlements -- creating their own "rites" for birth, death, and the changing of the seasons; "rhythms" for work and prayer; "patterns" for beauty and courage. The film claims that in each, a "picture" forms in the mind: that "our way is the natural way," such that different "tribes" come to blame one another for their problems. Originally represented as brown people wearing paint on their skins, a succession of peoples is shown to support the ethnocentric notion that "our way is the right way." Citing the need to overcome prejudices, the narrator suggests

---

[344] *Ibid*.
[345] Julien Bryan, Philip Stapp. "Picture in Your Mind." Directed by Philip Stapp. New York: International Film Foundation, 1948.

that all people are "united in a common need to live together in a shrinking world."[346]

Mirroring the earlier sequence in which people evolve from an amoeba, the narrator notes that all people emerge from a "single cell," and represents the growth of a fetus inside a womb, claiming that each fetus is "remembering the primeval past." The narrator asserts that the "need to live together," civilization and education, "have buried in our memory the ancient primeval impulses" which threaten to return as the film pictures one of the earlier "primitive" figures wrapped in a cage beneath a white man.[347] Noting these "impulses" as the "roots of prejudice" as it figures them in the representation of tree roots that wrap around the white man, this is followed by a sequence in which the animated lines return to illustrate different causes of prejudice. Asking what someone can do to change the situation, the narrator asks the audience to "look into your own mind" to understand "what picture of the other man" you "find drawn there."[348] Comparing a picture of a man "as you imagine him" as the film shows an orientalized representation of an Asian man to a picture "as he really is," the movie asks you to "look for the real man" who has been distorted by "propaganda." [349]

---

[346] *Ibid.*
[347] *Ibid*.
[348] *Ibid*.
[349] *Ibid*.

The narrator asks whether each person thinks of himself as "superior" because of his music, playing highly orientalized representations of "Asian" music as it represents an Asian man, and then jazz next to a black man. The narrator completes the movie by asking each person to "accept" differences of music and culture to "enrich" each of our lives.[350] "Picture In Your Mind" is striking because while invoking Edenic mythologies it reverses them to secure the innocence of the "modern" eye vis-a-vis the "primitive." By reconstructing "prejudice" as a "primeval" impulse rooted in a racialized figure, the film not only mobilizes the figures that it attempts to reject, it embraces the common idea in anthropological circles that ethnocentrism was concentrated in less "modern" people. While recognizing the field of imagination as a potentially dangerous one given to prejudice and "propaganda" and susceptible to a lack of realism, it mobilizes support for realism precisely by continually racializing and degrading color.

Innocent Observations

Bryan's postwar documentaries used the structure and style of his OIAA movies and extrapolated them onto the rest of the world. Films like "Peiping Family" (1948), "Japanese Family" (1950), "Sampan Family" (1947), and "How Russian Children Play" (1946) used original footage to establish the universality of normative

---

[350] *Ibid*.

US family life. Yet at the same time, Bryan encountered the contradictions of Cold War family normativity as he attempted to establish such normativity, particularly pressure to represent people of the Soviet Union as repressed, pressures that eventually led to Bryan's abandonment of this structure in favor of the observational styles of documentary that became popular throughout documentary filmmaking of the 1960s.

These films frequently used framing devices to establish an intimate connection between the viewer and the film's subject, and also to structure the film as a "surprise": narratively, the movies begin with the "perception," "mythological" or the "historical" before revealing the "actual" life of the country in the form of the family. "How Russian Children Play" (1946), for example, begins with a framing device in which a young country girl, writing a letter to a friend alone beneath a tree, narrates her family's trip to Moscow. In her narration she notes that while the city reminded her of the "history" of the Russian people, she goes on to note that she does things in the city which have nothing to do with "history."[351] The movie goes on to show clips of a Ferris wheel carrying Soviet children high into the air, and another ride in which children go upside down. The film goes on to show children riding a zip line across a pond, fencing each other on wooden horses, jumping off of a parachute tower, watching actors dancing a comic ballet, playing a soccer game

---

[351] Julien Bryan. "How Russian Children Play." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

and swimming at a Black Sea beach. Strangely, the movie at this point appears to lose the framing device completely as the girl tells her friend that Russia has "every kind of climate," and that "many nationalities gather here and learn to know each other better."[352] In this case, the framing device becomes overwhelmed by the actuality of Soviet life itself.

Likewise, in the 1950 film "Japanese Family," the framing device structures the narrative such that the viewer "loses" the perception of Japanese mythology in favor of the "actuality" of the Japanese family. As with the vast majority of International Film Foundation movies, the movie begins with a series hand-drawn title slides, in this case to the tune of orientalist music. The beginning of the film is striking: it begins with a series of hand-drawn slides with the narrator telling an accompany story taken from traditional Japanese mythology. At first we think that this is a designed part of the film, until the camera pulls away and we notice that the cards are not being changed with film editing but by hand, in a city street, with an audience of school children watching as a storyteller pulls each of the cards. As the camera moves to a close up on the faces of children watching intently, the narrator comments:

> And so the Japanese storyteller reaches the exciting climax of his fairy tale.
> His young listeners have forgotten that they are standing on a street corner in
> Kyoto, Japan. Instead they are far away in a magic land which is visited by

---

[352] *Ibid*.

children of all countries. Now the story is over, and it is time to take up the story of real life again.[353]

Following this, the narrator notes as the children walk down a Kyoto street that they live "in a real country called Japan" and that "their life just as interesting as a fairy tale, and in some ways just as strange to us Americans. Although many Japanese customs would seem odd to us, there are many that seem not so different from our own."[354] The movie continues to follow a brother and sister as they complete their after-school work routine. They come into a cloth making shop owned by their family in which they must "work long hours to survive." The movie characterizes the family as "well off compared to most" as they work together industriously. After showing the family members working the looms, it shows the children eating dinner with their nuclear family (the narrator notes that fish provides the protein for the family's diet), and after supper shows the children spending time working on homework, as the camera lies low on the floor while they work. The movie continues to show children visiting a temple and watching a puppet show the following day, noting as it lingers on the children's smiling faces that "it's fun to visit the puppeteers who entertained them all afternoon" before also noting that the people of Japan will one day "take their place in the family of nations."[355]

---

[353]   Julien Bryan. "Japanese Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1950.
[354] *Ibid*.
[355] *Ibid*.

Such films frequently used the example of the family to stress the modern, forward-looking aspect of other societies, as exemplified in "Bread and Wine" (1948), "Italy Rebuilds" (1948), or "Peiping Family" (1948). "Bread and Wine," one of the few IFF shorts not narrated by Bryan, explores the life of peasant farmers in Southern Italy right after the war. "For hundreds of years dawn has meant the dawn of a new day, not the dawn of a new life," the narrator comments at the beginning of the movie, noting that there were the "same chores waiting, same livestock needing care...the dawn of a new day but a day of the same hard work."[356] The narrator notes that the kitchen in which the peasants bake their bread "was here when Columbus discovered America," describes the process of baking bread and the Mezzagria system, which is likened to sharecropping. The movie describes the process for picking and crushing the grapes for wine, while comparing the life of hard work among the peasants with "primitive" farm implements to the elaborate, luxurious living spaces of the landowners, showing the parish priest dropping by and engaging in conversation, a girl going out for a bird shooting, and peasant children saluting the landowner's daughter. Fast forwarding to the harvest, the movie shows peasants and landlords celebrating and dancing together, attending church together, noting that "before this altar there are no peasants," and finishing the movie by noting that many of the peasants are "more than ready to scrap the undemocratic traditions of the

---

[356] Julien Bryan, Victor Vicas. "Bread and Wine." Directed by Vitor Vicas. New York: International Film Foundation, 1948.

past."[357] The idea of "dawn" and dusk, the gesturing toward religious life and the turning of the seasons played into a broader discourse about the modernization of societies which predominated development thinking in the mid twentieth century.

Bryan's 1948 film "Italy Rebuilds," a promotional video for UNRRA (the postwar refugee and relief organization), took a more personal, familial angle and concentrated on rebuilding efforts in Italy. In this film, Bryan framed the film in terms of his personal experience on a trip to Italy, noting that "I went to see with my own eyes a country convalescing from war."[358] As the camera does a long pan over a refugee camp, Bryan's voice notes that "A camera alone cannot make a completely honest report...A camera cannot show what [children] really look like. A camera cannot show the ones who are not here. And it cannot show the feelings of a young child" who has been displaced by war.[359] The story begins by telling the story of an Italian family living in a displaced person (DP) camp; at the outset, a young Vito goes to his father in the DP camp blacksmith shop to tell him they are going home. Using reenactments, the movie shows them returning to their home and city, both of which are almost completely razed by bombs. While the family appears disappointed and hopeless at the sight of the bombed out city, the remainder of the movie shows their capacity to overcome: "the best antidote for anarchy is to give the people

---

[357] *Ibid*.

[358] Julien Bryan. "Italy Rebuilds." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

[359] *Ibid.*

something to work with," Bryan notes, so that "they will have something to hope for."[360] The remainder of the movie shows children going back to school, standing in distribution lines (receiving clothing from "closets and attics in America"), and even a father recovering from an injury sustained after stepping on a German mine. Children and the future, as in all Bryan movies, remain the focus, as he notes that "Kids are pretty much alike anywhere."[361] The key metaphor of the film is the train, which ends the movie in a call for supporting DPs and UNRRA: "We put them on the train," Bryan notes as the father gets aboard, "Are we going to put them off again before they reach their destination?"[362]

"Peiping Family" (1948) examined the life of a lower middle class family in the capital of China, just after the end of the Second World War, and similarly constructs the family as the mediating force between tradition and modernization. The narrator begins the movie by describing Peiping as a city that was putting "education in place of ignorance," which had "interest in the future instead of the past," and claimed that Peiping was an example of China "stirring in her sleep."[363] Beginning with a shot of a large, closed gate and moving to scenes in an alley where people live and street vendors peddled their wares, the film moves to look at the

---

[360] *Ibid*.
[361] *Ibid*.
[362] *Ibid*.
[363] Julien Bryan. "Peiping Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1948.

family inside their home. Scenes of children playing games like "shuttle cock" and others familiar to Americans were emphasized, or going on a river boat rip, while they are also shown watching a monkey performer. The narrator makes mention of the poverty that affects the family--noting that the Woo family struggled to pay for school, high rates of inflation made food incredibly expensive due to inflation and that the children's caloric intake was extremely low--but did not show signs of visible poverty, compared with similar filmstrips that recapitulated the vision of the starving Chinese child. Claiming that "neat and well-groomed hair is important to Chinese women," the narrator claims that they have a "long and happy life" as the camera focuses on the children's laughing faces as they lie down to sleep.[364] While the narrator notes that "Chinese family life has a kind of quiet dignity and graciousness which is sometimes missing in our busy western world," also noted are modern advances: scenes of Dr. Woo, the father and a scientist, looking at slides through a microscope in his lab, and the narrator notes that "feet-binding" no longer occurs.[365] Completing the movie is a scene that depicts a celebration of the family grandfather's birthday, which it depicts as a celebration of the past with the family looking forward to the future: a "monument to belief in self," and noting that "courage is not enough" for China to thrive and prosper but far more necessary was

---

[364] *Ibid*.
[365] *Ibid*.

that only with education would the "old walls of fear and ignorance" disappear.[366] In the film, close ups and medium shots establish intimacy with the subject, and make use of frequent imagery of "walls" as metaphors for China's supposed isolation and backwardness, contrasting such walls with the the openness of modernized nuclear family life.

Yet Bryan's style of showing the universality of family life and its relationship to modernization had its limits, most notably in longest of his postwar films, "Peoples of the Soviet Union." Completed in 1947 from fifteen years of footage from the Soviet Union, the movie originally represented a paean to the rapidity of Soviet modernization efforts and to the USSR's racial diversity, mobilizing Bryan's conventional focus on the life of a "typical" family. Five years later, however, facing a summons from the McCarthy Committee[367] Bryan made a striking re-edit of the film: removing his own narration which had been generally positive and replacing it with one that, in representing the Soviet Union as uniformly cold, mechanized, repressed, and miserable, aligned more closely with Cold War political ideologies. The re-editing showed that it was as much the impossibility of

---

[366] *Ibid*.

[367] Executive Sessions of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. Eighty Third Congress. U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, 2003.Tuesday May 19 1953 (1161) https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Volume2.pdf

family universality as its possibility that defined Bryan's (and the US's) ideological project in the context of the Cold War.

While the movie's expansiveness--attempting to represent more than a dozen ethnic groups in just over a half hour--prohibited a structure which focused on a single family, the movie mobilized many of the same tropes as his other postwar films. The movie begins, like previous others, with proud, triumphant music. It also begins with a representation of different, multiethnic peoples standing around different flags, a symbol of the movie's thrust toward showing the ethnic diversity of the USSR. Bryan's narration at the beginning of the 1947 version notes the multiethnic nature of the Soviet Union and shows a series of short video clips introducing each of the ethnic groups that the movie examines. Moving to a map of the USSR, Bryan points out the neighbors of the country, ending with the United States, noting that "Alaska and Russia almost touch" and showing pictures of American and Soviet flags standing together crossed.[368] Showing street scenes in Moscow, Bryan notes that "Moscow is cosmopolitan, its many cultural institutions open to all nationalities of the Soviet Union." As he explores Moscow, Bryan praises the city's experimental and Jewish theater scenes in which groups "are given free rein to put their ideas into practice," a scholarly mechanics conference open to "students from all parts of the union," the poet laureate Suleiman, and a supposedly

---

[368] Julien Bryan. "Peoples of the Soviet Union." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1947.

free and fair trial system in which Soviets can be punished for racial discrimination;

"Where there are so many differences," Bryan explains, "there are bound to be

differences."[369] Bryan shows modern factories in which "men and women work side

by side for the same pay" and farms in which "old ways of life live side by side with

new machinery."[370]

The movie goes on to show a mosque with "beautiful Arabic inscription" and

a family from Detroit that brought their son to the Karelo-Finnish republic to live.

Bryan compares the Ukraine to the Midwest and notes a similar level of agricultural

productivity, and claims that "Jews and Ukrainians mingle freely."[371] He compares

the Russians who settled Siberia to "American pioneers in Alaska."[372] There are

shots of Buriat Mongolians playing horns, the replacement of old farm equipment

with new farm equipment, and a pictorial map showing the increase in factory

production in Siberia. The movie goes on to represent Central Asia as an "exotic

land," Uzbek women dancing. In Tbilisi, Bryan claims that the Georgian capital

"combines orient and occident," noting the bilingualism of Georgia and mentioning

that until recently, Muslim women could not show their faces in public.[373] In

Dagestan, a volleyball game played by men and introduced by the YMCA is shown,

---

[369] *Ibid*.
[370] *Ibid*.
[371] *Ibid*.
[372] *Ibid*.
[373] *Ibid*.

as well as power stations built into streams operated by local men. At the end of the

movie, which brings together a crowd of Soviets before a field of fireworks to sing,

Bryan triumphantly notes:

> When war came young men of all nationalities were called on to fight against
> the Nazis. On the battlefield they were called to fight together -- the Russian
> the Turmenian and the Mongol allied with the Americans the French the
> British and the Chinese. The unity of races brought victory over
> fascism...only understanding and tolerance can bring about cooperation in
> this one world.[374]

Even for 1947, here is a Soviet Union that to a shocking extent was not only

egalitarian and free, but romanticized, leisurely, even fun.

The 1952 version of "Peoples of the Soviet Union" showed the imprint of the

Cold War, marking the beginning of the end of Bryan's modernization narratives,

which equated the universality of normative Western childhoods with democratic

modernization. While virtually all of the footage was the same - edited the same - as

the 1947 version, the voice over was dramatically different. Rather than beginning

with a prologue that stressed Bryan's desire to understand the Russian people for the

sake of peace, Bryan justified the film as a matter of Kremlinology: he noted that "no

greater problem faces the future of the free world than that posed by the Soviet

union," stressing "a special need to understand the Russian people" because the

---

[374] *Ibid.*

Soviet Union developed in "increasing measure its influence...on our daily lives."[375] Rather than emphasizing the power of film to capture an essential humanness - "people in a timeless sense" - the prologue argued that "it is impossible to photograph what goes on in the hearts and minds of an oppressed people."[376]

Whereas the previous scenes that focused on Moscow emphasized the cosmopolitan nature of the Soviet Union's capital and the richness of its cultural heritage, now the same footage was accompanied by narration that noted close supervision of the arts by the government, lamented the end of a free exchange of culture and ideas, and noting the closing of the Habema Players and the Jewish Theater. Whereas the 1947 narration lauded the criminal justice system that punished racism with a small fine, the 1952 version used precisely the same footage to depict a trial of "crimes against the state" conducted by secret police for "criticisms of party leaders...and suspicious friendships with foreigners."[377] Whereas the previous footage lauded Soviet efforts to modernize agriculture, the same agricultural scenes were narration of criticism of "collectivization." Whereas the 1947 version compares the Ukraine to the Midwest and Siberian settlers to American pioneers in the U.S. West, the 1952 version notes Ukrainians' desire for independence and fails to discuss Siberia entirely. And whereas the 1947 version ends by noting that "the unity of

---

[375] Julien Bryan. "Peoples of the Soviet Union." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1952.
[376] *Ibid.*
[377] *Ibid.*

races brought victory over fascism," the same footage of fireworks and celebration notes that today the Soviet people were "isolated by a curtain of secrecy," "completed dominated by the men in the Kremlin."[378]

The revision of the film's narration – likely precipitated both by Bryan being called before the McCarthy Committee and the growing recognition of human rights atrocities in the Soviet Union - indicated the limits placed on narratives about international understanding and cultural tolerance framed, as Bryan's movies were, by presenting life in other nations in terms of Americanized leisure and family culture. American propaganda which represented Soviet life as uniformly mechanized and completely controlled made impossible the filmic representation of Soviets engaging in the tropes of Western childhood. The sudden shift in "Peoples of the Soviet Union" demonstrates clearly that it was not that Bryan "discovered" the universality of Western models of childhood, but that such universality was constructed and mutable according to the momentary needs of U.S. foreign policy ideologies.

Documentary Realism and Conservative Curriculum

Classroom geography films would play a surprising role in the making of modern conservatism. During the early 1970s, a new social studies curriculum called "Man: A Course of Study" earned the ire of conservative activists as it was

---

[378] *Ibid*

introduced widely across the United States - primarily inciting anger for the classroom geography films around which the curriculum centered. The curriculum, as well as the documentary series, centered around an ethnographic exploration of Inuit cultures in an inquiry-based exploration of human difference and sameness. While ostensibly stressing the universalities of human experience, however, the films at the center of MACOS earned the ire of religious right activists precisely because it did not represent the universality of American nuclear family normativity. Conducting a nationwide attack on the program for supposedly indoctrinating values of secular humanism and sexual liberation, conservative activists succeeded in preventing the widespread implementation of MACOS, an episode which became one of the earliest flashpoints in the emergence of the "culture wars" in education.[379]

The controversy surrounding MACOS only proved in the breach the spectral presence of the figure of the queer of color in the making of the classroom geography film and in Bryan's claims to documentary realism. If Bryan popularized the strategy of establishing a claim to realism through universalizing American normative values, and if classroom geography films helped retrain Americans' colonialized viewing

---

[379] MACOS has been written about widely. See Cohen-Cole, Jamie. *The open mind: Cold War politics and the sciences of human nature*. University of Chicago Press, 2014. Larry Kraus. "The Fight Over MACOS." in Stern, Barbara Slater, ed. *The new social studies: People, projects, and perspectives*. IAP, 2010. 309-340; Evans, Ronald W. "The social studies wars, now and then." *Social Education* 70, no. 5 (2006): 317-322.

practices using anti-conquest narratives, MACOS reinforced the ways that the empire imaginary depended on excluding the queer, indigenous person of color. It was they, their exclusion from the realm of the possible, which the empire imaginary depended upon in order to stitch together its universalist ambitions with together with the maintenance of white heteronormativity.

Against the conventional narrative of documentary, Bryan's classroom geography films show that a concern with everyday life came much earlier in documentary than the 1960s, and that such types of documentary were often as much implicated in debates about state power as earlier versions. Because they lie at the intersection of state power and private life, classroom spaces suggest that the history of documentary realism was a continuous, complex process of negotiating the terms of state power that depended on ideologies of sexuality, family, and race. While documentary realism was of course a filmic aesthetic, the International Film Foundation's rendering of documentary realism shows that at heart it was also an ideology of racial liberalism, precisely the ideology popularized in the 1960s era Moynihan Report which identified nonnormative family formations with racialized poverty. The documentary aesthetic emergent at that time was the mirror image of the IFF's documentary aesthetic: it represented the unrepresentable queer of color as the locus of economic dysfunction, and possibly assisted in excluding the black internationalisms emerging at the time from filmic discourse.

CHAPTER FIVE

"The World Republic of Learning":

World Federalism and the Governance of Racial Difference

Two days before the Fourth of July in 1948, a group of academics calling themselves the Committee to Frame a World Constitution published a new document. In the *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution*, the eleven academics called for nation-states replaced by a democratically elected world government, for the end of discrimination based on sex, religion and race, equal access to education and economic success in what one of them called a "world republic of learning." In the manifesto following the draft constitution, they claimed, "all color bars must be removed and the civilized human race must rise with one act of will above and beyond any barbaric discrimination."[380] The *Constitution*, a product of two years of bimonthly, two-day retreats, hundreds of hours of meetings, and tens of thousands of pages of memoranda, meeting transcriptions, and notes, appeared to the committee a foregone conclusion. Within weeks of the start of the Berlin Airlift and the release of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a "world government," the Committee noted in the foreword, "shall come whether within five years or fifty." A world

---

[380] G.A. Borgese and Robert Hutchins. *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution.* University of Chicago Press,1948. 42

government that eliminated racial discrimination was the stuff of the tangible future, the inevitable, "a shape of things to come."[381]

What united the Committee ideologically, however, was less a progressive vision for a future of racial justice than a yearning for traditions: as academics, they shared contempt for novel forms of knowledge production in the humanities, and they disliked challenges to the teaching of "the great books of the western world" written, according to them, exclusively by white men. Led by University of Chicago President Robert Hutchins and Chicago philosophy professors Mortimer Adler, Richard McKeon and Giuseppe Borgese, each of the Committee members associated closely with "History of Western Civilization" and "Great Books" curricula at Chicago, Columbia University, St. John's College and elsewhere. As an influx of federal research money rapidly expanded the significance of science, technological, and specialized research within the academy, these scholars reasserted the preeminence of classics study.

As the study of "nonwestern cultures" assumed greater significance both in culture-and-personality social sciences and Cold War area studies, they asserted that the principal aim of University study in the United States (and elsewhere) should be the understanding of canonical "Western" literature and philosophy. They rejected early feminist criticism, rejected both the race and class based analyses of the

---

[381] *Ibid* vii

Popular Front Left and of black intellectuals like W.E.B. DuBois, and rejected the individualism of the fashionable study of modernist arts and letters during the Cold War, asserting the importance of classical study of Greek and Latin and the search for absolute truths. As undergraduate enrollment soared at most universities after the war, these scholars feared the consequences of the massification of learning. As the public increasingly saw Universities as centers for job creation and professionalization, and as business increasingly saw academic departments as profit centers for corporate research and development, these scholars called for a return to medieval European study of the "trivium" and "quadrivium" and the "Western Canon."

The knowledge production and institutional structures that Hutchins and other members of the Committee embraced were vestiges of the pre-research University past. Why would the Committee's scholars position themselves at the forefront of a liberal internationalism that in many ways centered around the academic knowledge production of the research university? The internationalism of the United Nations, the Bretton Woods institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and postwar human rights regimes were borne in part out of New Deal governance models of mass democracy and modern institution building. They were steeped in a culture of scientific approaches to organizing societies run by professionalized technocrats. They were ostensibly, if not in fact,

grounded in philosophies of multilateralism, cultural pluralism, racial egalitarianism, and individualism. Most importantly, the postwar regimes of global governance were deeply enmeshed in and facilitated the expansion of capital. Why would the most radical embracers of such institutions possess a distrust of mass democracy, industrial capitalism, professionalization, cultural pluralism, individualism?[382]

The Committee represented among the most elaborate visions of a utopian genre during the 1940s and 1950s: the "world federalist" movement of liberal internationalists in the United States. Predominantly white, largely middle class, and excluding other social movements such as radical pacifists, black internationalists, or Marxists, organizations like the Campaign for World Government, the United World Federalists, or World Republic, and intellectuals like Clarence Streit, Rosika Schwimmer, Cord Meyer, and Anita Blaine McCormick called for the end of nation-states and the creation of a global, liberal democracy. With ringing endorsements of human rights, multilateralism, and the end of colonialism, and invoking fears of nuclear destruction, they echoed 1940 Presidential candidate Wendell Willkie's claim that it was a time of "one world or none."[383]

In the past, the few historians who have examined visions of federalist global governance produced during this period have cast aside this movement. While liberal

---

[382] For the New Deal roots of internationalism, see Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World*. Harvard University Press, 2007.
[383] Wendell Willkie, *One World* New York: Simon and Shuster, 1943

internationalism, support for democratic institutions of global governance like the United Nations, and belief in the idea of a pluralist, world community reached the height of popularity in the US during the 1940s, most historians have argued that the Committee and those like it represented a marginal perspective in the long term.[384] In this chapter, however, I argue that the Committee illustrates essential and overlooked relationships between US universities, knowledge production, and the broader appeal of an internationalist imagination during this time. In particular, the work of the Committee illustrates shifts in the ways that US universities expanded their role in the management of capital and racial difference in ways that were complicit with, rather than counter to, the requirements of postwar American empire. The Committee also illustrates the ways that the global expansion of liberal capitalism assisted the retrenchment of gendered and racialized knowledge production within the US academy. At a time when its opponents often discredited classical humanistic study as moralistic, feminized or decadent, the Committee's plan for a global state positioned classical liberal education as the basis for the production of normative, masculinized global citizens. When world federalists were attacked as communist sympathizers and radical pacifists, the Committee's Eurocentric humanisms assigned

---

[384] Wesley T. Wooley, *Alternatives to Anarchy: American Supranationalism Since World War II* Indiana University Press: Bloomington (1988); Joseph Preston Baratta, *The Politics of World Federation* Praeger: Westport, Connecticut (2004); Lawrence Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983* Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 1984

a privileged position to whiteness in the teaching of global citizenship, and became a basis for enforcing racial exclusion and managing postwar decolonization in the interests of capitalism.

This chapter begins by examining more closely the history of the Great Books program sponsored by the Committee members, arguing that it envisioned a "world republic of learning" in order to make a claim to the humanities' ability to help 'teach' the governance of race, gender, sexuality, and capital. The second part examines the work of the Committee as it invented its constitution for a world government, showing that the constitution imagined governance as a form of *teaching and learning* how to be a good capitalist in response to the Committee's anxieties about race and self-governance in the decolonizing world. The conclusion suggests some reasons that while the world federalist movement may have diminished, its vision of a "world republic of learning" became realized in contemporary forms of neoliberal governance.

Great Books and the Postwar University

After the Second World War, universities in the United States became further integrated into the sphere of global capitalism. Of course, this was not the first time that universities had been complicit with capitalism. The trend toward alliance with capital had accelerated in the late nineteenth century, as institutions of higher

learning shifted from their roots in the classical, humanistic learning of centuries past and teaching curriculum designed to acculturate members of a landed aristocracy. Universities moved away from a holistic, standardized curriculum heavy with the reading of classical texts and required courses in classical languages toward a curriculum based on the elective system. They shifted from institutions of teaching toward a system in which prestige was awarded based on the quality of scholars' research, increasingly in specializations that appeared narrower and narrower in discipline. The sciences and social sciences took increasing priority at the expense of humanistic study among elite universities.[385]

After the Second World War, federal money dramatically expanded the importance of technological research for Universities, and expanded access to college education for some led many to view higher education's role as instruction in professionalization and career preparation, rather than an emphasis on discipline and moral betterment. Universities also began to develop more systematic symbiotic personnel relationships with state and corporate institutions outside of the academy, as states and businesses increasingly drew on faculty for their own uses, and faculty moved back and forth between the academy and the outside world. Thus the

---

[385] Purcell Jr, Edward A. *The crisis of democratic theory: Scientific naturalism & the problem of value*. University Press of Kentucky, 1973; Geiger, Roger L. *To advance knowledge: The growth of American research universities, 1900-1940*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986; RC Lewontin "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," from *The Cold War & the University: Toward and Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (1997) 1-34

University shifted both in the sense that knowledge production itself became further capitalized, subject to being abstracted into a profit-making enterprise rather than an end in itself, and in the sense that learning itself became measured by its ability to teach the abstraction of labor—learning for the sake of liberating capital.[386]

All of the members of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, mostly faculty at the University of Chicago, embraced an undergraduate curriculum returning to the teaching of the classic humanities and the great works of the "Western canon" in the University. The Great Books program championed by Committee members Mortimer Adler, Robert Hutchins, Stringfellow Barr, and Richard McKeon reflected the most popular and well-developed program of such an effort. The Great Books curriculum originated in the classrooms of Columbia literature professor John Erskine decades earlier, reacting to then-Harvard President Charles Norton Eliot's supporting of the elective system, the growth of disciplinary specialization, and to the progressive teaching methods of Erskine's Columbia counterpart John Dewey. Erskine's teaching involved year-long undergraduate seminar courses that engaged in weekly, two hour discussions of what Erskine considered the "great books" of the pre-twentieth century West. The course involved no lecture and no historical background, and instead depended on the instructor as an

---

[386] RC Lewontin "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," from *The Cold War & the University: Toward and Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (1997) 1-34

exclusive discussion facilitator, asking questions and prompting responses of students, but never providing answers. Erskine's classes became the basis for that university's now famous "core curriculum" in the liberal arts.[387]

At Columbia, Erskine mentored cohorts of teaching assistants and discussion leaders who became an influential group of scholars dedicated to the making universities focus more exclusively on the study of "classic literature" and the "Western canon." Most of the members of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution, including Robert Hutchins, Mortimer Adler, Stringfellow Barr, Charles McIlwain, Robert Redfield, and Rex Tugwell, had direct connections to this curriculum, and the remainder had strong allegiances to it. Adler, Hutchins, Barr, Redfield, and a number of other mentees of Erskine continued during the 1940s and 1950s to publish the first collection of *The Great Books of the Western World*, a volume of over a hundred books of the "Western canon" that sold more than a million copies in the United States during the 1950s. Erskine fostered a much larger cohort of intellectuals who promoted the Great Books and the teaching of "Western Civilization" as the core for undergraduate liberal education, especially at Columbia,

---

[387] Joan Shelley Rubin, "Classics and Commercials: John Erskine and 'Great Books'" from *The making of middlebrow culture*. University of North Carolina Press, 1992 148-197; Beam, Alex. *A great idea at the time: The rise, fall, and curious afterlife of the great books*. Public Affairs, 2008., 7-22; Mortimer Adler, *Philosopher at Large* (1977), 15-35

the University of Chicago, and St. John's College, where the teaching of the "great books" remains the sole curriculum.[388]

Erskine's mentoring of Mortimer Adler, who studied psychology and taught one of Erskine's Great Books seminars at Columbia, proved especially influential. During the 1930s, Adler established a relationship with Hutchins who in 1931 became President of the University of Chicago, and together they embarked on a radical transformation of the University of Chicago from one of the world's most prestigious research Universities to one dedicated instead to rigorous teaching of the liberal arts to undergraduate students. During the 1930s and 1940s Adler and Hutchins schemed to bring a generalized course of liberal education based on the reading of the "Great Books" to the University of Chicago, balking at the supposed incoherence of the turn of the century elective system. Discussing only great works of literature in small seminar classes, Adler and Hutchins reasoned, would help sharpen students' minds and generate a more holistic understanding of the world that they would enter into.[389]

Scholars have attributed the rise of the Great Books to the popularity of the middlebrow and its mission of delivering the genteel tradition to the masses, a reaction to the specialization of the research university, and to the reinvention of

---

[388] *Ibid*

[389] Dzuback, Mary Ann. *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an educator*. University of Chicago Press, 1991 (88-108).

democratic culture in the United States.[390] Yet another impulse represented a common thread between these causes. In Hutchins' 1936 work *The Higher Learning in America* and in subsequent writing, he positioned the teaching of the liberal arts as ways of producing the moral betterment of students at a time when he believed that the atomization, positivism, and relativism of modern life threatened Americans with moral decay and the decline of democratic values. Drawing on his upbringing in progressive Protestant theologies, he saw study of "the great books of the western world" and the liberal arts more generally as a way of giving order to a socially chaotic world, to give students intellectual discipline, and cultivate moral virtues and independence of thought. He criticized what he understood as the influence of John Dewey's philosophy of education, which he believed provided students with an overly-narrow and vocational form of learning. In other words, learning for profit that marginalized a love of learning for its own sake.[391]

The contrast between Hutchins and Dewey centered, as such, around the ends of a form of labor being for itself or for the accumulation of capital. Hutchins

---

[390] Joan Shelley Rubin, "Classics and Commercials: John Erskine and 'Great Books'" from Rubin, Joan Shelley. *The making of middlebrow culture*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 1992 (148-197); Beam, Alex. *A great idea at the time: The rise, fall, and curious afterlife of the great books*. Public Affairs, 2008; Lacy, Timothy. "Making a Democratic Culture: the Great Books Idea, Mortimer J Adler, and Twentieth Century America," Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 2006.
[391] Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America*. Yale University Press, 1936.

venerated the "intellectual inheritance" of the "West" by advocating for the teaching

of the "great books of the western world." Hutchins attacked specialization as a root

of pedagogical confusion and disorder— "the dissolution of all social bonds" and a

growing emphasis on vocational education as unprincipled and amoral, invested

solely in profit-making. The product for Hutchins was a University driven by profit-

making and the pursuit of funds from government, business, and private donors, and

pandering to students' desires and public interests. Dewey critiqued *The Higher*

Learning as being a call to withdraw from modern life and create an "aloofness of

higher learning from contemporary social life." Hutchins' view of the pursuit of

"absolute truths" was Quixotic for Dewey, trapped in the past, and attacked

Hutchins' heavy use of classical and medieval philosophers and rejected Hutchins'

belief in a 'knowable' hierarchy of truths and a single human "nature." Hutchins'

educational theory, Dewey argued, was a means of "escape."[392] Dewey claimed that

Hutchins' vision of learning was 'authoritarian.' Hutchins' and Dewey's debate

about education became part, as Wilfred McClay shows, of a broader debate during

the 1930s about whether the spread of authoritarianism was rooted more in "moral

relativism" or "absolutism," with Dewey claiming that Hutchins' "absolutism" left

---

[392] John Dewey, "President Hutchins' Proposals to Remake Higher Education,"
Social Frontiers January 1937, 103.

people unable to make moral choices themselves, while Hutchins claimed that Dewey's "relativism" left people unable to make the right choice.[393]

Notwithstanding the criticisms of Hutchins' work, during the late 1930s and early 1940s as Chancellor he pressed to make intensive, discussion seminar study of the "Great Books" the core of a required, four year liberal arts course of study for the University of Chicago's undergraduate curriculum—a push that ultimately failed only two years after Hutchins left the University, both because it met with faculty resistance and proved unpopular with students. As Mary Ann Dzuback's biography of Hutchins has shown, this failure was related to demographic changes after the war, as the proportion of students from white middle class families at the University increased, much like other universities in the United States. Dzuback argues that these students, lacking independent wealth and seeking stable positions, preferred in growing numbers enrollment in professional and science courses that would guarantee better paying jobs, leaving an undergraduate curriculum that attenuated those opportunities. The result was rapidly declining enrollment at the University of Chicago until after Hutchins' tenure as President ended. Hutchins also aggressively attempted to shift the mission of the University, from one that focused on a broad research agenda to one that centered around philosophy and its uses in creating a more moral society. Faculty increasingly felt that Hutchins' project endangered the

---

[393] McClay, Wilfred M. *The Masterless: Self & Society in Modern America.* UNC Press: Chapel Hill, NC, (1995): 192-193

prestige of the research university by focusing too extensively on undergraduate teaching, and became alienated by heavy-handed tactics designed to implement the curriculum. They prevented a "Great Books" curriculum from happening at the University, in 1950 Hutchins departed the Presidency of the University of Chicago, and by 1953 the College at the University that offered a liberal arts curriculum was ended.[394] The rebellion against Hutchins' vision of a university centered around conservative humanistic study only to embrace a university more regulated by professionalization, the pursuit of financial independence for the institution, and disciplinary specialization suggested more broadly the integration of the University into capitalism.

When the attempt to standardize Great Books education at the University failed, Adler, Hutchins, and an advertiser William Benton decided that they would collect a canon of "Great Books" written almost exclusively by white male, European authors before 1900, publish it in a single series of volumes, and launch nation-wide reading groups centered around the discussion of the Great Books. Through the 1940s and 1950s, thousands of reading groups would form and more than a million copies of the full collection of Great Books were sold in the United

---

[394] Dzuback, Mary Ann. *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an educator*. University of Chicago Press, 1991. 109-207

States.[395] Those who purchased the collection purchased something more than the books themselves, since the condensed formatting of the works made them far harder to read, and hardcover versions far more expensive, than the purchase of newly popular paperback copies of each of the books together. The owners of the collection were buying into access to, or at least visibility within, the "great conversation," the "noble lineage" of the Western canon.

The emphasis on disciplinary specialization, expertise, science and technology research and emphasis on worldly, experiential learning framed as educational freedom could help facilitate the flow of capital on a global level. So for what reasons would such canons proliferate outside the academy? I want to engage with the book-length introductory essay to *The Great Books of the Western World* collection, Hutchins' *The Great Conversation*, to argue that the success of the "great books" idea stemmed from a shift in Hutchins' framing of his educational theories, toward conceptualizing great books education as a mode of gendered and racialized citizenship—a framing that could enhance rather than hinder the expansion of capital. We can only understand the popularity of the canons of immovable capital and Hutchins' embrace of them in the context of postwar discourses of expertise, gender, sexuality, and race. Hutchins made a claim to participation in the "great

---

[395] Lacy, Timothy. "Making a Democratic Culture: the Great Books Idea, Mortimer J Adler, and Twentieth Century America," Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 2006.

conversation" as a kind of professionalized citizenship building, one that transformed love of learning for its own sake and moral betterment into a masculinized project of civic duty.

Scholars have written at length about the masculinism and heterosexism that pervaded postwar intellectual life, including in the arts and humanities. Anticommunism and treatises on the importance of liberal democracy such as Arthur Schlesinger's *The Vital Center* depended heavily on the imagining of the ideal citizen as highly masculinized. Popular sociologists and social thinkers like David Riesman, William Whyte, and Philip Wylie attacked the conformity of American life and postindustrial society as producing feminized men.[396] Modernist arts like abstract expressionism, aligned with American empire in the Cold War, also privileged a masculinized conception of the artist as a deeply individualistic, incomprehensible "genius."[397] Queers working within the academy, as elsewhere, became a focal point for attacks for opposing the national interests of the United States.[398] The masculinism and heterosexism of postwar intellectual life was both part of and accentuated by the masculinism of professionalization, which frequently

---

[396] Cuordileone, K.A. *Manhood and American political culture in the Cold War*. Psychology Press, 2005; Feldstein, Ruth. *Motherhood in black and white: Race and sex in American liberalism, 1930-1965*. Cornell University Press, 2000.
[397] Perchuk, Andrew. "Pollock and Postwar Masculinity." *The Masculine Masquerade: Masculinity and Representation* (1995): 31-42.
[398] Johnson, David K. *The lavender scare: The cold war persecution of gays and lesbians in the federal government*. University of Chicago Press, 2009.

served to de-authorize women's knowledge in favor of male "experts" in the name of a masculinized science.

The love of learning for its own sake, of leisurely literary pursuits outside of the realm of professionalized expertise, constructed within a genealogy of male authors, was equally compelled to deny the homoerotic potentialities of readings. As Eve Sedgwick famously pointed in terms of Hutchins' intellectual successor, Allan Bloom, the process of forming canons around great male authors is "motivated by a priceless history of male-male pedagogic or pederastic relations"; "the stimulation and glamorization of the energies of male-male desire," she writes, "is an incessant project that must, for [its] preservation…coexist with an equally incessant project of denying, deferring, or silencing their satisfaction."[399] In particular, Hutchins' intellectual heritage in liberal protestant theology that emphasized education as the cultivation of moral virtue rather than skill and professionalism resembled much of the philosophical underpinnings of nineteenth and early twentieth century middle class women's charitable work and political organizing (including the pacifist movement). The embrace of learning for its own pleasure rather than disciplinary expertise on the one hand, and in the cultivation of moral virtue rather than professionalization on the other, made Hutchins' ideas about liberal, classical education prone to marginalization by the compulsions of gender.

---

[399] Sedgwick Kosofsky, Eve. *Epistemology of the Closet.* Berkeley: The University of California Publishers (1990). 55-56

Thus, in *The Great Conversation*, while he overtly rejected education that focused on professionalization and the authority of scientific expertise, Hutchins in fact continually positioned liberal education through the Great Books as professionalization and expertise in building masculinized, individualized, global democratic citizens. Hutchins framed a great books education, their reading and discussion, as a pedagogy in the creation of "human excellence" discussing among "great men," preparing democratic citizens for rigorous intellectual combat, sharpening their minds to become more disciplined intellectual workers who could defer immediate gratification and face the tribulations of life in his time. Modern life, according to Hutchins, had made the "trials of the citizen now surpass[ing] anything that previous generations ever knew," influences and impacts that the citizen had to constantly battle to remain independent: "private and public propaganda beats upon him from morning till night all his life long."[400] Only a liberal education could train a "man" to "reckon, measure, and manipulate matter, quantity and motion"[401] so as to "withstand the onslaughts on his independent judgment that society conducts, or allows to be conducted, against him every day."[402] At the same time, by making the materials of study canons of white, male authors within a Eurocentric tradition,

---

[400] Hutchins, Robert M. T*he great conversation: The substance of a liberal education.* Vol. I of *The Great Books of the Western World.* Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica. (1952). 69
[401] *Ibid*, 50
[402] *Ibid*, 69

independent judgment could be contained within the ideologies of possessive individualism and white cultures.

Hutchins presented "the West" as in this state of moral and political decay because it had lost its way by losing its understanding of itself in a globalized world—in turn lost because education in "the West" no longer centered around the tradition of great works of literature. He argued that this tradition had become more relevant than ever to "modern man," and rejected the belief that the study of this tradition represented, as Dewey had claimed, a withdrawal from the world into a private world of domestic leisure: "We have not thought of providing our readers with hours of relaxation or with an escape from the dreadful cares that are the lot of every man,"[403] he wrote. Subtly critiquing the commodification of leisure travel, he noted that the Great Books were not tasked with "taking tourists on a visit to ancient ruins or the quaint productions of primitive people."[404] Reading the Great Books wasn't going to turn out to be a picnic: even if it really was a form of leisure, it was work, hard work that would allow no one to escape anything, but force him to confront the world's difficulties, according to Hutchins. Such a distinction was important, since it marked the reading of the *Great Books* as a form of self-labor and self-improvement, of hard work necessary for democracy—a means, of course, of denying the erotic relations.

---

[403] *Ibid*, 46
[404] *Ibid*

Rather, he argued, the tradition of Western thought and writing collected in the *Great Books* was most in touch with what it meant to be "a man," the study of which in the form of liberal education would design to produce "human excellence." Hutchins marked the West with exceptionalism—not because of its capacity to produce great wealth and power, but because its "defining characteristic" was the "Great Conversation" itself, the capacity for inquiry, discovery, and the free exchange of ideas—a trait that he called "the Civilization of the Dialogue." This dialogue, he argued, had an end of producing excellence in "man as a citizen," and as such—as long as it engaged with itself in dialogue—the West would always produce the best, the strongest men.[405] For Hutchins, a "strong America" would consist in a liberally educated public with "trained intelligence, love of country, the understanding of its ideals, and such devotion to those ideals"[406]

While *The Great Conversation* did not explicitly address issues of family or sexuality, much of the marketing and promotion of *The Great Books of the Western World* centered around how the reading of the great books—and especially *conversation* around them—could induce the togetherness of a heterosexual, nuclear, monogamous family with children. Later, as the culture wars and fears about the deterioration of that model became more accentuated in the 1980s, Mortimer Adler would position conversation around the great books at the center of the figure of the

---

[405] *Ibid*, 48
[406] *Ibid*

"broken family." Conversation around literature, according to Adler, "unites the members of a family," and when such conversations failed, "the sexual bond that unites husband and wife…usually fails to preserve their marriage."[407] According to Adler, "The broken home, the split-up family, whether it occurs through the divorce of husband and wife or an estrangement between parents and children, testifies that conversation has completely deteriorated."[408]

But even at the time, *The Great Books* offered a supplement to the purchase of the *Great Books* collection called the "Family Participation Plan," which offered suggestions for turning family conversation around the great books into an opportunity for bonding while performing the work of democratic citizenship-building: it could become a means of understanding the "intelligent use of freedom" and "involving your children in your education."[409] Rather than engage in "passive" "amusements," the family could engage in the "active leisure" of literary conversation, producing "mutual and fruitful communication between parents and children."[410] Brief guides to each of the works recommended often framed the works in terms of their relevance to family life, such as describing Odysseus' adventures as the "homeward-bound husband at evening, dog-tired, determined to get back to his

---

[407] Adler, Mortimer J. *How to speak how to listen*. Simon and Schuster, 1997. 185
[408] *Ibid*, 186
[409] Robert Hutchins, *The Family Participation Plan* Chicago: Great Books Foundation, 1957, 7
[410] *Ibid* 14

waiting wife" or the "boy or girl who was sent to the store, or to school, with instructions to *come straight home*—and how and why it took him so long."[411] The Family Participation Plan encouraged parents not to squash criticism of the readings but to encourage them, and to encourage disagreement among different members of the family. Designed for adolescents in junior high school and high school at a time when fears of juvenile delinquency expressed growing cultural differences between young, white middle class teenagers and their parents, such encouragements offered parents the ability to provide children with opportunities for rebellion contained within a comfortable pedagogical context.[412]

Leerom Medovoi has argued that the figure of adolescent rebellion that became popular in the early postwar period could displace, in part, more subliminal anxieties about anti-colonial nationalist movements that posed threats to the global supremacy of Euro-American interests and liberal capitalism.[413] Indeed, the center of Hutchins' discussion did not involve the crisis of democratic citizenship produced by modernism and industrialization in the United States, but the potential threat posed by nations of the decolonizing world whom he worried would adopt the technological and economic power of "the West" without also adopting the cultural

---

[411] *Ibid* 25

[412] James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* Oxford University Press 1988

[413] Medovoi, Leerom. *Rebels: Youth and the cold war origins of identity*. Duke University Press, 2005.

forms that ensured citizens, according to him, could govern themselves properly without antipathy toward capitalism. Hutchins noted that, "All over the world men are on the move, expressing their determination to share in the technology in which the West has excelled." As nations outside Europe and the United States industrialized and claim self-governance, Hutchins noted, "we," that is in the West, "do not know how to deal with it."[414]

He argued that spreading the cultural tradition of the Great Books was vital, even more so than bringing the benefits of economic development to the decolonizing world. "It can be suggested," he wrote, "that liberal education is no good to a man who is starving, that the first duty of man is to earn a living, and that learning to earn a living and then earning it will absorb the time that might be devoted to liberal education in youth and maturity."[415] He also argued that the rapid development of Japan into an industrial power on "American lines," based on intensive vocational learning, skill building, and economic growth, resulted in a state in which "the rich got richer, the poor got poorer, the powerful got more bellicose; and Japan became a menace to the world and to itself."[416] Even more important, Hutchins argued, than the free expansion of capital and economic development into

---

[414] Hutchins, Robert M. T*he great conversation: The substance of a liberal education.* Vol. I of *The Great Books of the Western World* Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica." (1952): 69
[415] *Ibid,* 55
[416] *Ibid*

the spaces of the postcolonial world was ensuring that these did not threaten the interests of the United States.

The solution to this threat of a decolonizing world with growing economic and political heft that did not share "Western" values, Hutchins argued, was to engage the world in the "great conversation" and liberal education, the "world republic of learning"—achieved through the establishment of a world government. "The world is going to be unified, by conquest or consent," he wrote, so we must have world law, enforced by a world organization, which must be attained through world cooperation and community."[417] These could not be achieved, he argued, "by vocational training, scientific experiment, and specialization," but by a broad based, liberal education that would transfer all peoples' allegiances from their national and specific cultural context into allegiance to a global, more homogeneous cultural community. A "world republic of law and justice," he argued, depended upon "recover[ing] and reviving the great tradition of liberal human thought, rethink[ing] our knowledge in its light and shadow, and set[ting] up the devices of learning by which everybody can, perhaps for the first time, become a citizen of the world."[418] While Hutchins attractively proposed universal access to liberal education, such education was to be limited to the re-discovery and understanding of the West's literary roots.

---

[417] *Ibid,* 70
[418] *Ibid,* 73

The object of *The Great Books*, Hutchins wrote, was to spread "continuous discussion" and "attaining clarification and understanding of the most important issues" as written by the "greatest writers of the West," and to "project the Great Conversation into the future and to have everybody participate in it."[419] But naturally, this claim was problematic. The high cost of the books, their pedantic framing in Hutchins' discussion, the limited authorship and sense of "the most important issues" rendered the works contained in it less, not more accessible or lively. For white, liberal, middle class professionals in the United States, however, purchase of the collection, the reading of Hutchins' triumphal essay, the collection sitting on the living room bookshelf, could provide the illusion of the possibility of a world peace that did not involve compromising their access to economic and racial privileges. It could provide the comfort of purported self-critical awareness without the dangers of engaging with radical intellectual and cultural difference, of self-discovery without self-doubt, of open conversation without structural change. It could suggest the beneficence and worldliness of a mode of self-indulgence. Most importantly, it reframed the leisured elitism of love of certain kinds of privileged learning and self-work as a form of civic duty without sacrifices. In other words, it carried all of the most important characteristics of the cultural formations that continue to erode the welfare state and the public sphere today.

---

[419] *Ibid,* 71

Race and Global Citizenship

In a narrative pioneered by the diplomatic historian Robert A. Divine published just before the high point of the sexual revolution in the United States, the Second World War has become known as the "triumph of American internationalism." During the 1940s and 1950s, thousands of Americans, including some of its best-known intellectuals, imagined how Americans could relate to other people differently when they identified not as national citizens, but as citizens of the world. The making of the "one world" idea emerged, this narrative argues, in the antifascist internationalism of proletarian and Popular Front culture during the 1930s, then became popularized by the Second World War propaganda machine in the soaring rhetoric of Archibald MacLeish's verse and Upton Sinclair's radio dramas for the OWI, and in public service films like Frank Capra's *Why We Fight*. The liberal Republican Presidential candidate Wendell Willkie announced the advent of "one world" in his book of the same name. Speaking in 1942, Vice President Henry Wallace called for an internationalist "Century of the Common Man," and earlier *Time* publisher Henry Luce announced in his magazine the coming of the "American Century." Public intellectuals ranging from University of Chicago President Robert Hutchins to the bridge player Ely Culbertson to Oscar Hammerstein to *The Nation* editor-in-chief Freda Kirchwey lent their support to liberal visions of global

societies, and after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a celebrated group of atomic scientists led by J Robert Oppenheimer led the failed crusade to internationalize nuclear energy under the banner of "One World or None."[420] Thomas G. Weiss notes that during and after the war "it was impossible in the United States to read periodicals, listen to the radio, or watch newsreels and not encounter the idea of world government," and polls up until at least 1950 showed more than half of Americans supported the idea of a federated world government.[421] At no other time did support for an egalitarian, individual citizenship, universal self-governance, and the elimination of global racial discrimination appear to enjoy so much support among white, middle class Americans. Yet as the terms of a genuine international order became apparent, it became apparent that white liberal internationalists faced a quandary: people living in the decolonizing world demanding their own nation-states and access to economic equality and self-governance often threatened the power of capitalism and white supremacy and required sacrifices from the United States and other imperial powers.

Thus, the burgeoning apparatuses of global governance that worked in the service of U.S. empire could benefit from the theories of Hutchins, Adler, and others

---

[420] Divine, Robert A. *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America Duriing World War II.* New York: Atheneum, 1967. One of the best new representations of this view has been John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War* (2000).

[421] Weiss, Thomas G. "What happened to the idea of world government." *International studies quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 259

that imagined peace itself as a Eurocentric, masculinized conversation moving toward an absolute truth, since it could provide the fantasy of a free, open, democratic conversation as the basis for self-governance, while excluding plural knowledge or perspectives that might threaten capital or white supremacy. If the proponents of the Great Books diagnosed the problem of education as the pluralization of knowledge and values (as though they were not plural already), this was also their diagnosis of the cause of war. War was the consequence of a lack of shared understanding or humanity. Consequently, the moral leadership and education that could be provided by professional philosophers, for Hutchins and Adler, was precisely what was needed for a peaceful and democratic world. Following the runaway success of *How to Read a Book*, Adler published the best elaborated of these views in his 1944 popular work, *How to Think About War and Peace*—in many respects anticipating the redemptive power that Hutchins would attribute to *conversation*. At its core, the value of education for Adler consisted in the practice of informed conversation, and Adler conveniently interpreted the very difference between war and peace in terms of the *absence* of conversation and communication:

> Conversations are rapidly deteriorating. Conversations have ceased. Potential war has become actual. Whatever causes the breakdown of conversation causes the breakdown of 'peace'—the onset of 'war.' How could the conversations have been sustained? How could they have been made to produce reasonable decisions, instead of giving way before brute force? We know the answer. Only the institutions and machinery of government can

sustain the conversations. Only government can make the reasonable force needed to support reasonable decisions.[422]

This diagnosis of the causes of war—as an absence of discourse or communication—went to the core of his conception of the nature of the political: to be human was to be political, to be political was to engage in reasoned decision-making, and the resolution of conflict through reasoned-decision making (through conversation) was equivalent to peace, the opposite of war. This meant that Adler connected the possibility of peace to an almost Victorian belief in the cultivation of virtue and the ordering of desire:

> All of the moral obstacles to peace arise from disordered desires, desires for things in the wrong order, or *unlimited* desires for things which are good in their place and under some limitation of quantity which respects the needs of others. / The habit of wanting the right thing in the right order in the right quantity and with due regard for the social context of the individual life is moral virtue. To whatever degree men lack moral virtue, which is nothing but a reasonable discipline of desires, they frustrate their own happiness and invade the welfare of others. / The moral obstacles to peace thus arise from what individuals want. But though all desires must be traced back to individual human beings.[423]

Characteristic of Adler's almost mathematical over-simplification of complex political issues, he equated peace with governance, governance as the absence of war, and peace with the absence of governance, and therefore equated world peace with the absence of world governance. He equated the art of conversation between

---

[422] Mortimer J. Adler, *How to Think About War and Peace* Simon and Schuster (1943), 82-83

[423] *Ibid*, 101

individuals and the discipline that it produced with education, the absence of conversation as war, and therefore conversation as governance, world conversation as the accomplice of world governance and peace, and education as the sufficient and necessary component of world peace. Moreover, he equated world peace, community, the absence of war, global education as coextensive with what it meant to be a human being.

Despite its glibness, though, the conceptualization of global governance in this way provided a useful fantasy. These ideas could provide a justification for seeing cultural expressions deemed to lie outside the "great conversation" to be outside the realm of proper civic engagement, and therefore render cultural pluralism and difference anathema to the preservation of peace. At the same time, it centered the making of peace around *learning* of the individual rather than structural or political change, and provided a model of world citizenship that coincided with the disciplinary interests of capital: "prudence" and "temperance," the regulation of irrationality and emotion, the "foregoing immediate pleasures and profits for the sake of a greater good in the future," when that "greater good" was likely defined as the deferment of colonial demands for self-governance and equal access to resources.[424]

---

[424] *Ibid*

The management of difference was not simply a convenient end for his conceptualizing of world peace in terms of *conversation*. It represented to a large degree Adler's intellectual starting point. In addition to his success as author of works directed to a non-academic audience like *How to Read a Book,* his collection of *The Great Books of the Western World,* and *How to Think About War and Peace*, Adler's academic work as a philosopher concentrated on the study of the European medieval Catholic theologian Thomas Aquinas' theory of *species* or difference, which Adler applied to modern life in terms of thinking about racial difference. In his 1940 work, *The Problem of Species*, for example, the book concluded with a lengthy discussion about the differences, in Thomist philosophy between *race* and *species*, the determinacy and mutability of racial difference, and the extent to which different races are necessarily hierarchical. While he argued that Thomism suggested that race is indeterminate and mutable, he argued that "the more like the Specific nature, the Racial type is with respect to lack of accidental determinations, the more its relation to other types of the same rank resembles the relation of the species";[425] in other words, he argued that theoretically races are ordered based on the degree to which they resemble an ideal "species," in this case, according to Adler, human beings' species nature lying in their "rational" abilities. Likewise, in a much later

---

[425] Adler, Mortimer Jerome. *Problems for Thomists: The Problem Species*. Sheed & Ward, 1940.

work, *Difference of Man and the Difference It Makes*, Adler addresses at greater length the question of human and racial difference, arguing that what defines the human community was its ability to create meaningful conversation with one another—in other words, recursively placing excludability from the human precisely in the hands of those capable of controlling the interpretation of 'meaningful.'[426]

Adler's earlier work on the nature of war and peace heavily influenced the discussions of the committee, which centered significantly around governance as a form of learning: on the one hand, learning as a requirement for self-governance, and on the other hand, the forms of global governance that they proposed as training in self-governance. Believing in the necessity of strong forms of global governance, the members of this Committee nevertheless saw the writing of a world constitution less as a practical matter but as a tool for educating the world population about the minimum requirements of global citizenship, requirements that they understood in highly Eurocentric terms. The work of the Committee represents one of a series of pedagogies of global citizenship in postwar United States that tended not to capitalize on forms of civic engagement, but rather to reduce structural and political issues of race and economics to questions of personal psychology and individual behavior. Likewise, here I argue that rather than theorizing the ways that individuals

---

[426] Adler, Mortimer J. *The difference of man and the difference it makes*. Fordham University Press, 1967.

could cultivate mutual forms of political obligation across national boundaries, the intellectuals who served on this Committee expressed an interest in the pedagogical capacity of a world state to 'Westernize.' Specifically, they imagined a world state as a vehicle to foster forms of citizenship that were more exclusive, private and individualistic.

The initial impetus for the work of the committee was a radio speech made by University of Chicago President Robert Maynard Hutchins in the immediate aftermath of Hiroshima in August 1945, calling for a global government to save the world from atomic destruction. A month later, Richard McKeon and GA Borgese sent a memorandum to Hutchins calling for the creation of a working committee that would create a constitution for the world government he suggested. The Committee to Frame a World Constitution was composed of a group of almost exclusively white male scholars—two important exceptions were Elizabeth Mann Borgese, and Gertrude Hooker, who received no credit in the final draft but conducted much of the research and drafted many of the important documents. Most of the committee members called the University of Chicago their academic home.

In shaping the Committee's membership, Hutchins, Borgese, and McKeon took special care to ensure that by intention, they drew mostly on humanities scholars, arguing that in order to build what they called a "unified world of man" rather than a splintered one, they would have to engage with "systematic philosophy"

rather than "fragmentary empiricism." The between ten and fifteen members of the Committee filtered in and out, and contributing with varying levels of enthusiasm and commitment. They included Romance languages professor G.A. Borgese, Stringfellow Barr, who implemented a Great Books undergraduate curriculum at St. John's College, Albert Guerard, a literature professor at Stanford, Harold Innis, a political scientist at the University of Toronto, Erich Kahler, a philosophy professor at Cornell, Wilber Katz, Dean of the Law School at the University of Chicago, Charles McIlwain, a political theorist at Harvard, Robert Redfield, a cultural anthropologist at University of Chicago, and Rex Tugwell, the famous New Deal bureaucrat and former Columbia University core teaching assistant.

Framing the draft as the explicit design of a group of humanities scholars invested in the teaching of the "Western canon" and engaged in creating a "unified world of man" through "systematic philosophy" presented a paradox for the Committee members. While they embraced the pedagogical methods and cross-disciplinary research rejecting the specialization and professionalization that expertise consists in, the *Draft* itself represented a vision of a particular kind of expertise to which the humanities could lay claim. That expertise consisted in the capacity to produce a global culture of self-governance, but as the proceedings of the Committee progressed the "unified world of man" that the Committee endeavored to

create aimed simultaneously to politically unite states in the aftermath of empire and to generate a common cultural discourse—to manage difference.

After assembling its membership, the Committee met bimonthly between November 1945 and July 1947, alternating between New York and Chicago, discussing and revising successive drafts of the Constitution before publishing a final version in book form, in the first edition of the Committee's short-lived periodical, *Common Cause*, and in *The Saturday Evening Post*. Publicly, the Constitution received small and mixed reception. A positive review in *The New Yorker*, under the internationalist EB White's editorship, said of it: "Recommended to people who still have a serious interest in staying alive."[427] If the Committee's product, however, was presented in terms of peace and human survival, the Committee's process was dominated by more controversial and political questions that centered around its members' determination to maintain what they called a "unified world of man." Partly, this was a statement about the role of the humanities in the atomic age, but more importantly the status of citizenship ideals that were nonthreatening to Euro-American hegemony.

Hearkening back to Adler in *How to Think About War and Peace*, much of the discussions of the Committee centered not around how to achieve peace, to which they generally agreed, but about the politics of ordering involved in defining

---

[427] E.B. White, "Review of the *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution,*" *The New Yorker* September 11, 1948, 98

peace. While scholars who have looked at the Committee's Constitution have linked

it to fears of Cold War human survival, by taking a close look at the internal debates

and Committee proceedings leading up to its publication, I find that the Committee's

deliberations focused on the survival of a much more specific set of cultural figures.

At the committee's inception, philosopher Richard McKeon and historian GA

Borgese framed their work partially in terms of how to govern the world after

colonialism. In a letter detailing their plans to Robert Hutchins in September 1945,

they argued that the a global constitution was the only serious alternative to the naïve

anarchy of openly-shared nuclear knowledge or "global imperialism," suggesting

that the true significance of the atomic bomb was that it forced a choice between

empire, chaos, or the universalization of a specific form of self-governance.[428] One

of the key questions that the committee set for itself was

> Since the world includes both states and tribes (or in Aristotle's terminology villages and stages, non-political and political communities), how shall the 'primitives' –the non-political communities—be treated? Shall the constitution of a world government make a distinction between states and territories? Shall some peoples be initially excluded from citizenship, treated as wards of the world government, and subsequently qualified for admission as a political unit?[429]

In other words, at the outset the Committee aimed to determine the self-governing

capacity and of the terms of inclusion in the world state.

---

[428] Letter from Richard McKeon and G.A. Borgese. "Memorandum to Hutchins." Setpember 16, 1945. University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Collection Box 29, Folder 2.
[429] *Ibid*

As the committee began to meet in 1946 and 1947 to conduct its work, questions of race, self-governance, and colonialism expanded in importance, becoming overriding issues that appeared to touch virtually all other problems in constructing the constitution that the committee addressed, including national sovereignty, the definition of a citizen, and the means of representation. Early conversations in the group meetings revolved around the question of whether the world legislature should be constituted through a system of proportional representation based on population, a weighted system based on population multiplied by a coefficient representing the literacy of a national group, or around a regional representational system. A proportional system of representation was quickly discarded by the majority of the committee as "unrealistic" because they felt that such a system would lead to the democratic majority of nonwhites. Dieter Dux, for example, argued that representation should be weighted in terms of

> the collective ability of its citizens to carry the responsibility for exercising for the common good its national franchise in the world state. The national voting power therefore should rest upon the relative sum total educational accomplishment of all the citizens of each country.[430]

Since "the uncivilized folk of the world overwhelmingly outnumber the civilized folk and so would, if they were given individual votes in the world state, outvote them," according to Dux the Constitution would have to "protect the more civilized

---

[430] Dieter Dux. "Proportional Representation." University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 29, Folder 6.

states against what might be the more or less irresponsible vote of the mass populations of the present backward states."[431]

Replicating the logic of Jim Crow literacy tests, literacy, another Committee member Erich Kahler claimed, must weight population because it was essential to self-governance: "Illiteracy helplessly subjects people to whatever influence may be exerted on them," he argued—influences, presumably, which disagreed with his own.[432] Furthermore, the constitution should avoid a situation in which "one of the two great power blocs, the Anglo-Saxon or the Russian, could be regularly constitutionally as it were outvoted or in which the backward peoples could feel systematically disparaged and could therefore develop inferiority complexes."[433] In one paper supporting his point of view, Kahler suggested that he was "free from any racial bias as anybody else in our committee, and if I ever feel inclined to discriminate it is rather against the non-whites."[434] Kahler, however, quickly devolved into profoundly racist discourse on the intellectual superiority of whites: for Kahler, "the human standard" was not the same as "the intellectual standard"; the modern world was "a highly involved affair, an agglomeration and interrelation of concentrated abstractions and technical complexities…merely to see the issues

---

[431] *Ibid.*

[432] Erich Kahler. "Statements on some Topics of the August Meeting." October 11, 1946. University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 30, Folder 1

[433] *Ibid*

[434] *Ibid*

requires a trained mind…not a matter simply of human kindness…of noble tradition, but also of intellectual grasp and instruction."[435] Demagogues would take hold of such people and "remove of the functioning of modern society." He mentioned one person from Turkey he knew whom he called the most brilliant person whom he had met but whom he believed was inherently incapable of understanding "the functioning of modern society."[436] The Committee eventually tossed Kahler's idea for representation based on literacy, but not so much because most members opposed it or for its racist and classist assumptions, but because they could not figure out how to implement the proposal.

From an early point in the discussions, Albert Guerard became the most vocal opponent of such weighted schemes of representation, arguing that they clearly reflected classist and racist priorities of white Europeans and Americans, were explicitly anti-democratic and anti-egalitarian, and pointed out that the basis upon which they were proposed—the difference between civilized and uncivilized peoples, was itself a form of oppression.[437] While some members, such as Adler and Hutchins, were sympathetic to Guerard's views, however, they generally dismissed

[435] *Ibid*

[436] *Ibid*

[437] Albert Guerard. "Exogeneous Representation." May 22, 1946.. University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 29, Folder 5

proportional representation as impractical and his proposal remained on the margins of the Committee's discussions.

The various schemes that the Committee debated for representation, which explicitly amounted to attempts to diminish the formal power of nations that were majority nonwhite, were therefore rooted in racist assumptions that had undergirded colonialist thought of the nineteenth and early twentieth century—notions about the superior rational capacity of white men. Increasingly the committee came to understand the work of creating a constitution not simply as an exercise in creating a formal political structure, but also a template for educating interests and appetites. While the goal of the committee consistently remained the objective of achieving peace and security, the committee came to understand *peace* as something more expansive than the opposite of war between nations. For example, in a document discussing the various aims of the constitution, Richard McKeon and Mortimer Adler quoted at length from St. Augustine about the meaning of peace in their view:

> And so the peace of the body is ordered temperature of parts. The peace of the irrational soul is ordered rest of appetites. The peace of the rational soul is ordered rest of appetites. The peace of the rational soul is ordered accord of cognition and action. The peace of body and soul is ordered life and health of animate being. The peace of mortal man and God is ordered obedience in faith under the eternal law. The peace of men is ordered concord. The peace of the household is the ordered concord of commanding and obeying among citizens. The peace of the celestial city is the most ordered and concordant society of enjoying God and enjoying each other in God. The peace of all

> things is the tranquility of order. Order is the disposition of equal and unequal things attributing to each its place.[438]

McKeon claimed that the constitution should avoid an explicitly educational purpose, but it is clear that the purpose which he set out for—peace—was itself a pedagogy of affect and desires, that he understood the constitution as a form of regulating, ordering, and governing the 'appetites' of the individual, much as Adler had imagined world government in *How to Think About War and Peace.*

The compromise that the Committee eventually arrived at involved two parts: first, a "federal convention" or electoral college chosen directly by all voters on a "one person, one vote" basis, and second, a technique developed by Elizabeth Mann Borgese, an elected legislature chosen by the electoral college but divided into regional blocs that gave significantly higher proportion of votes to the United States and Europe. Ignoring racial diversity within each region, committee member Dieter Dux explained, the legislature:

> would consist of 39 'white' representatives, 30 'colored' representatives, and 4 representatives from the Near East. If the principle of unitary representation were adopted, the assignment 9 representatives to each unit, in order to keep the Council within the desired size. This balance would be tilted in favor of the more experienced parliamentarians, without violating in the least the

---

[438] Richard McKeon and Mortimer Adler. "Memorandum on World Security as the End of World Federal Government." University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 29, Folder 2.

principles of justice and democracy, by having an additional 9 or 18 councilors elected at large by the Federal Convention.[439]

This compromise, which became the core of the Committee's draft constitution, therefore made the elimination of racial discrimination contingent on terms that maintained the political hegemony of the white imperial powers, and attached a conservative political structure to the conditions of peace.

The *Preliminary Draft* received mixed reviews, but it attracted the attention of people from different walks of life. Besides E.B. White's praiseful review in *The New Yorker*, a number of individuals wrote to the Committee expressing differing opinions. Much of the positive opinion came from those writing from religious or spiritual perspectives. The novelist Jean Toomer, who wrote one of the most important modernist novels and works of the Harlem Renaissance and had since become a devout student of the spiritual leader Gurdjieff wrote at length about the spiritual unity of human beings, and one especially persistent man elaborated on his theology of universal spiritual life. Esperantists, officials from United Nations, chapter Presidents of the American Association of University Women, University of Wisconsin historian Merle Curti, high school debate classes, school librarians, an Omaha mother of a soldier who founded a local group called the "Women's League for Universal Peace," all expressed interest and often considerable enthusiasm for the

---

[439] Dieter Dux. "The Statute of Westminster as a Model for International Organization." August 31 1946. University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 30, Folder 1.

idea of world government, often much more so than prominent political figures whose endorsement the Committee requested. One woman suggested that the Committee consider using a movie to promote its vision, and someone named Irving Walker composed a song entitled "World Democracy" in response to the constitution, although it's unclear whether this was ever sung or used.[440]

Unlike the academics and experts that the Committee received consultations from, these letters from non-experts tended to focus very little on the mechanics or political likelihood of world government. They focused more on their fears of war, the problems affecting them and the people that they knew, and their hopes for a world that was more mutual and peaceful. One man from Kansas City wrote about a world community based on education for "Faith Hope and Charity."[441] Alma Booker of Pittsburgh wrote that while she approved to an extent of the general mission of the Committee, it ignored completely "women, women's rights, mother's rights," and expressed a belief frequented in early twentieth century feminist internationalism and feminist pacifist movements: "Ruthless male drives for power, suicidal wars and violence, ensure the ruin of the female sex's chance for happiness on this planet

---

[440] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Boxes 2-19

[441] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 12, Folder 9.

unless something is done…Whenever an expert killer is given a Congressional Medal of Honor another step is taken toward planetary dissolution."[442]

For the most part, however, letters written to the Committee from the public criticized the idea of world government because they believed that, even with proportional representation as it stood in the constitution, it threatened global white supremacy. Some of these letters came from writers like WH Farrell who opposed world government on quasi-fascist grounds. Farrell feared that "the uneducated, low-wage scale masses of Asia, Indonesia and Africa [will] overrun the progressive high-wage educated nations, making them over crowded and destroying their high standard of living and progress."[443] Some intimated, with anti-Jewish overtones, the possibility of a global conspiracy behind the work of the Committee. But dozens came from whites who professed to be liberals, nearly all of them fearing "the upsurge," the "swamping," or "overwhelming" and "ignorant masses" of "Asia" and "Africa" "They have no experience with democracy," one wrote, "and they associate the existing law and order with their poverty and are out for a new order which they think will get the power and wealth of the ruling classes in their own hands."[444]

---

[442] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 3, Folder 7
[443] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 6, Folder 4.
[444] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 12, Folder 1

These writers supported the idea of world government in principle, but feared that it would be structured in ways that challenged the United States' power.

Likewise, many of the social scientists and political figures who weighed, negatively or positively, on the Constitution supported its objectives while challenging its practicality. The important part of such critiques was not whose authority or expertise one should trust. Rather, it lies with the ways that discussion about the Committee's constitution could help authorize both the peace movement and the Committee' humanist underpinnings—by transforming it from a movement that could threaten the state, capital, and gender hierarchies to one that assisted the state in managing race. Roland Marchand has shown that, in the early twentieth century, the pacifist movement shifted from a moralist, idealist intellectual strand rooted in feminist politics and white middle class women's political organizing, to one that became male-dominated and professionalized, led by social and political scientists claiming particular kinds of expertise.[445]

This significance of gender in the Constitution's creation became apparent when Rosika Schwimmer, the founder of the feminist-rooted and first world federalist organization, the Campaign for World Government, criticized the Constitution for precisely the subjugation of the colonial world and lack of protection for minorities, leaving open the possibility of "mass, indiscriminate

---

[445] Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918* Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1972

slaughter of entire communities by the world government."[446] Borgese replied to Schwimmer's critique by claiming that her vision of world community embraced a form of "pacifist anarchism" rather than government, lacking the realism and expertise provided by his Committee's constitution.

Empires of Learning

The day that Robert Hutchins bid farewell to the students of University of Chicago, on February 2, 1951, he spoke of how much he wished he had known them. In a wide-ranging valediction, Hutchins worried that the expansion of the University would result in a more anonymous, isolated learning experience, the absence of familiar and personal conversation and the "abstraction" of individuals. Universities, Hutchins argued, should be places where individuals are made and honored in their eccentricity. Suggesting that the influence Freud had made everyone abnormal or unique, Hutchins noted, "when everybody is somebody, nobody is anybody," quoting Gilbert and Sullivan. Hutchins lamented the "flat conformity" of society in the United States, the "doctrine that we must adjust ourselves to our environment," and a failure to cultivate an "amiable eccentricity." In such a time without apparent purpose, Hutchins feared, the only possible aim to provide purpose was war. Education, he argued, should always be aimless, and as such it was the opposite of

---

[446] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 16, Folder 3

war. The University would have to see war as its ultimate opposite "out of a conviction that the fullest development of the highest powers of men can be achieved only in a world at peace." Speaking in the middle of the US invasion of the Korean peninsula, Hutchins encouraged the students watching to seek an empire of learning:

> Spirit of youth, alive, unchanging
> Under whose feet the years are cast,
> Heir to an ageless empire ranging
> Over the future and the past.[447]

Joan Shelley Rubin has described the Great Books and its proponents in Mortimer Adler and Robert Hutchins as falling into the classification of the "middlebrow," a cultural formation that reached its height in the middle of the twentieth century, one that aimed to deliver the "genteel tradition" to a wide audience until about 1950, when the publishing industry "abandoned most efforts to target thoughtful books to a broad audience," as the idea that "acquiring knowledge required patient, disciplined training" lost its luster.[448] The description of the Great Books and Hutchins' work within them is a very useful one. Yet Hutchins' speech, which encapsulated so much of what his work through the Committee and the Great Books had concerned, appeared quite suspicious of the forms of culture that appealed to broad audiences. Hutchins' speech appeared to endorse unreservedly education's

---

[447] University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection Committee to Frame World Constitution. Box 24, Folder 8
[448] Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of a Middlebrow Culture* University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill (1992), 331

power to generate individual self-making through an "empire" of learning and discovery.

Thus while Rubin marks the same year as the decline of the middlebrow, this is only partially true. For while the middlebrow *per se* may have faded, the more lasting legacy of the middlebrow—the proliferation of liberal education beyond the academy—has likely endured under different auspices. After he left the University of Chicago, Hutchins' influence grew rather than waned, as he led a series of the most powerful and wealthy nonprofit organizations in the United States over the course of twenty years. During the 1950s, he became the first head of the Ford Foundation, and later the Fund for the Advancement of Education and Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In these capacities, Hutchins became one of the most influential administrators in higher education and in the production of knowledge about democratic practice, and remained an important advocate for forms of global governance and citizenship. In the long run, while both the world federalist movement and Great Books movement rapidly declined in popularity during the 1950s, they represented a larger cohort of white middle and upper class intellectuals who may have created the cultural roots for global neoliberal governance.

While we cannot know exactly who supported varying forms of "world federalism," one description of a federalist convention of about 18,000 in Asheville, North Carolina in 1947 provides a good indication. The news report divides the

federalists into two groups: one the "conservatives" and one the "radicals." The conservatives, who called for gradual reform and lobbying at "state capitols or publicizing world government in public meetings and study groups." They represented the vast majority of the federalists, or around 90%. The report describes them as liberal protestants, likely largely white, from large metropolitan areas and the eastern seaboard, mainly professionals from upper middle class families. The United World Federalist, with a membership at its peak of around 50,000 in the United States, was representative of this group. The other ten percent, such as the 36 members of World Republic in Evanston, Illinois, were described as young, students or just graduated, also from the upper middle class, often coming from religious families or training for the ministry of liberal protestant churches. "They have an intense group spirit," the report suggested," with "rules of life involving joyously accepted self-sacrifice, and an overwhelming sense of the immediacy of the emergency. Use in emotional symbols—a world flag, for example—and an evangelistic approach to morality and life characterize their oratory."[449]

Two studies of the membership of Great Books reading clubs reveal a similar demographic composition—largely white, largely metropolitan and highly educated, professional and economically conservative. The groups were made of about two

---

[449] Report on United World Federalists' Conference. University of Chicago Special Collections Library Collection World Movement for World Federal Govenrnment Records.Box 14, Folder 4.

thirds women but the leaders of the groups were about sixty percent women. They were mostly between the age of 35 and 55, and the vast majority of members who were paid employees worked in the professions and technology, with seventy per cent having attended college, with over eighty per cent having purchased the full Great Books set.[450] Most appeared to enjoy the discussions, with 90% reporting "lively" discussions.[451] In terms of reasons for joining, the highest listed included "learning what the greatest minds in history have to say about the basic issues of life," becoming more familiar with the cultural traditions of the West, and being better able to "analyze and criticize arguments," and avoiding "intellectual narrowness," while the reasons listed low included "meeting people who are quite different than me" and "finding solutions to contemporary problems."[452] The study concluded that better understanding the "important" cultural works of the West, self-improvement, and the goal of "cosmopolitanism"—or acquiring greater cultural capital and receiving greater intellectual stimulation, were the principal reasons for joining the groups.[453] Perhaps most strikingly, only 5% of the members of the group were identified as political "New Dealers," progressives who desired greater civil liberties and more government regulation of the economy, and only 9% were

---

[450] Robert Hemenway, *The Great Books Under Discussion* The Great Books Foundation (Chicago), 1953, 5
[451] *Ibid*, 61
[452] James A. Davis, *Study of Participants in the Great Books Program* National Opinion Research Center & Fund for Adult Education (1957), 33
[453] *Ibid* 33

considered "arch-conservatives."[454] While levels of civic engagement for the members was very high, the majority of the group members were identified as being "eighteenth century liberals" or what we might call "libertarians" today, those interested in decreasing the levels of government involvement in both civil liberties and economic regulation, and the study found significant impact on the part of the discussions in increasing identification with this political bent.[455]

There are convergences between the ways that the principles of Great Books learning—the love of humanistic learning and liberal education for "its own sake"—could serve the interests of those who desired forms of global governance that would exclude antiracist and anticapitalist visions. The learning society and the proliferation of humanistic study outside the university could disguise its investment in the expansion of capital and whiteness by presenting itself as the yearning for a parochial "Western tradition," while simultaneously disguising its political investments in race, empire, and gender by claiming that it existed for its own sake.

In this respect, Rosika Schwimmer's observation that the idea of world government in the Committee's mold threatened to merely reframe war into different forms of coercion anticipated Michel Foucault's observations about the nature of *war* and the biopolitical in *Society Must Be Defended*, in which Foucault questions whether *politics* simply represents war by other means. Foucault traces the

---

[454] *Ibid*

[455] *Ibid* 114

development of modern warfare and ideas about it from the end of the middle ages through the Second World War, arguing that many of the developments of this period in Europe can be understood as the gradual exclusion of war from *within* society by placing war *outside* society.

For example, Foucault argues that the shift from a governing system based on the blood of the sovereign to one based on the life of a population was facilitated by the moving of the war of all against all inside society to the war on those *outside* of society, linking the sexual health and reproduction of the population to the justification for total war on other nations. These shifts were also linked to changes in the ways that people thought about history and even the ways that knowledge was structured. Foucault argues that the shift to a society organized by a war on the outside was abetted by the emergence of *disciplinary* knowledge during the eighteenth century, an attempt to regulate and make peace with the "warring" forms of relative knowledge during the rise of secularism. Likewise, it was abetted by the imagining of a new form of history, not about the praise of sovereigns' triumphs but about the history of whole nations and populations, of whole peoples.

Seen in this light, Foucault argues from the outset of the lectures that his project of understanding "subjugated knowledges" is precisely a means of understanding the "war" that exists beneath the surface of an apparently orderly society: "Beneath the omissions, the illusions, and the lies of those who would have

us believe in the necessities of nature or the functional requirements of order, we have to rediscover war: war is the cipher of peace."[456] This was exactly the project of the Committee: to transform violent conflicts between nations into forms of *conversation* and problems to be solved through learning. The longer and more sinister legacy of the Committee - and the empire imaginary more generally - remains in the ways that it may have helped shift the terms of peace to subjugate nationalist struggles and global racial justice, and positioned once again struggles against capitalism and racism as against empires of learning as well as violence.

In this way, the Committee's work anticipated the concatenations of U.S. governance that emerged during the 1960s and after in the United States. Much has been written about the emphasis placed in the Johnson administration, both domestically and internationally, on "learning" as the basis of expanding opportunity both in global development projects and the anti-poverty schemes of the Great Society. Indeed, the intellectual contradictions in Hutchins' work in the Committee anticipated the transformation in the National Origins immigration regime that had predominated the period of international understanding's prominence. Restriction now articulated through immigrant's acquisition or non-acquisition of learning, the combination of immigration, domestic anti-poverty, and global governance measures that emerged during the Johnson administration fully reflected the impact of racial

---

[456] Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976* trans David Macey Picador: New York (2003), 268

liberalism, and in that respect on the power of the empire imaginary's vision of friendly, peaceful global relations. The upshot of such policies, and of the legacy of education for international understanding, was the way that precisely at the moment of reemerging minoritized subjects' internationalist thinking it marginalized the policy impact of internationalisms of people of color.

CONCLUSION

"In Perfect Harmony": A Fading Empire Imaginary

In early April 2017, Pepsi released a now infamous commercial in which a can of refreshing cola appeared to bridge the walls that divide our world. Called "Live for Now," the subject of the advertisement was a street protest constituted by a young, clearly hip, multiracial crowd. The crowd holds signs that display slogans like "Love," "Join the Conversation" (in different languages), and the peace sign at the exact time that social media celebrity Kendall Jenner engages in a photo shoot in a building on the side of the same street. To the tune of a Skip Marley song with the lyrics "We are the Lions, We are the Chosen," a cellist nods to Jenner to join the protest as a frustrated photographer wearing a hijab snaps a picture of Jenner handing a can of Pepsi to a police officer who was part of a blockade (to the celebration of all protesters and police). Immediately, the advertisement received fierce criticism for trivializing BLM and Women's March protests, for blatantly appropriating antiracism and diversity for corporate gain, and for minimizing the struggle against police violence. Pulling the advertisement less than a day after it aired, Pepsi plead that it was "trying to project a global message of unity, peace and understanding."[457] Strangely, the message seemed to be lampooned from all sides for political spectrum,

---

[457] PepsiCo. *Pepsi Statement Re: Pepsi Moments Content*. 2017. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. http://www.pepsico.com/live/pressrelease/pepsi-statement-re--pepsi-moments-content04052017

leading one writer to conclude that the ad "did the impossible" by "uniting the internet."[458]

The resonances with the empire imaginary were clear: the advertisement's coincidence with consumer capitalism, its intention to promote "unity" and "understanding," its superficial appropriation of diversity and racial justice movements, and reduction of a protest movement to "love," "peace," and creating "conversation." The outcry against the commercial indicated just how much credibility had been lost in the type of ethic espoused by international understanding in the fifty years since its heyday. That loss of credibility was all the clearer in contrast to the reception of the commercial to which it was unfavorably compared, Coca Cola's famous 1971 "Hilltop." Considered one of the most influential advertisements ever made,[459] it featured dozens of young people from "all around the world" on a hilltop in Italy singing in unison with Coke bottles featuring different languages. Together, the multiracial group sings that they'd like to "buy the world a

---

[458] 2017. *Wired.com*. Accessed May 1 2017. https://www.wired.com/2017/04/pepsi-ad-internet-response/. For a shot by shot breakdown, see: Hooton, Christopher. 2017. "Pepsi Ad Review: A Scene-By-Scene Dissection Of Possibly The Worst Commercial Of All Time". *The Independent*. Accessed May 2 2017. http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/reviews/pepsi-ad-advert-commercial-kendall-jenner-police-protest-black-lives-matter-review-a7667486.html

[459] Travis Andrews, and Fred Barbash. 2017. "'I'D Like To Buy The World A Coke': The Story Behind The World'S Most Famous Ad, In Memoriam Its Creator". *Washington Post*. Accessed May 1 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2016/05/17/id-like-to-buy-the-world-a-coke-the-story-behind-the-worlds-most-famous-ad-whose-creator-has-died-at-89/?utm_term=.eae845902a0f

home and furnish it with love," that they'd like to "buy the world a Coke and keep it company," and that they would "like to teach the world to sing in perfect harmony." As the camera zooms out, the young people sing that Coca-Cola is "what the world wants today" and that it is "the real thing."[460]

"Hilltop" exemplified all of the crucial characteristics of the empire imaginary in the last years of international understanding's prominence: a stress on personalizing political issues, a close integration into the consumer economy, a sentimental valuing of friendship and care, the appropriation of difference, but most of all, the short jingle was about *teaching* the nature of harmonious international action. The ad takes place far from politics and never once mentions peace. Yet the most remarkable aspect of its success is the way that Coke freely uses these tropes to become the "real thing" - a medium of the authentic in the face of a Vietnam generation that often distrusted political figures for being "phony." This despite the long history of Coca-Colonialism and corporate exploitation; the tropes of education for international understanding had become that profoundly entrenched.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the empire imaginary both expanded its institutional reach, and encountered increasingly stiff criticism from opponents on both the left and the right. Exchange programs like C.I.S.V. - for example, People to People, the American Field Service, the Fulbright-Hays Program, as well as

---

[460] https://youtu.be/2msbfN81Gm0

collegiate study abroad programs - continued to expand in visibility. Funding for

film equipment in schools expanded in the late 1950s after the passage of the

National Defense Education Act,[461] meaning that the type of classroom geography

films that Bryan created blossomed in popularity; geography movies mass produced

by companies like Encyclopedia Britannica and Coronet were shown with increasing

frequency in high school and college classrooms. Model United Nations programs,

similarly designed to promote international understanding through learning,

proliferated in popularity in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s: in 1946,

185 students from 36 colleges participated in Model U.N. conference; by 1968 more

than 1600 students and faculty from over 200 colleges participated.[462] Hutchins and

other leaders from the Committee went on to influential careers, Hutchins at the Ford

Foundation. Some scholars even created tests of students' "international

understanding," or what they called "world-mindedness."[463]

Popular youth groups like the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts similarly

promoted international understanding through active learning strategies. Groups such

as Art for World Friendship, founded by Women's International League for Peace

---

[461] Marsha Orgeron, "A Decent and Orderly Society": Race Relations in Riot-Era
Educational Films, 1966-1970." in Orgeron, Devin, Marsha Orgeron, and Dan
Streible, eds. *Learning with the lights off: educational film in the United States*.
Oxford University Press, 2011: (424)

[462] "History of the NMUN Conferences Prior to NCCA Incorporation." National
Model United Nations. http://www.nmun.org/downloads/History_Conference.pdf

[463] Sampson, Donald L., and Howard P. Smith. "A scale to measure world-minded
attitudes." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 45, no. 1 (1957): 99-106.

and Freedom member Maude Muller, created exchanges of art and letters of friendship between children of different nations. Even the President of the National Education Association throughout the 1950s and 1960s, William Carr, made his priority the promotion of international understanding in the teaching profession. [464] While these organizations differed in their institutional origins and purposes, all of them shared the distinctive characteristics of the empire imaginary: the belief that interpersonal changes, not structural changes, would lead to peace, and in particular valuing creativity, cooperation, civility, colorblindness, and conversation as the interpersonal characteristics that would produce a more peaceful world.

But "education for international understanding" became a less commonly used term during the 1960s; the term "peace education" greatly eclipsed the popularity of the term "education for international understanding" after "Hilltop." This transformation reflected changes in U.S. education. First, creativity and conversation had already begun to fall from favor as important aspects of curriculum and learning. The Progressive Education Association, which championed the fostering of creativity and expressive individualism of children, became defunct during the mid 1950s. Partly, progressive education had faced a decline as a consequence of its associations with left politics, and had become a favorite target of a nascent conservative school board movement during the 1940s and 1950s. In his

---

[464] Urban, Wayne J. *Gender, race, and the National Education Association: Professionalism and its limitations*. Vol. 10. Taylor & Francis, 2000.

critique of progressive education, Albert Lynd named "international understanding" in particular as a failure of the movement. [465]

More importantly, however, the beginning of the space race had stirred Congress to pass the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1957. Not only did the NDEA provide the funds and impetus to focus schools on science and technology curriculum, but it also stressed a philosophy that promoted curricular "rigor" and the achievement of standards over growth and creativity. During the 1960s, competition (with the Soviet Union) rather than conversation became a hallmark of school reform efforts in the United States. Competency in world languages and even geographic knowledge became justified less by the pursuit of knowledge and learning and increasingly by a sense of national competitiveness.[466] Under the NDEA, schools themselves became vehicles for the military industrial complex, leaving far less space in sanctioned curricular or extracurricular activities for schooling not justified by the national interest and furthering the civil defense purpose that Laura McEnaney has shown became central during the Cold War.[467]

On the left, more politicized visions of peace, those that embraced structural changes rather than interpersonal behaviors, changed the climate of attitudes toward

---

[465] Lynd, Albert. *Quackery in the public schools*. Dunlap: New York, 1953. (45)
[466] Evans, Ronald. *The tragedy of American school reform: How curriculum politics and entrenched dilemmas have diverted us from democracy*. Springer, 2011.
[467] McEnaney, Laura. *Civil defense begins at home: Militarization meets everyday life in the fifties*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

the types of solutions education for international understanding embraced. If schools were increasingly militarized, the emergence of an anti-war mass movement in the mid to late 1960s - a movement which centered, in part, around educational institutions - allowed growing acceptance of peace visions which actively opposed empire and violent conflict. In addition, the 1960s featured a crucial transformation in the teaching labor force in the United States, as most public school teachers in the United States became unionized. Most importantly, the growing visibility of the Black Freedom Movement, the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, the Asian American Civil Rights Movement, as well as other racial liberation movements in the United States called into question the insistence in the "empire imaginary" on colorblindness and sameness.

As opposition to the Vietnam War expanded, the belief that merely teaching young people a set of interpersonal behaviors would create lasting peace became increasingly untenable, and after 1971 the term "education for international understanding" fell into comparative disuse next to "peace education." Yet the legacy of international understanding continued, in three especially powerful ways. The direst of these legacies lie with the ways that education for international understanding excluded black internationalisms, radical feminist internationalisms, and left internationalisms, and consequently shifted the peace movement during the Cold War away from transformative reforms advocated by many internationalists

before the Second World War toward a peace movement focusing on changing interpersonal behaviors. By crowding out alternative imaginaries of peace, the empire imaginary quite literally constructed a cosmetic vision of racial justice and peace that presented a vision of multicultural friendship while failing to attempt to change the situation of racial injustice and segregation inside the United States, or to prevent empire abroad.

The second legacy of the empire imaginary was that it helped intensify the association of internationalism and foreign policy with curriculum issues. While many on the left during the 1960s rebelled against education for international understanding's political quietism and psychologism, many of them also accepted its stress on the necessity of creativity, conversation, and cooperation in building a just peace, and most importantly accepted that the essential place for peace struggles often lie in educational institution. The empire imaginary was one factor among many which shifted the space in which peace movements centered. Before it, antiwar movements tended to occur in labor unions, political parties, religious institutions, at conscription centers, and in the streets - but rarely in schools. Yet by the time a generation of students in the U.S. had proceeded through years of international understanding education, it seemed quite sensible to many students that the movement for peace should take place in the schools: through campus protests and teach ins and dialogues and lectures. Thus student movements became central pieces

of the peace movement during Vietnam. Though not the only force at work in this change, education for international understanding played a role in making teaching and learning central institutions of the contesting of foreign policy.

Not coincidentally, the silent majority conservatism that stewed throughout the 1950s and 1960s, although differing significantly with the left, developed around schools. As Lisa McGirr has shown, Orange County Conservatism developed in part out of the opposite end of twin concerns of education for international understanding: diplomacy and race in schools.[468] Education for international understanding represented the educational antithesis of this conservatism, as it both flirted with rejecting American Exceptionalism and promoted racial diversity in the schools.

And new neoliberal regimes which extended from the classroom to U.S. empire abroad took many of the core beliefs of international understanding and replaced their stress on cooperation with competition. The characteristic neoliberal combination shown by Christopher Newfield to have emerged from the late twentieth century university[469] of reimagining the corporation as the global village and converting labor into pleasure mirrored the discourses of "international understanding." The "managerial humanism" which Newfield associates with

---

[468] McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban warriors: The origins of the new American right.* Princeton University Press, 2015.
[469] Newfield, Christopher. Ivy and industry: Business and the making of the American university, 1880–1980. Duke University Press, 2003: (196)

neoliberal economic change mirrored international understanding in accepting "work without agency" as a standard mode of educational life.[470] Thus *global citizenship*, a discourse new to the 1970s, signaled a reconstruction of the principles of education for international understanding for a new neoliberal age. Education for international understanding became one piece in the larger puzzle of the ways that educational institutions became essential instruments of U.S. empire, revealing a crucial link in the longer histories of the ways that racial oppression and colonialism depended on imagining the exchangeability of human capital.

Anti-Internationalisms

I'm revising the conclusion as snap elections have been called in the United Kingdom so that Theresa May can drive an anti-immigrant "hard Brexit" and as the fascist, racist anti-internationalist Marine LePen has entered the runoff round of French elections. Less than a year ago, I remember the utter shock scrolling up and down my Facebook feed from a hotel room in San Diego - just as I finished part of the Twitchell-Allen chapter for a conference - when Nigel Farage announced the "Independence" of the British people after Brexit. I remember asking some friends in the economics department in the fall of 2015 whether they thought that the Trans-Pacific Partnership would play a significant role in the 2016 election; they said "No."

---

[470] *Ibid* 219

As I moved to a new home in a new city in August, I remember Googling Steve Bannon and learning, for the first time, about the "alt-right."

The world has changed a great deal not only from the heyday of liberal internationalism, but from the time that I started writing. When I began to write in 2013, the financial crisis was still on everyone's minds. The ongoing pressure of disinvestment in public universities affected every graduate student whom I knew and most nontenured faculty. The continuation of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the Obama administration's failure to close Guantanamo were still fresh ideas in everyone's minds. Everyone wanted, it seemed, to write about neoliberalism. Occupy, BLM, and exciting student movements like (on Minnesota's campus) Whose Diversity? drew attention to the ways that great wealth could obscure great inequality, progressive cities could obscure the state's profound racialized violence, and cosmetic diversity could obscure very serious institutional racism. From my perspective at least, there was a sense that a "big deal" of critique when it came to race and empire lie with a system of global capital that was vast, complex, entrenched, and which often acted as a wolf in sheep's skin.

Some might too hastily conclude either that ideas similar to "international understanding" itself might be responsible for the rise of an "anti-globalist" right, or that the fact that such people who participated were sympathetic enough to antiracist beliefs that they represented "moderate" buffers against more virulent racism at

home. Nothing could be further from the truth. Structural racism and patriarchy, not cosmopolitanism, are responsible for the rise of the anti-globalist right. The same global capitalism that creates economic security for all the "99%" depends deeply on the legacies of structural racism and empire. And social change, including acts to end structural racism, can only happen when ordinary people struggle collectively – either at the ballot box or on the streets – exerting political pressure on the powerful. The organizing struggle can take many forms, of course, and in every case it requires intensive affective labor, labor which is never glorious. But when international understanding placed so much optimism and faith in interpersonal and individual affective change *alone* to create peace – to view interpersonal betterment as an end rather than a means of effecting change - the empire imaginary made it harder for many to imagine a vision of the future that was both internationalist in nature, and democratic in the fullest sense of the word.

Such faith in attitudinal change alone, it seems to me, is often a product of white folks' limited vision owing to their own privilege, but it's also because structural change almost always means that those with power stand to make a sacrifice, and the teaching of interpersonal relationships do not. Neither Hutchins, nor Bryan, nor Twitchell-Allen, nor Dubois, nor Andrews ever seemed to ask in their work what they as white people might have to give up to ensure peace, nor what people in the United States might have to sacrifice to ensure a more peaceful and just

world. Nor did their work encourage the type of collective struggle that poses a serious threat to structural racism. The most disturbing part of the Kendall Jenner advertisement is the Pepsi hand-off in the end: it almost seems to suggest that the protesters owe the *police* that they represent an act of kindness, as though the culmination of a "peace protest" lies with an affirmation of and sacrifice for representatives of state violence.

The logic of the empire imaginary, though wilier and more sophisticated, was similar. Andrews' vision of peace imagined peace as a type of orderly self-governance. The "intercultural education" movement imagined peace as a type of creative self-expression. Twitchell-Allen imagined peace as a type of imagined play. Bryan imagined peace as the product of normative family life and modernization. Hutchins and the committee imagined peace as a conversation. All of these imagined peace as a type of self-making and affirmation of order, not as anything that required dedicated work or sacrifice or political pressure. They, like the advertisement, celebrated the value of positive thinking and empathy to create change, but their empathy was ultimately sympathetic to the power of the state to give life and take it away.

Against the Romance of Teaching

For a long time, I couldn't figure out how this dissertation ends, and then I realized that it has to end in the classroom. The most important lesson that I take from the empire imaginary is how deeply ingrained the histories of race and empire can become in even the most "progressive" classroom practice. Without reverting to the authoritarian, teacher-centered pedagogy that many of us hold in such disregard, it seems hard to imagine a teaching practice outside some of the fundamental assumptions about progressive teaching – student-centered, empathetic, learning by doing, expressive individualism, and the value of imagination – which the empire imaginary governmentalized. Just as the empire imaginary vested the false promise of liberation in certain progressive types of teaching, I'm often skeptical of many contemporary narratives in learning which sometimes come close to promising a mythical way "out" of the structural oppressions which our education system reflects.

A slew of recent theorizing of teaching practice has offered a rich critique of curriculum changes stemming from neoliberal education. Unpersuasive, I find, are those that demand a revival of traditionalist teaching practices. More persuasive are those like Megan Erickson's "Edutopia," which takes a fascinating look at the origins of current trends in educational technology back to the neoliberal roots of

design thinking.[471] Jodi Melamed and Roderick Ferguson have argued that even multicultural literature curricula and anti-racist interdisciplinary studies have become sites and spaces for managing racial difference, rather than producing liberation.[472] In calling for an "Undercommons," Fred Moten and Stefano Harvey have created a complex framework for understanding how to structure a movement for justice within the university.[473] What gives me hope about some of the recent theorizing is that it never seeks to romanticize the classroom or the labor of teaching or to prescribe easy solutions to complex problems. This theorizing honors both the extraordinary power of teaching, while also acknowledging the reality that teaching alone will never solve intractable oppression. They suggest that we must be exceptionally skeptical about narratives which romanticize teaching's power to dissolve oppression.

Yet it also seems more urgent than ever to teach peace. No peace that can be called a just peace, it seems to me, can come merely by encouraging the "understanding heart," merely by encouraging students to pursue a semester abroad or becoming exchange students. The legacy of the empire imaginary has meant that

---

[471] Erickson, Megan. "Edutopia." *Jacobin* May 24, 2015. https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/03/education-technology-gates-erickson

[472] Ferguson, Roderick A. *The reorder of things*. University of Minnesota Press, 2012; Melamed, Jodi. *Represent and destroy: Rationalizing violence in the new racial capitalism*. U of Minnesota Press, 2011.

[473] Moten, Fred, and Stefano Harney. "The university and the undercommons: Seven theses." *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 101-115.

visions of internationalism have been limited to a narrow liberal internationalism.

We need a pedagogical imaginary which shows people that alternatives exist to the

choice between, on the one hand, neoliberal internationalism that reduces democracy

and autonomy for the sake of capital, and on the other, a racist, misogynistic fascism

that would reject an engagement with the world altogether. Some might say that the

time for education has passed and the time for action is now. But it is part of the task

of reclaiming the teaching of peace to ensure that education and transformative

action become part of the same labor. I always go back to Paolo Freire's warning

against this belief in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

> Some well-intentioned but misguided persons suppose that since the dialogical process is prolonged (which, incidentally, is not true), they ought to carry out the revolution without communication, by means of 'communiques,' and that once the revolution is won, they will *then* develop a thoroughgoing educational effort. They further justify this procedure by saying that it is not possible to carry out education--liberating education-- before taking power. / It is worth analyzing some fundamental points of the above assertions. These men and women (or most of them) believe in the necessity for dialogue with the people, but do not believe this dialogue is feasible prior to taking power. When they deny the possibility that the leaders can behave in a critically educational fashion before taking power, they deny the revolution's educational quality as *cultural action* preparing to become *cultural revolution*.[474]

Continually critical learning and dialogue, for Freire, *are* the revolution;

transformative change requires a commensurate pedagogy for it. It must be our work

as teachers to do just that for an imaginary of peace. A peace based on superficial

---

[474] Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000.

friendliness alone, without distributive justice, scrupulous truthfulness, and a collective attempt to dismantle oppression, is a very empty vision of peace indeed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FILMS

Julien Bryan. "Schools to the South." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1940.

Julien Bryan. "Good Neighbor Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1942.

Julien Bryan. "Fundo in Chile." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.

Julien Bryan. "Housing in Chile." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.

Julien Bryan. "Young Uruguay." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.

Julien Bryan. "Montevideo Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. Washington: Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1943.

Julien Bryan. "Children of Russian." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

Julien Bryan. "How Russian Children Play." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

Julien Bryan, Philip Stapp. "Boundary Lines." Directed by Philip Stapp. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

Julien Bryan. "Italy Rebuilds." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1946.

Julien Bryan. "Peoples of the Soviet Union." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1947.

Julien Bryan, Philip Stapp. "Picture in Your Mind." Directed by Philip Stapp. New York: International Film Foundation, 1948.

Julien Bryan, Victor Vicas. "Bread and Wine." Directed by Vitor Vicas. New York: International Film Foundation, 1948.

Julien Bryan. "Peiping Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1948.

Julien Bryan. "Japanese Family." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1950.

Julien Bryan. "Peoples of the Soviet Union." Directed by Julien Bryan. New York: International Film Foundation, 1952.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

1953 Girl Scout Handbook. New York: Girl Scouts of America

Everyland: A World Friendship Magazine For Girls And Boys, 1909

"Introduction." *International Review of Educational Cinematograph* First Edition International Educational Cinematographic Institute of the League of Nations. July 1929.

Conference Proceedings. "The Conference on the Use of Audio-Visual Materials Toward International Understanding" jointly sponsored by American Council on Education and Film Council of America, in DC June 14-15 1946 Series: American council on education. Studies. Ser. 1. Reports of committees and conferences, no. 25. Vol. x, November, 1946.

Executive Sessions of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations. Eighty Third Congress. U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, 2003.Tuesday May 19 1953 (1161) https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Volume2.pdf

Report of the Commissioner-General of the United States to the International Universal Exposition Paris 1900. Vol. 6. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901. 241.

Report of Proceedings of the International Bimetallic Conference. London: Effingham Wilson & Company, 1894. 129.

The Geneva 1882 International Congress of Hygiene and Sanitation *The Lancet Reports of the International Congresses of Hygiene and Demography* Ballantyne London 1891 8

"Philippine Autonomy Act". *The Corpus Juris*. http://www.thecorpusjuris.com/constitutions/philippine-bill-of-1902.php

"Progress of the World" *American Monthly Review of Reviews* ed. Albert Shaw Volume 35 January June 1907 Review of Reviews Company New York 529

Addams, Jane, Berenice A. Carroll, and Clinton F. Fink. *Newer ideals of peace*. University of Illinois Press, 1907

Adler, Mortimer J., and M. J. Adler. *Philosopher at large*. Wiedenfeld., 1987.

Adler, Mortimer J. *How to speak how to listen*. Simon and Schuster, 1997.

Mortimer J. Adler, *How to Think About War and Peace* Simon and Schuster (1943),

Adler, Mortimer Jerome. *Problems for Thomists: The Problem Species*. Sheed & Ward, 1940.

Adler, Mortimer J. *The difference of man and the difference it makes*. Fordham Univ Press, 1967.

Adolf, Antony. *Peace: a world history*. Polity, 2009

Aitken, Rob. ""An Instrument for Reaching Into Experience": Progressive Film at the Rockefeller Boards, 1934–1945." *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2015).

Akenson, James E. "Historical factors in the development of elementary social studies: Focus on the expanding environments." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 15, no. 3 (1987): 155-171.

Alexander, William. *Film on the Left: American Documentary Film from 1931 to 1942*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Allport, Gordon Willard. *The nature of prejudice*. Basic books, 1979.

Alonso, Harriet Hyman. *Peace as a women's issue: A history of the US movement for world peace and women's rights*. Syracuse University Press, 1993

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Rise to globalism: American foreign policy since 1938*. Penguin, 2010.

Andrews, Fannie Fern. *Memory pages of my life*. Talisman Press, 1948.

Arendt, Hannah. "Understanding and politics." *Partisan Review* 20, no. 4 (1953): 377-92.

Bair, Sarah D. "Educating black girls in the early 20th century: The pioneering work of Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879–1961)." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 36, no. 1 (2008): 9-35.

Baker, Paula. "The domestication of politics: Women and American political society, 1780-1920." *The American Historical Review* 89.3 (1984)

Barnett, Michael. *Empire of humanity: A history of humanitarianism*. Cornell University Press, 2011

Baratta, Joseph Preston. *The Politics of World Federation* Praeger: Westport, Connecticut (2004)

Barton, Keith C. "Home geography and the development of elementary social education, 1890–1930." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 37.4 (2009)

Bazin, André. *What is cinema?*. Vol. 1. University of California Press, 2004.

Beam, Alex. *A Great Idea at the Time: The Rise, Fall, and Curious Afterlife of the Great Books* (2008), 7-22

Beard, Charles Austin, and August Charles Krey. *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*. C. Scribner's sons, 1932.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917*. University of Chicago Press, 2008

Belletto, Steven. *No Accident, Comrade: Chance and Design in Cold War American Narratives*. Oxford University Press, 2014.

Benjamin, Walter, and Rolf Tiedemann. *The arcades project*. Harvard University Press, 1999.

Bernhard, Nancy. *US television news and Cold War propaganda, 1947-1960*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Blum, John Morton. *V was for victory: Politics and American culture during World War II*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1976.

Bohan, Chara Haeussler. "Early Vanguards of Progressive Education: The Committee of Ten, the Committee of Seven, and Social Education." *Journal of Curriculum & Supervision* 19, no. 1 (2003).

Borgese, G.A. and Robert Hutchins. *Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution*. University of Chicago Press, 1948.

Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World*. Harvard University Press, 2007.

Borstelmann, Thomas. *The cold war and the color line*. Harvard University Press, 2009.

Boyer, Paul. *By the bomb's early light: American thought and culture at the dawn of the atomic age*. University of North Carolina Press, 2005

Brinkley, Alan. *The end of reform: New Deal liberalism in recession and war*. Vintage, 2011.

Brinkley, Alan. *Liberalism and its Discontents*. Harvard University Press, 1998.

Brooks, John Graham. "The Social Question in the Catholic Congresses." *International Journal of Ethics* 6 (1896): 219.

Julien Bryan "Friendship is a Passport". *This I Believe*, edited by Edward R. Murrow, Simon Schuster, 1952.

Bryan, Julien. "The 1958 Kenneth Edwards Memorial Address". University Film Producers Association Journal, vol. II, pages 4 - 7, Fall, 1958.

Bryan, Julien. *Ambulance 464*. Macmillan, 1918.

Bu, Liping. *Making the world like us: Education, cultural expansion, and the American century*. Praeger Publishers, 2003

Buchanan, Mary Elizabeth Torrance. *The children's village: the village of peace*. University of London Press, 1954.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *Dreamworld and catastrophe: the passing of mass utopia in East and West*. MIT press, 2002

Burnham, Robert. "The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee: Cultural Pluralism and the Struggle for Black Advancement." from *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970* ed. Henry Louis Taylor Jr; University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Cabot, Ella Lyman, et al. *A course in citizenship*. Houghton Mifflin, 1914.

Callahan, Raymond E. *Education and the cult of efficiency*. University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Campbell, Russell. *Cinema Strikes Back: Radical Filmmaking in the United States, 1930-1942*. UMI Research Press, US, 1982.

Carr, William George. *Education for World-citizenship*. Stanford University Press, 1928.

Castiglia, Christopher. "Abolition's Racial Interiors and the Making of White Civic Depth." *American Literary History* 14, no. 1 (2002)

Cattell, Raymond B. "A culture-free intelligence test. I." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 31.3 (1940):

Chatfield, Charles. *For peace and justice: pacifism in America, 1914-1941*. University of Tennessee Press, 1971

Chatfield, Charles, and Robert Kleidman. *The American peace movement: Ideals and activism*. Twayne Pub, 1992

Chávez, Ernesto. "Ramon is not one of these": race and sexuality in the construction of silent film actor Ramon Novarro's star image." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20.3 (2011): 520-544.

Chudacoff, Howard P. *Children at play: An American history*. NYU Press, 2007.

Clifford, Geraldine J.. *Those Good Gertrudes : A Social History of Women Teachers in America*. Baltimore, US: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.

Cogan, John J. "Civic Education in the United States: A Brief History."*International Journal of Social Education* 14.1 (1999)

Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a new deal: Industrial workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. Cambridge University Press, 1991

Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic. The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America.* (2003).

Cohen-Cole, Jamie. *The open mind: Cold War politics and the sciences of human nature*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Coloma, Roland Sintos. ""Destiny has thrown the Negro and the Filipino under the tutelage of America": Race and curriculum in the age of empire." *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 4 (2009): 495-519.

Coloma, Roland Sintos. "Disorienting race and education: Changing paradigms on the schooling of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders." *Race ethnicity and education* 9, no. 1 (2006): 1-15.

Corber, Robert J. *In the name of national security: Hitchcock, homophobia, and the political construction of gender in postwar America*. Duke University Press, 1996.

Corber, Robert J. *Cold war femme: Lesbianism, national identity, and Hollywood cinema*. Duke University Press, 2011.

Couturat, Louis. *A plea for an international language*. London: George J. Henderson, 1905. 25

Cramer, Gisela, and Ursula Prutsch. "Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Quest for Pan-American Unity: An Introductory Essay."

Cramer and Prutch, eds.,¡ *Américas Unidas: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs.(1940-46)* 2012: 1940-46.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *The transformation of the school: Progressivism in American education, 1876-1957*. New York: Vintage Books (1961).

Cullather, Nick. "Research Note: Development? It's History." *Diplomatic History* 24.4 (2000): 641-653.

Cuordileone, K.A. *Manhood and American political culture in the Cold War*. Routledge, 2005

Curti, Merle Eugene. *Peace or war: the American struggle, 1636-1936*. JS Canner, 1959

Davis, James A. *Study of Participants in the Great Books Program* National Opinion Research Center & Fund for Adult Education (1957)

D'Emilio, James. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: the Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998

Denning, Michael. *The cultural front: The laboring of American culture in the twentieth century*. Verso, 1998

Dewey, John, and Albion W. Small. *My pedagogic creed*. No. 25. EL Kellogg & Company, 1897.

Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to Philisophy of Education*. Macmillan, 1916

Dewey, John. "President Hutchins' Proposals to Remake Higher Education," *Social Frontiers* January 1937, 103

Divine, Robert A. *Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America Duriing World War II*. New York: Atheneum, 1967.

DuBois, W.E. Burghardt. "The Dilemma of the Negro." *American Mercury* 28 (1924)

Dzuback, Mary Ann. *Robert M. Hutchins: Portrait of an educator*. University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Dowling Evaline., ed. *World Friendship* Los Angeles City School District School Publication No 214, 1931.

Evans, Ronald W. *This happened in America: Harold Rugg and the censure of social studies*. IAP, 2007.

Fallace, Thomas D. "Was John Dewey ethnocentric? Reevaluating the philosopher's early views on culture and race." *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 6 (2010): 471-477.

Dudziak, Mary L. *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequences*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War civil rights: Race and the image of American democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2011.

Engelhardt, Tom. *The end of victory culture: Cold war America and the disillusioning of a generation*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2007.

Ekbladh, David. *The great American mission: Modernization and the construction of an American world order*. Princeton University Press, 2011.

Ellis, Lindsay. "Law and order in the classroom: reconsidering A Course on Citizenship, 1914." *Journal of Peace Education* 10, no. 1 (2013): 21-35.

Evans, Ronald W. "The social studies wars, now and then." *Social Education* 70.5 (2006)

Evans, Ronald W. "The social studies wars, now and then." *Social Education* 70, no. 5 (2006): 317-322.

Everett, Anna. *Returning the gaze: A genealogy of black film criticism, 1909-1949*. Duke University Press, 2001.

Fallace, Thomas D. "Did the Social Studies Really Replace History in the Local Curriculum? The Case of Elyria, Ohio and the North Central States," *Theory & Research in Social Education* (2009), 37:4

Fallace, Thomas. "The savage origins of child-centered pedagogy, 1871–1913." *American Educational Research Journal* 52, no. 1 (2015): 73-103.

Fallace, Thomas D. "John Dewey and the savage mind: Uniting anthropological, psychological, and pedagogical thought, 1894–1902." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 44, no. 4 (2008): 335-349.

Fallace, Thomas. "Repeating the race experience: John Dewey and the history curriculum at the University of Chicago laboratory school." *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (2009): 381-405.

Fallace, Thomas D. "From the German Schoolmaster's Psychology to the Psychology of the Child: Evolving Rationales for the Teaching of History in US Schools in the 1890s." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, no. 02 (2011): 161-186.

Fallace, Thomas, and Victoria Fantozzi. "Was there really a social efficiency doctrine? The uses and abuses of an idea in educational history." *Educational Researcher* 42, no. 3 (2013): 142-150.

Fallace, Thomas. "John Dewey's influence on the origins of the social studies: An analysis of the historiography and new interpretation." *Review of Educational Research* 79.2 (2009)

Fass, Paula S. *Outside in: Minorities and the transformation of American education*. Oxford University Press, 1991.

Field, Douglas. American cold war culture. Edinburgh Univ Pr, 2005.

Feldstein, Ruth. *Motherhood in black and white: Race and sex in American liberalism, 1930-1965*. Cornell University Press, 2000.

Fieldston, Sara. *Raising the world*. Harvard University Press, 2015.

Finnegan, John Patrick. *Against the specter of a dragon: The campaign for American military preparedness, 1914-1917*. No. 7. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1974

Flory, Elizabeth Harding, ed. *Films for International Understanding: Elizabeth H. Flory, Editor*. Curriculum Service Bureau for International Studies, 1947.

Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976* trans David Macey Picador: New York (2003).

Fousek, John. *To lead the free world: American nationalism and the cultural roots of the Cold War*. University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Fraser, Leon. "Educational Factors Toward Peace" *International Conciliation* American Association for International Conciliation, 1915

Fraser, Nancy, and Linda Gordon. "A genealogy of dependency: Tracing a keyword of the US welfare state." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19.2 (1994)

Fuchs, Eckhardt. "Educational sciences, morality and politics: international educational congresses in the early twentieth century." *Paedagogica historica* 40, no. 5-6 (2004): 757-784

Fuchs, Eckhardt. "The creation of new international networks in education: The League of Nations and educational organizations in the 1920s." *Paedagogica historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 199-209

Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of containment: a critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War*. Oxford University Press, 2005.

Garfinkle, Adam. *Telltale hearts: The origins and impact of the Vietnam anti-war movement*. Macmillan, 1997

Garrison, Joshua. "A problematic alliance: colonial anthropology, recapitulation theory, and G. Stanley Hall's program for the liberation of America's youth." *American Educational History Journal* 35, no. 1/2 (2008): 131.

Geiger, Roger L. *To advance knowledge: The growth of American research universities, 1900-1940*. new york: oxford University press, 1986.

Gerstle, Gary. *Working-class Americanism: The politics of labor in a textile city, 1914-1960*. Princeton University Press, 2002.

Gilbert, James. *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s*. Oxford University Press, 1988.

Glassberg, David. *American historical pageantry: The uses of tradition in the early twentieth century*. UNC Press Books, 1990.

Gordon, Leah N. *From power to prejudice: The rise of racial individualism in midcentury America*. University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Griffiths, Alison. *Wondrous difference: Cinema, anthropology, and turn-of-the-century visual culture*. Columbia University Press, 2013

Hale, Grace Elizabeth. *Making whiteness: The culture of segregation in the South, 1890-1940*. Vintage, 2010

Hall, Granville Stanley. *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*. Vol. 2. D. Appleton, 1916.

Halvorsen, Anne-Lise. "Back to the future: The expanding communities curriculum in geography education." *The social studies* 100, no. 3 (2009): 115-120.

Hansen, Miriam. *Babel and Babylon*. Harvard University Press, 1994.

Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2001.

Hart, Albert Bushnell. *School Books and International Prejudices*. No. 38. American Association for International Conciliation, 1911

Heineman, Kenneth J. *Campus wars: The peace movement at American state universities in the Vietnam era*. NYU Press, 1992

Hemenway, Robert. *The Great Books Under Discussion* The Great Books Foundation: Chicago, 1953

Margot A. Henriksen. *Dr. Strangelove's America: Society and Culture in the Atomic Age.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997

Hiner, N. Ray. "Professions in process: Changing relations between historians and educators, 1896–1911." *History of Education Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1972): 34-56.

Hertzberg, Hazel Whitman. *Social Studies Reform 1880-1980*. SSEC Publications: Boulder, CO, 1981.

Hong, Grace Kyungwon. *The ruptures of American capital: Women of color feminism and the culture of immigrant labor*. U of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American manhood: How gender politics provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars*. Yale University Press, 2000.

Howlett, Charles F., and Ian M. Harris. *Books, not bombs: teaching peace since the dawn of the republic*. IAP, 2010.

Howlett, Charles F. "American school peace league and the first peace studies curriculum" *Encyclopedia of Peace Education.* New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 2008.

Howlett, Charles F. *Troubled philosopher: John Dewey and the struggle for world peace*. Associated Faculty Press Inc, 1977

Howlett, Charles F., and Audrey Cohan. *John Dewey, America's Peace-Minded Educator*. SIU Press, 2016

Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Cult*. Beacon Press, 1955.

Hurewitz, Daniel. *Bohemian Los Angeles: and the making of modern politics*. University of California Press, 2007.

Hutchins, Robert. *The Higher Learning in America*. Yale University Press, 1936

Hutchins, Robert M. T*he great conversation: The substance of a liberal education.* Vol. I of *The Great Books of the Western World.* Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952.

Hutchins, Robert. *The Family Participation Plan* Chicago: Great Books Foundation, 1957

Hyatt, Hanna, "Julien Bryan, Internationalist". *Film Library Quarterly*, Winter 1970.

Immerwahr, Daniel. *Thinking small: the United States and the lure of community development*. Harvard University Press, 2015.

Inkeles, Alex. "Becoming modern." *Ethos* 3.2 (1975): 323-342.

Irwin, Julia. *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening*. Oxford University Press, 2013

Jackson, Walter A. *Gunnar Myrdal and America's conscience: Social engineering and racial liberalism, 1938-1987*. UNC Press Books, 1994.

James, William. "The moral equivalent of war." (1910) from Oates, Joyce Carol, and Robert Atwan. *The Best American essays of the century*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2000

Johnson, David K. *The lavender scare: The cold war persecution of gays and lesbians in the federal government*. University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Jones, Jeannette Eileen. *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884-1936*. University of Georgia Press, 2011

Kaplan, Amy. "Romancing the empire: The embodiment of American masculinity in the popular historical novel of the 1890s." *American Literary History* 2, no. 4, 1990.

Kaplan, Amy. *The anarchy of empire in the making of US culture*. Vol. 32. Harvard University Press, 2005

Kaplan, Amy. "Where is Guantánamo?." *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 831-858.

Kaplan, E. Ann. *Looking for the other: Feminism, film, and the imperial gaze*. Psychology Press, 1997.

Keels, Oliver M. "In the beginning—Albert McKinley and the founding of the Social Studies." *The Social Studies* 85, no. 5 (1994): 198-205.

Klein, Christina. *Cold war Orientalism: Asia in the middlebrow imagination, 1945-1961*. University of California Press, 2003

Kramer, Paul A. *The blood of government: Race, empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. University of North Carolina Press, 2006

Kraus, Larry. "The Fight Over MACOS." in Stern, Barbara Slater, ed. *The new social studies: People, projects, and perspectives*. IAP, 2010. 309-340

Kunzel, Regina G. *Fallen women, problem girls: Unmarried mothers and the professionalization of social work, 1890-1945*. Yale University Press, 1995.

Lacy, Timothy. "Making a Democratic Culture: the Great Books Idea, Mortimer J Adler, and Twentieth Century America," Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 2006.

Latham, Michael E. *Modernization as ideology: American social science and" nation building" in the Kennedy era*. University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Leonard, Stephen T. ""Pure Futility and Waste": Academic Political Science and Civic Education." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 32.04, 1999.

LeRiche, Leo W. "The expanding environments sequence in elementary social studies: The origins." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 15, no. 3 (1987): 137-154.

Lerner, Daniel. *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East.* (1958)

Lewontin, R.C. "The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy," from *The Cold War & the University: Toward and Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (1997) 1-34

Lipsitz, George. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990

Lipsitz, George. *Rainbow at Midnight: Labor and Culture in the 1940s*. University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Lybarger, Michael. "The political context of the social studies: Creating a constituency for municipal reform." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 8, no. 3 (1980): 1-27.

Lybarger, Michael. "Origins of the modern social studies: 1900-1916." *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1983): 455-468.

Marchand, C. Roland. *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889-1918*. Princeton University Press, 2015

Margonis, Frank. "John Dewey's racialized visions of the student and classroom community." *Educational Theory* 59, no. 1 (2009): 17-39.

Martin, George H., Homer B. Sprague, Fanny Fern Andrews, and William A. Mowry. "The Teaching of History in the Public Schools of the United States with Special Reference to War and Peace." *The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920)* 68, no. 5 (1906): 100-107

May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward bound: American families in the Cold War era*. Basic Books, 2008.

May, Lary. *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989

Maynes, Mary Jo. "Age as a category of historical analysis: history, agency, and narratives of childhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1.1 (2008)

Mazower, Mark. "The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933-1950," *The Historical Journal* (2004)

McAlister, Melani. *Epic encounters: Culture, media, and US interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. Vol. 6. University of California Press, 2001

McClay, Wilfred M. *The Masterless: Self & Society in Modern America*. UNC Press: (1995): 192-193

Medovoi, Leerom. *Rebel: Cold War Youth and the Origins of Identity*. Duke University Press (2005)

Meili, F. In *International Civil and Commercial Law*, translated by Arthur Kuhn. New York: Macmillan 1905: 144

Melamed, Jodi. "The Spirit of Neoliberalism: From Racial Liberalsm to Neoliberal Multiculturalism," *Social Text*, 2006.

Melgosa, Adrián Pérez. *Cinema and inter-American relations: Tracking transnational affect*. Vol. 17. Routledge, 2012.

Meyerowitz, Joanne. *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994

Meyerowitz, Joanne. ""How Common Culture Shapes the Separate Lives": Sexuality, Race, and Mid-Twentieth-Century Social Constructionist Thought."*The Journal of American History* 96.4 (2010): 1057-1084.

Mills, Henry Alden, "Editor's Easy Chair." *Harper's New Monthly* 930 v. 58, 1879.

Monroe, Paul. *Essays in Comparative Education*. Vol. 2. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

Murphy, Kevin P. *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform*. Columbia University Press, 2013.

Montalto, Nicholas V. *A history of the intercultural educational movement, 1924-1941*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1982.

National Education Association of the United States. Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies. *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies: With the reports of the conferences arranged by the committee*. National Education Association, 1894

Nelson, Murry R. *The social studies in secondary education: A reprint of the seminal 1916 report with annotations and commentaries*. ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2805 East Tenth Street, Suite 120, Bloomington, IN 47408-2698., 1994

Neumann, George Bradford. *A Study of International Attitudes of High School Students: With Special Reference to Those Nearing Completion of Their High School Courses*. No. 239. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.

Newfield, Christopher. *Ivy and industry: Business and the making of the American university, 1880–1980*. Duke University Press, 2003

Newman, Louise Michele. *White women's rights: The racial origins of feminism in the United States*. Oxford University Press, 1999

Nichols, Bill. "Documentary film and the modernist avant-garde." *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 4 (2001): 580-610.

Ninkovich, Frank A. *The diplomacy of ideas: US foreign policy and cultural relations, 1938-1950*. Cambridge University Press, 1981

Ogata, Amy Fumiko. *Designing the creative child: Playthings and places in midcentury America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

Orrill, R, & Shapiro, L. (2005). From bold beginning to an uncertain future: The discipline of history and history education. American Historical Review, 110(3)

Osbourne, Fred. "Fred Marrow Fling and the Source-Method of Teaching History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31 (Fall 2003)

Paris, Leslie. *Children's nature: The rise of the American summer camp*. NYU Press, 2008.

Patterson, David S. *Toward a warless world: The travail of the American peace movement, 1887-1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976

Paulet, Anne. "To change the world: The use of American Indian education in the Philippines." *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (2007): 173-202.

Pearlman, Michael David. *To make democracy safe for America: Patricians and preparedness in the progressive era*. Univ of Illinois Pr, 1984

Perchuk, Andrew. "Pollock and Postwar Masculinity." *The Masculine Masquerade: Masculinity and Representation* (1995): 31-42.

Peterson, Jennifer Lynn. *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film*. Duke University Press, 2013.

Purcell Jr, Edward A. *The crisis of democratic theory: Scientific naturalism & the problem of value*. University Press of Kentucky, 1973.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*. Routledge, 2007.

Premo, Bianca. "How Latin America's History of Childhood Came of Age." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1.1 (2008): 63-76

Prescott, Daniel Alfred. *Education and international relations: A study of the social forces that determine the influence of education*. Vol. 14. Harvard University Press, 1930.

Prevots, Naima. *Dance for export: Cultural diplomacy and the Cold War*. Wesleyan University Press, 2012.

Pupavac, Vanessa. "Therapeutic governance: psycho-social intervention and trauma risk management." *Disasters* 25.4 (2001): 358-372.

Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and sports in protestant America, 1880-1920*. Harvard University Press, 2009

Reuben, Julie A. "Beyond politics: Community civics and the redefinition of citizenship in the progressive era." *History of Education Quarterly* 37.4 (1997)

Rony, Fatimah. *The third eye: Race, cinema, and ethnographic spectacle*. Duke University Press, 1996.

Rossello, P. *Forerunners of the International Bureau of Education* London: The Yearbook of Education 1945 tr. Marie Butts

Rubin, Joan Shelley. *The making of middlebrow culture*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Sánchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. Oxford University Press, 1995.

Schachter, Hindy Lauer. "Civic education: Three early American Political Science Association committees and their relevance for our times." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 31.03 (1998)

Schaaf, Gregory. "From the Great Law of Peace to the Constitution of the United States: A Revision of America's Democratic Roots." *American Indian Law Review* 14, no. 2 (1988): 323-331.

Schwartz, Sherry. "Finding the expanding environments curriculum in America's first primary schools." *The Social Studies* 93, no. 2 (2002): 57-61.

Sedgwick Kosofsky, Eve. *Epistemology of the Closet.* Berkeley: The University of California Publishers, 1990.

Shah, Hemant. *The production of modernization: Daniel Lerner, mass media, and the passing of traditional society*. Temple University Press, 2011

Shambaugh, Mary Effie, and Anna Pearl Allison. *Folk festivals for schools and playgrounds: folk dances and melodies*. AS Barnes & Company, 1932

Fallace, Thomas. "The savage origins of child-centered pedagogy, 1871–1913." *American Educational Research Journal* 52, no. 1 (2015): 73-103.

Singh, Nikhil Pal. *Black is a Country*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Sloan, William J. "The Documentary Film and the Negro: The Evolution of the Integration Film." *The Journal of the Society of Cinematologists* (1964): 66-69.

Smith, Henry Lester and Sherman Gideon Crayton "Tentative Program for Teaching World Friendship and Understanding in Teacher Training Institutions and in Public Schools for Children Who Range from Six to Fourteen Years of Age." No. 5 *Bulletin of the School of Education Indiana University* (May 1929)

Sneider, Allison L. *Suffragists in an imperial age: US expansion and the woman question, 1870-1929*. Oxford University Press, 2008

Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the pain of others*. No. 1. Presses Universitaires de France, 2003.

Stoker, Spencer. *The schools and international understanding*. University of North Carolina Press, 1933

Stomfay-Stiz, Aline M. *Peace Education in America, 1828-1990: Sourcebook for Education and Research* The Scarecrow Press Metuchen NJ, 1993.

Streeby, Shelley. *American sensations: class, empire, and the production of popular culture*. Vol. 9. Univ of California Press, 2002.

Strickland, Charles E. "The Child, the Community, and Clio: The Uses of Cultural History in Elementary School Experiments of the Eighteen-Nineties." *History of Education Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1967): 474-492.

Sutton-Smith, Brian. *The ambiguity of play*. Harvard University Press, 2009.

Swerdlow, Amy. *Women strike for peace: Traditional motherhood and radical politics in the 1960s*. University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Trilling, Lionel. *The liberal imagination: Essays on literature and society*. New York Review of Books, 1950.

Tyrrell, Ian, and Jay Sexton, eds. *Empire's Twin: US Anti-imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

Ward, Robert D. "Against the Tide: The Preparedness Movement of 1923-1924." *Military Affairs: The Journal of Military History, Including Theory and Technology* (1974): 59-61

Saxe, David Warren. "Establishing a voice for history in schools: The first methods textbooks for history instruction 1896–1902." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 22.4 (1994)

Van Slyck, Abigail Ayres. *A manufactured wilderness: Summer camps and the shaping of American youth, 1890-1960*. University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2015.

Wald, Alan M. *The New York intellectuals: the rise and decline of the anti-Stalinist left from the 1930s to the 1980s*. UNC Press Books, 1987.

Wald, Alan M. *Exiles from a Future Time: The Forging of the Mid-Twentieth-Century Literary Left*. University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Wall, Wendy L. *Inventing the" American way": the politics of consensus from the New Deal to the civil rights movement*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

Warren, Frank A. *Noble Abstractions: American Liberal Intellectuals and World War II*. Ohio State University Press, 1999.

Watkins, William H. "Thomas Jesse Jones, Social Studies, and Race." *International Journal of Social Education* 10, no. 2 (1996): 124-34.

Weiss, Thomas G. "What happened to the idea of world government." *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009):

Wexler, Laura. *Tender violence: Domestic visions in an age of US imperialism*. UNC Press Books, 2000.

Whelan, Michael. "Albert Bushnell Hart and the origins of social studies education." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 22, no. 4 (1994): 423-440.

Whitfield, Stephen J, *The Culture of the Cold War* Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore 2nd edition, 1996.

Williams, William Appleman. *The tragedy of American diplomacy*. WW Norton & Company, 1988.

Willkie, Wendell. *One World* New York: Simon and Shuster, 1943

Wittner, Lawrence S. *Rebels against war: The American peace movement, 1933-1983*. Temple University Press, 1984

Woll, Allen L. *The Latin image in American film*. Vol. 50. Univ of California at LA, 1980. (23)

Wooley, Wesley T., *Alternatives to Anarchy: American Supranationalism Since World War II* Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1988.

Zeiger, Susan. "The schoolhouse vs. the armory: US teachers and the campaign against militarism in the schools, 1914-1918." *Journal of Women's History* 15.2 (2003): 150-179

Zeiger, Susan. "Teaching peace: Lessons from a peace studies curriculum of the progressive era." *Peace & Change* 25.1 (2000): 52-70