TEACHING THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD:
A FEW MODEST SUGGESTIONS FOR HISTORY TEACHERS

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The teaching of world history is once again a topic of renewed interest in our profession as the curriculum cycle turns back to more specified general education requirements.¹ This educational trend transcends the usual scholarly arguments of academic historians, as illustrated by the recent debate in New York state about the teaching of social studies along more global lines in the public schools.² Global awareness has almost become a new buzz phrase in educational circles, along with educational excellence and merit pay.³

For over seven years so far, several members of the history department at the University of Toledo have cooperated to present a different type of world history course, one that focuses on our twentieth-century world. Although we make no claim to uniqueness, we do believe that our course offers University of Toledo students, a heterogeneous lot, an academically sound one quarter survey of the contemporary world, one with adequate attention to both the historical and global dimensions of our present predicament, as well as some tentative visions of alternative futures. We have tried to respond to the sort of argument made by the Carnegie Foundation regarding college curriculum improvement, that is, that we should develop "integrative courses on basic understanding of where we are in history, on how we got here, and what the various alternatives are for the future."⁴ Perhaps a few brief comments, theoretical and practical, will illustrate our approach and help other history teachers trying to develop similar courses.

Two decades ago, when a new era seemed imminent with the Kennedys redecorating the White House and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev talking about peaceful co-existence, a slender little volume appeared with the arresting title An Introduction to Contemporary History.⁵ In this highly interpretive study, an English medieval historian of Germany by the name of Geoffrey Barraclough argued for the uniqueness of contemporary, as distinct from modern history, and for the need to study this period in different ways. At that time, he defined contemporary history in this fashion:

Contemporary history begins when the problems which are actual in the world today first take visible shape; it begins with the changes which enable, or rather which compel us to say that we have moved into a new era—the sort of changes, as I have already suggested, which historians emphasize when they draw a dividing line between the Middle Ages and 'modern' history at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Just as the roots of the changes which took place at the time of the Renaissance may lead back to the Italy of Frederick II, so the roots of the present may lie as far back as the eighteenth century; but that does not make it impossible to distinguish two ages or invalidate the distinction between them.⁶

The purpose of citing this study is not to argue its validity, or lack thereof; indeed, I both agree and disagree with parts of Barraclough's thesis. Rather my purpose is to suggest that this study presents a convenient general theoretical framework for anyone contemplating a venture into teaching students about our contemporary world from a more historical and global perspective. In short,

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Barraclough, with a bit of shaping up, provides a viable organizing framework for one of the most difficult courses I have ever tried to put together.7

Students do not always take kindly to Professor Barraclough's highly sophisticated approach to contemporary history. Non-traditional students, generally more outspoken than younger students, have regularly criticized his work for convoluted style, repetitious arguments, inconsistencies, and the like. One of my best students, for example, immediately noted the glaring omission of women in Barraclough's argument:

He continues, despite occasional allusions to men of color, to remain determinedly oblivious to the female 50% of the human race. It is surprising that a mind so filled with light has obtained its illumination by placing all its windows on one wall. Even granting that this thesis was cultivated in the seriously chauvinistic Oxford furrows, the significance of the women's movement must have penetrated even that male bastion, parading as it does most vigorously from 1890 through 1960.8

Two decades later, Barraclough might even agree with this criticism, but the point here is, from my perspective, that this sort of critical reading only enhanced student discussions of the issues raised by Barraclough.

There are three essential elements to my preferred approach for a contemporary world survey: Historical, or where we have been; Global, or where we are; Alternative Futures, or where we may be going. The emphasis throughout such a course, one must argue strongly, if not originally, should be on the historical foundations of an emerging global era. Though we may not yet live in a global village, we do live in an age characterized by greater global interdependency than ever before in recorded history. William McNeill, the foremost advocate of world history over the past quarter century, argues that "the only frame suitable for introducing students to the world in which they live is world history."9

Many approaches to the study of our contemporary world deteriorate into shallow, superficial treatments of current events, what might be called a news-magazine version of contemporary history, sometimes worse than no version at all. One can overcome this impression in the minds of students by requiring them to read a substantial modern world history text like the one by L.S. Stavrianos, even though it begins at 1500, to fill out the interpretive framework provided by Barraclough.10 Since Barraclough and Stavrianos both emphasize, from different time perspectives, the impact of western imperialism and industrialization on the rest of the world, they do complement one another nicely. This provides a coherence in the readings, perhaps something close to a unifying theme, that is absolutely necessary for such an ambitious course that could easily fall apart without careful planning.11

Barraclough focuses on the key structural changes that he thinks have created our contemporary world, the major global changes in that transition period since about 1890. In choosing this chronological dividing line for the transition period from the modern to the contemporary world, he follows other historians of the years around the turn of the century. For example, some note the 1895 discovery of X-rays as the beginning of the atomic age, or the beginnings of modern art with the post-impressionists, or the increasing emphasis on irrational human motivations by Freud and others in the early twentieth century.12

With considerable oversimplification, Barraclough's interpretation might be summarized in the following manner. The intellectual, political, and especially economic revolutions that define modern European society and its
relations with the rest of the world climaxed in the later nineteenth century with an industrial and technical revolution that not only created the bases of western European world dominance, but also the material, and perhaps intellectual bases for an emerging global era. In this context, power, increasingly related to size, contributed to the rise of the two superpowers, even before World War I, at the expense of the numerically and geographically smaller European great powers. The age of the superpowers, like so much else in the contemporary world, has its roots in that period around the turn of the century. Within this framework Barraclough places the German attempt to organize by force the European continent as a world power to meet not only the challenges of the British Empire and Bolshevik Russia, but also that of the United States. This attempt, led in the later phase by the fascists, involved the mobilization of mass political support, part of the general political participation and propaganda revolutions of this century:

In the new conurbations a vast, impersonal, malleable mass society came into existence, and the scene was set for the displacement of the prevalent bourgeois social and political systems, and the liberal philosophy they upheld, by new forms of social and political organization.13

The climax of this terror in World War II provided the final stimulus for the Third World revolt against western control and influence. This revolt had its roots in the late nineteenth century, with its most successful vehicle being that same mobilization of the masses used by western political leaders, nationalist, fascist, or communist. Barraclough's penultimate chapter assesses the ideological challenge presented by the Russian revolution, "the emergence of the new ideology as the last component of the new world situation that was coming into existence during the closing decades of the nineteenth century and . . . the final proof that a new period of history was beginning."14

Many historians probably consider such an approach too present-minded, too much concerned with the past roots of transient current events. I might even agree, but let me find some refuge in the critical need for us to give our students a better historical perspective on the present and the future, a need perhaps more critical today than in 1960 when Robert Heilbroner wrote the following in his The Future As History, a quotation always included on my contemporary world syllabus:

At bottom our troubled state of mind reflects an inability to see the future in an historic context . . . More than anything else, our disorientation before the future reveals a loss of our historic identity, an incapacity to grasp our historic situation. Unlike our forefathers who lived very much in history and for history, we ourselves appear to be adrift in an historic void.15

This is to argue that the contemporary world in the narrowest sense cannot be properly understood outside a solidly developed historical context that should even include selective consideration of the pre-1914 world. This is obvious to all historians, but many of our students, not to mention many of our political leaders, sometimes give history teachers the feeling they believe anything that happened before yesterday has already become ancient history, unworthy of their serious concern. (Some of my students even use the phrase "old history" in their complaints about the amount of time spent on events before recent times which, I suppose, they would call "new history.") How can any instructor, in any discipline, provide an accurate representation of the contemporary Third World without explaining to students the necessary background on the impact of western imperialism? Examples of this need for better historical perspective are ever present, most recently in Central America and the
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Middle East, not so very long ago in Africa and Southeast Asia. This historical foundation of a contemporary world course, even one as brief as a ten-week term, must be kept in the forefront in the face of great pressure, of time and from students, to revert to a newsmagazine version of our globe's present situation.

Such a historical perspective, however selective, must likewise be genuinely global in coverage, not just traditional western history with a few ritual bows to the other three-quarters of the world. McNeill emphasizes this point in the printed version of the 1976 AHA session on the history survey, as does T.H. von Laue in his more recent call for "civic history for a global city." This has been the most difficult aspect of teaching such a course for a traditionally trained modern European historian. This is the area in which my efforts have been least successful, although most personally satisfying. Nonetheless, the integrity and believability of any contemporary history course, perhaps in contrast to others, depends on this global character.

An instructor can attempt to handle this gigantic, global problem in a variety of ways, depending on one's individual background. The first, and also most obvious, indispensable aid remains the college library, where we can use those important skills developed, however long ago, in graduate schools, patient bibliographical research and critical reading of large amounts of material in a relatively short time. This takes valuable time away from other pressing faculty duties, like pursuing one's own special research, though one should not automatically assume, as some may, that such outside reading is of little value to scholarly research. My own experience has been quite positive in this respect, enhancing my view of Germany between the wars by providing some valuable comparisons to other parts of the world. Robert Byrnes supports this view in his report about organizing a contemporary world course at Indiana University, his "agony and ecstasy":

... the instructor will learn again to learn and will benefit from the excitement of acquiring knowledge about parts of the world and cultures of which he had previously been ignorant. Nothing can match this renewed sense of excitement and stimulation which comes from improving one's teaching and relations with students, whose learning experiences coincide to a great degree with the instructor's.18

Still, our physical energy is finite, in spite of any additions to our graduate school Sitzfleisch, so one must consider other ways to cover one's ignorance of large parts of the world.

Let me suggest three methods that may have some potential; at least they have helped with my own global problems. Most of us have access to a variety of media materials--films, videotapes, slides, audio tapes--that can be particularly valuable as documents of twentieth-century history or as provocative interpretations to stimulate discussions, especially in a multi-period class.19 How better can we impress upon our students the skill of Nazi propaganda than to show or play excerpts from Hitler's speeches or to view critically Leni Rifenstahl's classic propaganda film, "Triumph of the Will"?20 There are similar media resources available, although perhaps in smaller quantity, for non-western areas of the world. American television crews descended upon China like a plague of locusts after Nixon's visit, and they churned out reels of newsmagazine contemporary history. Some productions have been better than others, e.g., the NBC documentary narrated by Jack Reynolds entitled "China: A Class by Itself" that presents a believable visual portrait of post-Mao changes in Chinese education and provides an opportunity for education majors to link the substance of the course with their major.21
The single most useful film, so far, for my purposes has been Edwin O. Reischauer's "The Japanese," an uncanny portrait of the "hidden wires" that shape Japanese society like a bonsai tree. This film, which in spite of its age should be required viewing for every American businessman, provides a centerpiece for an analysis of the ways in which culture influences the behavior of nations and their people in the contemporary world. Coincidentally, it also provides an opportunity to force students, no matter how experienced, to realize how superficial their views of other cultures can sometimes be in reality. Students should also try to identify the "hidden wires" within American society.

In this regard, I am fortunate to have as a colleague a specialist in modern Japan who helps me discuss the Reischauer film and its implications, not only for an understanding of Japan but also for America's relationship with this economic superpower. This suggests yet another way to cover some of the gaps in one's knowledge, the friendly invitation to a colleague to help out with a specific area or theme. In many ways, this works much better than team teaching, which we have found tends to confuse students, especially younger ones. I have been personally surprised at the overwhelmingly positive responses to my sometimes frantic requests for help; some colleagues correctly see such guest performances as an opportunity to show off their best stuff in order to recruit students for their faltering upper-level classes. I have not only called on colleagues in my own department, for example, our American diplomatic, African, and Latin American specialists; occasionally I have also utilized guest experts from other disciplines, such as art history, economics, or international business. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that such a course could draw on special resource persons outside academia. The students have certainly benefitted from the extra expertise gained by this regular feature of my contemporary world courses; the same might be said of the instructor.

Finally, an instructor in such a course should draw more than usual on student "expertise." Students in some offerings of this course have been required to choose a non-western country in order to test the validity of Barraclough's argument about the revolt against the West in the Third World. Students are asked to choose a country early in the term so that they may help the rest of the class relate that country's development to the themes discussed throughout the quarter. This sharing process culminates in an extensive discussion of how non-western countries have attempted to establish their independence from outside political and economic influences. The results of this discussion usually enhance student confidence because they discover instances that do not fit Barraclough's thesis about the stages of nationalism.

For this assignment some students even choose countries they have visited, voluntarily or otherwise; for example, Vietnam vets almost always provide a different perspective on the recent history of Southeast Asia. They also discover another perspective on this troubled area when they begin reading its history more seriously. Their direct involvement "teaches" the class more than I could with a whole series of lectures on the Vietnam wars, which in a global perspective have to be seen as yet another illustration of the revolt against western influence. Whenever I use a short CBS documentary on Gandhi, there are always several students who get seriously involved in his non-violent passive resistance to the continuation of British control in India after World War I. This illustrates the theme of the participation revolution in the non-western world, as the rise of Hitler does in the West.

Many of the students in these classes have gone far beyond the minimum required for this course assignment; many have done so on other assignments as well, for example, an oral history project on the impact of World War II. Some involve other members of their families; one student even brought her husband along to get in the act. Such reactions frequently come from part-time students.
with families and full-time jobs. Yet almost all students, on the anonymous end-of-the-term course evaluation, emphasized how much they enjoyed this aspect of the course. They not only enjoyed learning about other parts of the world; they enjoyed showing off the fruits of their own special research and maybe even showing up the prof.

My experiences, perhaps inadequately illustrated here, have convinced me beyond any doubt that the only course that deserves the name "contemporary world" must be genuinely global in conception and practice, in spite of the difficulties this may create for the fallible and lonely instructor who is frequently from "another world."

It is possible to determine a limited number of historical themes of particular importance for the twentieth century, and then try to illustrate such themes from different parts of the world. Using Barraclough's interpretation as a rough theoretical guide, my own course, for example, begins with the spread of modern western power, in particular late nineteenth-century industrialization and imperialism as reflected in various regions. After emphasizing the Great War as the key turning point, several additional themes provide the substantive framework for analysis of the period since 1914—the emergence of revolutionary mass politics in different parts of the world during and after World War I, for example communism in Russia, fascism in Italy and Germany, revolutionary nationalism in Turkey, China, and India; the emergence of the two global superpowers and ideologically-based world politics in the context of World War II and the Cold War; the culmination of the revolt against western control and influence after World War II with special reference to China and Vietnam in Asia, Palestine in the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and, more recently, Central America; finally, the relationship of culture and society in the contemporary world, using the specific example of Japan and the Reischauer film noted earlier. Although such a substantive approach does not cover every topic in detail, nor every part of the world—probably no history course can—it does introduce students to various parts of the globe with reference to major currents of the twentieth century. Throughout, it ought to be emphasized, every attempt must be made to thematically integrate the selected illustrations, rather than just providing a catalog of what happened in different geographical areas at a particular time.

It does seem necessary to go a bit beyond Barraclough's historical and global framework in order to introduce students to some alternative futures; this may be the most original aspect of our course. Futurism has spawned an incredible, or perhaps one might say fantastic, literature of bewildering variety and quality. The 1979 annual survey of the World Future Society listed over 1600 publications. The same group's guide to futurist materials lists over 270 organizations and 105 periodicals that deal with such matters. This is not an area into which the historian strides confidently.

Although not a "futurist" myself, I do believe strongly that some discussion of alternative futures belongs at the conclusion of any systematic approach to the study of the contemporary world. Therefore, I assign one common class reading in this area, most recently the volume by Gerald and Patricia Mische, Toward A Human World Order: Beyond The National Security State, a particularly timely volume these days. In some versions of this course, students are asked to read another work on alternative futures for comparative purposes, choosing from a selected topical list of titles, up to and including science fiction. Some students read Alvin Toffler's pop sociology in Future Shock or The Third Wave; others read the classics of Orwell or Huxley; still others get into more technical studies such as those of the Club of Rome, Herman Kahn's Hudson Institute, or the World Order Model Project of the Institute of World Order.
The discussions during this final phase of the course—about the last two weeks of the term—have usually been the most spirited of the term, discussions enriched by the students' newfound knowledge of the historical and global foundations of our contemporary world. Students get more seriously involved in posing and criticizing possible solutions to some of our contemporary dilemmas. Since career-oriented, as well as practical-minded non-traditional students rarely buy much starry-eyed idealism, I am usually forced to defend the humanistic perspective of the Mishes. Most students still believe that there are technological solutions to our man-made quandaries, but they at least begin to react to other perspectives, most recently the publicity about the probable effects of nuclear war. Thus, the primary aim of this last part of the course is to encourage students to think in a conscious and positive way about choosing preferred alternative futures; perhaps something can still be done to get us there.

I sincerely wish that I had some neat, quantifiable evidence to clinch my argument for this approach to organizing a course on the contemporary world. Stacks of course evaluations accumulated over the past seven years include generally favorable comments from my students; but these may only be ephemera for departmental and college personnel committees. It is always difficult to add up subjective reactions to one's instructional labors. No computer can help here, nor can any amount of statistical analysis of means, standard deviations, and the like. My personal measuring stick remains the degree of success, however subjectively perceived, in advancing my students' historical mindedness. In this respect, most history teachers would probably agree with the conclusions of one participant in a recent American Historical Review forum on the history survey:

Considering the strength of countervailing influences on college students today, simply to help students achieve a 'historical sense' is a major pedagogical victory. And, if we are honest with ourselves, that may be the most important thing most students will carry into life, if they retain any of their college history. Our ideal 'active citizens' of the coming decades may know very little about the Treaty of Utrecht, but they had better be profoundly sensitive to a wide range of human experience, and they had better be aware of how traditions arise and change, and become important factors in deciding the outcome of any particular present.

The course described here, all too briefly, does seem to meet these modest goals. It is a viable, even necessary, approach to teaching our students about the contemporary world in an intellectually responsible fashion. Most of my students seem to agree; colleagues who have been caught up in this process, sometimes unwillingly, generally concur. Over the past seven years, these same students and colleagues have offered much constructive criticism that has helped improve the course. Students, as always, criticize the readings, both the heavy amount and the varying quality. Unfortunately, no one has come up with a satisfactory text for this type of contemporary world history survey, although some colleagues at Eastern Michigan University have just completed a new, though much too sketchy, twentieth-century world history text. The choice of acceptable readings will likely remain a persistent problem for any course such as the one sketched out here. One spends a lot of time at the trusty xerox if the department's budget holds up. All instructors could make better use of reserve reading arrangements; this is not always feasible for part-time night students, nor for larger classes. The students, also not surprisingly, complain of the heavy writing demands of this class, sometimes protesting that it is not supposed to be an English class. Essay assignments have, however, played a crucial role in preparing students better for the regular discussions of chosen themes.
The problems and weaknesses of my preferred approach to teaching the contemporary world could be elaborated at much greater length. Such a critique is not really the purpose of my basic argument that any contemporary world course taught on the college level should have three major components in its foundation—historical, global, and future. My personal conclusion, based on fifteen years teaching a traditional modern Europe survey and seven years experience with a contemporary world survey, is that the latter may be a superior vehicle for introducing many of today's professionally-oriented college students to the study of history.

Ideally, in the best of all possible worlds, students should be stimulated enough by such a course to enroll in other history courses to explore different cultures in greater detail, including their own. A significant number of my past contemporary world students have subsequently enrolled in other history courses at Toledo, including the traditional western civilization survey, even though few have been history majors. Recent enrollments in the contemporary world survey have been divided mainly among business, education, and arts and sciences majors. On nearly every occasion the course has been offered, students from professional programs have outnumbered traditional liberal arts students. For example, nearly half, fourteen of thirty-one enrolled, of the latest class came from the business college in which students are not required to take any history courses, though they may choose history to fulfill their general humanities requirement. It is impossible to ascertain if such students would still take a history survey if this contemporary world course did not exist on our campus. We do know that many education majors take the contemporary world course to satisfy a state requirement for a non-western cultures course. Thus, education majors are not taking this course instead of the traditional survey, but usually in addition to surveys of modern America and modern Europe.

Carefully organized along the lines sketched out here, and perhaps benefitting from the additional enthusiasm frequently generated by a fresh approach to the introductory survey in any discipline, a contemporary world history course might help historians regain some of the high ground in the renewed debate about the validity and purposes of general education in the undergraduate curriculum. In any case, the growing public concern about the global awareness parallels the recent discussions about teaching world history among professional historians. History teachers should be leading this trend in order to assure that substance is not drowned in form in the latest educational fad.

NOTES


5 Geoffrey Barraclough, An Introduction to Contemporary History (London, 1964; Penguin paperback, 1967). Barraclough developed his themes in the later 1950s for the Oxford Recent History Group. The original edition of his book derived from lectures given in 1963. An illustration of how little progress has been made in developing contemporary history can be found in the preface to the slightly revised paperback edition: "In attempting to single out what seem to me to be some of the main themes of contemporary history, one of my purposes has been to clear the way for the narrative history of the world since 1900 which I have in preparation. It seemed to me that a theoretical framework, which attempted to clarify the basic ideas and place events in perspective, was an essential preliminary to any chronological survey." As noted near the end of this paper, there is still no satisfactory text for this approach to contemporary history.

6 Ibid., 20. Emphasis in the original.

7 Barraclough has published a number of other works that elaborate his views, most recently Turning Points in World History (London, 1979) and The Times Atlas of World History (London, 1979). He also writes regularly for the New York Review of Books.

8 Barbara Mann, "What is Contemporary History," student essay, April, 1981.


11 Incidentally, I have also used the revised edition of Vera Michele Dean, The Nature of the Non-Western World (New York, 1966) when the publisher has it in stock, even though it is again in need of substantial modernization.

12 For example, see the Langer series volume by O.J. Hale, The Great Illusion, 1900-1914 (New York, 1968).

13 Barraclough, An Introduction to Contemporary History, 124.

14 Ibid., 200-201. It might be noted that Barraclough's concluding chapter on the cultural aspects of this new global era is the least successful and least satisfying part of his analysis. He does offer hints of his own changing
views in Turning Points in World History. See especially chapter 5 on "Culture and Civilization," where he argues that "one of the paradoxes of the interdependent world created by the spread of Western industrial society is that interdependence makes it more, not less, important to respect and tolerate differences of culture, values and ways of living." 90.


16 Significantly, the architects of the Air Force Academy's world history survey note that "our World History course has been a gratifying success. The members of the department no longer need any persuasion as to its appropriateness; nearly all served in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam war and will personally attest to the value of the insights afforded by this course," World History in Liberal Military Education, 37.


19 A handy nuts-and-bolts guide is In Focus: A Guide to Using Films (New York, 1980) by Linda Blackaby, Dan Georgakas, and Barbara Margolis. History teachers might find several older works in this area still valuable: Richard A. Maynard, The Celluloid Curriculum: How to Use Movies in the Classroom (Rochelle Park, New Jersey, 1971); John J. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson, Teaching History with Film (American Historical Association, 1974); Page Smith, ed., The Historian and Film (Cambridge University Press, 1976); William T. Youngs, "Educational Films and the Historian," The History Teacher, VIII (August, 1975), 582-595. There are also available specialized studies on specific periods and genres, such as Kathryn Kane, Visions of War: Hollywood Combat Films of World War II (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1982).

20 This famous Leni Riefenstahl film (16mm, black and white sound with English subtitles, 120 min., 1934-36) is available in a forty-five minute abridged version from some sources. Another good documentary on the rise of the Nazis is the biography of Hitler made by Charles Sydnor, Jr. for Virginia educational television, available as a ninety-minute videotape from that station in Richmond, Virginia.


23 See especially Barraclough's chapter VI in An Introduction to Contemporary History.

24 "Gandhi" (16mm, black and white sound film, 25 min., CBS News, 1958). There are other useful films on non-western topics in this dated Walter Cronkite series; for example, one can use "Ataturk!" (16mm, black and white sound film, 25 min. CBS News, 1955) to introduce students to the problems of modernization in the Middle East. For some regions, film guides are available, though many are a bit dated, for example, Helen Cyr, A Filmography of the Third World (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1976); Stephen Ohrn and Rebecca Riley, Africa from Real to Reel: An African Filmography (Waltham, Massachusetts, 1976); E. Bradford Burns, Latin American Cinema: Film and History (Los Angeles, 1975).

26. (New York: Paulist Press, 1977). For other offerings of this course, I have used W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man: Outlines of A World Civilization (San Francisco, 1971); Herman Kahn, et. al., The Next 200 Years: A Scenario for America and the World (New York, 1976); and John Gribben, Future Worlds (New York, 1981).

27. Herman Kahn's latest revelation is titled The Coming Boom: Economic, Political and Social (New York, 1982). The world order perspective is well represented in a recent composite volume edited by Richard Falk, Samuel S. Kim, and Saul H. Mendlovitz, Toward a Just World Order (Boulder, Colorado, 1982).

28. The most useful source for statistics on the contemporary arms race is the annual publication of Ruth L. Sivard, World Military and Social Expenditures, now distributed by the Institute for World Order.

