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President American Federation of Teachers

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER takes great pleasure in presenting to its readers this inaugural message of President Linville to the members of the American Federation of Teachers.

ALTHOUGH our organization is now entering the sixteenth year of its existence, it appears to me that only now are we at the beginning of a social era that is likely to prove favorable to the development of a movement such as the organization of teachers' unions. If this view is a valid one, it may imply that the American Federation of Teachers came into existence before it could hope to survive. But since it has survived and grown, and since it has within the present year clearly recognized and expressed in convention proceedings its concern about the major problems of society that relate to education, we should feel the comforting assurance that we got under way early, even if it may have seemed too early.

For those of us who helped to start the national union movement among teachers fifteen years ago, as well as for those pioneers who had teachers' unions before our time, it is now clear that it was impossible to attain our objectives until the general social environment had taken on some of the liberal attributes favorable to our purposes. This is an important consideration for those among us who may still feel that teachers' unions should limit their interests to the "bread and butter" problems that seem to affect the welfare of their members directly. This is a lesson which many others who are not teachers are in the process of learning, that the economic welfare of America is linked to the welfare of the rest of the world. As teachers who especially deal with ideas, with ethics, with knowledge and with methods, we should have been the first to apply our craft dependence

on relationships and to realize that the work of teachers is not carried on in isolation.

I trust that my belief that the present social situation is favorable to the growth of the union movement among teachers will not seem to be mere enthusiasm. We are all familiar with the uncertainty of the existing world situation. We fear bolshevism, or fascism, or some economic disaster. But are we aware of the probability that out of the uncertainty of the times new political and social ventures, fraught with possibilities of great benefit to the human race, are likely to arise? We base our faith in a favorable outcome on the fact that the world has steadily grown to be a better place for mankind to live in. If we look back beyond our present anxieties, even the most reactionary have faith in certain revolutions.

Some of the psychological effect of the present world situation is penetrating the case-hardened shell of education. For the first time, I believe, in the history of public education in this country a body of supposedly conservative educators attached to endowed institutions of learning have, of their own initiative, organized a committee to make a professional survey of schools, with the purpose of making known to the public the facts and the ascertainable causes relating to the morale of a politically-ridden school system. Heretofore it has been almost impossible to enlist on a voluntary basis the active interest of any educators of distinction in the practical work of attacking directly the evils known to exist in public school systems.

As another indication of the emergence of a new social attitude among

educators, radical students are sometimes surprised at manifestations of daring expressed in the lectures of college professors of education in various parts of the country. To the extent that such manifestations of intellectual courage become general we should regard it as helpful toward the elimination of that paralyzing fear of official censorship of thinking that has been the bane of the profession.

One of the least expected indications of the new spirit has begun to manifest itself in the leadership of the National Education Association itself within the present year. At the February, 1931, meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the N. E. A. an important pamphlet issued by the Research Division of the N. E. A. entitled "The Schools and Business" was on sale. The stupendous array of commercial exhibits shown at that convention gave point to the thesis maintained in the pamphlet that the interests of the schools and business are the same. Although the general spirit of the February convention was rotarian in character, one address delivered by a former president of the National Education Association, Dr. Jesse H. Newlon, was of high quality and progressive. There were two or three addresses similarly notable for breadth of view and social insight. The recent July convention of the N. E. A. at Los Angeles continued with stressing the idea of the relationship of education and business. One of the main addresses of the first day was given by Mr. Carl Milliken, vice-president of the Federal Council of Churches, and secretary of the motion picture syndicate. In *School and Society* for August 1 we find sharp comment on this address by the editor, Mr. William McAndrew, former Superintendent of Schools of Chicago. Mr. McAndrew denounces Mr. Milliken's address as "nearly naked propaganda of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc." He refers to the fact also that "further along in the general program is printed, 'Hollywood motion picture stars will be introduced at several of the general

sessions." "What's the great idea?" says Mr. McAndrew. "Is this a contribution of the Association's division on the enrichment of life, or the department of visual instruction, or a committee on character education, or maybe a section for the use of the schools for the promotion of business? Really, where is the hook-up in purpose between the schools and the Motion Picture Producers, Inc.?" We shall have to wait to see what will be the effect of such criticism from a recognized leader of the National Education Association. My guess is that the rising criticism of the practice of making use of the schools for the promotion of commercial objectives will give strength to Mr. McAndrew's words before another N. E. A. convention comes around. Anyway, we should be willing to help such good work to become effective.

There are still many good people who insist that the teacher's business is to teach, and to do little else. It is virtually held by some that teachers should close their eyes to the exploitation of the schools by those who see in them opportunities for the promotion of selfish ends. By this time it should be apparent that following such advice has had the effect of making exploitation easy and available for all who had power. It has also had the effect of transforming the teacher-

leader into the teacher-slave, the being who is easily led to accept the outcome of the thinking of others. If it is fair to assume that teachers as a class have any social responsibility for defending the schools against exploitation, as well as for maintaining them on a high level of efficiency, a strong case could be made against the profession for general neglect. But we are not concerned with indicting the profession, but rather with pointing out the course which should be taken by union teachers and by those who in the possibly impending social transformation may feel impelled to join with us. This course is to be seen in the history of the labor movement, as well as in the history of every oppressed or exploited group that has made its escape from bondage. They did it themselves! Leaders they had, but they came from their own class. It is highly improbable that exploiting groups will ever be willing, except under some form of social pressure, to yield their control.

One trouble we have with the thinking of teachers is that so many are prone to think of the union movement as embodying chiefly a conflict between personalities in their official relations. To some the movement seems real only when one defies a superintendent or a board of education. The corollary of such a mental attitude takes form

in the thinking of those who explain their non-union status in saying that their principals have always been "lovely" to them. Thus, it becomes a matter of difficulty for some to enter an arena which seems to hold defeat or discrimination for them personally. This attitude, so common among our colleagues, discloses a considerable lack of social understanding.

Obviously, our minds require some expansion. The most considerable manifestations of social pressure operate in large ways on masses of people, and their origin is difficult to trace. For example, who can point out the lines of social pressure which caused an autocratically inclined superintendent of the Chicago schools within a few years to stand for the democratic idea of the extermination of commercial propaganda from the schools? In few of these situations where changes of attitude due to social pressure are manifest are we concerned with questions of reasons or of sincerity. We simply know that the immense power of constructive social pressure operating through experience is yielding results. The sources of this pressure are world-wide and general; to a large degree they are inescapable.

We are not so much concerned here with tracing the sources of the new manifestations of social pressure along

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Message to the American Federation of Teachers

GREETINGS at the opening of the new year! Let nothing you dismay!

We find all over the country attacks being made on salary schedules, those somewhat adequate and those without sex discrimination, on tenure, on retirement systems, and on the privileges of married women teachers in the schools.

In your organization, however, you carry an insurance against these dangers. You have in your union a means to secure conditions which make for tenure of office, pensions, somewhat favorable salary schedules, a certain political recognition, and a certain social recognition.

I urge you not to let your insurance lapse in the hour of danger, but to increase and strengthen your protection by building your group in numbers and resources, and in spreading the knowledge of this protection to unorganized teachers.

In our present situation we cannot repeat too often that economic secur-

ity is a necessary postulate of good teaching. It is our business to bring home to the public that salary cuts and



FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON

insecurity of position destroy the schools. Salary reductions mean something vastly more important than saving a few dollars of the taxpayers' money. They mean that many of our best teachers will be driven out into other fields and the most intelligent and free spirits among our young people will not be attracted into the educational world. We must not allow this curtailment of school efficiency, not for ourselves alone but for the children, for education, for society.

We are organized to preserve the ideal that "Free schools were not established for the sole purpose of teaching reading and writing but to perpetuate the democratic form of government." We believe in democracy, and in the schools as the chief agency of democracy. Let us not for a moment neglect our business of establishing this belief and making it a reality.

Look to your insurance; guard your policy; keep up your premiums. You will thereby have a sure protection.

Teachers as Citizens

**Doctor
John
Dewey**



**Addresses
Cambridge
Local**

JOHAN DEWEY, eminent professor of education and honored member of the American Federation of Teachers, was presented by the education committee of Local 195 in a lecture entitled "Teachers as Citizens" on April 9. The audience filled the largest hall obtainable, and included the Cambridge Superintendent of Schools, a number of members of the School Board, members of teachers' clubs in neighboring cities, professors and students in near-by colleges, as well as Cambridge teachers.

Besides stressing the need of giving the teacher more freedom in school and out, and the importance of training pupils to meet the demands of life as individuals and citizens, Mr. Dewey spoke feelingly of the work the American Federation of Teachers is prepared to do in the community and the nation.

He passed very lightly over the question of a teacher's political right as a citizen, considering that right too obvious to be discussed.

Dr. Dewey said in part: All other reforms in education depend on those who are engaged in the teaching profession. If any scheme could be devised to secure teachers of character and initiative who are fond of children, little more would be desired.

Unfortunately the organization of many schools may be compared to that of the army or factory in which those who are regarded as being in the lower ranks receive orders from those considered above them, and dividing walls are almost universal between admin-

istrative and teaching forces. Hence there is too little initiative on the part of teachers. There will not be individual responsibility unless there is freedom. When responsibility is concentrated in a few, it is taken from others who would assume it of their own accord.

When programs are laid out and methods of teaching prescribed it marks destruction of teaching ability. No one can throw his whole heart and energy into prescribed tasks. If teaching by phonograph is bad, it is equally bad for teachers to be phonographs.

All citizens of the country are citizens in some other aspect as well. Failure to acquire the proper training in home and school leads to failure in meeting responsibility in larger circles. The corruption in high places of government shows the need of the school's fulfilling better its duty in forming citizens for the city, the state and the nation.

If students do not hear public issues discussed in a frank, open way, how are they going to have adequate preparation for citizenship? Is knowledge to be picked up by chance in a partisan spirit, or should it be presented in an open impartial manner? Schools must not take part in propaganda, but there has been too much dodging of the vital issues of the day. In trying to be impartial we have become futile. Of course we must consider that we are dealing with immature minds, yet in the upper grades pupils do live pretty much in the world. They know what

their parents are talking about and what is in the newspapers. In the school there should be more complete discussion of the difficulties and evils in political life.

If any study was ever denatured before it reached the student, it is civics. Its anatomy is taught but practically nothing of the way it is worked out in life.

The type of teacher in the American Federation of Teachers is the most socially progressive, fearless and farseeing in our school system. They are always to be found in the front ranks fighting any corruption or injustice in the schools of which they are a part. The enemies the Federation has made in Chicago, New York and Seattle are a compliment to the organization.

There certainly should be no objection on the part of officials or teachers to affiliation with Labor. Such objections as have arisen have been due to snobbery or cowardice. Since the greater mass of pupils in the public schools is drawn from the workers of the country, teachers should be in a position to act as interpreters between Labor and the community. In order to develop Labor's children, one must understand the problems of Labor.

In prefacing his remarks on the American Federation of Teachers, Mr. Dewey said that he was proud of his long years of membership in the organization and in the American Federation of Labor, and that he always carried his "Union card" with him.

ANNA L. P. COLLINS.

Teachers and Unemployment

Professor Jerome Davis

IF A PLAGUE or influenza should suddenly sweep America, making a million people sick, it would be considered a national, if not an international, calamity. The President of the United States would immediately act, we would have Red Cross relief, if not relief through Congress, and other emergency measures would be taken. Actually, unemployment is a very much more serious threat to our civilization than such a calamity. It is an economic epidemic which sweeps not only America, but sweeps the world; and in the United States alone it has so seriously impaired the welfare of our people that it has thrown 6,000,000 people out of their jobs and probably an equal number of others it has incapacitated, so that they can only work a few days a week. Not only that, but it leaves in its trail a crop of suicides, broken homes, and malnutrition on the part of the children; and yet we have been relatively indifferent to this terrible economic epidemic.

Why is that? I think one reason is that America has been too much concerned with material things, too much concerned with the economic factors of our civilization, and not enough concerned with the human factors. If in a small town in Iowa there should break out a case of hog cholera, the entire resources of the United States Government, the State Government, and other agencies would be thrown to meet that case. If in the same town a hundred workers are thrown out of employment, it is not considered of sufficient importance to notice in the daily paper, and no resources of any kind are placed at the disposal of those men until after perhaps a year of serious national calamity.

I do not think that we ought to be too hard, perhaps, on our American society, because we only isolated the unemployment germ some twenty years ago; and consequently we cannot perhaps be expected to do as much as we can in the matter of physical disease. That, I think, is primarily the responsibility of the teachers of the nation. What are we to think of an educational system which teaches almost nothing about economic problems?

One reason we have been so relatively unintelligent about unemploy-

ment is that a great many of us have not really known what unemployment was. We have not experienced unemployment ourselves; and yet when a member of the American Federation of Teachers was dismissed by a school board because he stood for the civic rights of the teachers of America, it means that every single one of us stands in danger of unemployment.

It is rather popular to say that unemployment is due partly to the fault of the individual worker. As a matter of fact, the scientific studies that have been made have shown that that is largely and totally in error, for in the hearing before the United States Senate Committee in 1929, not a single testimony declared that it was the fault of the individual worker. It is our society that is primarily at fault for the unemployment situation in which we find ourselves.

THE QUESTION IS: What are we going to do about this situation of unemployment? We might say as George Moore, the great writer, said after looking at the pyramids in Egypt: "What care I that some millions of wretched Israelites died by Pharaoh's lash or Egypt's sun? It was well that they died that I might have the pyramids to look on or to fill a musing hour with wonderment." That is a perfectly possible attitude for us to take. We can say that it is not our business. We must be concerned solely with the wage scale of the teachers of America. We must be concerned narrowly with the policies of the American Federation of Teachers. We must not be concerned with the social problems and social policies which indirectly affect us all. But I take it that the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the members of the American Federation of Teachers recognizes that the problem of unemployment is our problem, that if we ignore such problems as unemployment we have no right to ask the support of organized labor or of the American public for our activities to get justice on behalf of ourselves.

May I remind you also that it does have a rather direct effect on us. It has an effect on Yale. Our budget is cut. It has an effect on Wisconsin University, where I am teaching this summer, with a half-million-dollar cut

in the budget, so that every single department at Wisconsin must cut the amount of appropriation which it has. It has its effect on the children in the grades and in the high schools, so that in some of the school years you have a larger number enrolled because the children cannot find jobs. In certain other grades you have an increased amount of illness. That illness has not yet shown its effect; and according to the President of the American Medical Association, you will find that illness beginning to show in the year beginning next fall. From a study of the United States Labor Department on Employment and Child Welfare of two typical communities of America, it proves that the effects of a period of unemployment last for years. Babies are rickety; boys are taken out of school, and cannot advance beyond the unskilled labor class. Broken homes mean juvenile delinquency. The various relief agencies in the United States will have to deal with the wreckage of this unemployment period for at least five years, if not more.

I think that the teachers owe a responsibility to help society solve these problems. If we cannot do it, I do not know who will. If we, the teachers of the nation who should be the moral leaders of America, do not have enough social responsibility, if we do not sense that duty, certainly no other group is going to do it.

I am often charged with being a theoretical technician instead of a practical engineer, and I sometimes wish that our theories might be quickly put to the test. I think in the educational world where we are trying to train citizens, we have inevitably to correlate the teaching of the classroom with the community life; we have to show the relationship between Trade Unions and good citizenship, between unemployment and malnutrition. And it is just as important for us to show the effect of this economic epidemic of unemployment as it is any other aspect of health.

I feel proud that the American Federation of Teachers was one of the Trade Union organizations that presented at the convention of the American Federation of Labor the resolutions advocating unemployment insurance before that great labor body.

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Our Economic Crisis

John P. Frey

THIS QUESTION of unemployment, this depression through which we are advancing, has been referred to so frequently in the press that you are all familiar with the points of view expressed by our leading statesmen, our leading financiers, industrialists, men of commerce, and so on. I do not have to refer to what those statements have been. I am quite of the opinion that all of them have failed, and some of them deliberately, to point out the real cause of this depression. There is generally the statement that we have had depressions in the past, that every country has them, and that with us we have always emerged stronger and better after each depression than we had been before, so that in a way a depression is a disguised blessing.

I must differ with those who say that the present depression is similar to those that we have had in the past, and that the same happy results will follow in the immediate years to come. At the present time our grain elevators, our food warehouses, are more filled with agricultural products than they ever have been, although we have now had this depression affecting us for some eighteen months. We have hungry people in almost every community, and yet we do not know what to do with the food products which are in storage. Although we have had this depression for eighteen months, there never has been a time when our banks contained so much money; neither has there ever been a period in the history of our country when money could be borrowed at so low a rate of interest on good security. So at least we have these two conditions which are different from those that have existed during previous depressions.

In 1925 the convention of the American Federation of Labor took a revolutionary position on the question of wages. It declared that it was not a fair wage or a living wage, or a saving wage, which we should consider. Instead it was to be an economically sound wage. At that time I presented the formula that I had in mind in about these words: industry and commerce must suffer fatal injury unless the real wage, the purchasing power of wages, keeps pace with industry's increasing capacity to produce. I had

become convinced that we had been thought of, we had even thought of ourselves, too long as producers; that the employers, that commerce, that finance, considered the wage earners of this country almost solely from the point of view of producers, and that our importance to national welfare as consumers had not even been given a thought.

Now, if we are to understand why we are suffering from this depression, we must first keep in mind the marvelous revolution in industry's capacity to produce that was ushered in about thirty years ago, when the trained engineer, the mechanical, the electrical, the hydraulic, and these other engineers left the laboratory where, in the past they had principally carried on experiments, and went into the workshops of the country to take immediate direction of methods of production. They brought into existence what we have learned to call "mass production," which has enabled industry to produce as men never dreamt it was possible.

The mechanism, which is the first evidence of the trained scientific mind taking immediate charge of methods of production, wonderful as it is, apparently has had these defects; that those who worked out the systems, those who constructed the mechanism and turned it over to industry, failed to put any speedometer on it, failed to attach any brakes, failed to build in indicator dials which would give those who were operating the mechanism some knowledge of what was actually taking place; and so we began to produce wealth in increasing quantities. Beginning with the early years of the century we discovered a little more what could be done. The tempo was accelerated during the war, and since the war we increased this capacity to produce, in some instances several thousands per cent; and that enormously increased the annual volume of wealth created. So our prosperity (or what we thought was prosperity), beginning with 1911 and ending in 1929, was due to this enormous capacity of our industry to create wealth, or the increased per capita production of our work.

While this was taking place the cause of this depression was being sown, because industry failed to pay

a real wage which would enable the people of our country to make use of, to consume, our own products.

There is no reason to believe that while we live we will ever see an export of American-manufactured goods amounting to over 5 per cent of the whole. So here we have in the United States this mechanism of production that has revolutionized industry, and a world condition that makes it necessary that we should consume 95 per cent of the product if it is to be consumed.

I think that I am approximately accurate when I make the statement that 80 per cent of the consumers in the United States are the wage earners and their dependents, so that this 80 per cent must have a very vital part to play in whether this marvelous mechanism of production and this capital invested in plants and in machinery can be operated profitably, because if it cannot be, if we do not have a consuming market which will take up 95 per cent of our industrial product, then we have been building a house of cards which must collapse.

Let us see what happened. Between the years 1922 and 1929 when this application of science to industry enabled industry to increase the volume of manufactured product by 17 billion dollars, the dividends paid by all corporations in the United States increased two and a half billion dollars. So much for the production and its profits. Now labor—the man power necessary to this production and also this 80 per cent of the consuming market—how did it fare?

Between 1923 and 1929 the total volume of wages paid in our manufacturing industries decreased \$300,000,000. The total volume of wages paid all types of labor reached their peak in 1926. They stayed at a fairly even amount for about a year, and in the summer of 1927 the total volume of wages paid in the United States grew less and less, so that in 1928, the boom year of them all, the total volume of wages paid in this country was \$649,000,000 less than in 1927.

This depression has come about because of such an economically unsound distribution of wealth that the mass of the people were able to consume but a small part of what our

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The Teachers Union in a New Social Order

Anniversary Address New York Teachers Union

Professor Harold J. Laski

JUST BEFORE I left England, some three weeks ago, I found a telegram from Dr. Linville which I could only regard as peremptory in character. And I agreed to obey its instructions for one very simple reason: I remember the foundation of the Teachers Union in New York. I remember the atmosphere in which it was received, the sense that this was a dangerous and a wicked organization, the purpose of which was to introduce propaganda into the schools, and the end of which, undoubtedly, would be merely to protect the vested interests of teachers in an occupation which was in any case a nuisance. I doubted, Mr. Chairman, in 1916 whether the Teachers Union would survive. I doubted that because, speaking as a teacher to teachers, we are members of a shabby genteel profession, and the one object of all objects that we set before ourselves is to maintain our gentility in the face of public criticism. And I thought, as I know the profession to which I belong, the individual desire to be respectable will triumph over the corporate obligation to be useful. And it is because you have survived these fifteen years, and because one can measure in a real and in a coherent way the quality of the work you have done, that I have come here, if I may, to pay to you in general, and to Dr. Linville in particular, the tribute of my warm congratulation.

Mr. Chairman, I want, if I may, to make some observations about the teacher's work, not in relation to America, of which now, alas, I know little or nothing, nor in relation to Great Britain, about which in a heretic audience I would not speak, but in relation to a place called Utopia which lies always on the fringe of what we can achieve if we only have the courage and the will and the determination to achieve it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what is the business of a teacher in a world like our world, and what could a teacher do if he or she really set himself or herself to the essence of the task that is possible?

I received a classical education, and you must forgive me accordingly if I go back to the fountain of all inspiration, the Greek World, for the thesis that I want to put forward. "First of

all," said Antiphon, the Sophist, "I place education." And Plato in, I think, the Fifth Book of the Republic, said that his test of the state was this simple test of whether in it the minister for education was more important than the minister for war.

Those are, Mr. Chairman, my two tests, and by those tests a civilization either stands or falls. What is our business as teachers? Our first business as I conceive it, is to make those whom we teach skeptical of the foundations of the social order to which we belong. There is no greater danger in any generation than the tendency of all of us to confound the institutions to which we have grown accustomed with the necessary foundations of society. And if our children go out of the schools and out of the colleges believing, shall I say, that the constitution of Utopia was the greatest work ever struck off at a single moment by the mind of man, is it not unlikely that necessary change, when necessary change becomes essential, will be more difficult of access and more impossible of application, when the children leave your hands and my hands? Are they doubtful of our wisdom? Do they believe that we are probably wrong? Are they prepared to be tolerant of our beliefs? Are they eager to insist that they can make the world anew in their lifetime, and remold it nearer to the heart's desire? Or, do they come out of the schools feeling that after all, each of us is an egotistic person, that the attainment of material comfort is the greatest of all goals, and that if each of us properly follows his own self-interest, there is what Adam Smith called an invisible hand somehow multiplying the competitive instincts of each one of us to the maximum good of us all?

We rarely ask ourselves those questions. We are prisoners of the routine and we think that if the child goes out into the world at large, knowing by heart the Utopian declaration of independence and realizing that it has no longer application to the immediate Utopian world, that all things are well; that if the child has had just sufficient training not to be cheated over a shop counter, just sufficient power to read, to be able to go through without understanding the Utopian

newspaper, just sufficient intelligence to have the results of educational training counteracted by that propaganda (which I would define, if I may, as the art of deceiving your friends, without being able quite to deceive your enemies) then we congratulate ourselves upon a great task nobly accomplished. When teachers meet together in union their tendency is to emphasize the greatness of their task, but not sufficiently to emphasize the responsibilities that follow upon that task. And those responsibilities seem to me clear. This is a grim world about which we have to make our way at our peril. Every one of us to whom there comes a vision of how that world might be reshaped, or who has an inner and conscious enthusiasm about that vision and fails to communicate all that it implies to those whom he teaches, is a traitor to the vocation that we follow.

I am not concerned, Mr. Chairman, whether the teacher is reactionary or radical, conservative or socialist. His business is to communicate his vision of the world as he sees that vision, and to stand by the consequences. It is only by the shock of a mind that genuinely believes impinging upon the mind that is eager to receive, that the teacher's work can be done, and my difficulty as I meet teachers of my own profession is their satisfaction with the routine, their patience with public and official dogma, their refusal to examine, their acceptance of things as they are. In the Ninth Inferno of Dante, the very base of that Ninth Inferno, there will ultimately be found the teachers who were satisfied with things as they are, and in my judgment, Mr. Chairman, will rightly be so found there. The longer I live, the longer I teach, the more I realize what an endless opportunity is in our hands. Of course, we can't do all that we should wish to do; not even the greatest of teachers, Morris Cohen, Felix Frankfurter, John Dewey—to take only three of the most outstanding of living Americans—of course, the great teacher measured by what needs to be achieved can only be conscious of abysmal failure. But the teacher who watches the operations of the school board in the capital city of Utopia and feels that it is not his business to inter-

fere because he might lose his job, that teacher fails to understand everything for which the profession to which he belongs exists.

I have gathered from Dr. Linville that there are teachers in New York who are not happy about the association of the teaching profession in New York with trade unionism in America. Trade unionism consists of manual workers, hard, grim men earning at one period of American history such large wages, living such ample lives, the teacher feels out of accord with the purposes for which trade unionism stands. Was it not Benjamin Franklin who said that unless we hang together we shall hang separately? There is no room in a world like our world for teachers who want to be merely individual without a sense of that unity and oneness, teacher with teacher, out of which strength derives. Don't you think that the misgovernment of your schools is in large degree the outcome of the refusal of teachers to make themselves one and indivisible, to stand so firmly upon the basis of vocational right, as to refuse access to political influence, or religious influence, or social influence, into the schools with whose destiny we are charged?

Is it not clear that in the large, and granted all the difficulties and defectiveness, that the interest of the teaching profession is the same as the interest of the working class in this country? You can be sure that the middle class, and the upper class will take care of themselves. They maintain their power very largely by a monopolization of knowledge; they maintain their power very largely because the consciousness of the strength that the working class possesses is a consciousness that can come only from education, and the majority of the working class is not given that education out of which a consciousness of power eventually emerges. You, like ourselves, are divided into the two nations of rich and poor. Those two nations live different lives. Men who live differently think differently, and this commonwealth of America, like the commonwealth of Great Britain, has no unifying principle of common interest between class and class in the community of which we are a part. We are not welded together into a genuine unity. There is not equal consideration for all. There is not even a thought that equal consideration was the basis upon which your commonwealth in its origins was founded. And until the significance of the historic documents that define the American tradition are written into the fabric of American in-

stitutions, the teacher who does not realize that affiliation with labor is the basis of the future of his profession, does not know the purpose for which teaching exists. I add to that head, Mr. Chairman, one other observation. I know that neutrality is attractive. I know that when one approaches a problem from a non-political aspect, that one generally means, particularly in America, that one is going to strive to be reasonably impartial about it.

But with teachers my own general experience has been that when a teacher emphasizes the neutrality that he feels about a particular subject of popular discussion, that means one of two things—it either means that he cares nothing whatever about the subject, or it means that he cares most of all for the retention of his post.

There is a remark in one of Coleridge's Essays, that I would write over the entrance to every university and every public school. I give up the private schools as hopeless and useless for any serious purpose: "He who begins," says Coleridge, "by loving Christianity better than truth, will continue by loving his sect or church better than Christianity, and will end by loving himself best of all."

The teacher who begins by loving his profession more than the truths for which that profession calls, will end by being useless to the ideal for which the profession stands.

I am not asking that any teacher should go into a school or a university and preach Socialism or Communism, or conservatism, or the unadulterated glory of the business man. I am asking only that he shall be critical about those hypotheses; that he should explain that it is possible, for example (I don't want in any way to be extreme), but that it is possible that men have served America more greatly than Mr. Rockefeller or even the Secretary for the Treasury.

Possibly, Mr. Chairman, I should like to see the teacher emphasize to the children in the schools that if one puts forward the nation to which one belongs as the embodiment of unending, and for others unattainable good, he is a traitor to that large humanity, by which all nationalities will in the end be judged. I come from a civilization that at the moment treads the very edge of the abyss. In Germany, in Italy, in Poland, in Spain, in Roumania, in Portugal you feel the sense wherever you travel of being on the very verge of disaster.

May I put the implication that conveys to me in concrete form, that in a choice between the approach for teach-

ing purposes of that situation between the attitude, let us say, of Professor Einstein and the attitude of the Daughters of the American Revolution, it seems to me that the teacher has no choice; that unless in those years of school and college we can make the use of peace seem the greatest, the most romantic, the most creative of adventures to the next generation, we shall fail in the vital purpose that lies before us; and that the only way in which that end can be attained is by making the young man go out of school, or college, believing that the first obligation is to conscience, and that the obligation to the United States of America, comes very long after the obligation to conscience, that it is, if I may say so without fear of deportation, a very bad second in all the historic circumstances.

When I first came to America some fifteen years ago, I read the works, then to me largely unknown, of Thoreau, and I found an essay of Thoreau on the duty of civil disobedience, which I am tempted, Mr. Chairman, to say is, as an essay, the most admirable embodiment of the basis of the teacher's creed of anything that I know. And out of my memories of that essay there comes to me one sentence that I venture to commend to you. "In a time of injustice," said Thoreau, "the place of a just man is also in prison."

It seems to me that we ought to keep that frankly and stoutly before our minds. What does it mean to fulfill the teacher's function as civic obligation? The answer has been set out for this generation of you in America as for us in England, in unmistakable, and unforgettable terms.

If when the teacher's crisis comes he acts as Professor Frankfurter acted in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, then he is entitled to say that as a teacher he was worthy of the vocation to which he was called. But if in a crisis of that kind he feels that it might damage the endowment fund the school or college is trying to raise, or that it will make him unavailable for the superintendency that is around the corner, or that it may lead to his being questioned by boards of trustees or what not, the teacher who thinks along those lines is a teacher who does not understand what teaching is, because he does not respect himself. If people do not respect themselves, how can they expect those for whom they are responsible in any basic sense to respect them?

And may I say this: I have been questioned in my time by boards of trustees. I don't know any more heartening experience. You derive
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The American Federation of Teachers Protests Salary Cuts

The Chicago Situation

Dorothy Weil

THE TEACHER UNIONS of Chicago have been fighting a series of economy raids on the Education Fund this summer. Owing to a badly managed property reassessment begun three years ago, no taxes were collected in Cook County for over two years, and the overdue taxes of those years are being very slowly paid because of the present general financial depression. The result is a Board of Education functioning practically without funds. The situation, so far as the teachers are concerned, is further aggravated by the fact that the banks and city administration are completely hostile to this Board, because it was appointed during the previous political regime.

The teachers, who are the innocent victims of this political impasse, have had no money since April, and the Scrip which the Board has issued in lieu of cash has almost no market, because, without the endorsement of the banks, the merchants generally cannot afford to accept it.

The Board is, therefore, confronted by an unbalancable budget; and one desperate but well-intentioned Board member after another has sought a so-

lution of the insoluble through the recommendation of economy measures.

Before giving an account of the efforts of the teachers to protect the educational interests of the schools, it ought to be said, unequivocally, that there is no real solution of the financial muddle short of a special session of the State Legislature where, it is expected, new revenue measures will be passed in exchange for which tax anticipation warrants, now unsalable, will find a market. None of the proposed economy measures is in any real sense a solution of the Board's financial problems, yet each one can none the less seriously retard the educational well-being of the schools, or badly undermine their morale.

The first economy proposal came as a result of an audit company's survey. It recommended drastic savings in the Education Department to be effected by curtailment, particularly, of the so-called "automatic" salary increases of teachers, which are regular salary increments on a ten-year salary schedule.

The Locals of the American Federation of Teachers and other teacher groups, in their hearings before the Board, argued so effectively that this

loss was not merely a reduction for the current year, but a cumulative loss amounting, in the case of the newly assigned teacher, to hundreds of dollars, and would bring about as well an incalculable loss in morale, that the proposal was effectively tabled at the time, and a further survey, particularly of the business and building departments (which were the only ones where extravagance or irregularity had been charged) was ordered.

Meantime the proposal to pay in scrip was before the Board for adoption, and the teachers vigorously opposed it, knowing that it would bring practically no financial relief to them. Since its adoption their position has been modified; they now advise members whose creditors will accept it to procure it for them. Creditors who can afford to hold the paper have, in some cases, preferred scrip to non-payment, which is their only alternative.

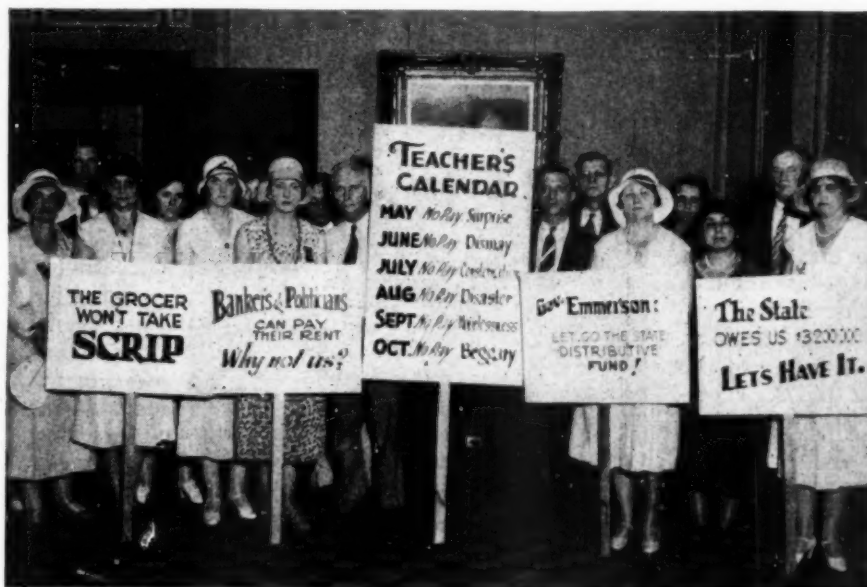
On the week of June 29 to July 5th, while the American Federation of Teachers National Convention was in session in Chicago, the Governor's Revenue Commission began sessions to determine measures for financial

relief. A parade was organized from the National Convention to the commission sessions in which placards, explaining the financial plight of the teachers who had been unpaid at that time for over two months, received wide publicity both through newspaper photographs and moving-pictures that went throughout the country.

The next economy proposal was an increase in size of classes. Chicago, in this respect, is already so much worse than most other cities, with its average of 46 pupils in the elementary school, 35 in the junior high and 30 in the senior high, that, with the protests of civic leaders, and with excellent newspaper publicity, the proposal killed itself before the hearing on it opened.

The third proposal for saving nearly a million dollars was that the teachers should give a week's service without compensation. In reply the teachers pointed out that this was in effect a

2½ per cent cut, and that the reduction in cost of living brought forward to justify it did not apply to the teachers who had not had the proportionate rise in salary during the boom. They



were able to show that while teachers' salaries had increased 33 points over those of 1914, that the cost of living, according to the latest available government figures with all possible reductions, was still 42.5 points higher than the living costs of 1914.

Throughout their protests the teachers had emphasized the fact that the Educational Department was the last, rather than the first, place to recommend cuts, and had called on the Board

for a program of similar and equivalent economies in other departments. The answer was a complete program of cuts presented for the Educational, Legal, and Business Departments. Twenty-five items in the Educational, \$1,717,015, and nine items in the Business Department, to offset these, totalled \$1,875,850. This entire program of economies, except the dropping of 45 temporary assistant engineers and the donation of a week's serv-

ice by employees, was passed on July 28.

The Union teachers have requested a hearing before the Governor's commission to present a case against unwise petty economies, and in favor of far-reaching remedial legislative reform.

Britishers Want Their Pay Too

Joint Manifesto by the National Union of Teachers and the Educational Institute of Scotland

IN DEFINING the attitude of teachers towards the proposal of the National Government for effecting economies in the education service, the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales and the Educational Institute of Scotland, representing 165,000 teachers in Great Britain, take their stand on the principle of equality of sacrifice to which homage has repeatedly been paid by the Prime Minister. As citizens they will be prepared to meet the national emergency with public spirit and to bear their due share of the national burden distributed justly over the income of the whole nation whether earned or unearned. In determining their contribution to the national sacrifice necessary to meet a financial crisis that is admittedly temporary they demand that Parliament shall deal with them on the basis of their citizenship and not on the basis of reduction in their standard rates of salary as public servants merely because

their earnings are easily accessible to the Government.

They decline to accept the findings of the Economy Committee as an embodiment of the principle of equality of sacrifice, and they protest against the action of the May Committee in using the Economy Report as the instrument of a savage attack upon education and the professional position of teachers. The budgetary deficiency is estimated by the Economy Committee to be £120,000,000. That represents 3 per cent of the national income. The application of the principle of equality of sacrifice cannot possibly justify the proposal of the May Committee to cut down the salaries of teachers by 20 per cent, to which would be added other demands which as citizens they would be compelled to meet. The recommendations of the Committee were arrived at without the evidence of a single representative of the teachers being invited and on the basis of incomplete

and inaccurate data. Teachers have not had a square deal from the May Committee. They look for a square deal from the National Government.

It has been the proud boast of the schools of Great Britain that they have made a valuable contribution to the development of the character of the people and to the social security of the nation. It is the desire of the teachers of Great Britain to continue to make their contribution to orderly progress and social solidarity, but the performance of this important task will be made increasingly difficult, if not impossible, should the National Government impose upon the schools the crippling restrictions recommended in the Economy Report or inflict upon teachers so vindictive a reduction of their earnings.

Teachers claim to be dealt with by the National Government in accordance with the principles of justice and equity
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High Lights of

The Program of American Federation of Teachers.

President Mary Barker

WE ARE HERE to represent teachers and we shall consider the interests of teachers. Many matters which develop out of our work will be considered.

But our conception of the teacher at work in the world brings us immediately into the whole wide field of education, with all its social implications. The teacher is just one member of the cast in the drama that plays perpetually upon the stage set for youth. All that goes on there is interrelated, commands our interest, and demands our attention.

For members of the American Federation of Teachers, however, the interest of the teacher and education are not enough. We are here, too, as workers and we shall concern ourselves about the problems of workers. We are members of the American Federation of Labor not because we are teachers, but because we are workers, and because we perceive that all workers have a common interest and need a common program.

But the worker's interest is not completely comprehended in a program strictly for workers. The welfare of society at large is bound up with his welfare. Yes, more, the common welfare requires that the worker be sufficiently class conscious to recognize his group as one of the keys to the progress of man. It is necessary for the worker to direct group action to protect society from the exploitation of the weak by the strong, with the consequent brutalization of both the weak and the strong. Nobody can do this but the worker. Others can help, but unless the workers organize their forces to hold in balance the forces that are organized for production and profit, a machine age will annihilate rather than release the powers in man that should be directed into new fields of endeavor.

So we of the American Federation of Teachers are doing our best work when we realize our larger interest as well as our more immediate concerns, and act upon the premise that ours is a teacher's program, an educational program, a labor program, and a program in the interest of the general welfare.



PRESIDENT MARY BARKER

Civic Responsibility of American Federation of Teachers

EDWARD BERMAN

THE American Federation of Teachers, of which I have had the recent honor of becoming a member, it seems to me, must serve as a vanguard of American teachers in general in this matter. If the teachers in the public schools do not have the social consciousness, the facts which will enable them to know what the situation really is, then it is up to the American Federation of Teachers to do what can be done to get across those ideas. The American Federation of Teachers fulfills a very high aim indeed, by being Trade Unionists in principle; but some of the noblest things that the Trade Union Movement in this country has done have not been Trade Unionist. They have gone out and worked for social legislation for the improvement of social matters. Until every organization in the American Labor Movement comes to see, in addition to the very important business of improving their own job security and increasing their own wages, the wider problems of our society, it seems to me that we will have in certain branches here and there a very restrictive kind of Trade Unionism.

Unemployment Among Teachers

Report of Legislative Committee

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman*

THE ACUTENESS of the unemployment situation is felt by teachers almost as much as by the industrial workers. Many boards of education have taken advantage of the growing unemployment to decrease the salaries of teachers, and to deny them their automatic increases, thus demonstrating not only their lack of statesmanship but their inability to envisage the social and humanitarian considerations involved.

We believe that teacher unemployment gives our boards of education an unusual opportunity for the exercise of the highest statesmanship. The first duty of such statesmanship is to make education more effective by reducing over-large classes to manageable units, by providing for special coaching to reduce retardation, thus giving employment to thousands of unemployed teachers, trained at great public expense. Second, educational leaders have an unusual opportunity to raise educational standards, thus securing the best possible available teaching material, and, what is equally important, by maintaining wage standards make teaching especially attractive. Third, raising the school leaving age to 16 and the Continuation School age to 18 years, will not only make possible the best physical and mental development of the children, but afford adults suffering from unemployment an opportunity to earn enough to tide them over this period of unusual depression. Fourth, training schools should adopt a more selective program of admission, so that all of their graduates measure up to the highest standards of the teaching profession. Fifth, school authorities should make a scientific survey to ascertain the teaching needs of a community for a period of time and by the selective method train enough to satisfy community needs. Sixth, liberalizing maternity, sabbatical and other leaves will provide greater employment opportunities for licensed teachers waiting for regular appointment. Let educational statesmanship show how intelligence applied to so great a social problem as unemployment speeds recovery and the return of prosperity.

The Convention

Positive Health

BERTHA FERGUSON

THE public schools of America have for many long years been accustomed to consider that their main responsibility for children was the intellectual side—that is, in the lesson-learning and the lesson-repeating processes—and they have been concerned very largely with that. Whenever they were forced to recognize behavior which disturbed the purposes of the school, they would look at the child in a very superficial manner and apply some sort of treatment, which largely came in the form of punishment. That is to say, if the child became a nuisance, there were certain rudimentary treatments applied to him; but in a very short time he would be turned over to some agency, such as the juvenile court, without very much compunction on the part of the school. Probably that could not be helped.

I do not believe that we took enough time to work with behavior, outside of what we called the intellectual, but we are now being required to take time. Society is asking the school to become responsible for more than the merely intellectual. The school has been described very well, I think, as a relay station in which first signs of deviation from all kinds of health, both physical and mental, may be discovered; early deviations which, if they are uncorrected in children, produce later in life, dependency, delinquency, and all kinds of failure to adjust in social relationships. The school is an ideal place for commencing to recognize the danger signals. I think that teachers frequently have not recognized the signs; they did not know what they meant. Now we are commencing to recognize them; more than that, we are commencing to treat them right within the public school. It is commencing to extend not only to special teachers, but to the classroom teacher also.

The American Federation of Teachers has, for years, been committed to a positive health program. For years we have been "whereasing" and "resolving." This year we feel that we must go beyond the "whereasing" and the "resolving," and we are asking that every local form a Positive Health Committee.

The Challenge of the Disarmament Conference

LAURA PUFFER MORGAN

THE General Disarmament Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Land, Sea, and Air Armaments is called to meet at Geneva in February, 1932, with some fifty or sixty nations in attendance. It is doubtful whether we in this country have any conception of the importance of this conference or what it may mean to the world.

This conference, while I think it has in general created no great interest in the United States, is really dominating the international situation in the rest of the world, certainly in Europe. At the last meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, both the German delegate, Count von Bernstorff, and the English delegate, Lord Cecil, called attention to the fact that this conference furnished probably the last opportunity for the nations of the world to reduce their armaments. That was a very ominous remark on the part of these statesmen. They feel that if at this next conference the nations do not succeed in making a beginning toward drastic reduction of armaments, it may retard the whole question of international cooperation, and will put the question of reduction of armaments back probably for a decade and possibly for a generation. That is the serious way in which European statesmen are looking at this thing. In fact, Lord Cecil said, "The conference must succeed. If it should fail, the consequences are too serious to contemplate."

Now what does this mean to us? Every statesman who has made public speeches regarding this conference has said that the success of the conference will be due to public opinion in the various countries, will be due to the demand that the people of the country make upon their own governments.

Therefore, there comes a challenge to all those of us who have to do with the creation of public opinion. It is our job as teachers, if we are interested in the maintenance of a world community the necessity of which has become increasingly evident this year, to help toward the creation of the public opinion.

Academic Freedom

Report of Committee on Academic Freedom

HENRY R. LINVILLE, *Chairman*

THE members of the Committee on Academic Freedom agree first of all that one of its endeavors should be to help all teachers to realize the importance of freedom in teaching as a condition necessary to good teaching itself, and indispensable to the development of professional character among teachers.

The policy of the American Association of University Professors is to tie up the idea of Academic Freedom with Tenure, and to think of the right to express views and to discuss controversial questions as being involved simply and solely with the right of the teacher to hold his job after that discussion has been carried on. We feel that we want to stress freedom in teaching as a condition necessary to education itself and not so much as being tied up with whether the teacher can hold his job.

During the year several cases involving freedom in teaching have received public notice. Some of these cases involve the right of teachers of known capacity and distinction to express opinions on current issues in public affairs, either in their relations as teachers or citizens taking part in public discussions. The harm done to the reputation of distinguished professors is as nothing compared with the fear inspired among younger teachers, and harm to the colleges themselves, by the arbitrary acts of autocratic or reactionary boards in colleges and schools.

The Committee does not wish to indicate that nothing should be done about the younger teachers' cases which come up and are settled, without knowledge practically, by the mere cancelling of their tenure, which does not extend beyond a year. We feel that boards of trustees are perfectly satisfied with the continuance of the situation which establishes fear in the mind of the younger teachers, because that is the only way the status quo can be maintained. Without thinking sometimes at all, these boards of trustees fear anything that seems to be new or that raises an issue in social or economic problems; and so through advice of older teachers and through a recognition of the danger involved in expressing views or permitting the dis-

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Democracy in Education

American Federation of Teachers

Mary Barker

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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Mary Barker has served the American Federation of Teachers as president for seven years. It was with deepest regret that the convention this year heeded her plea, repeated each convention for three years, that the leadership pass to another. When health, heavy work, personal responsibilities and weariness have forced her to beg for release, we have said, Not yet—this year it can not be. And each year she has put aside her personal desire and yielded to the general belief that for the good of the organization she must accept the charge for another year.

That this belief has prevailed to such an extent as to force us to ask this when we knew it was hardly fair, is sufficient evidence of the value of her service. Nothing we can say can add to that testimony. But the memory of the years of contact with her quiet dignity, gracious tact, courageous thought and wise counsel will not permit that we allow this retirement to pass without an expression, inadequate though it may be, of our admiration, our gratitude and our regret.

We are confident that we express the universal feeling when we say we sincerely hope that the thought of the regard in which she is held and the sense of a responsibility splendidly met may be some recompense for the sacrifices she has made.

Organization

No theme had deeper appeal for the delegates to the Fifteenth Convention than Organization. It seemed to pervade every session, no matter what subject was on the program.

As Barbara McGlynn told her story of the fight for tenure of our new locals in the Pennsylvania coal districts, we felt such pride in their spirit, their fighting skill and their all around pluck, that we said certainly these locals were worth any sacrifice.

Miss Mann's account of the splendid work of our great Atlanta local in extending our organization among the

teachers of the smaller communities of Georgia, was a challenge to other strong locals.

Mary Mason Jones' impressive recital of the help her people had found in their affiliation with us as they strive against double odds for better educational advantages for their race, made us humbly proud.

Mr. Satterthwaite's plea for throwing the whole strength of the American Federation of Teachers into an organization campaign, backed as it was with a story of courage and sacrifice, became the dominating note of the Convention. No mandate to the Executive Council was more imperative than that it make organization the chief objective of the year.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER wishes, in its first issue of the year, to place before the entire membership the Organization Resolution passed by the Convention, and to ask that it be read at an early meeting of each local.

WHEREAS, During the past year new evidence has been forced on the attention of teachers that unfavorable conditions in one school system are frequently used as a justification of bad conditions in other systems, thus thwarting efforts toward betterment, and extending the evil effects of bad conditions; and

WHEREAS, The present period of depression and chaotic economic conditions is one conducive to the lowering of existing standards and the introduction of new wrongs; and

WHEREAS, During such periods of stress teachers feel most keenly their helplessness in the face of adverse conditions and of organized economic and political power, and tend to be receptive to the idea of self-help through organization, be it

Resolved, That the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers pledge the resources of the organization to renewed efforts to extend to the unorganized teachers of America a more effective knowledge of the benefits of organization, and to call on all members, both as individuals and as groups to make such sacrifices as shall insure an organization campaign commensurate with the needs and the opportunities of the time.

Education for Democracy

Social Science in the Schools

Believing that high school students should have a knowledge of economics to fit them for the solution of the problems of this nature that may arise in future years, when they have become factors in the economic life of the country, Inspector Frank Gorman, at the Board of Education meeting last Tuesday, urged that economics be made a compulsory study and necessary for graduation.

"The teaching of economics in our high schools," he said, "I believe, will prove of inestimable value, and should replace one of the present elective subjects of the school's curriculum. Such a move will furnish our boys and girls with facts that will serve to prevent, in the future, such debacles as the Stock Market Crash, the exploitation of the public in real estate booms, such as was witnessed in Florida lands and the Boulder Dam proposition. Knowledge of economics surely would have served as a bulwark against such intriguing allurements, regardless of the roseate hues used in their portrayals."

"The suggestion offered is a forward step," said Inspector John H. Webster, "and one that immediately should become effective, if for no other reason than to help keep future generations from becoming entangled in the meshes of economic depressions in time to come. Today, we have the lesson for the necessity of such study, and as we wallow in the maze of futile effort, seeking some sane remedy to cure a stricken world, it is mandatory that we so prepare our children that they will be ably fitted to prevent any such a recurrence in future years."

The Board voted unanimously in favor of the proposition.—*Detroit Labor News*.

This news from Detroit is good news. We trust it may herald a wider introduction of Economics as a required study in our schools. The social sciences have had too great difficulty in making their way into the curricula of our high schools, and students are graduated every year from technical colleges without a single unit of college grade in social science.

The traditional high school course is crowded, and it is held in status quo by traditional college entrance requirements. There seems to be no place for this half approved newcomer. In thousands of our public school systems no requirement in social science exists except a semester of Civil Government in the senior year of the high school; in thousands more, only this and a semester or two of United States History. Invaluable as are these courses in fitting the few who take them for their place as citizens in a democracy, they do little to acquaint

our young people with the economic system into which they are entering which will determine their wellbeing and happiness far more than will the political system.

Miss Barker in her challenging convention address called upon the American Federation of Teachers to make "social science and more social science" its curriculum slogan.

"Once again," she says, "a great catastrophe emphasizes the fact that our civilization is a one-sided development, that knowledge of the natural sciences and inventions has advanced more rapidly than knowledge and appreciation of the social sciences. How else can we interpret the helplessness of this great country in the midst of what we call a world depression? How else can we interpret the helplessness and the apparent stupidity of those who have the power to direct and assure relief from the devastating unemployment situation with its train of ills from human wreckage? Crime, disease, arrested development, grief, scars of all sorts of emotional derangement and demoralization of the spirit of man will be the heritage of our people for generations. The technique of the machine has been developed to what purpose? To increase man's ability to exploit his fellows?"

"To fight a world war the directing genius of the nation was organized almost to a man within a few months; but to fight starvation and the accumulated evils of our economic wars, we have no method, we do not know what to do. No West Point or Annapolis for training in the social sciences has been set up to train men for that service. Every man to himself in that field and survive who can. If here and there a few thinkers and leaders have arisen they have found the inertia of ignorance in the masses so great as to preclude the development of enough public sentiment to induce legislative action. People have not learned to think in social terms. Education's lack is the teacher's responsibility."

Every local in our organization should respond to this challenge with a study of the situation in its own system and a definite planned campaign to awaken a public sentiment which will demand action similar to this of the Detroit board. College and university locals should look to the requirements of their school. The farsighted plan of one principal who made a re-

quirement of an extra year of social science, including elementary economics, in his school, was largely frustrated by the college entrance requirements. It was found that the graduates of his school got to college with too much social science! So the extra year was first made optional, and then discouraged. (Fortunately its popularity with the students has kept the course alive.)

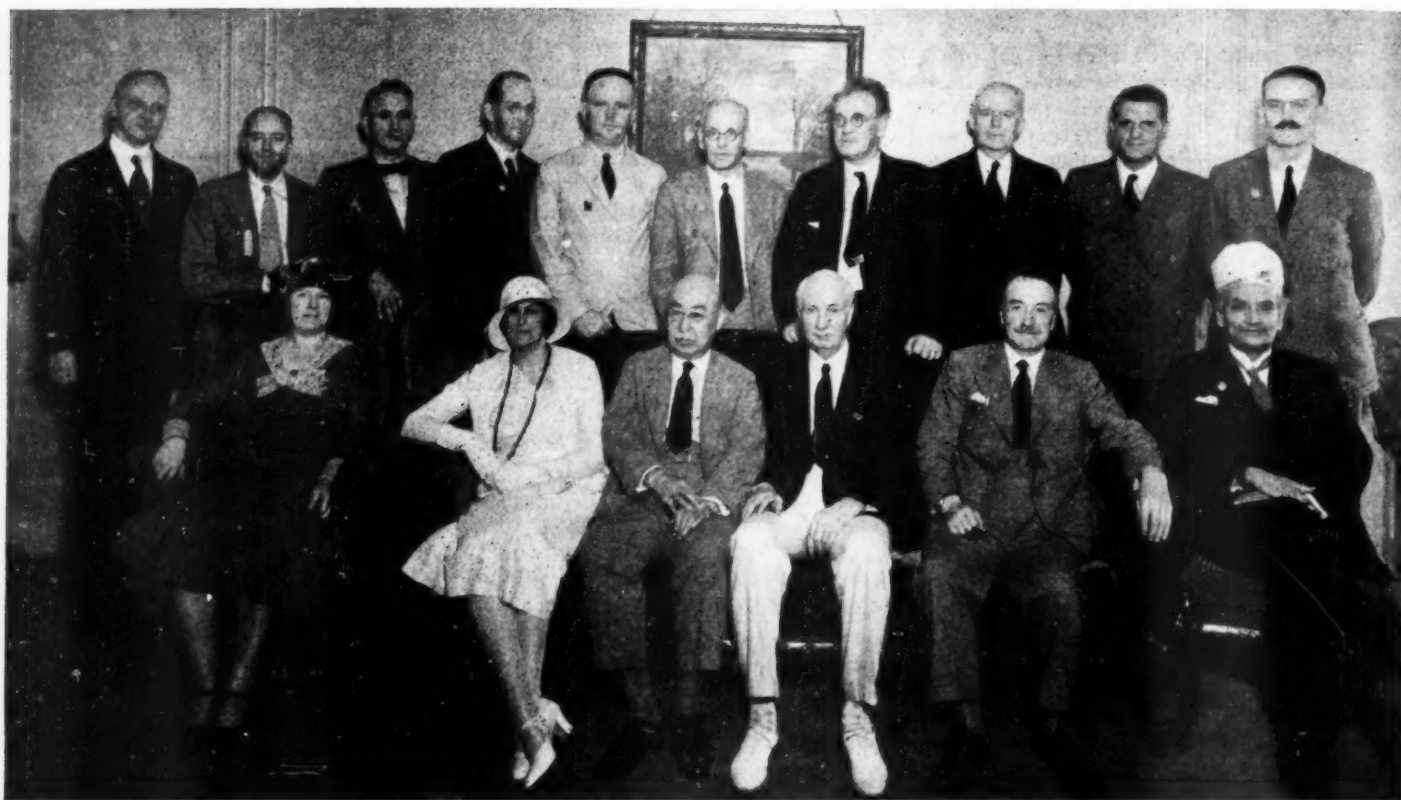
May the day come soon when the colleges shall remodel their requirements to set them in line with the needs of the time, or when school boards shall say we have given our students the education this day demands, refuse them if you dare!

Jobless Crowd Retraining Schools

Long waiting lists of unemployed men and women wishing to enter classes are the result of the Board of Education's offer to give them vocational retraining. Although more than 1,000 unemployed adults, ranging in age from 17 to 60, are enrolled in the two vocational retraining schools operated by New York City, there is a waiting list of 104 women in one class alone—bookkeeping—and equally large numbers await entrance into other classes. Among those enrolled in the courses are jobless musicians, seamen, carpenters, machinists and mothers with dependent families.

This planless rush of the helpless unemployed for retraining should open all eyes to the need for industrial planning and vocational guidance for adults. Whether this retraining offered on a small scale can do anything except shift the unemployed from one overcrowded occupation to another is extremely doubtful. The knowledge of the almost certain tragedy awaiting many of these victims of our economic stupidity makes us realize that the educational system is guilty at many points of stupidity just as great.

A profession whose objective is supposedly human betterment rather than commercial profit should direct its best energies during this period of human bewilderment to an intelligent solution of the problems of readjustment. We are justifiably censorious of the inadequacy of economic "experts" who seem helpless before the problems in their field. The flocking of the unemployed in every large center to the various types of opportunity schools is a challenge to educational statesmen to prove their competence in this national emergency.



Officers and Board of Directors of World Federation of Education Associations

The Teachers of the World Meet

Selma M. Borchardt

Miss Selma Borchardt and Miss Ruth Hardy represented the American Federation of Teachers at the Denver meeting. Copies of the resolutions adopted in Denver may be had from the office of the American Federation of Teachers.
—Editor.

THE TEACHERS of the world met in Paris, in Stockholm and in Denver and redetermined their course in the promotion of international good will through education.

In Paris, at the meeting of International Federation of Teachers of Secondary Schools, the European federation of secondary teachers, resolutions were adopted pledging this group to work for peace. In Stockholm the International Federation of Teachers Associations devoted one-half of its program to a consideration of military training and the serious menace this training is to creating peace-mindedness in the youth of today.

In Denver, the World Federation of Education Associations, the international body through which we are at present making our contribution, worked through its Herman-Jordan committees and through its sectional meetings. It gave earnest consideration to definite means and media through which hatreds may be eradicated, and

a true sense of values given to children everywhere of the contributions which each national and racial group has made.

We, the teachers, then are recognizing that ours is a serious responsibility for the preservation of peace among men and among nations. We are teachers, true to our profession. We recognize now, more and more, that to the extent to which we assume our responsibility in insisting that the truth only be taught, and that a full, fair picture of all events national and international be presented in the classroom that we are meeting our responsibilities.

And these international meetings were encouraging too, for they approached definite problems in a definite way. In Denver, we considered some very definite questions.

Why not have in the Polish schools the bilingual approach so ideally handled in Esthonia was a question presented by the German delegates, which commanded attention.

The discrimination in academic fields against the Jews, in Hungary, in Roumania, and in some of the Austria universities was forcefully brought to us as a grave world-wide challenge to the advancement of learning. And true

knowledge can have no racial or national limits set for it.

With a German and French delegate speaking from the same platform we learned of the truly valiant work in the French schools, in their efforts to remove from the textbooks all biased statements; all statements tending to produce hatreds, and unfriendly concepts of other peoples.

In Japan, too, where a tremendously interesting work is going on in their schools—preserving the best of their age-old traditions, and introducing the valuable of the most modern methods of instruction—that there too a well-defined work is being done in redirecting into social channels the fighting impulses. And as a part of this work here, too, a revision of textbooks is going on.

We learned here, too, how the grave problems which have grown out of a world-wide attempt at postwar economic readjustment have brought to the schools everywhere a most serious problem. The teachers in the British Isles are confronted with an attempt to reduce their salaries 20 per cent. In many countries on the continent the cut

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Between Autocracy and Democracy

The Tragedy of the German Post-War School Policy

Dr. Otto G. Tacke

WE GERMANS are well known in the world because of our talent to conform our actions more to the mere metaphysical categories than to the empirical necessities of life. This tragic gift of nature may enable us on the one hand to conceive of new possibilities in whatever branch of human work we attempt—often realized through our strong energy—but on the other hand it makes us unable to find the compromise between the "Ideal and the Life" (as our great national poet Schiller says). What we see in politics, e.g., in considering the results of a monarchical system; in organization, in the military system; in technology, in the construction of the Zeppelin; appears also in the school organization of a former time; the realization of an idea through the Germanic obstinacy in following out some purpose. The school is always a political thing, says the Empress Maria Theresa. But never has a state endeavored as obstinately to carry out a purpose as did Prussia before the Great War in using the means offered by this sociological fact, the school, to establish its power.

The school institutions are divided into two classes, separated by insurmountable walls, the one for the leading class (officers, superior employees), the other for the working class. What the two groups are learning is of little practical value for their respective life-tasks, but rather makes them either self-conscious or submissive to authority, given by God himself.

The flower of German philosophy, influenced by the great idealistic educator Wilhelm V. Humboldt, became the center of a real school cult with much incense that intoxicated the "esoterics," and at the same time separated them from the simple people who regarded them with respect. The Knowledge of Greek and Roman culture—evidently a republican culture!—served rather to give the feeling of an aristocratic style of life, contrasting generally with the real work of every day. The employee of the Prussian state was paid with vanity. As a representative of the state he always regarded the "subjects" with superiority, if not with contempt. And these subjects themselves did not expect any other attitude from the expo-

nents of the system, having learned in their numerous "religion lessons" that "whatever authority is, is from God." The other type of schools, with practical aims—such as vocational schools—remained strangers to the original organization of instruction: it is not the ministry of public instruction that here exercises the function of supervision! And a few months ago the plan to prolong the school time was wrecked, the two ministries acting, of course, in different directions.

The Prussian form of supervising the schools shows clearly the same tendencies. In the rural districts, the superintendent was the vicar or priest inspecting his schools and his teachers on behalf of the state, and with a minimum of expertness; further, the provincial supervising centers had the conviction that they were the real "motors" and were responsible for the intellectual movements in the schools; and therefore the more noise and dust they made, the more they fulfilled their duty.

It will be evident that the classroom teacher was infected with this spirit of authority. The children were his subjects; his authority was based upon his knowledge gained in his youth in a seminary, and given out to the series of generations without great changes. The children had to learn what the professor said, and the best pupil was he who had the best memory, and the least inclination to criticize. The psychological basis of this form of instruction was the opinion that one can "tank" knowledge, as well as oil for future needs, and the method was limited purely to matter capable of easy reproduction. The new idea of "struktur" had not yet been discovered. Psychological thinking was very materialistic.

No doubt, this Prussian and, in general, German school educational system has its greatness and can be regarded as the typical autocratic and primitive system. But as soon as the cultural level is elevated by the progress of civilization the spread of criticism cannot be suppressed by autocratic measures—although perhaps retarded—and therefore the first revolutionary tempest overthrows the pillars of the whole educational structure.

The beginnings of the democratic school movement in Germany were good. Conforming to the theoretical and speculative German mind, there had been for half a century a strong desire to bring school-practice into harmony with the modern results of psychological research (Wundt, Neumann, Stern), and the teachers in elementary schools as the intellectual representatives of the suppressed classes, had prepared the organization of the "unity school." In the Constitution of Weimar we find the results of the long discussions between the professors and the political parties dealing with the creation of the German Republic on the ruins of the autocratic empire. And the proposals were excellent. Not only the combination of a reasonable nationalism—not chauvinism—with a sound internationalism was there, but also the idea that all branches of school instruction must remain in organic contact with each other. This can be recommended as the first serious attempt to accommodate the school of today to the new world situation that cannot exist without democracy.

Theoretically the selection of the best pupils is accomplished, not with regard to their social position, but only according to their talents. Nevertheless, the privileges of the ancient leading groups have not been extirpated; their children prefer the secondary schools and the consequence of the actual selection is a ridiculous overcrowding of these schools, with injury to the value of the school-work. We always have a pupil inflation in the secondary schools, and in consequence an evacuation of the Volksschule. One of the reasons explaining this inversion of what would be demanded by logic and by economic theory is the temporary annulment of one of the most important suggestions of the Constitution of Weimar: the economic power of large sections of the German population, and the abolition of school fees, at least immediately after the war.

But now, as the privileges of the secondary school become worthless because of their overcrowding, the struggle for a superior position in life begins, and the hopeless situation for so many families in the world crisis finds its expression in the enthusiasm shown

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Heard Round the World

Goodwill Day

GOODWILL DAY assumed a deep significance this year when worldwide suffering and perplexity is forcing all peoples to turn to each other for counsel and cooperation in meeting the crises that have confronted one nation after another. Thinking men of every nation and of every function, statesmen, educators, economists, financiers and business experts, unite in their declarations that these crises are all phases of world problems which must be met by world understanding and unity.

Many of these leaders recognize in the situation the need for an international-mindedness among the peoples of the nations which does not now exist. Many recognize that it is largely a problem of the mind of youth, and that through the schools must come the solution.

One of the most interesting and significant exercises of Goodwill Day was the "round-the-world" telephone conversation between young people of many nations which was arranged by the World Federation of Education Associations in cooperation with the National Council for the Prevention of War.

Senator William E. Borah, in completing the arrangements to have this conversation carried on from the offices of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee room in the Capitol, gave the following statement to Miss Selma Borchardt, representative of the World Federation, on the significance of the event:

"The youth of this country must determine whether peace is to have a firm foundation and become a settled policy among the nations or whether it is to be the occasional visitor giving a period of rest and time preparatory for the war lords. If the belief so long entertained that force is the ultimate arbiter in international affairs is to give way to the belief that all questions of national import are susceptible of peaceful adjustment, the work must begin with the young. We must build from the ground up. We can not depend upon diplomats and the ways of governments, there must be organized public opinion, and that must come through the education of the youth."

Goodwill Day Message of the Children of Wales

"With a cheer we, boys and girls of Wales, once again greet you, the boys and girls of Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas, and of the great lands of the southern seas. Today, Goodwill Day, 1931, we, in Wales, would especially remember the work of Dr. Nansen, who was a friend of every country, and who is a hero to the children of every nation. We believe, as Dr. Nansen believed, that peace is the practice of everyday friendliness between the peoples of the whole world. We, too, would set out on this high adventure of winning the world for peace. We hail today the victories that have been won. And, with you, we resolve to dedicate ourselves, mind, heart, and hand, from this day forward, to securing the greater triumphs still to come."

American Educators Honored by League of Nations

Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education, past Chairman of the Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association, has been appointed a member of the League of Nations' Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Youth in the Aims and Organization of the League of Nations. This is a Sub-Committee of the League's International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, of which Sir Gilbert Murray is President. Dr. Duggan's appointment was made by the Council of the League of Nations which met in January at Geneva.

Miss Helen Clarkson Miller, present Chairman of the Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association, was named as substitute for Dr. Duggan in the event he should be unable to attend some of the Sub-Committee's meetings. The work of this Sub-Committee, authorized by the Sixth Assembly of the League in 1925, is admirably outlined in the Assembly resolution: "to familiarize young people throughout the world with the principles and work of the League of Nations and to train the younger generation to regard international cooperation as the normal method of conducting world affairs."

The Teacher and World Peace

"The teacher's job is not primarily to build up international understanding; it is far bigger—to build up fine, understanding personalities. War comes because of the kind of education which leads to misunderstanding."

This was the keynote of the Institute of International Relations for Educators, held at Haverford College, June 22nd to July 3rd, under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee. The limit of enrollment had been set at 150, and this number was very nearly reached, there being an attendance of 140, although this was the first such institute held by the committee.

Full-time courses by Dr. Herbert Fraser, of Swarthmore College; Edward W. Evans, of University of Pennsylvania, and Henry Cadbury, of Bryn Mawr, with Dr. Leyton Richards, of Carrs Lane Church, Birmingham, England, laid a solid foundation of fact in the economic, political, and spiritual problems of peace in our "civilization—the machinery of life." Other lecturers, such as Professor Kilpatrick, of Columbia; Sidney Fay, of Harvard; Augustus O. Thomas, President of the World Federation of Education Associations, and Agnes MacPhail, only woman member of the Canadian Parliament, gave special information, or set forth ways and means of creating attitudes of mind, especially the attitude which recognizes the world today as a single community, and armaments as "an expression of diseased international relations."

These students, who wished to help their pupils understand civilization, came from Canada, and from every part of the United States. Every age and every department of school work was represented, with a sprinkling of other workers among young people. Interested and enthusiastic to the last degree, these educator-students closed the sessions with a rousing cheer for the institute, and for the last speaker, Dr. Frazer, whose course was a feature of the sessions.

There can be no doubt of the eagerness of teachers for such expert advice and leadership as was offered at this institute. The Friends Service Committee now plans to hold a similar institute each year, to help teachers in their task of training the rising generation in world citizenship.

Children of the World

Living Wage Child Labor Cure

ALIVING WAGE for the father or the chief wage earner is basic to the solution of the problem of child labor, says the child labor section of the White House Committee on Vocational Guidance and Child Labor. Its conclusions have just been printed by the Children's Bureau.

Ellen Nathalie Matthews, director of the industrial division of the Children's Bureau, was chairman of this section of the White House Conference Committee. Julia C. Lathrop, Frances Perkins, Samuel McCune Lindsay and Fred M. Wilcox were other members.

These authorities agreed that child labor is "plainly in large measure a question of poverty." Hence they urged that the nation solve the child labor problem by solving the problems of unemployment, farm economics and a living wage, "since an income earned by the chief wage earner of the family sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living is basic to a normal solution of the problem of child labor as of other problems of child welfare."

No child under 16 should be permitted to leave school for work, according to the standards set up by the committee, nor should boys and girls of 16 and 17 be allowed to enter occupations known to be physically or morally hazardous, or to work more than eight hours a day or forty-four hours a week, or to work at night. These standards, in the opinion of the committee, represent the least that should be done in the light of present knowledge and understanding of the mental and physical needs of the child and the adolescent.

Among other recommendations are adequate methods of administration of child labor and compulsory school attendance laws; the prohibition of the manufacture of articles in the home; 16 as a desirable minimum age for child street sellers; the extension of school attendance requirements for the child workers in agriculture; the supervision of labor camps by state agencies and special school arrangements—with state aid if necessary—for migrant children, together with regulation of their living conditions; the prohibition of the employment of young persons in dangerous occupations; and extended and increased compensation for injured minors, including additional compensa-

America Increasing Educational Opportunities

FEDERAL Office of Education facts show that the average American boy or girl of 1931 receives two more years of schooling than the average boy or girl of 1914; that he is one of a class of 30 pupils, while his father's 1910 class had 34 pupils; that his chances of going to high school, which were but 1 in 10 in 1900 are now fifty-fifty, and his chances of going to college are 1 in 6.

tion for minors illegally employed and compensation based on future earning capacity for minors permanently injured.

The establishment of a national minimum standard is advocated by the committee, which declares that the control of child labor and the extension of education is one of the most important of the nation's efforts to realize democracy, and as such it is of national importance and concern.

The committee calls attention to the fact that the regulation of child labor by the various states has been slow and uneven and the cause of grave injustice. "These inequalities," the committee reports, "cause injustice to children in states with low standards because they are deprived of equal opportunity with others for health, education, and immunity from injurious labor; injustice to employers in states with high standards, since they must compete with employers whose labor costs are low because the labor is child labor; and injustice to all the citizens in both groups of states."

Among the remedial measures recommended are the extension of state aid to widows and dependent children in the form of mothers' aid laws, with grants sufficient for the family to maintain an adequate standard of living; the establishment of a minimum wage scale to avoid the industrial exploitation of children; scholarship funds (as a part of the public school budget) to keep young persons in school who would otherwise be obliged to work; and changes in school curricula to prevent the discouragement and feeling

of inferiority that are often responsible for children leaving school to go to work.

LABOR in commenting on the report makes one very pertinent observation:

The report states clearly that the problem is one of national scope—but it fails to urge the one way in which a national minimum standard of child protection can be secured. That is the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution, submitted by Congress years ago, bitterly fought by Southern mill owners but still pending before the State legislatures.

At present, Congress is the sole legislative body on earth which has no authority to regulate the labor of a child. It can send a million men to war, but it can't take one child out of a factory and put him in school.

Why reference to the amendment was omitted from the report—otherwise an admirable document—was not revealed in the official releases.

Child Labor Legislation Gains in Pennsylvania

Child labor legislation in Pennsylvania gained four points in the last legislature. The most important was a change in the accident compensation law whereby children injured while illegally employed receive double compensation. Heretofore children injured while illegally employed were not allowed any compensation at all.

Children who come into Pennsylvania with their parents to work on seasonal crops, such as in cranberry bogs, will hereafter be required to go to school as long as the Pennsylvania schools are in session. The local board is empowered to admit them with or without tuition. In view of the extremely low wages paid to this sort of seasonal labor, tuition is considered impossible.

New Jersey, which employs yearly thousands of families and children from Pennsylvania, is investigating conditions of children in the migratory labor camps, and the commission has prepared bills which will take care of the sanitary and educational needs of the migratory children—if they are passed.

In addition to these successes in children's protection, Pennsylvania also defeated two attacks on child labor laws. A bill to exclude caddies from the benefits of child labor laws was defeated in the house, and one to exempt "stage children" was lost in committee.

Spot Light on Education

Students Educate Themselves

A new teaching plan was inaugurated in the Wisconsin Summer School for Workers in Industry, which recently completed a six-weeks' course on the campus of the state university. There were no set hours for classes and the students themselves decided what subjects they would study.

On the first day, one of the teachers asked the students, "What are the problems you have faced as workers during the last six months?" Of course, unemployment came up first. In all, eight topics were selected for study, grouped under three main headings,—economic problems of the worker such as unemployment, working conditions, wages, trade unions, consumers' problems, and the worker's place in the economic system, with discussion of capitalism, communism, and fascism; political problems of the worker, with discussion of labor legislation, the injunction, and the worker's influence on the government; and social problems of the worker, such as education, housing, and race relations.

Each student chose his group, and in the group each worker chose his or her particular phase of the group topic. Each carried on his study alone, reporting to the group for criticism, additions, and corrections. Every group elected its chairman, who called a meeting with the teacher whenever the members felt they were ready for discussion or for further suggestions as to reading material.

After a week of work in the units, a meeting of the whole school was held, in which one member from each unit explained just what his unit was working on. Each group's program was discussed and additions suggested, and jurisdictional disputes between groups were ironed out. Later another meeting of the whole school was held, at which each group presented its findings to be challenged by the whole student body.

There are no separate classes in English, but two English teachers were available to give individual assistance in the preparation of papers and speeches. A poetry group gave weekly readings, and a dramatic group prepared a production of *Men of Steel*, by Paul Peters. Outside lectures included a series by Ernest Schwartztrauber on the history of the world, and two by Prof. John Goss on economic geography.

German Labor Develops Its Own Culture

In writing on the German Labor Movement in *Labor Age*, Ed Falkowski calls attention to a phase of the movement which should be of especial interest as the shorter work day gains headway in America. He says the German Labor Movement has developed its own labor culture to such an extent that a worker can find satisfaction for a good many of his spiritual and cultural and emotional desires without going outside of the Labor Movement.

Labor drama, the beginnings of a worker-cinema, lectures, schools, music, and dances, sports and hobbies, literature and newspapers, stores and even factories, may be found within the bounds of the Labor Movement. In combatting the political and economic tension the German unions work with camera and pen and brush. Poem and song and play and music are weapons in the hands of the movement.

Each organization has its weekly paper furnished to its members. Besides, there are many monthly publications, special magazines for plant-committeemen dealing with methods of handling plant situations legally. Research departments dig up statistical material, while university-trained workers, or graduates of labor colleges write up the news or do active work among the workers, such as representing their claims against the corporations in the law courts.

The unions conduct night schools for young workers desiring to learn the elements of unionism. From the brighter ones students are selected for intenser training, at first in labor Sunday schools (all expenses covered by the organization) and then a few weeks or months in a higher institution.

At Konigswinter is a labor college where the Christian and social democratic unions send many of their students. A select few are sent to Dusseldorf, or Frankfurt universities. From this class come the economic experts, journalists, etc.—men who will handle the more complicated work of the organizations.

Besides this there are many schools such as the Metallarbeiter's school at Durrenberg, where the individual unions send their students for special training.

This means that the Labor Movement has a sound intellectual basis for its work. There is less hit-or-miss about the movement than there is in

the United States. At the top is a structure of skilled experts, many of whom attend international meetings, and try to look at arising situations from a scientific and world point of view.

No genuine labor culture can arise out of unaided enthusiasm. Trained skill must be put to use, and the German unions have long appreciated this fact.

The School Bus and the Consolidated School

According to information gathered by the Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior, approximately 2,000,000 children are carried to and from school daily by the 50,000 school buses which daily serve about 17,000 schools throughout the United States.

Since 1869, when the first State law for transportation of school children was passed by Massachusetts, and followed by similar laws in Vermont in 1876 and Maine in 1880, practically all States have enacted some form of legislation permitting transportation of children to and from school. In many States transportation is compulsory for pupils living a certain distance from the school building, and in many communities throughout the United States the school bus has become a factor almost as important and necessary to the education of boys and girls as the school desk or the blackboard.

The cost of school bus service in the United States during 1930 is said to have been approximately \$40,000,000. Of this amount Indiana probably expended more than any other State, nearly \$4,000,000, while North Carolina, Louisiana, Ohio, Iowa, Mississippi, Minnesota, and California, each disbursed more than a million dollars for school bus operation. Practically every State operated more school buses in 1930 than in any previous year, statistics show.

Much of the success of "Consolidated" rural high schools is attributed to the motor bus of today and to improved highways. A decrease in the number of small rural schools has been paralleled by an increase in "consolidated" schools, the Office of Education reports. "Consolidated" schools have been established at the rate of more than 1,000 per year during the past 10 years. From 1918 to 1928 one-room schools decreased from 195,000 to 153,000 while the number of "consolidated" schools increased from 5,000 to 17,000.



Vice-President Muste At the Front

In the great silk industry is occurring another of those tremendous struggles which have so often demoralized the various branches of the great textile industry. Starting in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island the strikes have reached Paterson, New Jersey, a city where stabilizing, humanizing power of effective union organization has never been able to develop. This summer the two types of organization that have figured in late years in practically every industrial dispute throughout the country, have been working in Paterson seeking to effect unions of sufficient strength to dominate the situation and to furnish permanent protection for the exploited silk workers. The communists have organized the National Textile Workers' Union, and the A. F. of L. has drawn a local union into its organization, the United Textile Workers.

On this struggle for leadership the New Republic of August 12 makes the following comment:

This combination (the United Textile Workers and the local organization) is being led by two able labor progressives, A. J. Muste, President of Brookwood Labor College, and Louis Budenz, formerly editor of *Labor Age* and successful leader in other branches of textile labor.

These men are active, intelligent, enthusiastic and, of course, incorruptible. So far, according to reports, their following is much more numerous than that of the Communists. It will be interesting to see what the regular union can do in a situation like this with leadership of this type.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its session at Atlantic City endorsed the strike in Paterson. President Green, speaking for the Council, stated that more than 90 per cent of the strikers were members of the organization affiliated with the A. F. of L. and had nothing to do with the communistic organization.

Know Ye

Halt Radio Trust, Plea of Educators

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION BY RADIO, representing nine national groups of educational institutions, presented arguments recently before the Federal Radio Commission, objecting to the granting of further high power clear channels to any commercial organizations or interests.

The objections of the committee are to the general effect that the result of these grants to private and commercial bodies is another step in the process toward a commercial monopoly of all broadcasting channels.

They charge that the broadcasters are not public utilities or common carriers, and that they claim and exercise the right of censorship on all matter passing over their channels. The commercial interests regard the function of broadcasting stations to be "to build up audiences that can be sold to advertisers," is alleged to be the statement of the broadcasters themselves.

It is shown that 29 out of the 40 stations applying for high-power license are either owned by or associated with the largest chain broadcasting companies. A member of the Federal Radio Commission is quoted as saying that "a monopoly of radio is now insistently claimed by a group, and its power and influence are so subtle and effective as to portend the greatest danger to the fundamentals of our government." It is asked, "Shall one group or any individual say what shall be said at long range to millions of listeners? If so, there is a clear violation of the guaranty of free speech."

The extent to which the present channels are controlled for commercial purposes is said to have been shown when "a tobacco company was thanked by radio announcers for granting the President of the United States the opportunity for addressing the citizens of our country on Lincoln's birthday."

The committee urges no further high-power licenses be granted until the matter shall have been brought before Congress and considered again in all its bearings. They quote the words of President Hoover, when he was Secretary of

Commerce: "Radio communication . . . is a public concern impressed with a public trust and to be considered primarily from the standpoint of public interest to the same extent and upon the same general principles as our other public utilities."

First Labor Code Passes In Wisconsin

The Wisconsin legislature has to its credit the passing of the first state labor code in the United States. The bill embodying the code passed the Assembly by a vote of 82 to 3, and the Senate 20 to 9.

The provisions of the Duncan bill are:

1. The right of labor to do collective bargaining.
2. "Yellow-dog" contracts declared illegal.
3. Workers may strike, join unions, assemble peaceably, picket peaceably, make arrangements to act together, seek to persuade other laborers to their point of view, and courts may not restrain such acts.
4. Labor union officials or members cannot be held liable for the acts of other members unless it is shown that the acts were instigated by officials or members.
5. No injunction can be issued without notice and hearing for workers and only after an open court hearing, and an injunction can last only five days and be applicable only to specific acts.
6. Appeals of injunctions takes precedence over other court business and must be expedited.
7. Persons cited for criminal contempt have the right of bail, of being notified in advance of a hearing to permit preparation of a defense of jury trial and of filing affidavit of prejudice against the judge. Punishment is limited to \$25 fine or 10 days in jail.

Labor Triumphs in Seattle

Following the recall of Mayor Edwards of Seattle, Robert Harlin, a member of the city council, was chosen Mayor. Until two years ago Harlin was secretary to James A. Taylor, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor. He was formerly active in the United Mine Workers and is now a member of the Teamsters and Truck Drivers Union.

The city council vacancy caused by Harlin's elevation to the office of mayor was filled by the election of Dave Levine, president of Seattle Central Labor Council. Levine is a vice president of the Jewelry Workers International Union.

Union Expert Called to Columbia

Dr. Leo Wolman, for 11 years director of research for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, will join the department of economics of Columbia University this year.

Dr. Wolman will give two advanced courses on the subject of labor which were formerly given by Prof. Henry Rogers Seager.

Dr. Wolman's career has included many high professional distinctions in addition to his activities with the labor movement.

Receiving an A.B. degree in 1911 and a Ph.D. in 1914, both from Johns Hopkins University, he joined the staff of the U. S. Industrial Relations Commission, where he studied collective bargaining in the glass bottle industry and the fur and felt hat industry, and compiled figures on the extent of trade-unionism in America.

He then taught successively at Hobart College, the University of Michigan, and Johns Hopkins, and served as statistician for the Council of National Defense and at the peace conference.

Returning from Paris in the fall of 1919, he was appointed to the staff of the New School for Social Research, where he has taught with some intervals, ever since. He joined the staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research in 1921.

In his capacity as economic adviser to the amalgamated clothing workers, Dr. Wolman's duties have included preparation of data for wage arbitrations, collection of facts for use in negotiating agreements, and the development of an unemployment policy.

The Amalgamated's unemployment scheme under which contributions are paid by both employers and workers, was developed largely under his direction.

He is a director of the union's two banks, in New York and Chicago, and also of Amalgamated Investors, Inc.

Dr. Wolman is the author of three books: *The Boycott in American Trade Unions*, published by Johns Hopkins University, and two published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, namely, *The Growth of the American Trade Unions, 1880-1923*, and *The Planning and Control of Public Works*, the latter of which appeared last year. He collaborated in the preparation of *Recent Economic Changes, Business Cycles and Unemployment*, and other publications of the bureau.

Teachers Union in New Social Order

(Continued from Page 11)

from it a conscious knowledge of effortless intellectual superiority that, Mr. Chairman, is incapable of being attained in any other way.

It is an experience, I venture to suggest, through which every teacher ought to pass at least once, and not until he has crossed the threshold of a trustee's door and been driven properly to formulate the philosophy for which he stands, and to defend that philosophy, does he really know all the implications and all the glory of trying to make the younger generation learn the art of thought.

And it is because it is the obligation of the teacher to do that, that the solidarity of teachers is so fundamental. If you belong to a teachers union, that is strong and articulate and determined, and that will take its stand upon the platform of your right to say what you say in the way in which you see it ought to be said, your position in the teachers' world is a very different one.

When I look back over the history of the American Association of University Professors and the change in the atmosphere of the academic side of the profession as the result of its activity, it is a measure of the fact that solidarity is fundamental to the advance of the teacher.

And, solidarity, Mr. Chairman, I emphasize again, with labor. If we believe that the endless support of the rich man or the great foundations, or what you will, is really going to protect us in moving forward to our goal, let me assure you that we miss the mark. I have seen in England the way in which the whole status, the way in which the whole purpose, the objective and standing of the teacher has been altered by the development of trade unionism, and by the presence of teachers' representatives in the House of Commons as members of the Labor Party. I know, Mr. Chairman, that in my particular line of work, when from time to time business men question the utility of the attitude we take (and I can say that my senior assistant is the President of the Board of Education and that my colleague, the Professor of Public Administration is the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that my colleague, the Lecturer on Social Economics is at the present moment the Postmaster General), the amplitude of protection that it casts about my private heresies when publicly expressed, is one of the most at-

tractive aspects of the work that I try to do.

Mr. Chairman, I am not ashamed that we in the world to which I belong should have thrown in the whole of our energies with the Labor Party. I am not ashamed of any teacher who throws in the whole of his energies with other parties in the State, on the political side of things, so long as it is clear that he is doing so out of a conscious realization of that for which the party stands, so long as he realizes himself that on the vocational side, the solidarity of labor with our teachers is basic to their proper protection.

May I, Mr. Chairman, say this in conclusion. You in America as we in England are at the beginning of a long period of grave difficulty in our social and our economic life. And one of the pivotal points of attacks because of that difficulty is bound to be the educational system. When the first grant for national education was proposed in England in 1813, a distinguished English conservative, Mr. William Windham, opposed the grant on the ground that education would make servants insubordinate to their masters. I know no better definition for the purpose of education. It is precisely the function that we serve, to abolish the distinction between masters and servants, to bring out the eminent dignity of human nature, and the equal claim of every sort and kind of human nature, that can equally serve the commonwealth.

From time to time there has come to me, as I have no doubt there has come to many of you, the opportunity of alternative careers. I faced those alternatives. I have concluded always that the career of a teacher is on the whole, with all the difficulties and the doubts that come to one from time to time, the greatest career in the modern state, the one that offers the opportunity, could one but take advantage of it, of service.

My side of the profession is, of course, the spoilt darling of the whole teaching world. Everybody thinks that a university teacher is a learned person, because he is in a university, and that he has got to be respectfully discussed as though he really had something to say.

Well, Mr. Chairman, I have known too many professors to be really seriously impressed by the academic side of the vocation to which I belong. I depart from the fact that I know too much about myself really to believe the eulogies of the academic side that I read from time to time.

In so far as my side of the profession fails to take its stand alongside the teachers in the ordinary public schools, it fails to fulfill its obligation. Your work in general seems to me much more difficult than our side of the work. We get young men and young women, some of them, by divine miracle that we can't understand, actually know, at any rate, the basis upon which the thing is. And I know few teachers in the university to whom a miracle of that kind could be attributed.

I do hope that the next ten or fifteen years are going to persuade the university teachers in America, to stand side by side with the few thousands of consciously minded teachers in federations like this, which meets here this afternoon. I do hope they are going to realize the unity of the profession, its solidarity, its determination to master the events with whose destiny it is charged, makes the future of America more certain, more admirable, more hopeful than can be achieved in any other way.

I began by congratulating Dr. Linville. May I end by saying this: If the next fifteen years of this federation of teachers is as fruitful as the first fifteen years, he will be able to claim that that little spark which lit up the fire in him fifteen years ago was a spark that did not glow vainly. He is embarked upon a task as difficult as any that I know. It is in its difficulty that I find the room for my pride in his achievement, and my esteem for his personality.

Britishers Want Their Pay, Too

(Continued from Page 13)

which the Prime Minister himself has enunciated, and the National Union of Teachers of England and Wales and the Educational Institute of Scotland will use every legitimate weapon at their command to secure such treatment for their members.

ANGUS ROBERTS,

President, National Union of Teachers.

F. MANDER,

General Secretary, National Union of Teachers.

R. BENNETT MILLER,

President, Educational Institute of Scotland.

THOMAS HENDERSON,

General Secretary, Educational Institute of Scotland.

29th August, 1931.

—The Scottish Educational Journal.

Education and Labor

The proposal to raise the school-leaving age in Britain to fifteen years is meeting some opposition on the ground that by giving advanced education to a larger section of the community the country will ultimately find itself almost without a supply of unskilled labor. Which is another way of saying that a certain proportion of people should be kept in a semi-literate state in order that the menial jobs of life may be done.

Is there any real reason why the menial jobs should be done by illiterate people—why a scavenger should not be as educated as, say, a bank clerk? It is true that we have come to associate education with a certain kind of employment and to regard a matriculation certificate mainly as a passport to the white-collar professions. But such an association entirely belies the real object of education.

People are educated—or should be—in order to get the fullest intellectual pleasures of life. But that need not unfit them for useful labor. Ruskin says of himself that he was a bad roadmaker, but that was not because he was educated but because he was Ruskin. Gladstone, on the other hand, was an expert tree-feller. The truth seems to be that *we need education today as never before, as a corrective to the ever-growing monotony of increasing factory production.* Without education the modern factory worker runs the risk of having his soul mechanized out of existence. *Far from preventing a man from doing menial jobs education should enable them to do them and at the same time take a lively interest in life.*

As things are now, advanced education is still rare enough to have a material value on the labor market. When it becomes more universal it will have to be sought for its own sake alone. And perhaps by that time we will be living in a community whose members would be too interested in living to be over fussy about how they earned their livings.—Winnipeg Tribune.

Culture is the highest human justice. It is the attainment of mind and soul which can consider with equanimity two sides of any issue; which can weigh without prejudice all phases of any interest; and which can differ without scorn with any extreme of another's vision.—Katherine Locke.

The labor question is a question of providing for every worker an abundant life, a full and complete expression of personality.

In Defense of Freedom of Thought

Twenty-two members of the faculty of Columbia University from five departments have signed a round robin protesting the suspension from the College of the City of New York of Max Weiss, former president of the Social Problems Club. Weiss was suspended following publication by the club of *Frontiers*, a paper which attacked military training in the college.

"We deem it intolerable," says the protest, "that, in a college supported by all the people, irrespective of their political and economic views, opinions on questions of politics and economics would be made the basis for discrimination."

The signers include several who are recognized national leaders in their respective fields. In the list of names are the following: Wesley C. Mitchell and Rexford Guy Tugwell of the department of economics; Karl N. Llewellyn and Robert L. Hale of the Law School; Richard P. McKeon, Horace L. Friess and Corliss Lamont of the department of philosophy; Harry J. Carman of the history staff; and Arthur W. McMahon and Schuyler C. Wallace of the department of govern-

Academic Freedom

(Continued from Page 15)

cussing of controversial questions in classes, the young college instructor tends to be more and more careful, and more and more fearful, of course, and less and less interested, perhaps in the question of whether he should permit the discussion of controversial questions, or whether it pays at all to do any thinking on his own part in those fields.

We feel that we should point out constantly that freedom is a necessary condition for the teacher, and that only under freedom will there be any chance of the natural interest on the part of the students of any age being developed and encouraged. The educational results to come from that display of interest, carrying on into the field of discussion, will really give us education. That is the only thing that can give us education. We feel that by a logical and clear-cut presentation of ideals we can make freedom of education popular. We expect also that the social effect upon the young persons who are thinking of becoming teachers will be stimulating. After all, ours is an attractive profession, and we feel that the better qualified men and women will want to become teachers when the possibility of freedom is assured.

BOOKS

"There is no frigate like a book to bear us lands away"—EMILY DICKINSON

Book Week

"Round the World in Books" is the theme for Book Week this year, November 15th to 21st. Public libraries



and bookshops have planned "Round the World Book Fairs" for the Week, bringing together all the delightful foreign children's books which American publishers have made

available in translation, books which give children a sense of intimacy and friendliness for their cousins across the seas. France, Russia, India, China, Sweden, almost every country round the globe, it seems, has made contributions in recent years to the favorite bookshelves of American boys and girls. These books range from fiction and folk and fairy tales to histories, biographies, and books of information, giving young readers a varied, colorful background of knowledge of the world we live in.

With statesmen endeavoring to solve world problems of exceptional magnitude this fall, the Book Week theme of international friendship through reading has a special timeliness and significance. Children have an unflagging zest for romance and adventure, and teachers and parents who plan round the world book tours for youngsters will find them eager to start off on the journey. The book fairs in bookshops and libraries in November will include booths devoted to books about America as well as foreign countries, and the United States will naturally be included in the round the world book lists distributed at the fairs. Many school librarians are planning international book festivals for the Week, linking the displays with classroom work in history, geography, literature and art.

Maud and Miska Petersham have designed a very gay wall panel in vivid color for Book Week, with children of other lands, in national costumes, carrying books to American children.

THE SECOND TWENTY YEARS AT HULL-HOUSE. By Jane Addams. The MacMillan Company, 1930. 413 pp.

International-mindedness is the outstanding single feature of Jane Addams' book. From the study at Hull-House the reader travels with her to China and India. Great Britain and Australia, Germany and Switzerland. Peace conferences and women's movement affairs are attended at Geneva.

The war, with its psychological effects upon people, young and old, is sanely and intelligently discussed, as is the necessity for social legislation. Art, culture and education have their place in the volume.

Progressive laborites will find in its pages a wealth of material for sober thought. The story of the Roosevelt "Bull Moose Party," the experience with President Wilson, how he "kept us out of war," the promises made and broken, constitute a practical lesson in the value of non-partisan politics.

Her study of prohibition, its influence on the young, and the rise of gangsterism and racketeering, is worthy of serious study. "Bootlegging, in its economic aspect, is a great industry," she writes. Efforts to humanize justice are weighed and its gains tabulated—but the Sacco-Vanzetti case clouds the gains.

Miss Addams faces the immigration problem frankly. On the basis of her experience with many racial groups and close study of their problems she offers sound evidence that immigrants can become, and are, when given the chance, valuable citizens. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is cited as an example of what can be done.

And one must differ with her in her praise of the company union at the International Harvester Co. In her appreciation of its welfare features she loses sight of the essential fact that it exists largely to keep real unionism out.

Considering the book as a whole, however, the evidence is that Miss Addams has been going forward with the years, that the idealism and sincerity indicated in "The First Twenty Years" have continued as strong as ever.

CREATIVE SCHOOL CONTROL. By Philip W. L. Cox. Lippincott, New York. \$2.00.

As Dr. Cox states in his preface, "this book is written to encourage all those who are interested in the social life of the school." But "Creative School Control" contains more than encouragement. The author paints a graphic picture of the school of the future, and gives many helpful suggestions towards "creating within the school a purified and idealized society wherein pupils can practice the social virtues and social controls."

According to Dr. Cox, there are four important steps in the promotion of a creative school control: first, the inspiration of teachers to a state of conscious desire for a share in the spontaneous student life that goes on in and about the school; second, recognition and promotion of those teachers who try to stimulate and direct student activities; third, a carefully planned standard uniform practice regarding all school mechanics; and fourth, a taking into account of the general conservatism of parents and of the community.

In successive chapters, Dr. Cox shows how creative control may be developed through home room activities, through improved class room procedures, through athletics and physical recreation, through clubs and societies, through assemblies, and finally through grade congresses and student councils. The discussion of creative school control through improved class room procedures is most interesting. He states here that "not the education of boys and girls in civil life, but the mastery of conventional subjects is too frequently the objective of class room teachers." Many thought provoking questions are asked: "Should one teach algebra to John and Mary or should one teach John and Mary by means of algebra? How does departmentalization of instruction affect the likelihood of emphasizing the subject at the expense of the boy?" In his discussion of these questions, he says "that if America desires to develop a self directing, self reliant, critical, individualistic citizenry, our schools must depend on method as well as, perhaps rather than on, content." JESSIE LOWE, *The Atlanta Teacher*.



Editorial Board of *The American Observer*—Harold G. Moulton, Charles A. Beard, David S. Muzzey, Walter E. Myer, Benjamin H. Riskin, E. A. Ross

Arthur Henderson Puts It Up to the Schools

SELDOM in the life of mankind has a generation known in advance of the event that a decision affecting the whole course of history awaits its free choice."

Thus spoke the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., British president-designate of the coming World Disarmament Conference.

"Most of the great changes of human history, such as those ushered in by the fall of the Roman Empire, the discovery of America, the French Revolution, or the World War came," he said, "without any real forethought on the part of the principal actors as to the consequences which would result from the parts they played. But the World Disarmament Conference which meets at Geneva next February is in a very different category. For we know now, weeks before it is due to assemble, that on its outcome will very largely depend the destiny of the generation now growing to maturity. The delegates from over forty nations who gather at Geneva this winter will themselves decide whether the lives of young men all over the world shall be spent in constructive, cooperative effort to the end of the advancement of the human race, or whether they shall con-

tinue as potential enemies, ready to turn their strength and intelligence to the sordid business of mutual destruction.

"I said that the delegates at the Disarmament Conference will themselves decide this, and literally that is true. But the decision will be heavily weighted by the press, the pulpit, the radio, the cinema, and the educational institutions of the civilized nations of the world, where is formed that public opinion of which the statesman in this democratic age must be the servant. Above all, perhaps, the responsibility lies in the universities, colleges and schools of the different nations. There, relatively free from the pressing duties which absorb the vitality of most men and women in their adult lives, are those who can study this question of disarmament on its merits.

"As a result of their study the weight of youth will be thrown into the scales either for progress or for retrogression. But if the coming generation in every country wants peace, and makes its wish vocal, peace will not be denied it by the national delegates at Geneva. The character of popular opinion at home in the several countries cannot fail to be a factor

of influence upon the work and results of the conference."

Mr. Henderson went on to say that the issue which will be joined at Geneva in February is not between nation and nation, nor between the races nor the classes of mankind. "It is between those who have the will to see the scourge of war eliminated, and those who would see its age-old challenge to human advancement maintained. In this struggle there can be no neutrals, for those who do not work for disarmament are, by their apathy, encouraging the present system of national military preparedness based on the assumption that further war is inevitable.

" . . . Within the past few years students in schools and colleges throughout the world have heard much about their duty in the matter of preparedness for war. It is high time that energetic consideration should be given to the more urgent duty of preparedness for peace. Surely this is a form of preparedness in which those who have the privilege of higher education should assume the leadership."

—Interview given *The American Observer* by the President Designate of the Disarmament Conference.

NEWS OF THE LOCALS

Hands Across the Sea

One of the pleasant echoes of the Denver meeting of the World Conference of Education Associations was heard in Chicago on August 5th. Word of the arrival of the delegates of the National Union of Teachers of England and of the Educational Institute of Scotland reached members of our Chicago locals, who hastened to get into touch with the visitors and with those of their own colleagues who could be reached. Several delightful informal discussions occurred. At least one typically American baseball game was seen, and a characteristically large school was visited by the out-of-towners, who found the latter amazing in its size, and striking because of the inadequacy of the library facilities as contrasted with its completeness in laboratory equipment.

In the evening some thirty-five visitors and Chicagoans met for dinner in the spacious dining room of the Chicago Woman's Club. Dr. and Mrs. Hardy of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, who had come into town late in the day, joined with us. The members of the National Union of Teachers who sat down to dinner were Mr. and Mrs. Hall and Mr. Lloyd Pierce of the Executive, and Miss Phillips, Miss Dingley, Miss Jackman, Miss Quarrie, Miss Garwood and the Misses Baxter. The members of the Educational Institute of Scotland were Mr. Miller, the President, Mr. Thomas Henderson, the General Secretary, and Mr. Skinner. In addition to the many members of the Chicago Locals who were present were other Chicago guests interested in teacher-organization or affiliated with our unions, among them Mr. James Mullenbach, a former member of the Chicago Board of Education, Mr. Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago and Editor of the New Republic, Miss Agnes Nestor, President of the Chicago Woman's Trade Union League, and Mr. Victor Olander, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

In the interchange of ideas following the dinner, Miss Lucie W. Allen spoke for the American Federation of Teachers, the visitors for their own groups, and the Presidents of the Chicago Locals for theirs. All of us were

much interested to learn that the National Union has approximately 140,000 members and the Educational Institute more than 24,000, each group within 90 per cent of the actual number of teachers in the respective countries. Their problems, both in organization work and in the wider educational fields, approach ours so closely that we took heart when we learned which ones they had solved. The party broke up on a note of understanding and harmony, giving great promise for the future.

Beulah Berolzheimer.

Memphis Local 52

Local 52 has three outstanding accomplishments to its credit for the year 1930-31. First, we began the publication of a bulletin called the *TEACHERS' FORUM*. Three issues of eight pages each came out this spring. The board of editors is composed of Misses Carlotta Pittman, Mary V. Little and Nell Owens. Second, an investigation of the teacher load in Memphis was made by a committee of which Miss Carlotta Pittman was chairman. The result of this investigation appeared in the Southern number of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*. Third, a Credit Union has been established. Miss Elizabeth E. Dix was chairman of the committee that worked out the details and she reports a most successful start.

Committees on Tenure and Pensions hoped to get bills through the legislature this year, but the state of affairs at the capital made this impossible, as local bills were neglected in an effort to straighten out the state muddle.

Progress in Pennsylvania

The State Convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor recently adopted a resolution calling for the creation of a standing committee on Education and Schools. This committee is to consist of five members, two of whom shall be members of the American Federation of Teachers, one shall be a director of a public school board and two shall be persons known for their interest in schools. Provision for the committee was incorporated as a section of the by-laws.

The chair appointed a committee consisting of John Kmetz, John Edelman, D. H. Brislin, Barbara C. McGlynn and Charles Kutz, Chairman.

Commonwealth Local 194

With 24-year-old Lucien Koch, youngest college head in the nation, at the helm, and the best labor course in its history, Commonwealth College is ready to embark on its ninth year.

Koch, who took over the directorship on July 4, succeeding Dr. William E. Zeuch, chief founder, will handle the courses in Economics and American Labor History. Associated with him will be six teachers from previous years and two newcomers.

F. M. Goodhue, one of the founders; G. Y. Rush of Baltimore, Md.; Clay Fulks, Arkansas writer and teacher; David Englestein, Montreal, Can., teacher and student; William Cunningham, Oklahoma journalist and writer; and Clarice Cunningham, writer and teacher, are the Commoners assisting Koch.

The newcomers are Franz Wertgen, Germany, who has studied and worked in Morocco and Jamaica, and in Oregon and California in this country; and Lement Harris, Harvard graduate, recently returned from Russia where he spent 15 months as a factory and farm worker. Wertgen will offer a course in Cooperation. Harris is expected to give two courses: Russia in Transition, and The World Agricultural Situation.

Probably Commonwealth is unique among American Colleges. Students and teachers work for maintenance and none receives a salary. Twenty hours a week of industrial work on the farm, campus, or in the laundry is required of each student.

Brookwood Local 189

Graduation exercises for 37 worker-students on May 15 marked the close of Brookwood's first decade as a workers' education institution. In that 10 years, the school has graduated over 220 students, 85 per cent of whom have been trade union members.

A recent survey shows 80 per cent of the graduates active in trade unions as officers or rank and file workers, in labor political groups, in the cooperative, youth, and farmer movements, in Y. W. C. A. industrial departments, in other workers' education enterprises, or as labor press correspondents here and abroad. Another 10 per cent, it is estimated, would be active

if they had employment. Seventy per cent of the students have come from the highly industrialized states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, although 29 states and nine foreign countries have been represented. Slightly over 80 per cent have come from the basic industries—building, clothing and textiles, metal, mining, and transportation.

Economics, labor problems, economic geography, labor history, English, journalism, public speaking, labor organization and finance, psychology, and workers' education are included in the 8-months curriculum.

University of Wisconsin Local 223

The University of Wisconsin Teachers Union, Local 223, held an open meeting August 4, at which Dr. Jerome Davis of the Yale University Local was the guest speaker.

Many teachers from all parts of the United States who are in attendance at the summer session of the University were present. Members from at least five locals made themselves known. Dr. Davis talked on why teachers should belong to the American Federation of Teachers, and Vice-President Schwartztrauber discussed the differences in organization, aims and functions of A. F. T. and N. E. A. and the League of Classroom Teachers.

Dr. Davis said that all American teachers, both public school and college, should organize, that without organization they are at the mercy of vested interests or of incompetent administrators. Among many reasons for joining the American Federation of Teachers, Dr. Davis advanced six.

First: such an organization *protects salary, tenure, and intellectual freedom*. One has only to remember the D. A. R. black list, the expulsions at the University of Pittsburgh, and the more recent outrageous incident in connection with Dr. H. A. Miller, at Ohio State University, to realize how narrow is the margin of freedom in many universities.

Second: this organization helps to *bridge the gap between abstract theory and the realities of social life*. The teacher stands in peculiar danger of being too theoretical, of divorcing ideas from action, of dealing with abstractions rather than actual life. The American Federation of Teachers prevents this as it is a teachers' organization with a social program.

Third: the teacher needs to join the American Federation of Teachers be-

cause it is affiliated with the organized labor movement.

Teachers stand in danger of falling victims to smug respectability, of considering themselves as just a little bit better than the rank and file of workers. We need to actually become partners with the toiling millions. From a selfish standpoint this will secure the backing of millions of workers in a more effective way for our educational policy for which teachers stand.

Fourth: teachers need to join the American Federation of Teachers because it is the *most progressive organization of teachers in the country*. Education needs to be remoulded, experimented with; and this organization is willing to listen to new ideas before they become popular. Furthermore, it stands guard against dangerous legislation and the action of selfish predatory interests.

It was the American Federation of Teachers that was the first to protest against the Lusk Law. It was the same organization that just protested against the bill for the censorship of history teaching. Again it was the Federation of Teachers who blocked turning Education Week into a period of disguised propaganda for militarism.

Fifth: we need organization because it is group solidarity that *brings courage and fearlessness in speaking the truth*.

We must all be kept from being intellectual serfs. The individual teacher alone may not dare speak out for the right in an unpopular cause but with an organization behind him, aggressive action for the right is possible.

Finally, *without some such organization, education for democracy and democracy in education is made a hundred times more difficult*. What would the conditions of labor be like in this country without labor unions? We should have complete economic serfdom. Organization is just as desperately needed in the educational field as in that of labor. Sociology teaches that it is group action which is most effective in our day. The teachers should be one of the most highly respected groups in the nation. This is possible only as they become more organized and more powerful. The American Federation of Teachers gives them not power or organization for selfish personal ends but for the welfare of all children and of society itself.

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Our Economic Crisis

(Continued from Page 9)

agriculture and our industry were producing.

This depression, therefore, is not due to the causes that have brought on depressions in the past. It is due to two things; one the fact that we discovered a way of production that placed us ahead of all the other industrial nations of the earth, and the second that we have failed to distribute the wealth created on an economic basis which would enable us to go ahead and enjoy real prosperity.

We want a return of prosperity. We are all looking for it, and yet if a return to prosperity means a return to the condition existing between 1922 and 1929, we do not want that, because that will bring us certainly not only into another depression, but sooner than the last one, one that will carry us deeper into the pit.

We have heard very much about rugged individualism, and as a Trade

Union officer I have given more of my interest and my energy to establishing a larger degree of human liberty and of human opportunity than to anything else; but the statistics for the period ending in 1929 make it very evident that a number of Americans used rugged individualism for the purpose of bringing about ruthless exploitation. And we are not going to protect, in the name of individualism, a condition under which a few men, because of their greedy desire to reap untold wealth in a few years, are willing to wreck the structure on which our civilization is being built up.

There is not a wrong against which we fail to protest or seek to remedy; there is not a right to which any of our fellows are entitled which it is not our duty, mission and work and struggle to attain. So long as there shall remain a wrong unrighted or a right denied, there will be work for the labor movement to do.—*Samuel Gompers.*

Bread, Butter and Ideals

(Continued from Page 6)

constructive lines. But it is important to recognize the fact that pretty nearly every practice in government, in politics, in finance, in diplomacy, and in education is being tested somewhere in the world today, and that the reagent involved in these tests is the social welfare of mankind. As teachers in the union movement it is important for us to realize the nature of our opportunities for participating in the inevitable changes of so important an era.

We need to do some careful, unbiased thinking, facing social, economic and political facts as they exist today, as well as the bread and butter facts of personal existence. Especially do we need to give our own social enterprise of education the most careful scrutiny of all, realizing that the knowledge required for the correction of its basic faults is available to those who do the work of teaching. In the same spirit of understanding, and with proletarian support, we must contrive to lift education from the condition of being the hand-maiden of the *status quo*, and make of it the leading, dominating interest and constructive force of life itself. Of such, it seems to me, do the "bread and butter," concrete materials of a teacher's existence consist.

Teachers and Unemployment

(Continued from Page 8)

In conclusion I want to say that I think it is perfectly possible for the colleges of the United States to organize locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

I think it is perfectly possible to get the teachers in our colleges lined up solidly behind the American Federation of Teachers. I think that this coming year we will increase the membership at Yale, and I am certain of one thing. The teachers who belong to the American Federation of Teachers at Yale would not be interested in belonging to this organization except that it takes a forward social stand; and the reason that we have been able to get men to join from Yale is because they feel that in joining the American Federation of Teachers they are joining an organization which is not narrowly concerned solely with the salaries or even the tenure of office of the teachers of the nation, but that they are concerned with the wider problems confronting our American society. The professors at Yale are willing to join the organization because they feel that it is going to deal with the social problems, and that it is going to make its influence felt.

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Teachers of the World Meet

(Continued from Page 18)

has been made. In others the teachers can still resist them.

And this problem brings to us again, most forcefully, as a world-wide body of teachers, the challenge with which unsocial groups confront the schools. Is it not the *duty* of us as teachers to resist with all the power we can muster all cuts in educational expenditures? National economics are necessary, 'tis true, everywhere. But is it economy to thwart the development of the children of a nation; to deny to them the fullest and richest opportunity for growth and development?

Economy is necessary, claimed the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers, in sponsoring a resolution in favor of drastic cuts in expenditures for armaments, but economy should be practiced on our war budgets, and not on our children.

Much to our surprise, this resolution asking that the money to be saved by a drastic cut in armaments be spent for education and other social purposes was not carried, it being pointed out on the floor that to the British it would not appear in good taste for us to presume to tell governments what to do with their money.

So, too, was lost our resolution asking that in the large group of advisers in the deputation to the conference, that teachers be included. In fact, this resolution, amended, asking that the deputation be made of peace-minded lay delegates was defeated. The English laborite who led the opposition was no doubt just as sincere an advocate of the purpose of our resolution as we ourselves are.

It all simply shows that while our methods of approach differ in the several countries, our aims and purposes are the same.

We "resolved" on many vital questions, and we set into motion machinery to help us realize much from our "resolving."

There were over forty nations represented in Denver among the 3800 who registered; some officially, some unofficially. It was a successful meeting, for it helped greatly advance the cause of peace through our schools. It was another of those glorious opportunities for us to have, to know our neighbors better. And Denver proved to be a marvelous host to all of us.

We return to our classroom more determined to apply ourselves to making our work a true expression of the art of living together.

Between Autocracy and Democracy

(Continued from Page 19)

by the national-socialistic votes last year, chiefly on the part of the younger generation, and in the propaganda for the anti-democratic idea of regulating the world by force.

There is no doubt that the secondary school practice of conserving both the ancient conservative method and the historical aims of the curriculum, is contributing to the phenomena of resistance against the new principles of world policy, as, for example, the arbitration idea, leading to the League of Nations and the International Labor Bureau, or that of the Outlawry of War, culminating in the Kellogg Pact. The misunderstanding of what is really of national interest was allowed to infect at least the pupils of the secondary schools for twelve years, and it will be difficult to show them that the phraseology of an earlier period can be of no avail against the demands of modern necessity.

On the other hand the theory had well prepared the method for creating a new feeling for the brotherhood of man by proposing a method of collaborating in class in finding out the problems and indicating their solution. Not the learning of "verities," not the "jurore in verba magistri" will satisfy the new German educator, but the training in community study work (*gemeinsam erarbeiten*) according to the best methods (cf. the antithesis of the individualistic Dalton Plan). This custom will teach the young pupil that no truth is found easily, and that truth is relative, two views tending to remove self-consciousness, and the tendency of dictating their own opinion to others, and to suggest respect toward every serious meaning and private feeling (Constitution of Weimar).

The victory of this spirit of Weimar, over all other attempts to reorganize Germany, is a question of great importance not only for us, but also, theoretically, for everyone dealing with educational and sociological problems, and practically for the whole world, for an anti-democratic school system in the middle of Europe will be a center of trouble.

In liberal education are blended freedom and discipline; questioning and awe; the education of the body and the education of the mind; science and letters; preparation for livelihood and for leisure alike.—*Sir Michael Sadler, University College, Oxford.*

Prejudice surpasses all the other sins of men; it has made history an orgy of carnage, and makes civilization today a brief interval between two catastrophes.—*Fosdick.*

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News of Our Members

Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the Civil Liberties Union, was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the recent commencement of the University of Wisconsin. In conferring the degree, Pres. Glenn Frank of the university said it was given because of Dr. Ward's outstanding public services, among which was that "as chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union you have valiantly defended those basic rights of free speech, free press, and free association without which neither scientific advance nor social progress is possible."

Miss Bernice Rogers was invited by the Boston Central Labor Union to speak at their Labor Day celebration on the historic Boston Common. This is the first time in many years that a woman has been invited by this organization to be a Labor Day speaker. Never before in its history has it invited a teacher.

Miss Selma Borchardt was in general charge of the round-the-world telephone conversation between young people of many nations which was one of the features of the Goodwill Day celebration arranged by the World Federation of Educational Associations.

Lucien Koch, the new director of Commonwealth College, was the speaker at the Los Angeles Open Forum on August 16.

Harrisburg, Pa.—Rep. Darlington Hoopes, Socialist of Reading, led his first successful floor fight when labor forces defeated an attempt to weaken the child labor law by exempting golf caddies from its operation. The bill was defeated 95 to 68.

Who's Who in This Issue

Dr. Henry R. Linville—President of American Federation of Teachers, President of New York Teachers Union, author of scientific works, recognized leader in Liberal Education Movement.

Florence C. Hanson—Secretary-Treasurer American Federation of Teachers, Past President Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers.

Anna L. P. Collins—Secretary Cambridge Local, American Federation of Teachers.

Dr. Jerome Davis—Professor of Economics, Yale University.

John P. Frey—Secretary Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

Dr. Harold P. Laski—London School of Economics, author and publicist.

Dorothy Weil—President Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, English Department Crane Junior College (Chicago).

Mary C. Barker—Past President American Federation of Teachers, Past President Atlanta Teachers Union, education and labor leader of the Southern States.

Dr. Edward Berman—Department of Economics, University of Illinois, author of Labor and The Sherman Act and other works on political science.

Abraham Lefkowitz—Vice-President American Federation of Teachers, Legislative Representative New York Teachers Union, recognized authority on educational legislation.

Bertha Furguson—Representative leader in Minneapolis Teachers Union.

Laura Puffer Morgan—Associate Secretary National Council for the Prevention of War.

Selma M. Borchardt—Vice-President and Legislative Representative American Federation of Teachers, Director of World Federation of Education Associations.

Dr. Otto G. Tacke—Director World Federation of Education Associations, recognized leader of progressive education movement in Europe.

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