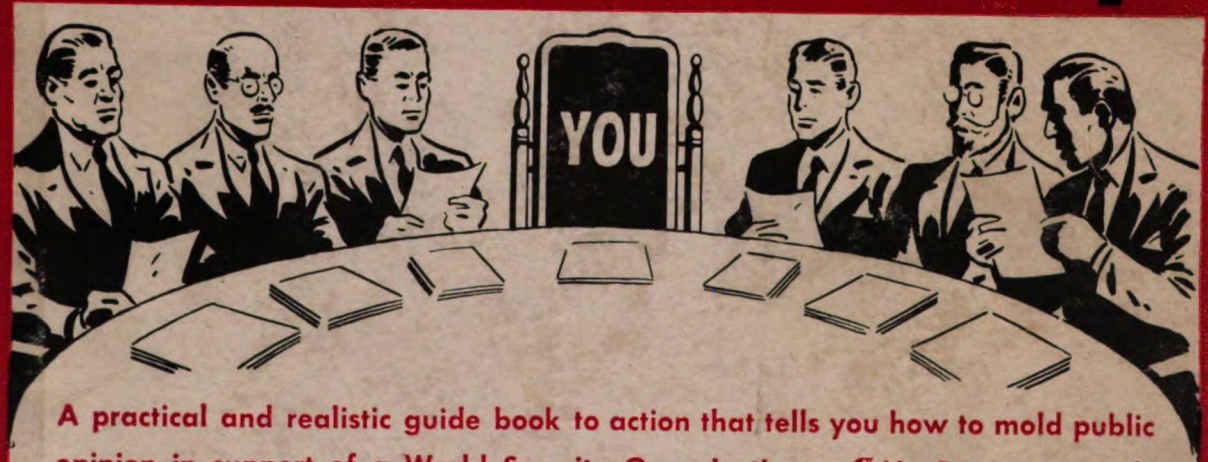
Take YOUR PLACE at the PEACE TABLE

What You Can Do to Win a Lasting United Nations Peace

BY *Edward L. Bernays*



A practical and realistic guide book to action that tells you how to mold public opinion in support of a World Security Organization. ¶ Mr. Bernays reveals the tools and weapons, the plans and strategies, that will sway individuals and groups in your town, city, state or nation. ¶ Every American can use these tested methods to translate Dumbarton Oaks, the Crimea Charter and the San Francisco Conference into a just, practical and enduring world peace.

America's No. 1 Publicist shows you how YOU can help to win the peace

TAKE YOUR PLACE AT THE PEACE TABLE

Also by Edward L. Bernays:

SPEAK UP FOR DEMOCRACY

PROPAGANDA

CRYSTALLIZING PUBLIC OPINION

Edited

AN OUTLINE OF CAREERS

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BY EDWARD L. BERNAYS

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To Doris and Anne
whose generation will have peace,
if all of us take our place
at the peace table.

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[I]

HOW YOU CAN WORK FOR THE PEACE

AMERICANS look forward to victory in this war with confidence — and yet with fear. Confident of winning the military phases of the war, they fear failure in the peaceful reconstruction of Europe and the rest of the world. This fear, however, is baseless if we remember an all-important fact: public opinion is the one force in the world today that can plan — *and win* — a just and enduring United Nations peace.

Thoughtful Americans know that neither plans for peace nor peace itself should be made behind the closed doors of diplomacy. The whole history of secret treaty-making — including America's efforts in that direction — has been one of failure after failure.

In the last war, America failed to play her proper peace role because the people had so little voice in preliminary discussions. In the present war, unless men and women outside of government discuss peace plans openly and intelligently, and then step forward to take their place at the peace table, the future will bring new failures.

This book is aimed at the millions of sincere Americans and the hundreds of American organizations who are realistic about winning a United Nations peace. They know we must agree with our Allies first, and then go on from there. They know that Dumbarton Oaks marks the first time the United States has ever moved seriously towards establishing a global structure for peace.

They know that the Crimea Conference in February, the Security Conference at San Francisco, are practical and powerful steps towards implementing a World Security Organization. They know that public support of these moves will further the peace program in the United States. And they know that such public support will influence the thoughts and actions of other governments.

This book will not appeal to those who think Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin hold the post-war reins in their hands. It will not appeal to those who say that "Peace is in the bag for Fascism (or Communism)" or "That Man in the White House has messed up everything." It will not appeal to the despairers who, feeling

that nothing good ever comes out of the world, keep on crying, "What's the use?" And it will be scorned by the isolationists, no matter what name they go by.

THE INDIVIDUAL IS ALL-POWERFUL

The people to whom this book is directed should remember one vital thing: any one of us *can* change the political and social actions of his fellow Americans. Yet when we're told we have that power, few of us realize it. We have forgotten that our Constitution and our Bill of Rights were based on the importance of the individual.

Today, however, there is a noticeable decline in the belief that the individual is important. Many people feel that they can accomplish nothing unless they belong to big groups. The growing emphasis everywhere is on organizations, blocs and mass movements that absorb the individual.

Yet this trend does not jibe with the facts. Everyone who wants a practical and enduring United Nations peace can present his ideas to other people in innumerable ways, and spur these people to agreement and activity. Yes — even the plain, private citizen can exert influence on world affairs: only recently Wendell Willkie proved that dramatically.

Every man has at his command powerful tools of persuasion. He can help to solve world problems if he uses these tools. But to use them most wisely and most effectively calls for techniques and methods. Approaches must be studied, activities must be planned.

I can speak with some authority on the subject because I have been doing this very thing, in many fields of action, for a quarter of a century. Ever since returning from the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, I have been informing and arousing public opinion. Counsel on public relations today, after twenty-five years, is a recognized profession.

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If you have anything to say, you can get it across to the public. People you never heard of before are making news today. America has become a small room in which a single whisper is magnified thousands of times. By passing on our thoughts to America's vast communications network, all of us can affect the attitudes and action of our fellow citizens.

In addition to this right of freedom of expression, every citizen possesses great potential political power. Among almost 50,000,000 voters, the single vote still counts heavily in national affairs. For instance, the 1944 election demonstrated the delicate balance between parties. Mr. Roosevelt won by about seven per cent; in some states his margin of victory was only one per cent.

Because of this fine balance, governmental action is often brought about by small pressure groups, some of them the creation of one man. Thus, on a national issue, the result *can* be decided by the individual voice. There you have another proof of the common man's power.

Many of us are reluctant to use our potential strength. We say: "Let George do it," "Why should I buck the system?" "Let the responsible guy in the government do it," or "You can't fight the mayor."

Yet when we are finally aroused we express ourselves in a big way, as individuals and as groups. The last few decades have produced many examples of this aroused strength.

In the late 1890's, William Jennings Bryan, the "Commoner," created an enthusiasm that swept the country. The common man who supported Theodore Roosevelt in the early 1900's, the millions who joined the Progressive Movement, are other instances. The common man led the drive for Preparedness before World War I, backed the New Deal in 1932, supported the NRA Blue Eagle and the Willkie crusade.

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ECONOMICS AND PEACE

Economics is not the subject of this book. But economics is bound up with the peace of the world. Distressed conditions within any nation make that nation's people more susceptible to demagogues, aggression and war.

Today we often talk of peace in economic terms — of reconversion, of an annual U. S. income of $150,000,000,000, of 60,000,000 employed. This is important, of course. But we should not wait for post-war economic conditions to determine our kind of peace.

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A Brookings Institution study shows that after the War of 1812, the Civil War and World War I, the American economic pattern was the same. First, several months of hesitancy, then good business for a year or more, then a short period of readjustment, finally another period of prosperity.

Present-day influences may cause a repetition of this pattern. Or they may not. The psychology of our own people, or of other people and nations, may produce an entirely different situation. No man can foretell. That is why we must look at peace from a broader standpoint than our economic position.

For the first time in history, our government is making plans for a world organization to maintain peace. This peace will chart our course for the rest of our lives, our children's lives, perhaps our country's life. It is a responsibility of dramatic and tremendous proportions.

The peace today is in the hands of all our citizens, acting alone or in groups, who use the tools of persuasion. As millions of us strove to win our war aims on the home front and on the battlefield, so we can work individually and together to win and hold a United Nations peace.

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But, you ask, how can you as an individual promote a just and practical and enduring peace? What must you know and do? What methods should you use to translate your hopes into action?

There are many things you can do. For example, you can approach editors, publishers, press associations and news syndicate managers. You can telephone or visit broadcasting stations and tell your story to program directors and commentators.

A letter to the President or Mrs. Roosevelt, to a Senator or Representative, to a Cabinet officer or Federal bureau chief, to a chairman of a Congressional committee, to any one of the 735,000 leaders of thought and action in America, may start a wave of enthusiasm that will sweep 138,000,000 Americans along.

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Some 95,000,000 Americans go to the movies every week, where features, newsreels, short subjects and cartoons make a forceful appeal. Magazines — approximately 6,000 of them — have a circulation of 185,000,000. More than $2,130,000,000 spent annually on advertising affects millions of Americans. Events, exploitations, parades, rallies, sway other millions.

All these devices are used to "sell" the war effort to every man, woman and child in America. They can just as easily be harnessed to your crusade for a sound and workable United Nations peace.

STRATEGY AND PLANNING ARE NEEDED

Every day in America, counsels on public relations plan strategy, organize activities, carry out programs to win public support. American opinion is being crystallized constantly and consciously for a wide variety of causes.

As a consumer, you follow suggestions as to what you should eat, where you should shop, what you should wear. You give whole-hearted support to anti-tuberculosis and anti-cancer campaigns, to better housing and better education movements. You follow guideposts to what is best in books, in the theater, in music, in art.

Surely, permanent world peace is just as important to you — and to your children — as the goods you purchase, the way you live. In fact, *it is much more important.* And that is the conviction that must be brought home to millions of Americans.

Our government is dependent upon its people for action. You, the people, can exert power to shape the peace. The tools and the weapons you need are at hand. You can learn to use them easily.

Read this book — and then re-read it. Use it as a guide to strategy, as a blueprint for action, as a constant reminder of how effectively you can get over your ideas on peace to other Americans.

Study the methods and techniques, plan your activities, go into action. Then — and only then — will you be occupying your rightful place at the United Nations peace table.

DUMBARTON OAKS: THE FIRST STEP

Peace through international cooperation is an age-old idea. The first man to try to form a supra-national government was the Egyptian Pharaoh, Ikhnaton, who in the 14th century B.C. "was persuaded by his wife, Nephretite, to withdraw all his troops from the conquered lands, leaving only his ambassadors. All the states had autonomy, Ikhnaton retaining only advisory control. The federation lasted until his death, when his son-in-law's efforts to maintain it were defeated by the priests and generals."

In the last 2,000 years, at least fifty more attempts have been made to establish supra-national states. As recently as 1923 the announcement of the Bok Peace Award brought in 22,000 different plans to keep peace through world cooperation. Yet almost all peace plans contain three dominant issues: the structure of world government, the areas to be included, the enforcement of world law.

Today, the United States has before it for the first time proposals for an international organization to maintain peace and security. These proposals were drafted and approved by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference held at Washington, D.C. from August 21 to October 7, 1944. Following the conference, the State Department issued a simplified, question-and-answer summary of what happened at Dumbarton Oaks and how the proposals, if carried out, would lead to a permanent, practical and just peace. Here is the State Department's summary:

What Are the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals?

The Proposals are recommendations for the establishment of a general international organization, which were agreed to by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The Proposals were published October 9, 1944.

What Use Will Be Made of These Proposals?

The Proposals are now being considered by these four governments, with a view to completing several topics left for further consideration. The completed Proposals will then be formally submitted to the various governments to serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference at which the charter of the Organization will be drawn up. The charter would be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

In What Major Fields Would the Proposed Organization Operate?

In the field of security, it would seek to prevent the outbreak of war (1) by encouraging peaceful adjustment or settlement of international disputes, (2) by preventing and removing threats to the peace, and (3) by suppressing breaches of the peace, by combined force if necessary.

In the field of economic and social cooperation, it would facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Through What Main Bodies Would the Organization Operate?

A General Assembly, composed of representatives of all member states, meeting in annual and special sessions, in which each state would have one vote;

A Security Council, composed of representatives of eleven member states and so organized as to be able to function continuously. The United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and eventually France, would have permanent seats, while six states would be elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly;

An international court of justice, to whose statute all members of the organization would be parties;

A Secretariat, comprising an expert staff and headed by a secretary-general as chief administrative officer;

An Economic and Social Council, composed of representatives of eighteen member states chosen by the General Assembly for three-year terms;

A Military Staff Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives with provision for the participation by other states when necessary.

What States Would Be Members of the Organization?

Any peace-loving state could become a member. States which do not become original members could be admitted by the General Assembly, upon recommendation of the Security Council.

What Would Be the Primary Responsibilities of the General Assembly?

(1) initiate studies and make recommendations for the promotion of international cooperation in political, economic, and social fields and for adjustment of situations likely to impair the general welfare;

(2) consider and make recommendations with respect both to general principles of cooperation in, and questions relating to, the maintenance of international peace and security, except that the General Assembly would not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security being dealt with by the Security Council;

(3) make recommendations for coordinating the policies of the specialized agencies brought into relationship with the Organization;

(4) elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and all the members of the Economic and Social Council; and

(5) be responsible for the finances of the Organization.

What Would Be the Principal Powers of the Security Council for Maintaining Peace?

(1) to investigate any dispute or any situation the continuance of which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute;

(2) to call upon states to settle their disputes by peaceful means of their own choice;

(3) to recommend to states appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment of disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security;

(4) to determine whether any situation threatens the peace or involves a breach of the peace, and to take any measures necessary to maintain or restore peace, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization;

(5) to take diplomatic, economic, and other measures to give effect to its decisions; and

(6) to employ air, naval, or land forces to maintain or restore international peace, if measures short of force prove inadequate.

How Would the Security Council Obtain the Military Forces That Might Be Needed in Maintaining Peace?

Member states would conclude a special agreement or agreements among themselves, subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The agreement or agreements would specify the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be made available to the Security Council. The Security Council could call upon some of the members of the Organization, or when necessary all of them, to make available the forces, facilities, or assistance thus agreed upon, including national air-force contingents which member states would hold immediately available to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organization.

How Would the Security Council Employ Any Military Forces Made Available to It?

Armed forces would operate in accordance with plans made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee. Questions of the command of such forces would be worked out later.

What Provisions Are Made for the Regulation of Armaments?

The Security Council would have responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments to be submitted to member states. The Military Staff Committee would advise the Council on questions relating to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament.

What Would Be the Functions of the International Court of Justice?

As the principal judicial organ of the Organization, it would consider and render judgments in disputes referred to it which can be settled upon the basis of rules of law. The court would also, upon request, give advice to the Security Council on legal questions involved in other disputes.

What Would Be the Chief Responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council?

(1) facilitating solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems;

(2) promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

(3) recommending the coordination of the activities of international organizations and agencies which may be brought into relationship with the Organization, such as the projected United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the proposed International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and probably other specialized agencies in the field of education, cultural cooperation, health, etc.

Why Should the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France Have Permanent Seats on the Security Council?

It is necessary and inevitable that primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security should rest upon those states which, by reason of their capacity and resources, are in the best position to exercise that responsibility most effectively. This heavy responsibility would be discharged under the authority of the whole Security Council and on behalf of the whole Organization.

What Positions Would Smaller States Have in the Organization?

In the General Assembly their representatives would have an equal voice with the larger states. They would occupy six non-permanent seats on the Security Council and so participate in all important security decisions. All members of the Organization would have equal access to and equal standing before the international court of justice, and would be equally eligible to election as one of the eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council.

What Would Be the Effect of the Establishment of the United Nations Upon the Inter-American System and Any Other Such Regional Arrangements?

Regional systems or arrangements whose principles and purposes are consistent with those of the United Nations Organization would not be prohibited. These systems and arrangements would be encouraged, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council, to undertake the peaceful settlement of such disputes as are appropriate for regional action. Regional agencies might also be used in enforcement actions, but only with the authorization and under the supervision of the Security Council.

What Are Some of the Important Differences Between the Proposed Organization and the League of Nations?

(1) Unlike the League of Nations, where both the Assembly and the Council had similar general powers, in the proposed Organization the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security would be assigned to the Security Council, while the General Assembly would have primary responsibility for the facilitation of solutions of international

economic, social, and other humanitarian problems and the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(2) The proposed Charter would make illegal the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization, in contrast to the League Covenant which made only outright war illegal.

(3) The proposed Organization would be empowered to ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with the principles of the Organization so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security, whereas the League Covenant contained no provision with respect to compliance by non-member states with the principles of the Covenant for the maintenance of peace.

(4) The new Organization would not have one Council, as did the League, but would have instead more specialized Councils, including the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, each with responsibilities in clearly defined fields and with different composition and powers to correspond with their specialized tasks.

(5) The Security Council would have greater powers in the use of military and non-military enforcement measures than did the League Council, particularly since the projected agreements and arrangements among member states would place two basic obligations on states not explicitly recognized under the League: the obligations (a) to *make available* forces, facilities, and assistance necessary to the Security Council in maintaining peace, and (b) to *hold immediately available* national air-force contingents for carrying out urgent military measures through combined international enforcement action.

(6) The Economic and Social Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, would be empowered to consider not only an enumerated list of problems in the field of economic and social cooperation, as was the League, but to facilitate solution of problems in this field generally.

(7) In contrast to the League, which provided for placing only existing international bureaus under the direction of the League, the present proposals provide that each specialized economic, social, and other organization or agency, existing or projected, should be brought into relationship with the new Organization on mutually agreeable terms.

(8) The unanimity rule that prevailed in the League would not be applied in the new Organization except perhaps in restricted form and in restricted categories of cases, yet to be defined. The General Assembly would deal with important questions by a two-thirds vote, and the Economic and Social Council would make its recommendations by majority vote.

(9) The international court of justice would be one of the principal organs of the proposed Organization and its statute a part of the charter, instead of being a related body as was the case with the Permanent Court of International Justice.

(10) The Military Staff Committee would be a new feature in international organization.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS OF APPENDIX

[I]

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STRATEGY AND PLANNING ARE NEEDED

Every day in America, counsels on public relations plan strategy, organize activities, carry out programs to win public support. American opinion is being crystallized constantly and consciously for a wide variety of causes.

As a consumer, you follow suggestions as to what you should eat, where you should shop, what you should wear. You give whole-hearted support to anti-tuberculosis and anti-cancer campaigns, to better housing and better education movements. You follow guideposts to what is best in books, in the theater, in music, in art.

Surely, permanent world peace is just as important to you — and to your children — as the goods you purchase, the way you live. In fact, *it is much more important.* And that is the conviction that must be brought home to millions of Americans.

Our government is dependent upon its people for action. You, the people, can exert power to shape the peace. The tools and the weapons you need are at hand. You can learn to use them easily.

Read this book — and then re-read it. Use it as a guide to strategy, as a blueprint for action, as a constant reminder of how effectively you can get over your ideas on peace to other Americans.

Study the methods and techniques, plan your activities, go into action. Then — and only then — will you be occupying your rightful place at the United Nations peace table.

DUMBARTON OAKS: THE FIRST STEP

Peace through international cooperation is an age-old idea. The first man to try to form a supra-national government was the Egyptian Pharaoh, Ikhnaton, who in the 14th century B.C. "was persuaded by his wife, Nephretite, to withdraw all his troops from the conquered lands, leaving only his ambassadors. All the states had autonomy, Ikhnaton retaining only advisory control. The federation lasted until his death, when his son-in-law's efforts to maintain it were defeated by the priests and generals."

In the last 2,000 years, at least fifty more attempts have been made to establish supra-national states. As recently as 1923 the announcement of the Bok Peace Award brought in 22,000 different plans to keep peace through world cooperation. Yet almost all peace plans contain three dominant issues: the structure of world government, the areas to be included, the enforcement of world law.

Today, the United States has before it for the first time proposals for an international organization to maintain peace and security. These proposals were drafted and approved by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference held at Washington, D.C. from August 21 to October 7, 1944. Following the conference, the State Department issued a simplified, question-and-answer summary of what happened at Dumbarton Oaks and how the proposals, if carried out, would lead to a permanent, practical and just peace. Here is the State Department's summary:

What Are the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals?

The Proposals are recommendations for the establishment of a general international organization, which were agreed to by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The Proposals were published October 9, 1944.

What Use Will Be Made of These Proposals?

The Proposals are now being considered by these four governments, with a view to completing several topics left for further consideration. The completed Proposals will then be formally submitted to the various governments to serve as a basis of discussion at a full United Nations Conference at which the charter of the Organization will be drawn up. The charter would be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their constitutional processes.

In What Major Fields Would the Proposed Organization Operate?

In the field of security, it would seek to prevent the outbreak of war (1) by encouraging peaceful adjustment or settlement of international disputes, (2) by preventing and removing threats to the peace, and (3) by suppressing breaches of the peace, by combined force if necessary.

In the field of economic and social cooperation, it would facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Through What Main Bodies Would the Organization Operate?

A General Assembly, composed of representatives of all member states, meeting in annual and special sessions, in which each state would have one vote;

A Security Council, composed of representatives of eleven member states and so organized as to be able to function continuously. The United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and eventually France, would have permanent seats, while six states would be elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly;

An international court of justice, to whose statute all members of the organization would be parties;

A Secretariat, comprising an expert staff and headed by a secretary-general as chief administrative officer;

An Economic and Social Council, composed of representatives of eighteen member states chosen by the General Assembly for three-year terms;

A Military Staff Committee, composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives with provision for the participation by other states when necessary.

What States Would Be Members of the Organization?

Any peace-loving state could become a member. States which do not become original members could be admitted by the General Assembly, upon recommendation of the Security Council.

What Would Be the Primary Responsibilities of the General Assembly?

(1) initiate studies and make recommendations for the promotion of international cooperation in political, economic, and social fields and for adjustment of situations likely to impair the general welfare;

(2) consider and make recommendations with respect both to general principles of cooperation in, and questions relating to, the maintenance of international peace and security, except that the General Assembly would not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security being dealt with by the Security Council;

(3) make recommendations for coordinating the policies of the specialized agencies brought into relationship with the Organization;

(4) elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and all the members of the Economic and Social Council; and

(5) be responsible for the finances of the Organization.

What Would Be the Principal Powers of the Security Council for Maintaining Peace?

(1) to investigate any dispute or any situation the continuance of which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute;

(2) to call upon states to settle their disputes by peaceful means of their own choice;

(3) to recommend to states appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment of disputes likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security;

(4) to determine whether any situation threatens the peace or involves a breach of the peace, and to take any measures necessary to maintain or restore peace, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Organization;

(5) to take diplomatic, economic, and other measures to give effect to its decisions; and

(6) to employ air, naval, or land forces to maintain or restore international peace, if measures short of force prove inadequate.

How Would the Security Council Obtain the Military Forces That Might Be Needed in Maintaining Peace?

Member states would conclude a special agreement or agreements among themselves, subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The agreement or agreements would specify the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be made available to the Security Council. The Security Council could call upon some of the members of the Organization, or when necessary all of them, to make available the forces, facilities, or assistance thus agreed upon, including national air-force contingents which member states would hold immediately available to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the Organization.

How Would the Security Council Employ Any Military Forces Made Available to It?

Armed forces would operate in accordance with plans made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee. Questions of the command of such forces would be worked out later.

What Provisions Are Made for the Regulation of Armaments?

The Security Council would have responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulation of armaments to be submitted to member states. The Military Staff Committee would advise the Council on questions relating to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament.

What Would Be the Functions of the International Court of Justice?

As the principal judicial organ of the Organization, it would consider and render judgments in disputes referred to it which can be settled upon the basis of rules of law. The court would also, upon request, give advice to the Security Council on legal questions involved in other disputes.

What Would Be the Chief Responsibilities of the Economic and Social Council?

(1) facilitating solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems;

(2) promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

(3) recommending the coordination of the activities of international organizations and agencies which may be brought into relationship with the Organization, such as the projected United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the proposed International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and probably other specialized agencies in the field of education, cultural cooperation, health, etc.

Why Should the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and France Have Permanent Seats on the Security Council?

It is necessary and inevitable that primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security should rest upon those states which, by reason of their capacity and resources, are in the best position to exercise that responsibility most effectively. This heavy responsibility would be discharged under the authority of the whole Security Council and on behalf of the whole Organization.

What Positions Would Smaller States Have in the Organization?

In the General Assembly their representatives would have an equal voice with the larger states. They would occupy six non-permanent seats on the Security Council and so participate in all important security decisions. All members of the Organization would have equal access to and equal standing before the international court of justice, and would be equally eligible to election as one of the eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council.

What Would Be the Effect of the Establishment of the United Nations Upon the Inter-American System and Any Other Such Regional Arrangements?

Regional systems or arrangements whose principles and purposes are consistent with those of the United Nations Organization would not be prohibited. These systems and arrangements would be encouraged, either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council, to undertake the peaceful settlement of such disputes as are appropriate for regional action. Regional agencies might also be used in enforcement actions, but only with the authorization and under the supervision of the Security Council.

What Are Some of the Important Differences Between the Proposed Organization and the League of Nations?

(1) Unlike the League of Nations, where both the Assembly and the Council had similar general powers, in the proposed Organization the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security would be assigned to the Security Council, while the General Assembly would have primary responsibility for the facilitation of solutions of international

economic, social, and other humanitarian problems and the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

(2) The proposed Charter would make illegal the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the Organization, in contrast to the League Covenant which made only outright war illegal.

(3) The proposed Organization would be empowered to ensure that states not members of the Organization act in accordance with the principles of the Organization so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security, whereas the League Covenant contained no provision with respect to compliance by non-member states with the principles of the Covenant for the maintenance of peace.

(4) The new Organization would not have one Council, as did the League, but would have instead more specialized Councils, including the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, each with responsibilities in clearly defined fields and with different composition and powers to correspond with their specialized tasks.

(5) The Security Council would have greater powers in the use of military and non-military enforcement measures than did the League Council, particularly since the projected agreements and arrangements among member states would place two basic obligations on states not explicitly recognized under the League: the obligations (a) to *make available* forces, facilities, and assistance necessary to the Security Council in maintaining peace, and (b) to *hold immediately available* national air-force contingents for carrying out urgent military measures through combined international enforcement action.

(6) The Economic and Social Council, under the authority of the General Assembly, would be empowered to consider not only an enumerated list of problems in the field of economic and social cooperation, as was the League, but to facilitate solution of problems in this field generally.

(7) In contrast to the League, which provided for placing only existing international bureaus under the direction of the League, the present proposals provide that each specialized economic, social, and other organization or agency, existing or projected, should be brought into relationship with the new Organization on mutually agreeable terms.

(8) The unanimity rule that prevailed in the League would not be applied in the new Organization except perhaps in restricted form and in restricted categories of cases, yet to be defined. The General Assembly would deal with important questions by a two-thirds vote, and the Economic and Social Council would make its recommendations by majority vote.

(9) The international court of justice would be one of the principal organs of the proposed Organization and its statute a part of the charter, instead of being a related body as was the case with the Permanent Court of International Justice.

(10) The Military Staff Committee would be a new feature in international organization.

(11) Provision would be made for the suspension from the exercise of any right or privilege of membership of any member of the Organization against which preventive or enforcement action is taken, a provision not contained in the League Covenant.

(12) The charter of the proposed Organization would be an independent instrument, unlike the League Covenant which was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles and other peace treaties.

YALTA AND SAN FRANCISCO

In February, 1945, Mr. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin met in the Crimea. Here, during an eight-day session at the town of Yalta, the Big Three made memorable history. Not only did they agree on controversial points, such as the terms of Germany's surrender, post-war reparations and the division of Poland, but the principle of collective security — as set forth at Dumbarton Oaks — was emphatically reaffirmed.

A conference of representatives of the United Nations was called for San Francisco on April 25, to prepare the charter of the World Security Organization. And the Big Three's foreign secretaries — Stettinius, Eden and Molotov — were directed to confer on security problems periodically (about every three or four months), first in London, then in Washington, then in Moscow.

Out of the Crimea meeting, out of the San Francisco security conference, out of the regular meetings of the United Nations foreign secretaries, will come the activation needed to implement the proposals first put forth at Dumbarton Oaks.

If this United Nations program is demanded by our people, demanded of our elected representatives in Congress, demanded of the President and his Cabinet, we shall have the peace we want.

UNIFIED ACTIVITY IS NEEDED

Now the Dumbarton Oaks program is not a perfected plan. But preliminary agreement has been reached on it. It has more sense, more power than any other plan. New plans would only dissipate our energies and jeopardize unity.

Already the Community Chest campaigns have shown America how unified action brings better social service. We know that if we wage competitive campaigns for anti-tuberculosis and anti-cancer at the same time, each weakens the other and the public health suffers.

Planned and unified activity for peace follows the same general rule. Backing the broad principles on which the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are based will put us a long step forward.

But those who want to keep this nation isolationist are already carrying on propaganda aimed at dividing the public. Selfish political factions and self-seeking cliques are trying to confuse the peace issue and lead America back to the mistakes of 1919-1939. If they succeed, you and millions of other Americans will suffer — for years to come.

So — what are *you* going to do about it?

Sure, you're interested in peace, in Dumbarton Oaks and the succeeding conferences. You'd like to do your part in insuring that other Americans like you back the results of these agreements reached between the United Nations, instead of seeing these agreements wrecked by a Congressional filibuster, or political conniving.

You've read that when America gets excited, there are usually special interest propaganda machines behind the excitement. Therefore you tend to discount the excitement. You want to remain the traditional American innocent bystander. Yet, before you know it, you are likely to join in and become a participant in the excitement. It's like the man who howls about a particular radio commercial — and then smokes the brand of cigarettes it advertises.

Don't be unconsciously misled by special interest propaganda. Instead, why not make a conscious effort to become a leader in building America's plans for post-war peace and security?

HOW TO MAKE YOUR PLANS

Let us assume you want to back the United Nations peace plan, the soundest, most practical approach to peace in world history. Then organize yourself, your time and your efforts to make your opinion count.

Whether you perform a ten-minute stint or carry on a full-time job, the professional approach always eliminates delays and frustrations. Hence, before you start working for the peace you want, you must plan. You will have to know:

Your objectives
Your assets and liabilities
Your strategy
Your appeals
Your organization
Your timing
Your methods and tools

OBJECTIVES

To whom will your efforts be directed? Who are the persons and groups who can say yes or no? Where is your market? What are the right targets for your activities?

The Constitution of the United States provides "He (the President) shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur." In other words, America's treaty-making powers rest in the hands of the President and two-thirds of the Senators.

That appears to define your target as:

(1) The President, the Secretary of State and other Cabinet members.

(2) The Senate, and specifically the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

But actually there is another big target, the House of Representatives, and specifically the House Foreign Affairs and Appropriations Committees. Appropriations

originate in the House and must be passed by the House. To carry out the kind of peace program we want, the expenditure of money is essential.

The President, the Cabinet, the Senate and the House naturally are influenced by other people. Therefore we can extend our target to include what is loosely termed Washington, because the public opinion climate of the Capital affects the important persons who make decisions.

The relationship between leaders and followers in a democracy is a mutual one. Men in power cannot disobey the mandate of the people if they want to be re-elected or reappointed. Leaders go as far or as fast as their followers permit.

The people's representatives in Washington are responsible to all of us, the people, who are the final voice of democracy. But we, the people, are influenced in turn by hundreds of thousands of opinion-molders and group-leaders throughout the United States.

Some of these men and women are elected by us — others are selected. They, in turn, become important factors in shaping the judgments of those who make the decisions. Yet every one of us is an opinion-molder or group-leader to some degree, and can become a more influential leader if he chooses.

Our country is divided into innumerable groups based on common interests and backgrounds. They cover all fields of human activity — economic, social, political.

Groups have always been important in our national life. As early as 1830, Alexis de Toqueville, who came from France to visit America, wrote that "Americans of all ages, of all conditions and of all dispositions constantly form associations."

Those within a group naturally look to its key men and women for guidance. We do not base all our decisions on our own experience, knowledge or judgment.

A *national* list of such key men and women would include the elected and appointed officials of government: the President, the Vice-President and Cabinet members, the justices of the Supreme Court, the heads of important government bureaus, senators and representatives; governors, members of State legislatures, the mayors of towns and other comparable officials.

Publishers and editors of daily, weekly and semi-weekly newspapers; news services, syndicates and columnists; book publishers, magazine editors; program directors and commentators on radio chains and stations would be included. So would newsreel editors, lecturers, publicists.

Clergymen, educational leaders, directors of business enterprises, heads of business groups would be counted in. Also, Chambers of Commerce, Rotary, Lion and Kiwanis Clubs. The 3,100 leaders of trade and professional associations in manufacturing, finance, wholesale and retail trade, service and transportation, as well as agri-

cultural, labor and consumer groups would be on the list. So would the National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, farm union heads, national and local, national unions and locals of organized labor, veterans and fraternal groups.

Among professional groups would be medical, engineering, educational and other associations organized on a local and national scale; women's groups, social service groups and, of course, political leaders on all levels.

The groups and group-leaders you will try to persuade are your market. Just as a businessman introducing a new product knows his market — who will buy, where and when? — so you will need to know your market. No enterprise today succeeds without first making a study of its market.

What and where are the groups that make up your market for a United Nations peace? Who is on your side of the fence and who is against you? Who are the leaders of all the groups that you want to reach?

You may classify groups according to the media they listen to or read — the movie, the radio, newspaper groups — and try to reach them through these means. Or you can think of them in terms of recreational interests — sports, theater, arts. You may divide them up by age — youth, middle-aged, old.

Up to this point, of course, you have not yet decided on the scale of your operation. But you do know that when you make the decision, groups and their leaders will be an important part of the influences you want to bring to bear on the peace-makers.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

To determine how much of the target you will cover as one individual, you must measure your assets and liabilities. What contributions to peace can you make in effort, time and money?

Social psychologists classify leadership into three categories: mental, those who deal with ideas; social, with action; executive, with procedures. Magnetism, foresight, flexibility and versatility are qualities of leadership. Mental leaders have creative abilities like writing; social leaders abound in self-confidence, enthusiasm and energy; executive leaders are strong in organizing ability, are detail-minded and dynamic.

Analyze the qualities of leadership in yourself so as to determine what you can best bring to your peace activities. Manual skills — stenography, typing, running office machinery — may also be helpful. But if you can write persuasive speeches for a United Nations peace, do not spend time addressing envelopes. Try to find out what you are best fitted to do before you start working.

How much time will you spend on your peace activities? You cannot budget your time and use it effectively unless you know how much you have to give.

You will need money too, although money is not the determining factor in effectiveness. The carrying power of your ideas isn't always proportionate to the amount of money you put behind them. Five cents or many thousands of dollars can do a job. Money is important, however, because it enables you to buy what you need in this work.

Your letters will have to be postpaid. You cannot pay printers' bills without money. While your ideas may be passed on through the press and the radio to the public, even in these channels the creation or distribution of material often costs money. No one can tell you how much to spend. Measure your enthusiasm and your pocketbook. How much of a job do you want to do? How much can you give to back your peace beliefs?

You must also know the facts of the cause you are backing—not only the facts about the United Nations' peace plan but about events and how human beings make them.

People think it is easy to get at facts, but that isn't true. Facts come to you through newspapers, magazines, radio, motion pictures, conversation. Before they come to you, however, they are sieved through other minds. Perhaps by a writer, an editor, a radio commentator, a motion-picture script writer, or the person talking to you about peace.

Facts may become distorted before they reach you. The person talking to you may honestly believe he is conveying the truth, but it may be selective truth, conscious or unconscious. To get at the facts for a 3,000-word article in a recent issue of *The American Mercury,* I sent out 6,000 letters. Researchers spent 400 hours abstracting the answers.

You may be getting ideas from someone who consciously is trying to make you think and act as he desires. Distortion may be caused by prejudice, by a preconceived attitude. You may misinterpret ideas because of your own prejudices. Or perhaps the person giving you his ideas failed to make himself clear because he expressed himself poorly.

Others may know how to explain the United Nations peace proposals better than you. But your interpretation, written in your own language, will give you a personal outline of what you are promoting and selling. Keep this at hand. Revise it from time to time as new conditions call for modifications. Simplify it into planks of a platform. This will aid you in your thinking and planning.

Your sources for facts will be your everyday contacts — newspapers, radio, movies,

magazines, books — as well as the references listed in the appendix of this book. This reference list will give you information on facts, and on how to use these facts to sway other people. Unless you use facts expertly, they will be of little value to you in this work.

You know your objective, your assets, your liabilities, the facts about the peace you are trying to sell. What will your strategy be in the actual selling of it?

STRATEGY

An army disposes of its forces differently when it has planes than when it has none. Your campaign may be a blitzkrieg or a slow movement. Choose your strategy after making an analysis of the entire situation.

Different strategies may be used singly or in combination, in activities aimed at the peace-makers and at those who influence the peace-makers. Here are the various kinds of strategy:

(1) Strengthen those who already believe as you do. Your strategy aims to make these people more effective in following the course of action they already have chosen. By giving support to such men, groups and media, you will be speeding their activities.

(2) Try to win over those who differ with you, and get them to adopt your beliefs about a United Nations peace.

(3) Supply fact and point of view to those who are ready to be convinced.

(4) Aim at active opponents of your peace views. This may call for an attack on their ideas or activities. You must study the opposition, know the kind of people they are and whom they have influenced. You must decide which of their arguments carry weight and which do not.

Many men and many movements have no strategy. You will have a decided advantage if you know your strategies in advance — and keep them flexible.

APPEALS

In approaching his market, an automobile manufacturer emphasizes characteristics which appeal to his public. He uses sales appeals geared to the purchaser's desire for speed, power, beauty or safety. Selling world peace demands a similar study of public desires.

Slogans carrying ideas aimed at the idealism of Americans were effective in World War I — "The War to End All Wars" and "Make the World Safe for Democracy." A good slogan helps. Select ideas that will appeal to your public. State them in the form of slogans. Identify a United Nations peace with basic motivations — maternal

or paternal instincts, self-interest, enlightened self-interest, desire for self-preservation.

ORGANIZATION

Improvisation in music can be delightful. But in dealing with world affairs it is ruinous.

How should you organize yourself for peace work? Will you work as an individual — or with an organized group? Will you form your own group? If you work alone, will you adopt the program of one of the organizations already at work for peace? And if you choose a group to work with, will you represent this group in your community or look to them only for guidance?

Working alone has advantages. You can strike as hard and fast as you want to. You can change your strategy or pace as the situation demands. You can build a constituency through your own qualities of leadership.

When you work with a group already formed, you contribute your specialized skills or experience. Groups are usually better equipped with money and manpower than an individual. Within an existing organization, you can also demonstrate your qualities of leadership. You will find followers flocking to you if you contribute values that appeal to the people's desire for peace.

The third choice is to form your own group to work along the lines that you lay down.

You will need to select, too, the geographic areas or groups in which you want to work. You may decide on neighborhood, town, county, city, state or nation. Or you may want to direct your efforts to certain groups of the population, such as lawyers and farmers.

TIMING

In using any of these tools of persuasion and suggestion, timing plays a very important part. Just as in battle, or as in political campaigns, the effectiveness of the use of particular weapons depends to a great extent upon the time when they are used, so in campaigning for peace the effectiveness of the particular tool will depend upon its proper timing.

Regrettably, there is no simple rule by which any individual can be told just *when* to do *what*. Judgment will have to make the decision. Naturally, judgment is sharpened by experience. It might be well to lay down the general principle that, before

undertaking any action, you should carefully analyze as best you can whether the time selected is the best of all possible times to carry it out.

The preceding chapters outline the broad principles to guide you in your planning. Succeeding chapters tell about the tools and methods needed to achieve your objectives, and give you a guide to the importance, practicability and cost — in time and money — required for your work.

But do not use tools as single tools. Everything you do must be related to everything else, must be part of a pattern.

And remember, above all else — *the tools and methods for securing peace are open to the individual who works alone, or who works with a group.*

HOW TO USE YOUR TOOLS— PUBLICATIONS, RADIO, MOTION PICTURES

PUBLICATIONS

Your voice will be heard at the peace table if publications carry your words about the peace to their readers.

Thousands of publications — daily, weekly, bi-weekly, bi-monthly, monthly, quarterly and annual — cover phases of life in which their readers are interested.

According to *Editor & Publisher,* 1,754 daily newspapers in the United States have a total circulation of 44,392,829, while the 9,763 weeklies published in smaller communities have 13,112,809 circulation.

There are press services which supply news and feature material to subscribing newspapers. The Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service and others are listed in an annual volume issued by *Editor & Publisher* of New York, and available in public libraries. For a wider choice, get a copy of N. W. Ayer's Directory — Newspapers and Periodicals (1,300 pages) at the library. Note the number of publications listed in each. Note also that these directories do *not* list occasional publications with special purposes.

There are neighborhood, foreign-language, Negro and labor newspapers; newspapers serving fields like finance and commerce; newspapers of controlled circulation, of free (throw-away) circulation.

Periodicals are of many kinds. Some appeal to agricultural, collegiate, foreign-language, fraternal and women's interests. Some are Negro, religious, trade and class publications. Others are concerned with aviation, business, education, motion pictures, parents, teachers and children, radio, theater, etc.

Business, religious and other organizations issue occasional publications. These should not be neglected. *Printers' Ink* lists more than 5,000 house organs of industrial organizations.

Select the media you want to cooperate with, according to the market you want to reach. Study these publications to get an idea of what the readers like. Then you can prepare the kind of material the editor will want to print.

NEWS COVERAGE

Material intended for newspapers and press services competes with other news for the editor's and the public's interest. Most newspapers receive more material for each issue than they can possibly use. There's a current newsprint shortage, too.

So before you send news out, be sure it has real value. If your story is weak, try to strengthen it. Develop and add some new idea, event or point of view.

HOW TO PREPARE MATERIAL

The principle that guided the old New York *World,* "Accuracy, truth, accuracy," should guide you. Here are some additional pointers:

Do not misinterpret news. Do not conceal news. Do not mislead the editor.

Spot news — the news that deals with events that have just taken place — belongs to the people. All newspapers and press services in your community should receive this type of news at the same time.

Exclusive news sent to only one newspaper antagonizes other papers, and with reason. You can, of course, submit exclusive *feature* articles to one newspaper.

In writing for the general news section, try to make certain that your story will interest all readers. Stories with special appeal should be sent to the editor of that department. Check your material to see which of these sections it fits: Art, books, business, cartoons, columns, drama and movies, editorial, education, events today, financial, letters to the editor, music, radio, society, science, women's page.

Sunday sections, such as magazine supplements, are also possible channels of approach.

ANGLING MATERIAL

Angle material for a special group so that it appeals directly to that group. In the lead (first paragraph) of your story, connect your subject with the group's interest.

If you have organized an event to focus public attention on your peace program, and your news story for the general press is completed, look it over again. See whether it contains special angles of interest, such as agricultural, women, foreign language, religion, education, business or industry.

Suppose a member of your sponsoring committee is a leading businessman. Rewrite the first paragraph of your general story, stressing businessmen and the need for business support. Emphasize the name of the businessman, his membership on the committee, his comment or recommendation. Send it to the business editor.

This method may be used for many groups. It may take thinking and digging and rewriting to vary your stories. But you will be repaid in the increased circulation of your ideas on world peace.

INTERVIEWS

Any important news story will be used by the press. But such news may not be readily available to you. In this case, try to dramatize your ideas around a personality in interview form.

Read your daily newspapers to see how they build their interviews. Supply background information to the reporter who interviews the individual you have picked.

Phrase in advance whatever outstanding points the interviewed person wants to make. But don't try to lead reporters away from questions they want to ask. Give complete and accurate information. Otherwise, they will feel you are exerting censorship and lose interest.

Whether the interview is printed or not is beyond your control. Publication will depend on many factors: the policy of the newspaper, competitive material, the amount of space available, the story's news value.

WRITING TECHNIQUES

Newspaper editors prefer material that needs no re-writing. Styles vary with individual newspapers. Writing your story to suit the particular newspaper's needs increases its likelihood of publication.

Here are some pointers in writing news stories: Your lead paragraph should answer who, what, when, where and why. Use short, uninvolved sentences. Avoid lengthy words. Tell your story completely, then stop.

Arrange items in order of importance, for sometimes newspapers shorten a story by chopping off the end. Be specific as to names, places, dates. Eliminate your personal viewpoint from factual presentation. Avoid editorializing adjectives.

A person's name, when mentioned for the first time in a story, should be given in full and the person identified. For example, Mrs. John Doe, chairman of the Middletown Peace Committee. Always double-check names and addresses for accuracy. People complain to editors when their names are misspelled.

Quote people correctly. It is wise to check with them before sending out your account of what they said.

Use a style book in preparing material for the press. A style book may be obtained

from the Reader's Service of the New York *Herald Tribune,* 230 West 41st Street, New York City for 50 cents. It will help you observe accepted rules of style, abbreviations and punctuation.

MECHANICAL PRESENTATION

Use white paper, 8½" x 11", typed or mimeographed and double spaced. Make sure your story is legible or it will probably land in the waste basket.

Use only one side of the paper. Some U.S. Government bureaus use both sides of the paper for releases. Where widespread distribution is given to important news, budgetary and paper-saving considerations may dictate such usage. But this method is not recommended for your press releases. Such material is difficult to handle from a mechanical standpoint.

Type a release date in the upper right-hand corner, with the words "FOR RELEASE" preceding it. That authorizes publication of the story on the date you have specified. Of course, a story covering spot news or describing an event that has taken place cannot be sent out in advance. Such a story is captioned "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE."

The name, address and telephone number of the sender should be typed in the upper left-hand corner.

Number your pages. Margins should be wide, right and left, to permit easy editing. Use a headline to summarize the essential facts of the story. Even though the editor will not use it, the headline gives him an idea of what the story is about.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND OTHER GRAPHIC PRESENTATIONS

Photographs go to the press in two ways: You may provide photographs of persons or activities to illustrate your stories; you may gather newsworthy people or arrange activities for spot-news pictures to be taken by newspaper cameramen.

If you have told the newspapers that photographs of an event may be obtained, be sure the principals are present at the time specified. Captions identifying each principal by name and title, and naming the event, should be supplied to the photographer. Additional background material should be typewritten.

In wartime, with the ranks of news photographers depleted, it might be well to assign your own photographer to cover an event.

Photographs can be given to newspapers as soon as developed. They should be

8" x 10" glossy prints (not the studio type), and should be captioned with correct names and titles of the individuals, listed from left to right. Write the caption on a piece of paper and paste it to the bottom of the photograph. Do not write captions on the back of photographs.

Ideas may be presented in other graphic ways. For instance, as charts or diagrams, as cartoons or drawings of various kinds. Consult your local printers about this.

DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL

Your material must reach those for whom it is intended, on time and in good shape.

Be sure to address material to the editor by title, not by name. Send it by special delivery or regular mail, depending on the time element. When articles are delivered by messenger, get receipts as a checkup.

When you have something important to release — and be doubly sure *it is important* — telephone the editor and suggest that he watch out for it.

For a morning newspaper, get material into the hands of the editor as early the day before as possible.

For an afternoon newspaper, find out in advance when release should be in the hands of the editor to make the various editions. Material has a better chance of being used more fully in the first than in later editions of afternoon newspapers, where the accumulation of the day's news severely limits space.

Material intended for Sunday publication (not for the straight news section) should be sent well in advance. Sometimes newspapers make up their Sunday feature sections on the preceding Tuesday or Wednesday. Often feature material for Sunday editions is prepared weeks in advance. For special sections of Friday and Saturday evening papers, advance make-up also is customary. Telephone your local newspaper for the necessary information.

In planning releases for daily newspapers, remember that more things happen on some days of the week than on others. News released for Monday morning usually meets less competition than on other days, because Sunday is a day of rest throughout the world. Saturday morning's paper is usually too crowded for publication of anything but news of major importance.

RADIO

The average American family, according to surveys, spends five hours a day listening to radio broadcasts. One-quarter of the public relies chiefly on the radio for

news. Therefore it is important for you to know the conditions under which radio operates, and how to use its facilities.

There are 943 radio stations in the United States, varying in strength from 100 to 50,000 watts. Radio chains which carry programs from key network stations are located in several of the country's larger cities. Local stations carry network programs in addition to locally sponsored programs. Radio chains and stations frequently run programs of a public-service character, provided they are interesting. The individual who wants to take his place at the peace table should know the program, needs and personnel of his local radio outlets.

The air belongs to the people. Radio stations in the United States are operated under licenses granted by the Federal Communications Commission. License may be withdrawn by the Government if the station fails to "serve the public interest, convenience and necessity." Radio stations want to remain responsive to public opinion and their audiences.

Radio time is of two kinds, sustaining and paid. Sustaining programs are those put on by the station, for which it receives no revenue from advertisers. Paid time is bought by commercial or other groups at regular rates, as space is bought by advertisers in newspapers.

Advocates of a United Nations peace may secure sustaining time if they present their case effectively to the radio station. They may purchase time, if it is available. Or they can ask some radio sponsor for part of his time.

Don't be timid about asking for time. In presenting your request, make your proposal as specific as possible.

When you ask for sustaining time, the more people you represent the better. If you can present a resolution of your group asking for radio time, this will help. Or bring a delegation with you when you call on your station manager. The station will want to cooperate with you if it knows its listeners are interested in your program.

The size of a radio station's audience is the measure of its success. Radio is sensitive to attention holding qualities in its programs. Dull speakers, badly organized discussions and forums, amateurish skits or presentations will not win people to your cause.

The United Nations Educational Campaign, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y., has issued a pamphlet of radio suggestions. Quotes from it may help you:

> In your educational program on the United Nations' peace proposals, you should use all types of programs, those that already have proved successful and in addi-

tion, this is the time to try new radio approaches. Individual talks, forum and round table methods are all good. A series of programs reaches the greatest number of people as a rule; there are great advantages in programs sponsored "at the same time, by the same station."

Spot or Occasional Programs

1. Important people coming to town should be asked to give an interview or short talk over the radio.
2. Special anniversaries, such as the signing of the Atlantic Charter, or special events, such as a specific United Nations conference, might be utilized as the background for a speech or a forum.
3. Talks on peace subject given at important local meetings should, if possible, be broadcast.
4. A committee should be set up to monitor radio talks in order to check on opposition speeches. Talks against the United Nations proposals should be answered. According to rules of the Federal Communications Commission, radio stations are obliged to give equal time to both sides of a controversial question.

Series Programs

1. *"The Voice of Our Town."* Talks by important local representatives of business, farm, labor, teaching and religious circles, parent-teacher groups, high school or college students, etc. may be given.
2. *"The United Nations of Tomorrow."* A series of talks can be planned on each major provision of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, such as the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the World Court, etc.
3. *"Our Stake in the United Nations."* Special group series showing the stake in the peace proposals of youth, labor, the small shopkeeper, the business man, might be arranged through talks or by rehearsed interviews in which representatives of each group ask questions, answered by a moderator or chairman.
4. *"The March of the United Nations."* A series on particular conferences of the United Nations might be planned. For example, business men might discuss the Bretton Woods conference or the Aviation conference, social workers or the clergy might discuss the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization.
5. *"We, the Peoples of the United Nations."* In communities where there are many nationalities, a series representing the contributions of each may be given. These could be programs both of folk or national music and of talks showing the contributions of each nationality to the war effort. The final programs should stress union of all nationalities in the international organization.
6. *"What Is Your Answer?"* A series on the questions which were postponed for future decision, or on the controversial questions of the Dumbarton Oaks

proposals could be given. In this case it is important to stress the points agreed upon before discussing those on which the four nations did not reach agreement.

7. *"United Nations Quiz."* An expert on the peace proposals might be asked questions, decided upon in advance, by people representing home town groups, such as the Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Rotary, Grange, etc.

8. *"The Family Circle."* Husband and Wife, Father and Son, Mother and Daughter series might be arranged. Prominent people should be chosen. This program could be a forum, or a question-and-answer discussion.

Electrical Transcriptions

Most radio stations will take electrical transcriptions. Here are two series that might interest them:

1. *"Beyond Victory."* Discussions on major post-war issues, presented by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace is now cooperating in these programs. Inquiries regarding the transcriptions should be addressed to the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, 598 Madison Avenue, New York City. Fifteen minutes each; available free of charge.

2. *"Can We Make The Victory Stick?"* Talks by Denna F. Fleming, professor at Vanderbilt University, sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. Address inquiries to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Fifteen minutes each; available free of charge.

Indirect Programs

1. Make friends with your local news commentator. Send him literature, etc. Offer to help with any research he wants done; often he has no one to look up background material for him.

2. Ask as many interested people as possible to send their reactions to talk programs on the local radio station. If there is sufficient interest expressed, your radio station will be willing to give you more time for such broadcasts.

3. It might be possible to cooperate with the person directing daytime programs to housewives. Suggest interviews with important people, or reviews of books on international cooperation. Such books as *"The Time For Decision"* by Sumner Welles, *"The Great Decision"* by James T. Shotwell, are recommended.

4. The women's program commentator might be persuaded to devote part of her time to a discussion of international affairs. At any rate, keep her supplied with literature.

5. A local bookstore might be interested in working out a book review program.

Spot Announcements

1. Your local radio station may be persuaded to use an announcement between programs along these lines: "The people of the United States have a second chance to remain united with their allies for world peace. We must not fail this second time. Read the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, and get in touch with your local United Nations committee (address or telephone number)."
2. If time has already been allotted for a program under your auspices, ask your station to use spot announcements during the day such as: "Will the United Nations peace proposals prevent World War III? Listen tonight to . . ."

Doubtless you are aware how important it is to bring together all elements within the community. Make every effort to include all faiths, all national and racial groups, and remember the United Nations proposals are *not* a partisan issue.

Here are still more reminders to keep on your check list when planning radio programs:

Radio round table discussions are stimulating and can be dramatic if they are well planned and directed. Experience has shown that they are best if there are three speakers and a leader, and if the time is 15 or 30 minutes.

The program should be prepared in advance and rehearsed with notes, so that the talk will stay on the subject, so that it may be informative, and so that every speaker has a chance to present his view.

Different viewpoints make the program interesting, but remember that you must leave clear impressions with the audience. You are not merely presenting a free-for-all argument, but you are trying to convert part of your audience while trying to get the remainder to go out and actively promote peace.

The leader has the job of introducing himself and the other speakers, using their names every time they talk, referring to the subject of the discussion two or three times, for those who have tuned in late, and bringing speakers who wander from the subject back to the fold.

Radio dramas can also be great persuaders. If well done, they condense and point up a message in a way to make it remembered. But they must be written, staged and acted by experts.

"Spot announcements" and "station breaks," falling between longer programs, give you 20 or 30 seconds for delivering a straight message of 75 to 150 words. Make the message a strong directive to do some specific thing.

Scripts should be submitted well in advance of the broadcast, and approved scripts must be adhered to when presented. Because of the license arrangement under which broadcasting companies operate, the script must be checked carefully for conformity with regulations. When it reaches the studio, it should be complete,

accurate and timed exactly to your allotted number of minutes. Preparation and a rehearsal are needed to attain the easy, casual, spontaneous-sounding delivery essential to radio success.

Radio coverage of news events such as luncheons, mass meetings and conventions provides wide audiences. Stations should be given advance notices and descriptions of programs.

Give information about your peace activities to other programs on your station. They may make use of some of this material.

News desks and commentators at radio stations should be sent your general releases, announcements and digests. Preachers, authors and lecturers on the air should be supplied with stories, interesting incidents, facts and information. They may weave them into their broadcast. Entertainment programs (comedy or drama) may put a line into the mouths of their characters to help along your cause if they are supplied with adaptable material.

When your program has been accepted by the station, don't forget that its effectiveness depends on the extent of the audience. Use all promotional methods available to draw attention to your program. Send notices to the daily press, mail postcard announcements to your lists, post reminders with clubs and groups. Let the station *know* you are working to build up an audience. Then it will be more receptive to your next efforts.

MOTION PICTURES

With 16,793 movie houses, a seating capacity of 10,451,442, and a weekly attendance of 95,000,000, motion pictures are a vital factor in public education.

There are two kinds of movies in general use. One is the commercial film, shown in theaters. The other is the 16 millimeter film, used by schools, colleges, community houses, civic clubs and other non-theatrical groups.

Commercial movies include the regular feature pictures, shorts and newsreels. In features, the dialogue and situations are sometimes angled to present a point of view. Contact with Hollywood producers, script writers and directors may help in getting your message across.

Educational shorts influence the public. So get your local theater to show them. (See Appendix for list of sources.)

Newsreel companies cover events of interest to audiences throughout the country. In planning a local event to dramatize your peace cause, look for an angle of national interest. Then get in touch with the newsreel companies and tell your story. Give advance notice so coverage can be arranged, and work with them on details.

16-millimeter films can be shown at your meetings on a 16-millimeter projector that you can borrow or rent from your local camera store.

Tell the owner or manager of the motion-picture theater in your community about your peace plans. If there is a local film exhibitor, ask him to join your committee. He can be helpful in many ways:

1. He may grant permission for a "four-minute" speaker to use his theater stage for a peace talk during the campaign.
2. He may throw a notice on the screen about an important event you are planning, or project a slogan.
3. He may let you set up an exhibit or information booth in the lobby.
4. He may show a newsreel film, an educational or government short, to strengthen or illustrate the peace program you are promoting.
5. He may be helpful in securing films for showing at your meeting.

HOW TO USE YOUR TOOLS— GOOD TALK, MAIL, EVENTS

TALK, A PSYCHOLOGICAL TOOL

Talk, the weapon of psychological warfare, can become a tool for peace. What we hear in a train conversation, at a dinner table, in an elevator, or in casual conversation at our own or our friends' homes, helps decide our action.

All kinds of talk goes on in America — small talk, serious talk, bull sessions. Argument, discussion and controversy clarify our minds. Talk is the raw material of public opinion.

Talk for peace can be limitless. Take advantage of informal conversations or personal interviews. But marshal your facts before a conference with group leaders.

Informal gatherings at homes or clubs intensify the interest of an already closely-knit group. A woman may discuss peace action with some of her friends, and they may decide to send a joint telegram to a senator. Or the informal group may listen to a previously announced radio talk, discuss it and send a resolution by telegraph. Whatever the occasion, see that friends go away with concrete plans to help the United Nations peace cause along.

Round-table panels or discussions, public meetings, lecture and study courses, debates, institutes, lecture symposiums and panel forums are planned patterns of talk.

LECTURE AND STUDY COURSES

Lecture courses are given by authorities. In study courses, members of a group discuss the topic and learn from one another.

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators has outlined other forms of planned talks:

> "*Lecture forum,* with a 30-to-45 minute talk by a person who has given special thought and study to the problem before the group. This speaker need not be an expert in the formal sense of the word. He should be able to summarize for the group the principal facts and major alternatives relevant to the subject.

> "*Symposium forum,* with open discussion by the audience preceded by a series of two or more brief talks by individuals whose points of view are known to be at variance. Here again the assumption is that the members of the symposium, by training, experience or special preparation, are qualified to define the issues for the audience.
>
> "*Panel forum,* without formal speeches but with a preliminary exploration of the subject by the four or more members of the panel. The members may be experts or specially selected members of the audience who have made preparation by advance study of the problem."

The forum gives people opportunity to listen to a discussion of peace by several speakers and then to participate in the discussion. A chairman leads the discussion. The audience asks questions from the floor after the speakers conclude. Through radio, press, word-of-mouth and other channels of communications, forums reach audiences far outside the hall in which they are held.

Forums may be sponsored by businessmen's organizations, chambers of commerce, boards of trade and trade associations; religious groups such as men's church clubs, church auxiliaries, young people's fellowship meetings, the YMCA and YWCA; patriotic organizations such as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Daughters of the American Revolution; groups like the Masons, the Elks, the Moose, the Knights of Columbus, the Rotarians, the Kiwanians, college fraternities and professional fraternities; political organizations like the district clubs and groups of independent voters; youth organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the Hi Y and the Four H's; labor organizations such as the AFL, the CIO, and affiliated unions.

A forum may be held as part of a scheduled meeting or built around particular news events in the campaign for world peace. Forums should last less than an hour and a half, with a presentation of about three-quarters of an hour, the discussion a half-hour, the announcements a few minutes. If available, maps, charts, graphs, pictures, slides and motion pictures aid in putting over the points.

The best hours are from 7:30 to 9:00 P.M. or from 8:00 to 9:30 P.M. In selecting subjects, members of the prospective audience can be polled in advance or local newspapers may be asked to suggest topics or obtain them from readers.

Leaders of discussions should be scholarly but not academic. Leaders should be known to their public, possess a good platform personality and voice, and be interested in stimulating discussion rather than in pressing a personal point of view.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Rules and regulations cover procedures in deliberative assemblies. The leader should familiarize himself with them: how to make motions, what motions to make to accomplish certain ends, debate, adjournment, recess, vote, committees and boards, officers and minutes, organization and meetings.

These three books may be consulted:

1. Robert, Henry M.: "Rules of Order, revised." Scott, New York, N. Y.
2. Henry, W. H. F. and Seeley, L.: "How to Organize and How to Conduct a Meeting." Noble, New York, N. Y. (Simplified for use in schools and colleges, clubs and societies.)
3. Cushing, Luther, S.: "Manual of Parliamentary Practice." Winston, Philadelphia, Pa.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Public meetings should be planned to the last detail. Blueprint your meeting on paper in advance. Get a central theme. Gear it to the audience you are trying to attract.

Work out a tight time schedule, as you would for a radio program. Plan for a specific result of the meeting, such as getting the peace discussed in the newspapers or dramatizing to the community that the people at the meeting are behind the United Nations plan.

If you have a resolution to adopt and want an important telegram sent from the meeting to the President or other official, include this in your advance planning.

Try to get speakers who are experts on peace and capable of giving an effective presentation. To attract large audiences, invite star performers from other fields, such as the movies and radio, or ask a national hero to appear.

Announcements of the meeting may be handled in several ways, depending on the audience you want. You can invite your audience through the press, by radio, through written or printed invitations, the telephone, reply postcards, or a combination of these methods. Whatever medium you use, be sure it fits your budget.

BUILDING UP AN AUDIENCE

You must move your listeners from their easy chairs at home and into your hall. Use all the tools available to build an audience. Send advance announcements to clubs, groups and meetings held in your community. Distribute handbills or printed notices. Use throw-aways. Get advance announcements on your radio stations and in your neighborhood movie theaters.

AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION

People get new ideas out of a meeting but often they lose them on the way home. An action program *must be outlined* at the meeting, giving members of the audience specific tasks to accomplish.

Their names and addresses can be obtained by passing out signature cards in advance or as the audience arrives, and collecting them during an intermission. These names will aid your campaign for peace. You can pass resolutions, gather petitions, get pledges of money, compile further lists of names.

Watch the distribution of literature at your meetings. This is generally badly handled. Two tables are usually located outside the doors. The members of the audience are supposed to grab literature as they leave. In the exit crush, the literature is seldom picked up. For better results, literature should be distributed as the audience enters, or a set may be placed on every chair prior to the meeting. This literature should outline the steps each individual can take to carry forward the theme of the meeting and give him a place and person to contact for further cooperation.

SPEECHES

A great many people like to make speeches — a great many don't. But speeches, and lots of them, are essential to putting over your peace program.

If you know your subject, and are enthusiastic about it, don't be afraid of talking before an audience.

Here are some aids to preparation and delivery:

Find out exactly what your subject is to be.

Find out how long you are to talk.

Find out who the other speakers are and what they propose to say.

Find out what sort of people will be in your audience so that you can talk to them on their own ground. Are they highbrow, young or old, a special or mixed group?

How many will there be?

Find out if there is to be a question period.

In preparing your speech:

List all your facts and arguments.

Organize your material.

Memorize your speech, but write out facts to which you can refer while talking.

Remember there must be no deviation from accuracy and fact.

The introduction will tell the purpose of your talk and will prepare the audience for what you are going to say.

The body of the speech will take up your arguments one by one, each being supported by facts and, if possible, examples.

The conclusion will interpret what you have said, will sum up very briefly, and will present a strong plea to pursue a concrete activity.

Frame a suggestion for some concrete action that you want your listeners to take.

Try to foresee questions from the audience and prepare answers to them.

Practice your speech before a mirror, timing yourself. Then when you speak, you will know just how to stand, and what you are going to say. You and your audience will feel at home.

If there is a question period, don't be afraid of hecklers. Be polite, firm and honest with them. If you don't know the answer to a question, admit it.

Discussion Groups

Here is a stimulating American institution, with everybody talking, while they sit cosily around the equivalent of a pot-bellied stove and a cracker barrel.

Everyone knows the topic in advance, is prepared to talk and listen, and will leave with the feeling that he has contributed something to the peace program.

The leader starts the meeting by announcing the subject, keeps things going by calling on people if they are reluctant to talk, and confines the speeches to a minute or two.

At the end of discussion, the leader sums up and suggests a definite course of action.

TELEPHONE

Wartime restrictions on telephoning may be lifted soon. When it is, use the telephone extensively to get people to a meeting, to send telegrams or letters to strategic groups or people, and to stimulate them to other action.

Make up telephone lists in advance. Identify yourself when you phone, give the name of your organization and your number, in case you are cut off.

Don't time your calls so that people will have to leave the dinner table or some important chore. Never phone late at night or early in the morning.

TELEGRAMS

Wartime overburdening of telegraph facilities limits this medium, too, but when your activities have reached their height, wartime demand may have slackened. Get

rates and facilities for handling quantity messages from Western Union in your city.

In writing telegrams, angle them to the recipient's interest. Make them terse and understandable. Ask for collect replies if you have a budget to pay for them. But restrict the number of words in the answers, or some people will swamp you with their outpourings.

ADVERTISING

When a peace program has reached such proportions as to warrant using paid advertising, professional public relations counsel is usually called in. Whether you have an appropriation for advertising or not, some public-spirited organization, department store, manufacturer or public utility may contribute space for your purpose. The public relations counsel may also be counted on to contribute his professional services.

BILLBOARDS, CAR CARDS AND POSTERS

These inform the public, arouse interest, stimulate action. But they require money for printing, art work and display space. Public-spirited advertisers or companies in your community may be willing to turn over some of their space to promote world peace.

BUTTONS, STICKERS, MOVIE SLIDES

Your budget will determine the extent to which you use these accessories. The Division of Public Inquiries of the Office of War Information in Washington, and the United Nations Information Office, Exhibition Division, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York City, will tell you where such material may be obtained.

DIRECT-BY-MAIL

Your most effective means of persuasion is talking to an individual face to face or by telephone. Personal letters are next best.

Ask a fund-raising group in your community for the name of the best letter shop. Go to the firm, look over sample letters, check on the results from various kinds. Responses vary with different groups and the kind of letter manufactured.

When you write a personal letter asking some one to *act* for your peace program, try to think of what he would likely want to do — and could do.

In many cases you may not have the money to write individual, personal letters. Then study the group and angle your letter to the common interest of all.

Send sample letters of varying content to small numbers within the group. This test will show you which letters are most effective. Drop the others.

Have the shop set your letters in typewriter type with the name and address filled in to match the body of the letter. The signature should be written by hand, but if letters are sent in very large quantities, a facsimile of the sender's signature will do.

What about the length of the letter? Interest and effective presentation of ideas are the important factors; length or brevity is secondary. Don't antagonize the recipient — don't hit him over the head. Emphasize the coincidence of interest between the two of you. Wherever possible, be specific about how a United Nations peace will benefit the recipient. And end your letter with a request for *specific* action.

The first three letters in a series should be timed at shorter intervals than those which follow. The length of interval varies with subject matter and public interest. Avoid any clock-like regularity in your timing.

Monday and Tuesday are preferred mailing days. Don't send letters just before holidays. Check with your local post office for mailing schedules.

MAILING LISTS

Before starting a mail campaign, budget the money you have available. Then, after you receive prices, plan your lists. You can build up your own mailing lists, or buy or rent them from list brokers. Classified telephone directories contain names of such brokers.

To build your own list, use organization memberships, public records and daily newspapers. Ask persons already on your list to supply names of friends. Advertise for additional lists in publications.

Keep your lists up to date and accurate. List names alphabetically on cards.

LEAFLETS AND PAMPHLETS

Because the current newsprint shortage has crowded much background material out of the nation's press, pamphleteering is coming back in vogue as a direct means of communicating ideas.

Your pamphlet may be tailored to meet the demands of different viewpoints, groups and group-leaders. Know the purpose the pamphlet is to serve, the public addressed, the present attitudes of this public regarding world peace, their educational and cultural background. Decide whether authority, factual evidence, reasoning, tradition or emotion, or a combination of these, will best foster acceptance of your pamphlet's theme.

Your pamphlet may express conservatism in typography and general presentation for conservative readers. Mass coverage demands a more salesmanlike approach, with photographs and illustrations for added selling appeal.

Pamphlets vary in size, 6 x 9 inches being the average. Length varies, although 16 pages are considered desirable.

Graphic charts play an important role in adult education. Ideas are quickly grasped this way. Charts save space and intensify interest in the text.

Avoid footnotes. List your sources in the text so that the reader will not have to shift his glance to the bottom of the page. Add a bibliography at the end of the pamphlet.

Pamphlet preparation is not a job for amateurs. You will save money by going to expert printers.

NEWS LETTERS, BULLETINS

Public interest organizations often publish news letters and bulletins in order to keep in touch with large constituencies. Write informally. Do not compete with more elaborate publications. Have your bulletins mimeographed or multigraphed on 8½" x 11" four-page leaflets.

PLANNED EVENTS

Planned events affect the persons who see or participate in them. When reported by public media, they influence a wide, outside circle of people.

The dramatic circumstances surrounding the meeting of two men, the President and Mr. Churchill, on a battleship in the Atlantic focused world attention on the Atlantic Charter.

Stage management is necessary in such activity. Newsworthy events usually don't just happen. Look at your newspaper today. Check the news stories. Many of the events reported were created to affect your ideas and actions.

Timing counts. Preliminary research is helpful in timing. Dates of important anniversaries in national or community history have a bearing on the news value of your peace activities.

Planned events should be high-lighted throughout a campaign. Luncheons, dinners, receptions, conferences, conventions; awards, presentations; unveiling of plaques, statues, memorials; striking of medallions — all these are examples of planned events. So are essay contests, exhibits at department stores, libraries, museums, historical societies; celebrations of patriotic holidays; mass meetings, deputa-

tions to the City Hall, state or national capital, and special "Days" or "Weeks," celebrated by carnivals, pageants and parades.

Interest in your events should be kept alive by window and interior store displays, street banners, posters, billboards, buttons and stickers. The Red Cross, the National War Fund, the March of Dimes and national election campaigns use every device to stir our interest. Use the same methods and techniques in your activities.

If you plan a parade, make it a city-wide, news-making event with Boy and Girl Scouts, labor unions, church organizations and other groups participating.

Form sub-committees to help in staging the event. Assign one person to secure display cooperation from local merchants; another for the press; a third for radio, and so on.

AIM AT PERFECTION

Each event should have a systematic outline prepared in advance. Careless or amateurish handling of details will discredit your event. If you forget about provisions for checking umbrellas on a rainy day, you make more enemies than friends. Unjust or not, your audience will feel "if these people don't know enough to run their party, they must be pretty fuzzy-minded. And if they're members of a peace group, the organization is fuzzy, too."

If you have not carefully planned the seating for a dinner, the confusion will antagonize your audience. If your meeting is scheduled to hear a recorded message from your senior U. S. senator and you fail to learn in advance that the hotel has no machine for the purpose, your relations with the public and the senator will suffer.

If the worst position in the banquet hall is assigned to the press table, from which reporters can neither see nor hear, don't expect good coverage of your event. If your plans call for a delegation of school children to wave small flags and no flags have been provided, there just won't be any display.

So work out every detail with your committee in preparing your event, from the pitcher of water on the speaker's stand to the captions on news photographs. Leave nothing to chance. Write out a time schedule — the minutes allotted to each part of the program. Assign supervision of particular details to committee members. Spread responsibility but make the responsibility definite.

COOPERATION WITH PRESS

Here are important points to keep in mind:

(1) Notify newspapers in advance, two weeks before, if it is an important event.

(2) Send out additional stories as your plans progress. Be sure each story contains new material, additional names and corollary events.

(3) Send a round-up story to the editors two or three days before the event, giving details to date. Send a personal letter inviting the editor or one of his reporters to attend.

(4) Mail two days ahead, or deliver the day before, by hand, a short story for publication on the day of the event.

(5) On the day of the event, remind the city desk of newspapers by telephone.

(6) Offer full cooperation to reporters present. Have ready a story recapitulating the event, speakers, program, etc. The reporters may use it as a jumping-off point for their story. Also it insures accurate reporting of names and program events.

(7) Have copies of speeches at hand. The publicity committee chairman, or some other committee member, should aid the press. He will show reporters to the press section, provide them with release material, text of speech, photographs, make arrangements for news photographers to take pictures, arrange introductions and interviews, and answer questions.

Special press facilities for large gatherings should include telephones and typewriters. Interviews and photographs can be arranged in this room. Sometimes a radio room is set up for broadcasts.

(8) And don't forget — a press release should be sent after the event, even if coverage has been complete. This release, which goes to the city desk, provides a double-check on accuracy.

SMALL DISPLAY ITEMS

Your peace message may be carried on match folders, lapel buttons, menus, blotters, shopping bags, window stickers. The War Stamp corsages not only sold war savings — they advertised them to all who saw the wearer.

ORGANIZING YOUR COMMUNITY FOR THE PEACE

If the peace worker wants to enlist his community, city, or state behind the movement for a just and durable United Nations peace, it can be accomplished by following the techniques outlined in preceding chapters. But there are certain additional steps if he wants to organize his community as a unit.

Before organizing your community you will know your objectives and your goal; you will have the facts; you will have analyzed the time and effort you can put into the work.

COMPOSITION OF STEERING COMMITTEE

Call on a few key people whose active support you desire and ask them to join your committee. Then invite them to a preliminary meeting to formulate plans. At this meeting, select a committee name. Select a chairman. If he is important locally, his acceptance will influence others to join. Then decide on additional members; who is to be executive secretary (either a volunteer or a paid worker), where the committee will work from — whether a separate office or the office of one of the members.

Draw up a budget and lay plans for raising the fund. Sometimes the organizer may foot the expenses himself, but this is not advisable. No movement should be a one man affair. The committee members, acting in unison, may contribute enough to start the campaign. Letters or advertising messages may be used to solicit contributions. A nominal membership at a nominal fee may be made available to the public.

A treasurer should be appointed to handle the funds, and a bank account opened in the name of the committee.

PLAN (Re-read Chapters IV and V)

Settle upon what policies, strategies and activities the committee will carry out, and put them in blueprint form — a master plan.

Follow these steps in making your plan:

Set down objectives and activities.

These activities cover the preparation of (a) Informational press and radio material; (b) Other educational material for groups and speakers.

They cover also planning events to create widespread publicity, and to elicit group or mass action.

Put all available background information on cards and file.

List the publics you want to reach — the markets for your campaign.

Analyze and list media to be used.

Plan your work, allocating the manpower.

Allocate the money for office expenses, mimeographing, mailings, printing, postage, telephone and telegraph, luncheons, dinners and meetings.

Make up a dates calendar.

A letterhead — businesslike and modest — should bear a notation, "Committee in Formation." Don't spend money on frills.

FORMATION OF PERMANENT COMMITTEE

Invite by telephone, personal visit, telegram or letter, additional key individuals, men and women, who will be most helpful as committee members.

The chairman should outline the purposes of the committee in his invitation. Specify commitments in time and money you want. Get a written confirmation from those who accept.

Choose men and women who are representative of your community — business, civic, educational, economic, agricultural and labor leaders. Include representatives of the three leading religious faiths. Don't fill the committee with "stuffed shirts." Enlist new names and faces. Appoint as many sub-committee chairmen as you need. But be sure they are working from prepared plans so that one effort meshes into every other.

CARD LISTS

A card list of group-leaders and opinion-molders should be maintained. Keep track of contacts and correspondents in a tickler file. Enter dates of replies, reports of visits. A card list of press, radio and other media should be kept.

ANNOUNCEMENT LUNCHEON

Plan an informal luncheon for representatives of the important public opinion media in your community. Invite the owner, publisher or general manager of your

local and suburban newspapers; the owner, manager or program director of the radio stations; the owners or managers of motion picture theaters; the owners of department stores; the president of the Chamber of Commerce.

The luncheon should follow a plan. The chairman welcomes the guests and states the objective of the committee — to line up public opinion behind the United Nations peace plan. Then he outlines briefly the committee's program. Suggestions are invited from the guests.

Press releases should be prepared for the luncheon, announcing a community movement for supporting the World Security Organization, listing committee members, stating objectives, and giving the committee or secretary's address.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS

In addition to the methods and techniques outlined in preceding chapters, here are some more suggestions to help you in organizing your community for peace: —

Suggest to school principals discussion subjects for older pupils. History and civics instructors may help in preparation of discussions. Special programs may be arranged for the general assembly.

Urge librarians to arrange a special section of books for background study and understanding of the United Nations peace plan.

Call on your local political leaders in precinct, ward and county. Men and women who represent the community in primaries should know the community's attitude on peace. They can make themselves heard in party circles and in Washington.

Your volunteer speaker's bureau should enlist returned service men who believe, as you do, in a United Nations peace.

PLANNED EVENTS

As outlined in Chapter V, planned events should be timed in your master plan to have the greatest effect. If your event is of national interest, send your story to the Associated Press, the United Press and the International News Service (or their correspondents in your city); to magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek;* to radio chain offices and others. Your story may possibly be picked up as part of national coverage. Exhibit this national notice to your community. Local pride may gain additional supporters for the peace.

For reports and exhibits, preserve significant letters, comments and clippings in a scrapbook. Show them at committee hearings. They indicate how effective you have been with the public and will help to blueprint future activities.

SUMMING UP

Keep your eye on the ball. Your objective is world peace. Remember — you are trying to get the United Nations peace proposals adopted by Washington.

Confine your program to a specific goal in your community, instead of trying to change the world in ten days. "I want to get the 200 organizations in my community, each of them, to send resolutions to our congressmen and senators," is a goal. Or, "I want to convert the lawyers and the doctors of my community into dynamic propagandists for world peace." Or, "I want to insure that every club group in the city has a peace discussion program and sends its resolutions to the President and Senate."

Everybody working for peace should have as clear a picture of what needs to be done as you have. If you merely thrash around, make a noise, get everybody excited, your community efforts will not amount to anything. Activity is valuable if it influences those people who have the final power to ensure peace: the Congress and the President of the United States.

SPEAK YOUR PEACE

Up to the last war public opinion played little if any part in the final settlement of wars. The power of the individual American was negligible. Important factors that give voice and strength to public opinion today were non-existent then.

History must not repeat itself. Nor need it, for we have the errors of the past and the realities of the present to guide us. The American people and their leaders, as shown by the ballot box and scientific polls are determined to prevent a repetition of the mistakes of 1919-1939.

But that does not mean necessarily that we will get what we want. Unless we give overwhelming articulation to the power of public opinion in support of a sound United Nations peace, politics may betray us once more.

This book has made clear that all of us can help shape public opinion and action.

Public relations activity, little known in its current sense twenty-five years ago, may be applied to winning the peace, by all citizens. Effective planning, techniques and methods may help sway the thinking of millions of our fellow citizens.

We can all be leaders in the campaign for a United Nations peace. By using efficient, sincere and honest methods, we can become dynamic workers for the kind of World Security Organization we want.

Lasting peace depends upon you. You must fight for it. This book tells you about the tools and methods to be used, gives you a practical, realistic blueprint for action.

The responsibility is that of America's most important figure. He occupies the highest office in the land — American citizen. Only you can plan the peace, only you can make it stick. There is no higher authority to call upon.

Now is the time to act. Take your place at the United Nations peace table!

APPENDIX

HISTORY OF AMERICAN PEACE MAKING

Public opinion played a minor role in American peace treaties of the past.

Today, with transocean telephone, radio, cable and airplane, the impact of American public opinion should be an all-compelling factor at the peace table. The two-way flow of news from peace table to public and public to peace table could be almost instantaneous.

Whether it will be or not will depend upon how strong you make public opinion.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1776-1783

With no President and no State Department, Congress directed our foreign affairs in the Revolutionary War. Although confidential diplomatic agents in Europe informed Congress as to opinion and developments abroad, their information took months to arrive.

But Benjamin Franklin, sensing the power of public opinion, through pamphlets and newspaper articles, enlisted the support of the French public behind the American cause. He was so successful that France allied herself with the Colonies after Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, and two treaties were signed with France on February 6, 1778. The first recognized the United States as a nation; the second committed France to fight Great Britain if the latter attacked America.

Final treaty terms between England and the Colonies were virtually the same as those of the preliminary articles. They were signed on September 3, 1783, with full permission of France. Complete independence of the United States was recognized, and we were granted broad boundaries. Yet public opinion in the U. S. was not completely satisfied. Americans objected to the liberal treatment of the Loyalists here, to the failure of the American negotiators to cooperate fully with the French, to the fact that there was no guarantee for re-opening trade with the British West Indies. Nevertheless, the treaty was ratified by the Senate on June 24, 1795.

THE WAR OF 1812

Negotiations for peace began almost at the start of the war and continued after the final treaty was signed. Early negotiations fell through because the British were not willing to yield the right to impress American seamen.

After Russian offers to mediate had been turned down by the British, further discussions got under way on August 8, 1814 when the American Peace Commission met the British commissioners at Ghent. The Americans, agreeing that the British demands were unreasonable, did not even officially refer them to Washington for authorization.

When President Madison finally saw the terms, he decided to appeal to public opinion and had the British demands published. Indignation swept America; legislative bodies passed defiant resolutions. The British, alarmed by these danger signals, abandoned their demands for exclusive control of the Great Lakes and the establishment of an Indian buffer state; and peace was signed on December 12, 1814.

Both sides agreed to stop fighting in order to re-establish the status quo. Yet public opinion enthusiastically supported the peace. American nationalism took a new lease on life: the Union was strengthened. Likewise, the war-weary, hungry, tax-burdened English rejoiced, while their merchants welcomed the opportunity to dump surplus goods on the American market. No mention was made in the treaty of the reasons for which the war was fought — establishment of neutral rights at sea and cessation of impressment.

THE MEXICAN WAR, 1846-1848

Congress declared war on Mexico in May, 1846. Originally, the plan had been to negotiate a peace with Santa Ana, the Mexican dictator, and then prevail upon him to sell Texas to the United States. But Santa Ana preferred to continue the war.

Polk sent an executive agent, Nicholas Trist, Chief Clerk of the State Department, with the invading American army. Then one of the most curious incidents in American diplomacy occurred. Trist, practically unknown, was given authority to make peace.

General Winfield Scott had been fighting his way towards Mexico City against great odds. Scott misunderstood Trist's instructions and feared civilian interference with military operations. Scott sent a heated letter to Trist, who replied with a caustic note. The quarrel ran its course. The two men then tried to bribe Santa Ana into a peace. The armistice which resulted gave the Mexicans time to strengthen their defenses. Then hostilities were renewed. Scott captured Mexico City on September 14, 1847. The administration in Washington, dissatisfied with Trist's activities, recalled him on October 6, 1847. Trist, who saw an opportunity to negotiate a treaty, decided to stay on despite his recall.

Santa Ana's abdication paved the way for peace. Two months elapsed before Trist found a Mexican government that dared yield territory. Peace terms were finally signed on February 2, 1848, ceding New Mexico and California to the United States and confirming the American title to Texas. The U. S., in return, agreed to pay $15,000,000 and assume the claims of its own citizens, totalling $3,250,000.

Polk submitted the treaty to the Senate, urging its approval despite Trist's behavior. The country wanted peace: the people were anxious for new land at any price. The philosophy of the expansionist Forties — "Manifest Destiny" — dominated American thinking. Final Senate approval of the treaty came on March 10, 1848.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

Unconditional surrender of General Lee to General Grant at Appomattox ended hostilities.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, 1898

After a quick and decisive defeat, Spain, acting through the French ambassador, proffered peace terms on August 12, 1898. President McKinley chose five American commissioners to handle negotiations, which opened in Paris on October 1, 1898. The peacemakers spent a month discussing Cuba and then turned to the Philippines problem.

During the negotiations, American public opinion became articulate. At first, the public hardly knew the Philippines existed, or what economic and strategic values they had. Then businessmen interested in Far Eastern markets came out for the retention of the islands. McKinley needed public support, and activities familiar in building public sentiment today were set in motion.

At the Omaha Exposition in October, McKinley spoke of "duty," "destiny" and "Dewey." Public opinion took up these catch phrases with enthusiasm. McKinley decided the public was firmly behind him. Popular response and group-leader opinion dictated McKinley's instructions to the peace commissioners. The treaty, signed on December 10, 1898, ceded the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States.

William Jennings Bryan, through his own colorful and highly emotional propagandizing, overrode the more deliberate Senators, and his followers succeeded in approving the treaty on February 6, 1899, by 57 to 27. The anti-imperialists could only appeal to public opinion on the grounds of foreign entanglements. Partisans of annexation bombarded the public with slogans, with arguments of patriotism, economic self-interest, national honor, responsibility and "Manifest Destiny." They won.

WORLD WAR I, 1917-1918

When the Treaty of Versailles was laid before the Senate in June, 1919, it aroused enthusiasm throughout the United States.

Thirty-two State legislators endorsed the League of Nations in a concurrent resolution. Thirty-three State governors favored it. The *Literary Digest* poll showed most of the independent newspapers were prepared to back the United States' acceptance of the League.

When Senator Lodge congratulated Senator Borah on one of Borah's first speeches against the League, Borah said, "What can you do? All the newspapers are for it."

Senator Harding told Borah: "I would like to get into this fight against the League but the people of my State are all for it. I'm afraid."

Lodge said he needed only time and money to defeat it. He and the Irreconcilables deliberately dallied to give public enthusiasm time to cool. In committee, Lodge insisted on reading aloud every one of the treaties — 300 pages — and it took two weeks. Committee hearings took another six weeks. An eight months' illness defeated President Wilson's attempt to bring the issue to the people.

While the President was ill and silent, current events transferred the nation's attention to other matters: the Panama revolution, the Florida hurricane, the Ohio floods. Enthusiasm for the League died down. The isolationists defeated Wilson, primarily because no strong and informed opinion was *articulately and actively* backing his proposals.

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace lists some of the errors which contributed to the failure of the peace of 1919-1939:

We refused to join the League of Nations.

We refused to join the World Court.

We placed our hope in disarmament, feeling certain that the way to security was through disarmament. We failed to see that collective security must come first and that disarmament would then follow.

We adopted high tariffs.

We insisted on payment of war debts without recognizing the connection with reparations or making payments possible through trade.

We signed the Kellogg Pact to outlaw war, but we saw no necessity to provide for enforcement of the pact.

We refused to take on any commitment to prevent or stop aggression outside of the Western Hemisphere.

We tried to find security through political isolation and neutrality legislation.

We ignored the fact that "There is not one peace for America, one peace for Europe, and one peace for Asia, but one peace for the entire world."

Historical facts on treaty making are from Bailey's *Diplomatic History of the American People.*

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

BOOKS AVAILABLE FROM TRADE PUBLISHERS

Angell, Norman. *Let the People Know.* Viking. 1943.

Anshen, Ruth N. ed. *Beyond Victory.* Harcourt. 1943.

Becker, Carl L. *How New Will the Better World Be?* Knopf. 1944.

Buell, Raymond L. *Isolated America.* Knopf. 1940.

Butler, Harold. *The Lost Peace.* Harcourt. 1942.

Carr, Edward H. *Conditions of Peace.* Macmillan. 1942.

Colegrove, Kenneth. *The American Senate and World Peace.* Vanguard. 1944.

Freeman, Harrop A., ed. *Peace Is the Victory.* Harper and Bros., 1944.

Hambro, C. J. *How to Win the Peace.* Lippincott. 1942.

Harris, Seymour, ed. *Postwar Economic Problems.* McGraw-Hill. 1943.

Hoover, Herbert and Gibson, Hugh. *The Problems of Lasting Peace.* Doubleday. 1943.

Huszar, George B. de, ed. *New Perspectives on Peace.* University of Chicago Press. 1944.

Johnsen, Julia E. *World Peace Plans.* Wilson. 1943.

MacCormac, John. *This Time for Keeps.* Viking. 1943.

MacIver, R. M. *Towards an Abiding Peace.* Macmillan. 1943.

Ranshofen-Wertheimer, Egon. *Victory Is Not Enough: The Strategy for a Lasting Peace.* W. W. Norton. 1942.

Straight, Michael. *Make This the Last War.* Harcourt. 1943.

Welles, Sumner. *The Time for Decision.* Harper and Bros. 1944.

Willkie, Wendell L. *One World.* Simon. 1943.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE FROM ORGANIZATIONS

The following is a list of some of the important organizations in the field of postwar planning with a selection of pamphlets and books issued by them.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3457 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Patterson, Ernest Minor, ed. *When War Ends.* July, 1940. $2.00 paper; $2.50 cloth.

American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York, N. Y.

Essential Facts in Regard to the League of Nations, the World Court and the I.L.O. 1943. 47 pp. $.10 per copy.

The Whole Round World. (for 7th to 9th grade children.) Undated. Free.

The American Bankers Association, 22 East 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Place of the United States in the Post-War Economy. 1943. Section 2: *Prompt Peace* and Section 3: *Collective Security.* Free.

American Council on Public Affairs, 2153 Florida Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Eagleton, Clyde; Hodges, Charles; Jordan, Henry P. and others. *Problems of Postwar Reconstruction.* 1942. $3.75.

The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Cohen, Morris R. *Jewish Studies of Peace and Post-War Problems.* Apr., 1941. Free.

American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Reprints from *WORLD AFFAIRS:*

The Role of Religion in Postwar Reconstruction. Mar., 1943. $.10 per copy.

Unity for Peace. Sept., 1943. $.20 per copy.

Religion and the Postwar World. Mar., 1944. $.15 per copy.

Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Dec., 1944. $.10 per copy.

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Winning the Peace. Extracts from speeches by Members of the British Government. 1944. Free.

The Brookings Institution, 722 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Millspaugh, A. C. *Peace Plans and American Choices.* 1942. 107 pp. $1.00 per copy.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Hamilton, K. W. *Aspects of the Coming Postwar Settlement.* International Conciliation. No. 393. Oct., 1943. $.05 per copy.

Mallery, O. T. *Typical Plans for Postwar World Peace.* International Conciliation. No. 384. 23 pp. Nov., 1942. $.05 per copy.

Welles, Sumner. *A Peace for Free Peoples.* June, 1943. Free.

A Symposium on World Organization, 1920-1940. International Conciliation. No. 372. Sept., 1941. $.05 per copy.

Catholic Association for International Peace, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

No. 29. *The World Society.* 1941. 48 pp. $.10 per copy.

No. 32. *A Peace Agenda for the United Nations.* 1943. 40 pp. $.10 per copy.

No. 34. *The Pattern for Peace and the Papal Peace Program.* 1944. $.10 per copy.

The Church Peace Union & World Alliance, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

American Churches and World Order—study packet. Dec., 1941. $.35 per copy.

Christian Church and World Order. 1942. $.10 per copy.

Educating for World Order—Radio Address. May, 1944. Single copies free; 100 copies for $1.00.

Pattern for Peace. Oct., 1943. $.01 per copy; 100 copies for $1.00.

Commerce & Industry Association of New York, Inc., Post-War Planning Committee, 233 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

Wolf, George W. *Realism in Post-War Planning.* Aug., 1943. $.25 per copy.

Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

A Guide Book for Action for a Just and Durable Peace. 1943. Outline of specific action which individuals and groups can take in helping to bring about a better world order in line with the Six Pillars of Peace. $.08 per copy; 50 or more $.05 per copy.

Instruction Manual. 1943. $.05 per copy.

A Just and Durable Peace. Reprint of Syndicated Articles. 1943. $.10 per copy; 100 copies for $8.25.

A Righteous Faith for a Just and Durable Peace. 1942. $.25 per copy; 10 copies $.20 each; 25 to 50 copies $.15 each.

Six Pillars of Peace, A Study Guide. Contains bibliography. 1943. $.20 per copy.

Statement of Political Propositions. 1943. $.05 per copy.

Statements on World Order. 1. *Moral Foundations.* 2. *Political Expressions.* 1943. $.10 per copy.

World Organization — Curative and Creative. Jan., 1944. $.03 per copy.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Aufricht, Hans. *War, Peace and Reconstruction.* A bibliography. 1943. 50 pp. $.50 per copy.

Eichelberger, Clark M. *Proposals for the United Nations Charter — What was Done at Dumbarton Oaks.* Oct., 1944. $.10 per copy.

Eichelberger, Clark M. *Time Has Come for Action.* Aug., 1944. $.10 per copy.

Fulk, George. *Winning the War of the Spiritual Front.* A study course on organizing the peace. Mar., 1944. $.10 per copy.

Wright, Quincy. *Human Rights and the World Order.* 1943. $.05 per copy.

A Design for the Charter of the General International Organization. Aug., 1944. Single copy free.

Fundamentals for a Permanent United Nations Organization. Flyer. 1943. Free.

Fundamentals of the Organization of Peace: In Pictures. 1944. $.25 per copy.

Toward Greater Freedom. Oct., 1944. $.15 per copy.

The United Nations and the Organization of Peace. Third Report. Feb., 1943. Single copy free.

Your Stake in the Peace. Study course on problems of organization of peace. 1943. $.10 per copy.

Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Union Hall Bookshelf. Section VIII. Labor and Postwar Planning. Sept., 1944. 24 pp. $.10 per copy; 100 copies for $8.00; 500 copies for $30.00.

Union Hall Films. Section VIII. Reconstruction and the Postwar World. Oct., 1944. 28 pp. $.10 per copy; 100 copies for $8.00; 500 copies for $30.00.

With Victory. Postwar objectives told in comic book form. $.01 per copy. Small quantity orders up to 50 are sent free. Payment preferred but if unable to pay, will be sent.

Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 167 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Carpenter, J. Henry. *Peace Through Cooperation.* Harper and Bros. 1944. $1.25.

Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Dunn, Frederick S. *Peaceful Change.* 1937. $1.50.

Federal Union, Inc., 700 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Munroe, David Hoadley. *Hang Together.* 124 pp. $.25 per copy.

Streit, Clarence K. *Union Now.* Harper and Bros. Wartime ed. Nov., 1943. 271 pp. $.35 per copy.

Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dean, Vera Micheles. *UNRRA—A Step Toward Reconstruction.* Jan. 1, 1944. $.25 per copy.

Kirk, Grayson & Sharp, Walter R. *Uniting Today for Tomorrow—United Nations in War and Peace.* Headline Books. Oct., 1942. $.25 per copy.

General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1734 N Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Whitehurst, Sara A. *Peace and Post-War Planning: A Study Outline in Quiz Form.* 1943. 64 pp. $.25 per copy.

Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York, N. Y.

Corbett, P. E. *Postwar Worlds.* 1942. 216 pp. $2.00.

International Chamber of Commerce, American Section, Washington 6, D. C.

Van Zeeland, Paul. *Post-War Reconstruction.* Address before 22nd Annual Meeting of American Section, International Chamber of Commerce. Free.

Liaison Committee for International Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Education for International Security. 1943. Free.

National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th Street, New York 20, N. Y. Sample copies of the following publications are free, quantity copies at cost price.

Sargant, Noel. *Postwar Conditions and Trends.* Dec., 1943. 38 pp.

Discussions on the Postwar Outlook. 1943. 43 pp.

Jobs — Freedom — Opportunity. Includes Section on *Objectives of the Peace.* 1943.

Questions and Answers About Postwar Problems. Dec., 1943. 38 pp.

Sound International Relations. June, 1944. 22 pp.

National Conference of Christians & Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Clinchy, E. R. ed., *The World We Want to Live In.* Paper bound pamphlet. 1943. $.10 per copy.

The National Council for the Social Studies and The National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 1201 Sixteenth Street, Washington 6, D. C.

Lerner, M.; Lerner, E.; Abraham, H. J. *International Organization After the War.* Unit No. 15. 1943. $.30 per copy.

National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Education and the People's Peace. 1943. $.10 per copy.

Learning About—Education and the Peace. 1944. $.10 per copy.

Let's Look at Education and the People's Peace. 1944. $.10 per copy.

Let's Talk About Education and the People's Peace. 1944. $.10 per copy.

National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Reconversion and Demobilization Problems. Mar., 1944. $.05 per copy.

National Peace Conference, 8 West 40th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Are the United Nations Moving Toward a Governed World? May, 1943. 8 pp. $.05 per copy.

Bricks for Building World Government to Win the Peace. June, 1942. 12 pp. $.05 per copy.

The G.I.O.—Functions of a General International Organization. June, 1944. 8 pp. $.05 per copy.

To Prevent a Third World War—World Government. Revised Nov., 1942. 8 pp. $.05 per copy.

National Planning Association, 800 Twenty-first Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

Public Thinking on Postwar Problems. Planning Pamphlet No. 23. 1943. 36 pp. $.25 per copy.

New Tools for Learning, 280 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

New Tools for Learning About War and Post-War Problems. Annotated bibliography. 1944. 64 pp. Free.

Pacifist Research Bureau, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Hesseltine, William B. *Reconstruction and Military Occupation.* (To be published within the next 12 months.) $.25 per copy.

Paullin, Theodore. *Functional Organization.* (To be published within the next 12 months.) $.25 per copy.

Peoples Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation, Hay-Adams House, Washington, D. C.

Boeckel, Florence Brewer. *Pan American Principles Fundamental to World Cooperation.* Apr., 1944. $.25 per copy.

Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Stewart, Maxwell S. *After the War.* 2nd ed. 1943. $.10 per copy.

Rotary International, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

Case, L. D. ed., *A World to Live In.* 1942. 95 pp. $.25 per copy.

Supt. of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Acheson, Hon. Dean, Asst. Secretary of State. *Rehabilitation and Lasting Peace.* Address. Dept. of State Bulletin. Dec. 18, 1943.

Taylor, Amos E. *International Reconstruction.* Foreign Commerce Weekly. Feb. 5, 1944. $.10 per copy.

Dumbarton Oaks Documents of International Organization. Dept. of State. Publication 2192. Conf. series. Nov., 1944. $.05 per copy.

Message of the President to the Congress on United States Participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Dept. of State Bulletin. Nov. 20, 1943.

The Town Hall, Inc., 123 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

Vol. 8, No. 37. *Can the United States Win the Peace While Fighting the War?* Jan. 21, 1943. $.10 per copy.

Vol. 8, No. 44. *What Peace Principles Can the United Nations Agree Upon Now?* Nov. 11, 1943. $.10 per copy.

Twentieth Century Fund, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Clark, Evans. ed. *Wartime Facts and Postwar Problems.* 1943. 136 pp. $.50 per copy.

Lorwin, Lewis L. *Postwar Plans of the United Nations.* 1943. 319 pp. $2.50.

United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Ave., New York 20, N. Y.

War and Peace Aims — Extracts from Statements of United Nations Leaders. Special Supplement No. 1 to the United Nations Review. Jan., 1943. $.25 per copy.

Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

Series of 20 Analyses of post-war problems. $.05 per copy.

University of Chicago Round Table, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Should We Discuss the Next Peace Now? Transcript of radio broadcast in pamphlet form. 1942. $.10 per copy.

Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Aufricht, Hans. *World Organization: An Annotated Bibliography.* 4th rev. ed. Jan., 1945. Free.

Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization as Submitted by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Oct. 9, 1944. Free.

World Peace Foundation, 40 Mount Vernon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

Ball, Joseph H. *Collective Security: The Why and How.* America Looks Ahead. No. 9, Oct., 1943. 63 pp. $.50 cloth edition; $.10 paper edition.

Brodie, Fawn M. *Peace Aims and Post-War Planning.* Bibliography. 1942. 53 pp. $.25 per copy.

Holborn, Louise W. ed. *War and Peace Aims of the United Nations.* 1943. 746 pp. $2.50.

Wriston, Henry M. *Strategy of Peace.* Oct., 1944. 159 pp. $1.00 cloth edition; $.50 paper edition.

DIRECTORIES

The group leader and worker for the peace will find directories valuable source books in his work in establishing contact with other group leaders and for general information about many phases of his activity.

DIRECTORIES OF DIRECTORIES

Business Directories — a Key to Their Use. Newark Public Library, Newark, N. J. 1934. A classified list of over 378 business and trade directories covering a wide range of subjects. Detailed information for each listing; subject, title, publisher indexes given.

Directories for the Business Man. Special Libraries Association, 31 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. 1938. A check list of leading directories arranged by subject groups.

Market Research Sources. U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C. 1936. Contains a list of nearly 200 trade directories and catalogue services with descriptive information.

GENERAL DIRECTORIES

American Catholic Who's Who (annual). Walter Romig and Co., 14 National Bank Building, Detroit, Michigan.

American Library Association Handbook (annual). American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

American Women (issued from time to time). American Publications, Inc., 527 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 1939-40.

America's Young Men (issued from time to time). American Publications, Inc., 527 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

Authors Today and Yesterday. H. W. Wilson Co., 958-972 University Avenue, New York, N. Y.

College and Private School Directory of the United States (annual). Educational Aid Society, 168 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Directory of Agencies Working with and for Adults. International Council of Religious Education, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Directory of Agricultural and Home Economics Leaders. W. G. Wilson, 777 Concord Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 1938.

Handbook of Adult Education in the United States. American Association for Adult Education, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Leaders in Education. James M. Cattell. Science Press, Lancaster, Pa. 1932.

National Research Council. Hull, Cook, and Berry. National Research Council, Washington, D. C.

Social Work Year Book. Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y. 1945.

Who's Who in America (annual). A. N. Marquis Co., 919 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

World Almanac (annual). New York World-Telegram, 125 Barclay Street, New York, N. Y.

Youth-Serving Organizations. M. M. Chambers. American Council on Education, American Youth Commission, Washington, D. C. 1941.

MOTION PICTURES

Motion Picture Almanac (annual). Rockefeller Center, New York, N. Y.

PRESS

American Newspaper Annual and Directory (annual). N. W. Ayer and Son Co., 308 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor and Publisher (annual). Syndicate List Supplement. Editor and Publisher Co., 1475 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

RADIO

Broadcasting, Broadcast Advertising (annual). Broadcasting Publications, 870 National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

Variety Radio Directory (annual). Variety, 154 West 46th Street, New York, N. Y.

GOVERNMENT

Congressional Directory (issued several times a year). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Educational Directory (issued in four parts, annually). U. S. Office of Education. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

Official Register of the U. S. (annual). U. S. Civil Service Commission, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Statistical Abstract of the U. S. (annual). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

U. S. GOVERNMENT MANUAL

The Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1944.

PUBLICITY

Directory contained in 20th anniversary issue of "Channels" lists and describes nearly 200 selected pamphlets and books on publicity techniques; sources of films, exhibits, scripts, etc.; other publicity services. Much of the material available free. "Channels" is published 8 times a year by the National Publicity Council for Health & Welfare Services, 130 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y. $3.00 a year.

EXHIBITS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Exhibits: How to Plan and Make Them. National Publicity Council, 130 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y. Mar., 1943. $.60.

Exhibition Techniques: A Summary of Exhibition Practice. New York Museum of Science and Industry, Rockefeller Center, New York, N. Y. 1940. $2.00.

MOTION PICTURES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

How to Make Good Movies. Eastman-Kodak Co., Rochester, N. Y. 1937. 200 pp. $2.00.

Make Your Own Movies. Gale, Arthur and Pessels, King. Coward, McCann. 1939. 230 pp. $3.50.

Selected Motion Pictures. Y.M.C.A. Motion Picture Bureau, National Council, Y.M.C.A. 1942-43. Free.

Source: National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services. "Channels." Feb., 1943.

FILMS AVAILABLE FROM ORGANIZATIONS

The following organizations will supply catalogues of 16 mm and 35 mm films on postwar subjects.

American Council on Educational Studies
Motion Pictures for Postwar Education
744 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

•

British Information Services
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

•

Canadian Film Board
Canadian Embassy
Washington, D. C.

•

Cooperative League
167 West 12th Street
New York, N. Y.

•

East-West Association
40 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

•

Educational Film Library Association
45 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

•

The March of Time
Time and Life Building
New York, N. Y.

•

New York University Film Library
71 Washington Square South
New York, N. Y.

•

Pan American Union
Motion Picture Section
Washington, D. C.

•

United Nations Information Office
610 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

How to Conquer War. 45 minute slide film. Sale price—$5.00. Rental price—$2.00. Traces political development from family to nation. Endorses world constitutional government. Federal World Government, Inc., 29 East 28th Street, New York, N. Y. 1944.

The World We Want to Live In. 9½ minute documentary film. Sale price — $9.25. Rental price — Free to lecture groups, schools, etc., except for carrying charges to be paid by organizations desiring film. Film treats of postwar topics. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

NEWSREEL COMPANIES

These companies make the newsreels you see and hear in your motion-picture theater. Communicate with them if you believe your event warrants their attention.

Fox Movietone News, 460 West 54th Street, New York, N. Y.

March of Time, Time and Life Building, New York, N. Y.

News-of-the-Day, 450 West 56th Street, New York, N. Y.

Paramount News, 544 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

Pathé News, Inc., 35 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Universal Newsreel, 1250 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

PERIODICALS, BOOKS AND MANUALS OF POSSIBLE INTEREST

ADVERTISING

Advertising Age, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. Monthly, $2.00 a year.

Advertising and Selling, 9 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y. Monthly, $2.00 a year.

Printers' Ink, 185 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. Weekly, $3.00 a year; monthly, $2.00 a year.

Tide, 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Twice a month, $4.00 a year.

PUBLISHING

Editor and Publisher, 1475 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Weekly, $4.00 a year.

Publishers' Weekly, 62 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y. Weekly, $5.00 a year.

MOTION PICTURES

Film Daily, 1501 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Daily, $10.00 a year, including yearbook and any supplemental issues.

Motion Picture Herald, Rockefeller Center, New York, N. Y. Weekly, $5.00 a year.

PUBLIC OPINION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Bernays, Edward L. *Crystallizing Public Opinion.* Liveright. rev. ed., 1934. A discussion of public opinion, how it is determined and why, what constitutes it, and methods of changing the point of view of a group.

Bernays, Edward L. *Propaganda.* Liveright. 1928. A study of the methods and media for molding public opinion, and their relation to the important trends of present-day life.

Bernays, Edward L. *Speak up for Democracy.* Viking. New York, N. Y. 1940.

Childs, Harwood L. *Reference Guide to Public Opinion,* with an introduction by Edward L. Bernays. Princeton. 1934. Classifies and integrates material dealing with opinion management; based on a thorough scientific study.

Fiske, Frances. *So You're Publicity Chairman.* McGraw-Hill. 1940. A book to make the task of the publicity chairman more fruitful. Explains newspaper requirements; how articles should be written; how special projects develop through publicity.

Gallup, George H. and Rae, S. F. *The Pulse of Democracy; the Public-Opinion Poll and How it Works.* Simon. 1940. How the public-opinion poll works to provide a chart of the opinions of the man in the street, by the founder of the American Institute of Public Opinion.

Graves, Brooke, ed. *Readings in Public Opinion.* Appleton. 1928. A source book of references and excerpts on public opinion and how to influence it. Press, radio, motion pictures, and other channels of communication are treated.

Lasswell, H. D.; Casey, R. D.; and Smith, B. L. *Propaganda and Promotional Activities.* University of Minnesota Press. 1935. Advertising methods, market analyses, use of motion pictures and radio, consumers' buying habits, and influences affecting the press are covered.

Lippmann, Walter. *Public Opinion.* Harcourt. 1927. A review of public opinion in the light of modern knowledge of human nature. It deals with censorship, propaganda, publicity, electioneering, news, and intelligence work.

Quiett, Glenn C. and Casey, R. D. *Principles of Publicity.* Appleton. 1926. A comprehensive work which defines publicity and gives an extensive practical exposition — its methods, how to write feature articles, print folders, house organs, etc., and its use in business, colleges, institutions, churches, and associations.

Smith, Charles W. *Public Opinion in a Democracy; a Study in American Politics.* Prentice. 1939. Scholarly, comprehensive, well-documented study of the foundations of public opinion, and its effect in the sphere of democratic government. Special topics treated include: pressure group, public opinion in war time, straw votes as measures, sectionalism, etc.

Wallis, Wilson D. and Willey, Malcolm M. *Readings in Sociology.* Crofts. 1930. The problems of life illuminated by the interpretation of many scholars. Due to limitations of space, confined for the most part to recent descriptions and interpretations. With few exceptions, the material, most of which is taken from periodicals and is therefore not available in book form, has not appeared in other collections of readings.

White, Wendell. *Psychology of Dealing with People.* Macmillan. 1937. Devoted to dealing with people by appealing to their desire for a feeling of personal worth. Basic principles of general psy-

chology, simply and clearly stated, are shown in application.

Young, Kimball. *Source Book for Social Psychology*. Knopf. 1927. A selective compilation presenting pertinent materials in the field of social psychology, not easily available elsewhere. Selections indicate the nature of social behavior, rather than suggesting how individuals should behave in their own social relations.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Hymer, Esther Wanner. *The United Nations Move Forward*. Plan for a Series of Public Meetings. Rev. ed. American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Apr., 1944.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

Buehler, E. C. *Make Yourself a Better Speaker*. Ronald. 1940. Addressed to men and women in business or professions whose community activities require them to make public addresses, and to students of law, engineering, business, and medicine who need one such course for their future career.

Denny, George V., Jr. *Town Meeting Discussion Leader's Handbook*. The Town Hall, Inc., 123 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y. 1940. 32 pp. $.25 per copy. How to build a local meeting around a national radio program.

Garland, J. V., and Phillips, C. F. *Discussion Methods Explained and Illustrated*. Reference Shelf, Vol. 12, No. 2. H. W. Wilson Co. 1940. 378 pp. $1.25.

Hoffman, William G. *Public Speaking Today*. McGraw-Hill. 1940. 355 pp. $2.75. The problems of the public speaker, with suggested solutions, ranging from the choice of a topic to voice training.

Lindstrom, David E. *Conducting Group Discussion*. Bulletin of the Illinois State Library, Springfield, Ill. 1943. 16 pp. Free.

Von Hesse, Elizabeth. *So to Speak*. Lippincott. 1941. 498 pp. $3.00. Eleanor Roosevelt's voice teacher shows how to achieve an effective personality through voice and speech.

New Tools for Learning. *Selected References for Discussion Leaders*. 280 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. 1943. A limited number of single copies free. Bibliography.

U. S. Agricultural Economics Bureau. *Group Discussion and Its Techniques*. 1942. 57 pp. $.10 per copy. Order from U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. A bibliographical review of the literature of group discussion. Designed for leaders.

RADIO

BROADCASTS

American Forum of the Air, Mutual Broadcasting System, Tuesdays, 9:30-10:15 p.m., EWT.

America's Town Meeting of the Air, American Broadcasting Company, Thursdays, 8:30-9:30 p.m., EWT.

People's Platform, Columbia Broadcasting System, Saturdays, 6:15-6:45 p.m., EWT.

Report to the Nation, Columbia Broadcasting System, Saturdays, 1:30-2:00 p.m., EWT.

University of Chicago Round Table, National Broadcasting Company, Sundays, 1:30-2:00 p.m., EWT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list of books will provide useful background material for the group leader planning to utilize the radio in promotion of Democracy.

Abbot, Waldo. *Handbook of Broadcasting*. McGraw-Hill. 1941. 422 pp. $3.50.

Association of Junior Leagues. *Radio, Your Station and You*. 1942. 98 pp. $.40 per copy.

Barnouw, Erik. *Handbook of Radio Writing*. Little, Brown. 1939. 306 pp. $2.50.

Bartlett, Kenneth G. *How to Use Radio*. National Association of Broadcasters. 1942. 32 pp. Free.

Landry, Robert J. *Who, What, Why is Radio*. George W. Stewart, Inc. 1941. 128 pp. $1.50.

Wylie, Max. *Radio Writing*. Farrar and Rinehart. 1938. 555 pp. $3.75.

Source: National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services. *Channels*. Feb., 1943.

Hill, Frank Ernest. *The Group Tunes In*. Federal Radio Education Committee, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. $.25 per copy. Summary of a study of listening groups in the United States. Deals with the relative merit of listening in a group as compared with listening alone.

Sheats, Paul H. *Forums on the Air*. Federal Radio Education Committee, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. $.25 per copy. The when, why, and how of radio forums.

Educational Radio Script Exchange. Federal Radio Education Committee, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. $.10 per copy. The fourth edition lists more than 500 educational scripts available through the Exchange.

BROADCASTING SYSTEMS

The principal broadcasting systems are:

American Broadcasting Co., Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc.
1440 Broadway
New York 18, N. Y.

National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

RECORDINGS

The following organizations will supply recordings and transcriptions on postwar subjects, and have catalogues available.

East-West Association
40 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

The New York University Film Library
Washington Square South
New York, N. Y.

The following records are endorsed by the Postwar Information Exchange, Inc., as being particularly valuable. They may be obtained from the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, 598 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

These records are 16 inch discs, approximate duration — 14 minutes, 33-1/3 r.p.m., free on loan:

American Public Opinion and the Peace. No. 66. Mrs. Nancy Rupley Armstrong and Dr. Pennington Haile.

Forum on Peace Plans. No. 64. Clark M. Eichelberger, Dr. James T. Shotwell, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Frederick C. McKee, Dr. D. F. Fleming.

How Can Postwar World Security Be Enforced? No. 62. Major George Fielding Eliot and Clark M. Eichelberger.

The United Nations Chart a Course for Peace. No. 67. Clark M. Eichelberger.

PRESS

NEWSPAPER FEATURE SYNDICATES

The representative newspaper syndicates listed here control many of the features sold and printed in newspapers throughout the country. Group leaders may by correspondence with these syndicates secure a list of their features. Columnists and cartoonists, among others, are important molders of public opinion. A more complete list will be found in some of the yearbooks listed under Directories in the Appendix. This list is a compilation of names supplied by two authoritative sources.

A.P. Feature Syndicate, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.
Bell Syndicate, Inc., 247 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.
Chicago Tribune - New York News Syndicate, Inc., 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.; Tribune Tower, Chicago, Ill.
Consolidated News Features, 247 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.
King Features Syndicate, Inc., 235 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
Ledger Syndicate, Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa.
McClure Newspaper Syndicate, 75 West Street, New York, N. Y.
McNaught Syndicate, Inc., 452 East Putnam Avenue, Greenwich, Conn.
NEA Service, Inc., 1200 West Third Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
New York Herald Tribune Syndicate, 230 West 41st Street, New York, N. Y.
North American Newspaper Alliance, 247 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.
Publishers Syndicate, 30 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.
Register and Tribune Syndicate, 715 Locust Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
United Feature Syndicate, Inc., 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.
Watkins Syndicate, 2214-24 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Western Newspaper Union, 210 South Desplaines Street, Chicago, Ill.

NEWS SERVICES

Three great news-gathering organizations are the principal factors in supplying the people of the United States with news — the raw material of public opinion. The group leader will find that they cover his community too, as they do the rest of the country. He will want to know their headquarters offices so that he can communicate with them. Transradio Press Service, Inc., also listed below, supplies news mostly to radio stations.

The Associated Press, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.
International News Service, 235 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

United Press Associations, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Transradio Press Service, Inc., 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SYNDICATES

This list of representative syndicates has been checked by two authoritative sources.

A. P. Newsphotos, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Acme Newspictures, Inc., 461 Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

International News Photos, 235 East 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

Wide World Photos, Inc., 229 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

Lists of foreign language newspapers may be obtained from the Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

LECTURE BUREAUS

Important lecturers are booked through lecture bureaus. Group leaders who desire to engage important speakers will find that the representative bureaus listed here represent many of them.

William B. Feakins, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Clark H. Getts, Inc., Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Park Avenue at 50th Street, New York, N. Y.

Lee Keedick, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

W. Colston Leigh, Inc., 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Harold R. Peat, Inc., 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.

SPEAKERS

Speakers may be obtained through the following associations and their branches or affiliates. Requests should include date, location and subject of proposed speech, size of audience and maximum amount allotted for speaker's fee and traveling expenses:

American Labor Education Service, 437 West 59th Street, New York, N. Y. The New York Office and the Chicago Office will both recommend speakers. Write to Miss Eleanor G. Coit, Director, for Chicago address. Subjects: Postwar problems in relation to labor.

Americans United for World Organization, 465 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. Supplies speakers. Subjects: Dumbarton Oaks, World Organization, etc.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York, N. Y. Regional centers throughout the nation, associated with the Endowment, have speakers bureaus. Write to Malcolm Davis, Associate Director, for address of nearest center. Subjects: International organization and postwar problems.

Church Peace Union and World Alliance, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Will supply speakers to the general public. Subjects: Dumbarton Oaks, prospects for peace, organization of peace, possibilities of religion functioning in the peace.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 45 East 65th Street, New York, N. Y. Branches throughout the country will supply speakers. Write to Mrs. Samuel D. Dodge for address of nearest branch. Subjects: All phases of international cooperation.

National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Write national headquarters to secure address of local league. Subjects: Domestic and international, political, economic and social postwar problems.

LIBRARY SERVICES

American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Ill. Publishes lists from time to time on current books that will be helpful to the citizen who desires to inform himself about the peace and peace plans. These lists will be available at local libraries.

Postwar Information Exchange, Inc., 41 Maiden Lane, New York, N. Y., publishes a monthly bulletin, *Postwar Information Bulletin*. $.10 per copy, $1.00 for 12 monthly issues. This bulletin gives information about peace organizations and their activities; information on films, recordings, speakers, etc. The main feature consists of reports of unusual methods to create interest in national and international postwar problems.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y., contains a collection of publications in the field of postwar problems which is available to those seeking information.

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

Dem.

Sol Bloom, Chairman	N. Y.
Luther A. Johnson	Tex.
John Kee	W. Va.
James P. Richards	S. C.
Joseph L. Pfeifer	N. Y.
Pete Jarman	Ala.
W. O. Burgin	N. C.
Thomas S. Gordon	Ill.
Wirt Courtney	Tenn.
John S. Wood	Ga.
Emily Taft Douglas	Ill.
James W. Trimble	Ark.
Helen Gahagan Douglas	Cal.
Joseph F. Ryter	Conn.
Daniel J. Flood	Pa.

Rep.

Charles A. Eaton	N. J.
Edith Nourse Rogers	Mass.
Robert B. Chiperfield	Ill.
John M. Vorys	Ohio
Karl E. Mundt	S. Dak.
Frances P. Bolton	Ohio
Bartel J. Jonkman	Mich.
James W. Wadsworth	N. Y.
Charles L. Gerlach	Pa.
Lawrence H. Smith	Wisc.
Chester E. Merrow	N. H.

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Dem.

Tom Connally, Chairman	Tex.
Walter F. George	Ga.
Robert F. Wagner	N. Y.
Elbert D. Thomas	Utah
James E. Murray	Mont.
Claude Pepper	Fla.
Theodore Francis Green	R. I.
Alben W. Barkley	Ky.
Joseph F. Guffey	Pa.
Carter Glass	Va.
James M. Tunnell	Dela.
Carl A. Hatch	N. Mex.
Scott W. Lucas	Ill.
Lister Hill	Ala.

Rep.

Hiram W. Johnson	Cal.
Arthur Capper	Kan.
Arthur H. Vandenberg	Mich.
Wallace H. White, Jr.	Me.
Henrik Shipstead	Minn.
Warren R. Austin	Vt.
Styles Bridges	N. H.
Alexander Wiley	Wisc.

Prog.

Robert M. La Follette, Jr.	Wisc.

WORLD ORGANIZATION — LISTS

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library has assembled data on lists of agencies which would be interesting to people working for the peace. These are from WORLD ORGANIZATION, an annotated bibliography prepared by Hans Aufricht of New York University, for them.

Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. *Organizations Working in the Field of Post-War Reconstruction.* N. Y., The Commission. 1942. 20 pp. $.20 per copy. Bulletin, vol. II, Mar.-Apr., 1942. Out of print. A brief but comprehensive listing. Includes private agencies; learned societies and universities; religious groups; government agencies; international and foreign groups; and groups in the United States having a foreign interest.

Judkins, C. J. J., comp. *Foreign Trade Associations of the United States: 700 in 140 Cities.* Washington, D. C., U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. 1944. 80 pp. Free. In addition to trade associations the directory includes selected educational and cultural agencies.

Savord, Ruth, comp. *American Agencies Interested in International Affairs.* N. Y., Council on Foreign Relations. 1942. 200 pp. $2.00. A survey of organizations working in the field of international relations, not confined to post-war reconstruction proper.

Twentieth Century Fund. *Postwar Planning in the United States: An Organization Directory.* No. 3. N. Y. The Fund. 1944. 134 pp. $1.00. Extensive listing of United States official and private post-war planning agencies.

United Nations Information Office. *Research and Post-War Planning in the United States.* Survey of Agencies, N. Y., The Office. Feb., 1942 to date. 17 volumes. Detailed descriptions of the structure, personnel, and background of research agencies in this country.

WRITING TO PUBLIC OFFICIALS

How to Write to Your President, the Secretary of State, Your Senators and Representatives

When you write to the President of the United States address your letter to:

The President
The White House
or
The President
Washington, D. C.

Your salutation should be:

Sir: *or* To the President: *or* My dear Mr. President:

Your complimentary close should be:

Respectfully submitted, *or* Yours respectfully, *or* Faithfully yours, (informal)

When you write to the Secretary of State, you should address him:

The Honorable ——
Secretary of State
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Your salutation should be:

Sir: *or* Dear Sir: *or* My dear Mr. Secretary:

Your complimentary close should be:

Very truly yours,

In writing to your Senator, you should address him:

The Honorable ——
The United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Your salutation should be:

Dear Sir: *or* My dear Senator: *or* My dear Senator ——: (informal)

Your complimentary close should be:

Very truly yours,

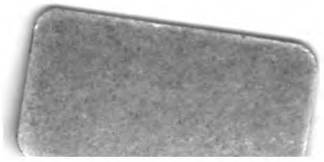
Your Representative should be addressed:

The Honorable ——
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Your salutation should be:

Sir: *or* Dear Sir: *or* My dear Mr. ——: (informal)

Your complimentary close should be the same as in the case of the Senator.



AS OTHERS SEE HIM . . .

When *Time* Magazine, in succinct style, bestowed the title "U. S. Publicist No. 1" on Edward L. Bernays, it was in recognition of his talent to create events and circumstances which the American public accepts as news and uses as a guide to social action. It was also a tacit tribute to his achievements as counsel on public relations — a profession he was instrumental in creating.

Henry F. Pringle, the Pulitzer Prize biographer, wrote of him: "Bernays . . . master of mass psychology . . . makes no claim to crystal gazing. He would modestly deny that he is clairvoyant. His science, once understood, is really very simple. What he does is to create a demand by molding the public mind. He creates a desire for specified ideas."

A full length profile of him in *The Atlantic Monthly* observed: "By no system of honest elimination can Edward L. Bernays be excluded from a list of representative men in America. He has made an extraordinary success. He has been something of a pioneer . . . And Bernays himself is quite the newest type of public relations specialist . . . that he assumes almost the character of a phenomenon . . ."

He has solved public relations problems for corporations and philanthropies, for radio chains and universities, for governmental departments and private hospitals, for factories and art galleries — and has served innumerable public interest causes without fee. The roster of clients of the Bernays organization over the last 25 years is a Blue Book of America in that period.

The editor of a noted literary magazine remarked of him: "You see life like a billiard table. Direct strokes are barred and your nimble ball caroms off the situation of circumstances, affecting the situation not at first, but at second hand."

In World War I, Bernays went to the Paris Peace Conference with the U. S. Committee on Public Information. He has been called upon by high government officials to aid in solving World War II public relations problems. He is the author of *"Crystallizing Public Opinion," "Propaganda"* and *"Speak Up for Democracy."* He has lectured on public opinion at leading universities.

Now, in *"Take Your Place at the Peace Table,"* he has set forth in one compact and comprehensive volume the essence of his 25 years' experience in molding the American mind. Here is your blueprint of tools and techniques to use in organizing America behind a lasting United Nations peace. Whether you want to work for peace in neighborhood, town, city, county, state or nation, this handy and information packed manual reveals each consecutive step that you must take in order to put over your crusade for permanent world security.