

TEACHER'S ROOM

REFERENCE
DO NOT LOAN

STACKS

MAR 9 1932

the

AMERICAN TEACHER

democracy in education • education for democracy

IN THIS ISSUE

The Challenge of the General Disarmament
Conference

Laura Puffer Morgan

The Teacher's Responsibility for Nationalism
Professor Robert Morss Lovett

Teaching Peace

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz

Interdependence of Peoples of the World Today

Dr. Pitman B. Potter

International Control of Child Labor

Alice S. Cheney

Radio and International Understanding

Alice Keith

The International People's College

Peter Manniche

Education for Disillusionment

A. H. Lass

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Price 25 Cents

January 1932



THE AMERICAN TEACHER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Editor
LUCIE WARING ALLEN

VOL. XVI

JANUARY, 1932

No. 4

Table of Contents

	PAGE
THE CHALLENGE OF THE GENERAL DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE..... <i>Laura Puffer Morgan</i>	3
THE TEACHER'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR NATIONALISM..... <i>Professor Robert Morss Lovett</i>	5
TEACHING PEACE..... <i>Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz</i>	6
INTERDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TODAY..... <i>Dr. Pitman B. Potter</i>	7
INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF CHILD LABOR..... <i>Alice S. Cheney</i>	8
RADIO AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING..... <i>Alice Keith</i>	10
THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE..... <i>Dr. Henry R. Linville</i>	11
EDITORIAL	12
FIRST LINE DEFENSE.....	14
THE INTERNATIONAL PEOPLES COLLEGE..... <i>Peter Manniche</i>	15
EDUCATION FOR DISILLUSIONMENT..... <i>A. H. Lass</i>	16
NEWS FROM THE FIELD.....	18
NEWS OF OUR MEMBERS.....	23
WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE.....	23

We regret that a change in business arrangements has delayed the issue of the January and February numbers of THE AMERICAN TEACHER. It is hoped that a return to the former size and style of the magazine may be possible in the future.

—The Editor.

PUBLISHED monthly except August and September by the American Federation of Teachers, 506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second class matter October 27, 1926, at the post office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Sec. 1103, Act of Feb. 28, 1925, authorized Nov. 3, 1926.

Editorial Office
506 South Wabash Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois

SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00 for the year—Foreign \$2.50—Single copies, 25c. At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamp or check.

The Challenge of the Disarmament Conference

Laura Puffer Morgan

We All Believe in National Defense But the Militarists Cannot Supply It—

Harry Emerson Fosdick

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. There are certain indications that President Hoover has some idea of its importance. In a speech before the International Chamber of Commerce, he said in speaking of this world conference, that there was nothing that compared in necessity and importance for the economic rehabilitation of the world with this conference for the limitation and reduction of land, sea, and air armaments.

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."

It seems as if the words were trite when one says that we are at the beginning of a new era, or we are at the end of an old era: but President Nicholas Murray Butler said before

the meeting of the International Rotary Clubs in Vienna last week, "This year in which we are living is comparable only to the period of the fall of the Roman Empire or the revival of learning after the Dark Ages."

Ten years ago the determination by international agreement of the armaments that a nation should be allowed to have was a thing unknown. But in the Washington Conference of 1921 a new step was taken; and then it became not a matter of intimate concern of individual nations, but of concern of the whole world as to how large each nation's armaments were or how large they could be in the future.

The Washington Conference had a certain measure of success, but it was followed by failures; and not until the London Naval Conference of 1930 was there another conference for the limitation of armaments which should be considered as any kind of success.

Nor could the London Conference have been a success if it had not been preceded by the Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war, that pact by which the nations agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to seek the solution of its international disputes only by pacific means. We are, I think, inclined to say that the London Conference was not conducted entirely in the light of the Kellogg Pact, at the same time, that was back of the international situation and that is what made possible what success was found there and the success that we can hope for for the next conference.

The Kellogg Pact, by which the nations renounced war as an instrument of national policy, means also that the nations have renounced the threat of war in carrying out their national

policies. In other words, if they are not going to use war to settle their disputes, they must renounce the means of war; and that means that they must renounce their armaments.

The reduction of armaments is necessary, not only for the good faith of all the nations which have become parties to the Kellogg Pact, but also for the nations who are parties to the League of Nations.

Under Article VIII they have agreed to reduce their armaments to a point consistent with national safety; and more than that, the Allies and the Associated Powers promised Germany, before Germany would consent to sign the Treaty of Versailles, that this disarmament of Germany was only preliminary to a general disarmament on the part of all the powers.

This General Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments of 1932, if it succeeds, is to be the first step toward disarmament. It will be followed by succeeding conferences. It will be followed by a continuous process of the limitation and reduction of armaments, if it succeeds. If it does not succeed, no one can tell what will happen.

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. The experts in Geneva agree practically that the success of the conference will be due very largely to the attitude and policies adopted by the United States delegation there, that the United States has really a deciding voice in this conference. The British Labor Government has already given it a strong lead.

Then, if this country should throw in its lot with the British Government and should fight shoulder to shoulder with the British Government for disarmament, we have great hopes that we can leave the conference with a high success. If the United States Government does not take the posi-

tion that will lead toward the establishment of peaceful means as distinct from means of force, then the conference may not be a success.

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 this public opinion.

Suppose we consider what we can do toward the creation of a public opinion which will help toward the success of the conference.

I am going to ask you again to go back ten years and think of 1921 when practically the whole American public made it known, through one means or another, through one organization or another, to President Harding and Secretary Hughes that they would support the government in whatever steps it took toward the success of that conference for the limitation of naval armaments. You remember the step that Secretary Hughes did take, the generous offer that was made by him that electrified the whole world and from the very first day of the conference assured the success of the conference. It could be done by Secretary Hughes, only because he knew that he had the American people behind him.

Now, what can we do to create such a public opinion which will, in the same way, give support to the administration, to President Hoover who does recognize and who has publicly said that he believes that the success of this conference will do more than anything else for the economic rehabilitation of the world and for the maintenance of world peace?

I am going to list two or three conceptions that have been prevalent in the American press, perhaps in the American public, which, I believe, we must re-examine and point out as fallacies. First, in the present-day world and in view of the kind of war that the next war would be if it should come, do armaments furnish any kind of security? That they do is, I believe, a conception that we must regard as a fallacy, if we look at it anew from the point of view of the events of the last few years.

Another conception that I believe we must regard as a fallacy is that the United States is already disarmed to a police status. This is a statement that is often made, and they

talk about our army as being only 118,000. Our army is composed of 118,000 enlisted men; but in addition to the enlisted men, there are 12,000 officers, there are something like 200,000 National Guards. I do not know how many thousand reserve officers there are. There are at least 35,000 of the organized reserves trained every year. There are between 125,000 and 150,000 students in the R. O. T. C's. There are other thousands in the civilian training schools. There are 65,000 scouts in the Philippine army. As a matter of fact, as was pointed out by a member of the War Department Appropriations Committee of Congress, we are appropriating money every year for something over 700,000 men, including the boys. Our regular army, counting the Philippine Scouts and the enlisted men, amounts to 180,000 instead of 118,000, a large proportion of which is officers who can be used to train other men.

Third, there is the question whether the 5-5-3 ratio for navies, or any other fixed ratio between the armaments of various countries, is satisfactory. I believe that is another conception that we should re-examine in terms of the Kellogg Pact. There is no particular virtue in the 5-5-3 ratio with England and Japan unless we are planning for another war. Those ratios were determined from that point of view, from the conception, of a future war. Since then we have all become parties of the Kellogg Pact, and yet our government is still thinking in terms of ratios.

I want to point out to you one or two points in which I believe the attitude at Washington toward the General Disarmament Conference is not satisfactory. They are things that we should consider in the creation of public opinion.

President Hoover has spoken of the General Disarmament Conference as a conference for the limitation and reduction of land armaments, which implies that the United States Government does not want to reopen the question of its navies; yet this conference is a General Conference in which all the civilized nations of the world are expected to take part, and it is to cover all forms of armaments. Should we treat it only as a conference for land armaments? If we limit our navies and if we limit our armies, are we not then going to compete in the air, and is not the air the place where the war of the future will take place if it does?

In conclusion I want to quote what Dr. Edward Benes, the very brilliant young Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, said last summer: "There is going to be a Disarmament Conference, and it will be called probably in a year and a half. That conference will succeed or it will not succeed, and what the peoples of the world demand of their governments in that year and a half will determine which."

National Defense

The basic fact about the international situation is that in any future world-conflict nobody can win the war. No matter whose armies and navies defeat whose, the total economic and social disaster on winners and losers alike will be so colossal as to submerge utterly the margin of military difference between the two.

To rely on armies and navies, therefore, for national defense, when the only defense they are capable of supplying will still leave us in tragic economic disaster whether we win or lose is the last word in folly.

We all believe in national defense but the militarists cannot supply it. The only way in which we can realistically achieve national defense and security is not by armament but by disarmament, not by competitive military power but by the substitution of ordered law for anarchic violence, not by increasing the instruments of conflict and so the temptations to it but by decreasing them.

Unless such disarmament is seriously undertaken and successfully carried through by international agreement very soon, we shall certainly have another war, and whether Western civilization can survive that is dubious. It is therefore impossible to exaggerate the critical importance of the Disarmament Conference.

With more men under arms and more money being spent on armament now than before the Great War, the world faces a desperate emergency, and in this crucial hour nothing can be done without the overwhelming support of the United States.

—Harry Emerson Fosdick.

An even greater mystery than who won the war is what were the winnings.
—Arkansas Gazette.

The Teacher's Responsibility for Nationalism

Robert Morss Lovett

WHEN I studied history in college I remember with what enthusiasm the professors described the rise of national monarchy in Europe. The Middle Age had clung to two institutions of world unity inherited from Imperial Rome: one was the Holy Roman Empire, the other, the Papacy. These were both in theory guardians of the world peace, the Pax Romana of the Augustan Age. That the Holy Roman Empire was of divine origin was the thesis of Dante's *De Monarchia*, and he earnestly hoped for the re-establishment of that institution, inaugurating the reign of peace.

The Renaissance with all its enthusiasm for classical culture was unable to revive the great political ideal in which classical civilization had culminated. The Greek city state became the model for Renaissance political scientists, and the highest reach of statesmanship was the achievement of national unity within strategic geographical boundaries. The Holy Roman Empire became a comic figure among political concepts, and Dante's devotion to it had to be explained on the same grounds as the intellectual shortcomings of the heathen. Meanwhile the papacy had become one among many struggling Italian dynasties; the petty pursuit of temporal power destroyed its universal authority and laid it open to the frontal attack of the Reformation. Modern historians tend to regard the failure of mediaeval supernational institutions as proof of their theoretic unsoundness. They show an uncritical enthusiasm in praising Spain, France and England for their early success in achieving national monarchy, a gratuitous pity in lamenting the evil case of Italy and Germany where owing to the survival of international concepts such national unity was delayed, and a fulsome flattery in congratulating these belated ones on their final achievement in the nineteenth century of this political *sum-mum bonum*.

The intelligentsia of Europe from the Renaissance onward were great

propagandists of the national ideal. They were especially fanatical on the subject during the so-called Romantic Period. Then their enthusiasm spread from the larger units to the smaller racial bodies. Where these bodies already had political independence and a national culture, as in the case of Holland and the Scandinavian countries, the nationalist point of view did not lend itself to exaggeration. It was among the submerged peoples that the implanting of racial consciousness became a basis of political action. In the matter of reviving folk speech and folk lore, scholars took a leading part. Czechs, Magyars, Serbs, Croats, Bulgars, Slovaks, Slovenes, Ukrainians, all became race conscious and, under the guidance of teachers, began to assert and defend their local dialects against the larger cultures by which they had been absorbed, to recover primitive literary monuments, and especially to discover and honor their forgotten national heroes.

The Magyars, suffering in pride from their association in the minds of men with Attila and the Huns, established a more respectable national hero in Arpad, gave him an "easy number" in the date 1000 A. D., and set all the sculptors in Hungary at work fashioning statues for simultaneous unveiling throughout the country. The Irish revolt against economic oppression became a national movement in language, literature, and art, as well as in politics. Even in England there arose a romantic cult of the Anglo-Saxon, a celebration of his virtues, and a depreciation of the Norman conquerors—who were by way of being internationalists with their seats in London, Rouen, Sicily and Palestine. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest* was a scholarly effort in this direction, and the literary exploitation of Saxon heroes found expression in Bulwer's novel and Tennyson's play of Harold, and Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake*. There was even propaganda, which James Russell Lowell felt it necessary to rebuke, in favor of using Anglo-Saxon words to the

exclusion, so far as possible, of French and Latin derivatives. The Anglo-Saxon fever spread across the ocean, and gave a special form to the already exacerbated nationalism of these states. I used to recite at school a poem by a Unitarian clergyman named Robert Collyer, called "Saxon Grit", in which after narrating how the Saxon stood off the Norman whose lust threatened the maiden ladies of the family, the poet introduces the United States as follows:

Then, rising afar in the western sea
A new land stood forth in the dawn of
the day,
Ready to welcome the brave and the free
Who could wrench out their hearts and
sail away
From the narrow, contracted, dear old
land, etc.

A rather surprising identification of "the brave and the free" with a single land, and a single racial element of it at that!

A parallel has often been drawn between the decline of the Western Roman Empire and the decline of our own civilization. In certain features the similarity is striking, as for example the rising cost of government and the extinction of private property through taxation, the reduction of a purchasing middle class to a state supported proletariat with the consequent annihilation of business profits, etc. In one respect the difference is marked: we have no barbarian tribes on our frontiers. We have, however, a greater menace than the Romans confronted, in our free and armed nations, which having just missed completing the ruin of civilization in war are by the law of their being compelled to resume the process at the next opportunity. Throughout the nineteenth century there was great hope that our material progress would automatically result in drawing the peoples of the earth together. Ease of travel and communication, international financial interests, above all free trade seemed to offer means of gradually ameliorating nationalistic rivalry; but all have proved too weak to stand against the propaganda of nationalism. Consider in our own

(Turn to page 17)

Teaching Peace

Abraham Lefkowitz

THE DIPLOMATS of Europe, aided by clever propaganda, diplomatic stupidity and fear, precipitated the World War and then swept the nations of the world into its maw. Victory and defeat alike left them groaning under huge armament debts and taxes. Along with economic and political chaos came extreme unrest, the need for maintaining the maimed, for pensioning the veterans and for the support of the unemployed. The World War engendered changes which are undermining the stability of existing governments, if not the whole economic order. So terrible has been its aftermath that all but war mongers see the need for disarmament and peace, if civilization is to survive.

With revolution, dictatorship and chaos as possibilities, a grave responsibility rests upon the teachers of the world to educate for peace. Our first task is to provide a fertile soil in which the germ of peace can be planted, nourished and strengthened. This means we must eschew national propaganda by making the teaching of TRUTH central in all education, and especially in the social sciences. Extreme nationalism or patriotism which feeds on belittling the achievements of others by over-stressing the importance of our own achievements, must be abandoned.

Neither is it enough to stress the truth about contributions of the several nations to civilization. We must stress the truth about war, emphasizing its insanity, its brutality, the murder and the maiming of millions of the world's best citizens, the survival of the biologically unfit and the huge burden of debt it leaves in its wake. We further must emphasize the fact that war not only intensifies ancient animosities but also begets fears which militate against all efforts to usher in an era of peace. All such national animosities must be undermined and ultimately eradicated by teaching the truth about national relations and the lack of historic basis for such unfounded national fears.

From time immemorial children have been hero worshippers. Since they are inspired by devotion to heroes

whom they expect to imitate and emulate, let us then, in our teaching, ignore or minimize the place of the military hero and stress instead, the heroes who contribute to the progressive well being of the human race such as inventors, discoverers, scientists, thinkers, or social pioneers who dare risk all for the common good. The Alexanders and the Napoleons and military strategists must give way to leaders like Voltaire, Bruno, Pasteur, Edison, Amundsen, Watt, Keats.

In teaching geography, mere enumeration of facts must give way to stressing the economic unity of the world and the inter-dependence of peoples; the need for allocating world resources to nations according to needs and ability to utilize the resources for human betterment or international welfare, rather than for mere nationalist welfare which interferes with the orderly advancement of man. Let us stress the contributions of various peoples to progress, their humanity and special talents. Let us teach that nations and races constitute a great human family seeking a common goal—happiness through peace. A teacher who stresses race hatred or race superiority, or who justifies inequality of treatment of peoples because of race, religion or nationality is a greater menace to progress and peace than the carriers of malaria or disease germs, since such teachings make for race hatred, for extreme nationalism, and for another war, with its possible collapse of civilization.

Equally great is the responsibility which rests upon our teachers of science and economics. Modern war is but the harnessing of science to murder. Modern war is, to a large degree, the logical outcome of the deification in our teaching of competition. If the teachers of these subjects will but stress the menace in the application of science to further destruction, if they will stress, as did Prince Kropotkin, the importance of mutual-ity or cooperation as a basic factor in the progress of the human race rather than the one-sided and erroneous principle of competition, then the insane rivalry of nations and the greed

which the principle of competition engenders will gradually disappear and with it the psychological basis of war.

Too many teachers, laboring under the handicap of false nationalism and patriotism, have willingly or subconsciously supported warlike sentiments and given support to the use of government funds for the support of military training in our schools and colleges. They have thus definitely helped the development of a military spirit and an attitude menacing to the development of social thinking and world peace. The support of militarism and military training must be abandoned since they presuppose, the inevitability of war, and recognize war as a normal social phenomenon in which good citizens must participate.

Disarmament conferences, however desirable and necessary, will achieve little without support from the peoples of the world. That support will not be forthcoming unless teachers appeal to the hearts and minds of youth by substituting education for peace, for propaganda in support of war or its glorification. Our educational thinking, unhampered by national, religious or racial prejudices, or the fears they engender, must be built upon the cornerstone of international cooperation rather than upon the principle of nationalist competition. When that is done our schools will become breeding grounds for warriors of peace, for fearless warriors in behalf of justice—economic, political and social.

As the Legislative Program of the American Federation of Teachers well states, the essence of education is to develop social thinking by giving a true picture of events. Hence, controversial questions, especially in the social sciences, must be dealt with impartially because truth is basic and truth can be neither loyal nor disloyal. With an international outlook and truth as its guides, education can lay a sound foundation for the growth of a national spirit that leads to internationalism and peace, rather than to imperialism and war. To that task the teachers of America and the world may well dedicate themselves.

The Interdependence of the Peoples of the World Today

Pitman B. Potter

FOR CERTAIN individuals there seems to reside a certain delight, even an unholy glee, in pointing to the way in which the peoples of the world have, in these modern days, become interlocked in their interests and their activities. This corresponds to the sometimes vicious determination of other individuals not to admit any qualifications, modifications, or limitations, in or upon the to them hallowed dogma of national independence. More important than the subjective reactions of the antagonists mentioned is the state of the facts themselves, and the consequences flowing therefrom.

It is an incontestable fact that people in different countries of the world today do look to people in other countries for aid in satisfying their desires to a degree greater than ever was true in the history of the past. That condition has been brought about largely by voluntary development of luxury appetites, not involuntary need, and it could be cut down with sufficient determination to do so, in case of necessity. It—this dependence on foreign peoples for aid—is not, moreover, complete, in most cases, in that it appears in a relatively restricted proportion of the satisfactions of a nation's life. But it does exist today in point of fact, it is not likely to be reduced, but increased, in the future, and even where it appears in only a limited number of items or phases of national life those items may be of critical importance to the nation—its wheat supply or its foreign credit.

The variety of the ways in which the peoples have become dependent one upon another is, indeed, striking and even amusing. Italian hat straw seems indispensable to Americans between June and September. The writer purchased a cigar in Geneva, Switzerland, wrapped in a "Neenah-Menasha (Wisconsin) Paper Products Co." envelope. He was delayed in dealing with a student's program a few moments ago because he did not have a copy of the catalogue of Tsing Hua College at hand. A Mexican consul in Chile wrote recently for data on the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin. The eggs

are scrambled in more complicated and fantastic ways than the imagination could conceive without the aid of the facts—!

The results are to be found in all sorts of directions. Psychological reactions flow therefrom, unofficial social organization is engendered therein, and official interstate or international relations are influenced thereby. People—meaning individuals again now—come to look abroad, figuratively speaking, for much of their satisfaction in life. They come to know of and know about, countries all over the globe of which they had not previously heard. They foregather with others interested likewise in the beauties of France or Rio or in the wool market in Capetown. They buy Chilean 5½'s or Japanese Imperials. And they call for a new consulate in Berbera or Fort Churchill; they secure the convocation of an international conference on the trade in hides, skins, and bones. If the peoples have come to be interdependent or interinterested—if I may coin a horrible tautology—they seem to feel that their governments should be also!

How far this sort of thing is going to go, what its further consequences will be no man knows.

There are some who feel—or pretend to feel—that all this interlocking of the peoples may mean loss and trouble of various kinds. It may mean loss of independence to national states and loss of variety in national or international life; it may mean friction and confusion as well as solidarity or cooperation. Such suggestions have some ground. Life among the nations may well tend to become less picturesquely varied, and less uneven. Certainly international organization must increase and national independence be voluntarily restricted. Certainly the increased interlocking of actual interests will create confusion and trouble if not recognized by provision of increased organized international cooperation.

There are those likewise who feel that we should try to stem this tide, this cosmopolitanizing of humanity. This love of world views, world news, and world life is misleading, say they,

this fondness for "imported" goods and foreign styles degrading—and unpatriotic. Perhaps so, but as in its origins so in its later development, the economic and scientific cosmopolitanism of our day is almost mechanical in its nature. It sprang largely from mechanical inventions in the fields of communications and transportation, it grows on the almost mechanical progress of travel, trade, and finance, and it hardly seems that human impulses, except the normal and fundamental and hence rather persistent impulses for satisfaction of curiosity and material gain, have had or will have much to do with it all.

Finally there are those who see this process continuing until it leads to a world society and a world state. Some who foresee such an event deplore the prospect and some welcome it. Even the federal form of such a state fades in the imagination of the devotees of Mr. Wells until a unified world and a unified cosmopolis looms in view. Such an eventuality seems remote and fantastic and forbidding. These states of the United States have not yet coalesced into one society in spite of much greater unity and flexibility than the nations of the world, and the nations of Europe show few signs yet of deliquescence, culturally at least. Moreover, even if we had the world society we should have to organize our world state on federalistic or regional lines in order to make it workable: a unified world government would be a too colossal system for any body of humans to operate. But that, short of such fantastic ends, the present interdependence of peoples is going to grow rather than decline and is going to elicit more international cooperation rather than less is as certain as any other form of natural or social evolution.

It would be gratuitous insult for one teacher to point out to others the implications of all this for education and for educators. For the study and the teaching of social and political science in general and the science of international relations in particular the implications are obvious. For the teacher there are implications even

(Turn to page 17)

International Control of Child Labor

Alice S. Cheyney

WE IN THIS country hear less than one might expect of the cooperative efforts which some fifty nations have been making for the past twelve years to develop and progressively put into force, a program for the exclusion of children under fourteen from all wage-earning employment. The items of the program have been embodied in a series of conventions or treaties, by which the several nations may voluntarily commit themselves to the passage and enforcement of legislation limiting child labor.

The first of these conventions prohibited employment of children under fourteen in industrial undertakings. It was adopted by the first conference of the International Labor Organization, held at Washington in 1919, and has been ratified by eighteen countries, namely; Belgium, Bulgaria, Chili, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Great Britain, Greece, Irish Free State, Japan, Latvia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland, Yugoslavia. In two more countries, Finland and Italy, all but the formalities of ratification have been effected.

The second convention, adopted by the same conference at its meeting in the following year, ruled against the employment of boys under fourteen on vessels. It has so far been ratified by all but three of the above listed countries and by seven others—twenty-two in all.

The third convention, which was adopted the year after the second, provided that children should not be engaged for agricultural work during the school year and stipulated for an eight months presumptive school period. This convention has, up to date, been ratified by thirteen countries, all but two of which (Austria and Italy), are among those which ratified either the industrial or maritime convention or both. Austria has legislation to secure the object of the first child labor convention but has not yet made herself a party to the international agreement. In Italy the government has approved ratification of both the first and second conventions but the formalities have not been completed.

A fourth convention dealing with work in stores and offices and certain

other types of employment has just gone through the first stage of adoption. The work of drafting such an agreement was begun by the conference held this June and that of next June will adopt a finished draft convention which will be immediately submitted to fifty-seven governments for their consideration.

All four conventions exempt employment of children in undertakings in which only members of their own families are engaged, thus making it possible for a child under fourteen to assume his share of genuinely domestic work. But the four conventions together will, wherever they are ratified and enforced, bar children under fourteen from any regular wage-earning employment.

Wide observance of a common minimum age for employment has been advocated in our own country also but its achievement with us has been confined to different means. Advocates of a common minimum tried to deal with our internal child labor problem by a single piece of legislation applying to the whole country. After two successive federal laws to control child labor had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, an amendment to the constitution was proposed specifically to authorize such control. It did not immediately receive enough ratifications to be adopted but is still before the states for reconsideration.

To protect our manufacturers from the competition of cheap juvenile labor it was suggested some time ago by Mr. Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor that we exclude from the United States all products on which children under fourteen had been employed.

The countries belonging to the International Labor Organization have chosen rather to attempt removing the mote and the beam at the same time by reciprocal agreements to establish a universal minimum age, below which no country shall permit employment, while leaving each country still free to establish a higher national minimum if it can.

The reasons for their action are the same as those which prompted the Federal Child Labor Amendment and Mr. Woll's suggestion. They are, first,

the fact that, under modern industrial and commercial conditions, difficulties beset the attempt to raise employment standards in any one area much above those in competing areas with even approximately similar social conditions. Second, the desire of progressive groups to stir a current of reform in social back-waters.

Originally, it was these same reasons which led to the establishment of that quasi branch of the League of Nations—the International Labor Organization. This institution was created, along with the League and the World Court, by the treaties that closed the world war; it was agreed that all nations joining the League should automatically become members and it was provided that its support should come from pro rata contributions of members to a budget voted annually by the League Assembly. Except for the inclusive membership agreement and the financial sanction of the Assembly, it is independent of the League both in set-up and operation. Its sole and sufficient mandate for a busy and useful career, has been to occupy itself with those aspects of labor problems which outgrow national boundaries.

Its dealings with child labor are of especial interest to our organization which has repeatedly affirmed its antagonism to that abuse. Incidentally they illustrate a method which holds suggestion and encouragement for a professional trade union.

The program for all conventions sponsored by the organization rests upon two assumptions of its constitution; first, that such fundamentals of national standards of living as the age at which children may regularly be put to work, social insurance policies, and standard working hours are the concern of the whole nation as represented by its government; secondly, that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce and that workers of all sorts should be accorded the right to organize.

From these tenets, it has been deduced that in all deliberative and decisive function of the organization, there shall be represented three groups at interest—governments, employers and workers. Each member nation

may send to the annual convention four delegates, each casting one vote. All four bear credentials from their governments, but only two of them come to speak for the government, the other two having been nominated respectively by the principal organizations of employers and workers in their respective countries.

Any government or organization with the right to representation at the Conference may propose a subject on which it would like to see international agreement. The Governing Body (a sort of board of directors) receives the proposal and, if it thinks the subject of sufficient moment for such treatment and likely to receive the general support, asks the Permanent Office to prepare a report which shall contain a summary of "the law and practice in the several countries" and a tentative draft for a convention. This Permanent Office is a sort of international civil service, recruited by examination from all countries which can furnish trained experts. The report of the office is forwarded to the member governments and the subject put on the agenda of a prospective conference. During the conference, a large committee equally representative of governments, employers and workers discusses the project for approximately three weeks. It then makes a report to the full conference, which report may be accepted or rejected, with or without amendment. So careful is the preliminary consideration by the Governing Body and Office and that only two out of thirty-three convention projects have ever reached this stage and been rejected.

If the vote of the conference is favorable, the subject continues on the agenda for the following year, the Office sending out in the meanwhile to all member governments a questionnaire covering the points of difference which developed during discussion. The answers to this questionnaire are summarized in a second report and a new draft prepared which attempts to reconcile all major differences. This report, like the first, is forwarded to the members in advance of the annual conference.

Again, like the first report, it is made the basis of discussion by a large and representative conference committee. The report of this committee to the conference includes the text for a draft convention which may be adopted by a two-third majority of the conference.

The draft convention is submitted to all member governments, and, by the terms of membership, they are committed to giving it consideration but not necessarily to ratifying it. Ratification rests with the people of each country and must be accomplished in the same manner as other legislative reforms. The support of public opinion must be secured, opposition disarmed, the machinery of government brought into action and enforcement made good, in each locality by its own citizens.

The Organization does not take part in national campaigns but serves only as a coordinating agency. Yet the position of an item on the program of the International Labor Organization is very different from that of a merely domestically advocated reform.

In the first place, it is hard to dismiss as impracticable, or too sweeping, or sentimental, or economically unsound a proposal which has the endorsement of a conference representing the governments of the principal organizations of employers and workers of upwards of fifty countries. Secondly, the dread of economical disadvantage in international competition is partially exorcized by the joint nature of the undertaking, governments having the option of giving conditional ratification to take effect as soon as the ratifications of certain competitors are assured. Thirdly, advocacy of an international program and discussion of the support given by successive ratifications, discourage the tendency to regard countries as wholly independent and irresponsible units and emphasize the economic and social inter-dependency of the modern world and the very real possibility of a nation holding up the course of progress outside its own borders. Finally, there are the vague but potent moral effects of involvement in a collective undertaking that has its echoes all over the world.

The rounding out, by the decision of this year's conference, of a program for keeping children under fourteen from any wage earning work, the ratification of one or more of the already existing treaties to this end by twenty-four countries, from Japan in the East to Canada in the West, and from Denmark in the North to Chile above the South Pole, including lands of various stages of industrial development and all possible climatic diversity, represents a new type of world solidarity which is managing to grow

up in the shadow of our armaments. The abolition of child labor is in any country an essential condition of really universal elementary education. For teacher trade unionists, the struggle of the International Organization with child labor is of interest, not only for its achievement but for its vindication of the use of research and discussion in the formulation of successful practical programs and, above all, for its democratic method.

Veterans of Foreign Wars Post Erects War Protest

On Memorial Day, Helof Holm Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States presented to Winneshiek county the German howitzer which stands at the northwest corner of the court house square. In October the post presented a German trench mortar to Ridgeway. It was made plain at both presentations that the cannon were not intended as memorials to war, but as protests against war and as arguments for peace.

But the V. F. W. isn't going to leave anything to chance. The passers-by, who view these captured German war instruments, are not going to be left to conjecture what the veterans of overseas service think of war. Metal tablets, made by the Art Bronze Co., of Waterloo, are to keep them reminded that the V. F. W. looks upon war as a horrible thing and hopes for peace.

A bronze tablet, now in the Journal office, will be set in cement alongside the howitzer at the northwest corner of the court house square. On it is this inscription:

HAVING SEEN THE HORRORS OF WAR, THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, HELOF HOLM POST 1977, PRESENTED THIS CAPTURED GERMAN HOWITZER TO WINNESHIEK COUNTY MAY 30, 1931, TO SERVE AS AN ENDURING TESTIMONY TO THE CRUELTY AND WICKEDNESS OF WAR AND AS A LASTING ARGUMENT FOR SETTLING OF ALL HUMAN DIFFERENCES WITHOUT KILLING.

A similar tablet will be erected close by the trench mortar at Ridgeway. Winneshiek county will be given good evidence that Helof Holm Post of the V. F. W. is not a militaristic nor war-minded group.

—Decorah (Iowa Journal).

Radio and International Understanding

Alice Keith

SLOWLY but surely nations are growing to know each other better through the agency of radio. We no longer have privacy in our group thinking, and our racial prejudices are becoming exposed to the view of the world. This is impressed upon one forcibly when travelling in Europe. It is a common thing in Holland to turn the dial from one station to another and receive programs from Sweden, France, England and Germany, within a few minutes of each other. In Budapest it is customary to announce each program in six different languages.

In the United States we are apt to think that we have no prejudices and that we are on highly friendly terms with adjoining countries, but radio occasionally brings home some facts and feelings of which we were not previously aware. The American School of the Air, which is broadcast to the entire United States and certain stations in Canada over the Columbia Broadcasting System, has been presenting a series of history dramas for three years. These dramas have been carefully checked as to their authenticity and they have been well received in the schools of the United States. Last year, however, an indignant message was received from Canada after the broadcast of a drama about Dolly Madison and the burning of Washington. The Canadians objected seriously to having the Red Coats put in an unfavorable light. The writers of the scripts were wholly unconscious of having said anything that could possibly offend. Unquestionably all nations must and will become more international minded as international broadcasting becomes more common. Knowledge, interest, understanding, friendship is the inevitable sequence, we may believe.

One of the most interesting series of programs sent out by the Columbia Broadcasting System is the Sunday series which originates in London. When we actually hear the voices of Gandhi, Bernard Shaw, the Prince of Wales, John Masfield, Premier McDonald, Michael Faraday and Hugh Walpole, we feel nearer to the nations across the Atlantic.

During the Christmas week the Mayor of Nuremberg spoke on "Toys" and St. Thomas' Choir of

Leipzig presented a program of German Christmas Carols. The Choir of Kings College Chapel in Cambridge and a chorus from Heidelberg University came to schools and homes in America.

On the 17th of March, a chorus of school children will broadcast a program of Irish ballads to the intermediate grades, over the American School of the Air, and on April 12th, there will be a broadcast from London of British music. These are fore-runners in an extended series which will probably be broadcast next year.

Both of the national networks are broadcasting meetings of the Disarmament Conference. By means of radio, every individual who listens in can participate in the making of history, in a way that he never could have in years gone by.

Because of the great interest in international affairs this year, the American School of the Air (broadcast over seventy-three stations each afternoon at 2.30 E. S. T.) is concentrating on the theme of world brotherhood, not only through its history programs but through geography, literature and current event talks. The American history dramas, instead of emphasizing the differences of opinion and the conflicts that have existed between countries, are this year portraying the lives of men from different countries who have contributed to the development of the United States—Amerigo Vespucci from Italy, Ponce de Leon from Spain, Peter Stuyvesant from Holland, Pere Marquette from France, Von Steuben from Germany, etc.

The second semester of history is devoted to builders of civilization, rather than heroes of conquests. Fascinatingly interesting tales of the ancients are presented in drama form—Hatshepsut, the Egyptian Queen; Herodotus, called the "Father of History"; Archimedes, the inventor; Justinian, the lawgiver; and other characters like Haroun-Al-Raschid, Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, Eric the Red, Marco Polo and Albrecht Dürer. These great men lived in Egypt, Greece, Rome, Bagdad, France, England, Scandinavia, Italy and Germany. Students who listen to these dramas become conscious not only of their indebtedness to the past

but also of their indebtedness to the great civilization builders who have lived in all parts of the world.

In the Geography programs of the American School of the Air, the Folk and Art Music of many countries is presented from the point of view of its ability to express the culture of different peoples. Dr. Paul Monroe, President of the World Federation of Education Associations, was the first speaker on that series. Dr. J. Russell Smith, Professor of Economic History at Columbia University, will give two talks—one on Scandinavia and one on the peoples who make up the United States. Madame Pirie-Beyea, who has travelled in all parts of the world, has discussed Russia, old and new, and the changed map of Central Europe. In her inimitable gossipy manner, Madame Pirie-Beyea always seems to bring her listeners personally to the countries she knows so well.

There is even an attempt in the music periods designed for the primary and intermediate grades to bring international consciousness to the minds of the little children listening in. Miss Dorothy Gordon, widely known as a singer of children's songs has presented folk songs, which she herself has collected from different countries, to the various age groups. In December, she gave a program of folk music of France to High Schools—songs which she herself had gathered in the provinces.

The literature dramas also take on an international aspect—each play being arranged from a famous story or legend of some particular country. "The Chinese Legend of the Bell," Cervantes' "Don Quixote," Pushkin's "Russlan and Ludmilla," the medieval "Song of Roland," Ouida's "Nürnberg Stove," "The Story of the Wooden Horse" from the Iliad, the Anglo-Saxon epic "Beowulf," "Lorna Doone" and the East Indian tale of "Harisarman" comprise the list presented during the course of the year.

Perhaps the most important of all of the series from the point of view of emphasis on international understanding is the Current Events Series, presented by Dr. Charles Fleischer. At various times, authorities on international problems have spoken. On

(Turn to page 15)

The President's Page

Dr. Henry R. Linville

From Profits to Poverty

WHEN captains of industry, financiers, stock gamblers, and employers in general are riding on waves of prosperity and 1000 per cent profits, they are content with seeing wage earners receive good or even high wages. But let some mills close, and stocks go down, and profits decrease! Movements soon develop to reduce wages in order to maintain dividends and the ideal of profits—not low profits, but profits that are high enough to be attractive to investors. We who are not used to million-dollar incomes are not in a position to realize the state of acute suffering that may come to those who are suddenly obliged to adjust their affairs to half-million dollar incomes. But we do understand how it is that half-million dollar incomes may be raised somewhat by reducing wages.

The Economic Loyalty of Boards of Education

It so happens that the membership of boards of education is made up largely from the social groups that have incomes that represent the profits from labor. Board of education members are not necessarily large income drawers, but they are the economic dependents of those who do have large incomes. For that reason, the mental transfer to regarding public school teachers as employees of a big business is a natural and easy one.

The Schools Caught in the Net of a Formula

The movement for ten per cent reductions of teachers' salaries happens to be exactly what has been made in industries. This identity of per cent suggests the severe application of a measuring stick to the social industry of education with the idea that standards and procedures derived from business will work anywhere.

So long as teachers, school officials and others concerned with the maintenance of the public schools accept the current interpretations of economic burdens, the schools will have to bear retrenchments. It may be accepted that the schools should be kept close to the sympathies and the understanding of the people, but this involves us in obligations and restric-

tions. Moreover, there are ways of fooling the school people since they are generally viewed as impractical and lacking in business sense anyway. But there is no way out of it. We must learn something about the game in which the cards are liable to be stacked against us.

A Scene from the Tragedy

It sometimes happens that the tragedy of economic compulsion is so involved that not even a Eugene O'Neill could unravel its essential intricacies. But a striking scene of the drama was enacted recently in New York that makes the compulsion and its working out to affect the social institution of education as clear as noonday. Mayor Jimmie Walker, believing that the great bankers of Gotham were preparing to "squeeze" the City of New York issued a strong denunciation, and tried unsuccessfully through Senator Copeland to induce Congress to offer a helping hand to indigent big cities. The bankers replied in genteel fashion to the bumptious mayor, stating that the City of New York must institute extensive economies to put itself in a sound financial condition. The Mayor lost no time in sending word around to the municipal departments calling for cuts in expenditures. On the morning these paragraphs are being written Mr. George J. Ryan, the President of the New York Board of Education announced that after a conference with the City's Budget Director, the Board of Education has fallen into line with the Mayor's order. The Board has deferred the appointment of six hundred elementary and junior high school teachers, and also the filling of three hundred forty new high school teaching positions, and will fill the latter with substitute teachers. The deferred expenditure amounts to \$1,380,000. There are also \$3,318,760 worth of school building contracts which can be postponed. Thus, nearly \$5,000,000 can be withdrawn at least temporarily from expenditure for what is acknowledged to be absolutely pressing needs. This was easy to do. But let us see where it leaves the problem of running the school system on anything like a social basis, or even on a business basis.

The school contracts that are now to be held up in New York are for

the construction of school buildings which were needed when they were first mentioned in the yearly program of the Board of Superintendents. Ordinarily, it requires three years to plan for and erect a school building in New York as against six months to one year for a skyscraper corporation building. Part-time classes, double or triple-session schools and overcrowded classes result.

Somebody Must Do Some Thinking

As against the condition of crowding thus accumulating, New York City has five thousand licensed teachers who are awaiting positions. The schools are using some of this number as substitute teachers at a wage lower than they would have to pay teachers holding regular positions. Perhaps two thousand or more of this number cannot be appointed within the three-year period in which a license remains valid. Meanwhile, the teacher training colleges are pouring out thousands of potential teachers every year, most of whom are being prevented from getting on the eligible list by increasingly difficult examinations. As if to transform the tragedy into a cynical farce the training colleges are increasing their facilities apparently in the race to become other examples of New York's bigness.

Why Not Teachers?

It seems to me that in this era of depression we show ourselves in the school business to be as hysterical and as much without a statesmanlike policy as we were in the period of the World War. In that state of mind, and absence of policy, we have queer things done to us. When strong men become hysterical, the defenseless suffer. As teachers we have no call to be vain of our defenseless condition. But when the powerful are foolish, we might seize the opportunity to call attention to the fact that the schools are about our best chance to prepare for an order of society in which the blind and futile conduct of our social business may be changed to the practice of enlightened procedures.

This thought involves no provision for maintaining any dividends, except some dividends towards the building of a more highly endowed humanity.

Democracy in Education

It is easier to hate war than it is to hate in ourselves those things that make for war.

—Ernest Fremont Tittle.

The opening of the General Disarmament Conference in Geneva to the accompaniment of the bombs of a threatened war in the Far East has emphasized what thinking minds have long recognized, that treaties and pacts cannot prevent wars.

The barking of the militarist press and the attempts to discredit all efforts toward armament reductions may be disregarded, but the coincidence may well emphasize the more fundamental work needed if nations are indeed to abandon war as an international arbiter. Not only must the world mind be turned against war as a futile means of attaining national good, but it must be led to revalue emotions and ambitions which have long been esteemed as patriotism and loyalty.

The general consternation which swept over the world at the news of the hostilities in Manchuria and the haste with which governments brought to bear their diplomatic resources to stop them, gave ample evidence that the Paris Pact was a genuine expression of the will to peace which has gripped the world. But that a Sino-Japanese war could be threatened shows that the world is not yet free from danger of outbreaks of the war mind.

Undoubtedly Dr. Tittle has indicated the next objective to be attained. Hating war has become, fortunately, easy for this generation. The Private Peets and the Remarques have done their work well. The glamour of war has happily been largely dispelled. The economists have aided by tracing to the 186 billion war costs the present economic conditions from which the world suffers. The thirteen years intervening have heightened rather than lessened the horrors of the World War, and immeasurably increased the realization of its devastations.

But that any great proportion of the people of the world grasp the significance of those psychological and economic forces which cause war no one can maintain.

Herein lies the significance of the schools of all lands. Intellectual comprehension of the economic principles

involved is a matter of education. Still more is the elimination of narrow nationalistic emotions and sentiments and the upbuilding of broadly humanitarian sympathies and interests a function of the schools. Emotional forces are the driving power of all life and these take their rise largely in childhood.

So while the eyes of the world turn in hope to Geneva where the diplomats of the nations of the world seek for those agreements which shall lift the burden and the menace of huge armaments from the suffering peoples, teachers in every land can turn their eyes on their own classrooms and realize that therein lies the real hope for the lasting peace of the world.

The Present Crisis

State supported education is menaced today with the gravest dangers. Educational journals the world around give evidence that economic conditions are reducing public revenues to an alarming extent, and that almost universally the schools are seen as the first place to cut.

Actual decrease in public expenditures is undoubtedly necessary in many if not most American communities. The daily press reports show many cities with failing credit, if not actually bankrupt, because budgets do not balance.

Unfortunately the social vision of those to whom the budget balancing falls is often not of the highest order, and the task is no child's play.

The salaries of teachers, as one of the largest items of public expense, inevitably presents itself as the easiest money in sight. Salaries of political appointees are sacrosanct—they are sources of revenue and votes for the politician and the party. Business contracts where enormous waste and graft might often be easily uncovered, are also invisible behind the screen of their political value. Educational salary funds, unprotected by political power or wealth, are the only unresisting place for economies. Even policemen and firemen as guardians of property are less open to the attack of the political budget balancer.

Offsetting this powerful protection of the politically useful, the schools have as their guard and defense the American reverence for education, the devotion of the American people to

the public school. This is real, it is powerful—*powerful enough*, if we have the means and know how to use it. But in thousands of American communities the teachers are unorganized, inexperienced in political and legislative work, unaccustomed to reaching the public, and the predicament of the schools is truly alarming.

The general public is interested in the schools, but profoundly ignorant of their needs. The political demagogue can make the school budget sound extravagantly large. The teachers are inarticulate because they are scattered and leaderless. The children know not that they suffer.

Organized teachers have in this crisis a challenge to prove their strength and their social vision. With machinery organized, workers trained, morale developed by unity, they are in a position to serve their communities and its children, their country and its schools.

In Re Salary Cuts

Far from assuring are news items appearing in the press, of school boards who seek to reduce salary schedules, or in some cases to suspend annual increments. The reduction of the teaching force accomplished by increasing class size and teacher load does not get into the papers but we know it is going on.

Unfortunately the psychology of the time makes resistance hard. Teachers and public alike can too easily drop into a non-resistance attitude—a hard time, everyone must take a cut, lucky to have a job at all.

For teachers this attitude of personal resignation is more than unintelligent, it is betrayal of a trust. It is failure to realize the significance of their work, and that failure is social crime.

We let the world, we even let ourselves, forget that schools exist for children. As individuals we may be selfish or we may be altruistic, but as teachers we have no right to keep still and see children cheated.

Adequate salaries do mean happier teachers, but the important thing is they mean better ones. Adequate salaries mean relief from financial strain which must affect school-room atmosphere. Adequate salaries mean release from outside work

Education for Democracy

which drains physical, mental and spiritual resources away from the enormously important work in the teachers' hands. It isn't self-seeking to fight for that—it is social service.

No Time for Defeatists

The extreme danger of acquiescence now in a philosophy of despair can scarcely be exaggerated.

The public schools of America have long been its boast and its security. They stand today in this period of chaos and bewilderment as a stabilizing social force. Their demoralization would not only be a present calamity but would entail perhaps years of struggle for their rebuilding.

The teachers of today have the greatest social opportunity and obligation accorded to teachers in a generation. Amid the frantic blind seeking for a way out of the dilemma occasioned by shrinking public revenues and increasing school population, the teachers must assume the responsibility of placing squarely before the public the gravity of the danger which lies in crippling the efficiency of their school systems.

In a number of communities it is apparent that public officials have been willing to put the schools last instead of first. Other public employees have been paid while teachers have gone unpaid. Other functions of government are carrying on while schools are closing.

It may be said with truth that this is the problem of the community—not of the teachers. Teachers have no more concern with this than other citizens. Very true, but they have no less. On every citizen rests the responsibility of remedying conditions to the full extent of his power. But power and will to do must grow out of knowledge of conditions. And therein lies the teachers' unique responsibility. No one knows how far from well it is with the schools except the teachers—not the school boards, not public officials, not even the parents.

If the teachers fail to arouse their communities by frank and forceful portrayal of the dangers existent and threatened, fail to enlist the public in the fight to protect this greatest of American institutions, they will have proved themselves inadequate in an emergency, they will have failed in a crisis.

Civil Rights for Teachers

The Detroit Board of Education scores again! Compulsory high school courses in Economics last time, free speech for teachers this time.

To Dr. Walter Bergman be great credit for the outstanding example he has given the educators of America of intelligence, courage and respect for his profession.

Professor of Education at Detroit Teachers College and commander of the Thomas Jefferson Post of the American Legion, Dr. Bergman protested at the establishment of R. O. T. C. units in the Detroit City Colleges as a violation of the Kellogg Peace Pact.

The resolution offered by one member of the Board that Dr. Bergman be tried and dismissed if found guilty was not even accorded the attention of a vote. The substitute resolution which expressed the sense of the Board that teachers should feel free to express their opinions outside of the classroom upon all subjects without fear of official reprimand or coercion, carried by a 6 to 1 vote. Congratulated, Dr. Bergman expressed gratification that the way was now clear for the battle for free expression in the classroom—and that is the best of the story.

The *Detroit Times*, itself a supporter of "preparedness" and military training, comments editorially on the fact that "a lot of thinking people appeared on the side of those who still feel that when a school teacher signs a contract he does not surrender those sacred and inalienable rights of an American citizen that are clearly defined in the Constitution." On the fact that some of those present at the meeting expressed themselves as believing in free speech "with reservation" the *Times* observes, "There is no such thing."

The *Times* also quotes Judge Patrick O'Brien's significant statement to the Board:

"I am a firm believer in preparedness, but I am a stronger believer in the fundamental right of free speech. Shall we say that a man or woman must surrender independence of thought upon becoming a teacher and act merely as a parrot, reciting what the Board of Education dictates?"

It is not very conducive to pride of profession for teachers to hear their claims to the constitutional rights of American citizens the subject of de-

bate, even if the "ayes" win; but we are gratified to find a Board of Education which had voted for the establishment of a military unit yet voting 6 to 1 that an employee had a right to disagree and publicly to express the disagreement.

If this is its Board of Education and Dr. Bergman is a teacher of its teachers, the world may expect something in the way of intellectual leadership to come out of Detroit some day.

An Illuminating Contrast

To the National Office this week came two editorials from the Memphis press which reflect two widely differing reactions to the proposal to cut the salaries of the Memphis teachers.

Says the *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*:

It is to be hoped that the teachers will accept the situation in good faith and face it with the courage that a crisis requires.

The *COMMERCIAL APPEAL* seems to know where a gallant resistance may be expected. It continues:

Members of the teachers' union may be inclined to follow the policy of their parent organization, the American Federation of Labor, in opposing reductions in pay. This would be unfortunate. The board of education does not recognize the school teachers' union and failure to cooperate in the emergency might militate against future employment.

The *Commercial Appeal* would like to see the school situation adjusted without friction and with the least possible inconvenience to anyone.

From the *MEMPHIS LABOR REVIEW* we get a different note.

As we reflect, life for the city school teachers has been just one betrayal after another.

If the city of Memphis should ever default a bank note what a roar would go up from the Shylocks of Madison and Monroe avenues. But if we default an obligation to our school system and our school teachers—well what of it?

The Memphis public schools have been built up to their present standards through the instruction of competent teachers.

To reduce the pay of our teachers would be not only a gross injustice to the teachers themselves, but it would weaken materially the entire public school structure.

If the people of Memphis lose this fight for the supremacy of their educational institutions over the three-ball tactics of the financial dictators then the shame of it will be visited upon posterity a hundred years hence.

We shall not point the moral, but we commend these editorials from the *COMMERCIAL APPEAL* and the *LABOR REVIEW* to the attention of all teachers who have not forgotten what their heads are for.

The First Line Defense

HUMANITY, according to H. G. Wells, is today engaged in a race between enlightenment and catastrophe. Several teachers in Chicago high schools, desiring to have definite data as to the chances for enlightenment, in so far as the younger generation is concerned, presented to classes, from the first to the fourth year inclusive, lists of questions, calling for the pupils' views on topics of current interest.

"This is not a test," the teachers announced. "You need not even sign your names unless you wish. Just give your frank opinion on each subject."

Under these conditions, the pupils went to work with more than ordinary enthusiasm. One student could not refrain from writing at the top of his paper, "This questionnaire is a good idea. It gives the pupil a chance to express his opinion, a thing which isn't done very much here."

The papers were encouraging and heartening beyond expectations, revealing much of the independence of thought, of the world-mindedness, and the sense of the unity of the world for which progressive teachers are always searching. The discussions on the question, "What do you think of war and the future of war?" were particularly interesting. The answers, of which there were 187, have been classified in two divisions, those which condemn war altogether, numbering 167, and those which see some justification for it, numbering 20.

Of the latter the following excerpts are typical:

War is a terrible thing but unavoidable and in case of future wars I think we should be prepared. If we're prepared they'll think twice before declaring war on us.

A country fighting for herself and the benefit of her citizens should go to war; but poking around in other people's business as the United States with China is drastically wrong and should be prevented.

I think there will be plenty more wars, and that war is the way God planned everything, when the earth is getting too crowded to kill them off.

War? Everybody dislikes war. It brings many sorrows but in the end the war helps to make the country prosperous.

The remaining excerpts are representative of the papers expressing entire condemnation of war.

I think war is the most outrageous thing ever thought of. Why should a country sacrifice her young men to die or to be wounded just to satisfy the controversy over which two nations are fighting? War can do nothing but ruin a country and set it back.

Of course I am thoroughly against war and the horrors of war and personally am interested in some plan which would completely guarantee the world forever against the ravages of war. At present I believe we are making some headway toward this goal, but I believe that it would be quite possible for war to break out between several countries in the near future. However looking way ahead I think that some day the world will be free from war—some day.

Countries who start a war have a big army and want to show off. An example is Germany, she wanted to show the world how strong she was and lost—now it's a different story for Germany. The same thing is going to happen to Japan.

I personally think that war is horrid. Many people think of war as fun and adventure, but I think that human lives shouldn't be sacrificed because of a disagreement between countries.

I think war is a contemptible way to settle disputes. Why can't countries settle difficulties peaceably?

War is unnecessary—the terms can be settled peaceably by discussion.

I do not believe there will be many more serious wars. Since the late "World War" people have come to realize that wars are too expensive and too dangerous.

War is the very lowest form of settling disputes. It causes bloodshed, inharmony, and fear. To my mind there is no future of war. In time it will be done away with entirely.

Past wars were due to ignorance, dishonest diplomacy and a fanatic feeling of patriotism. There would be no future wars if the League of Nations was a more perfected piece of machinery and the members truly believed in its principles.

I think it is ridiculous for the countries of the world to store up armaments which most assuredly agitate war after all the nations have pledged to outlaw war by the Kellogg Peace Pact.

I think that war is the rottenest thing that a man can wish for; although it leaves the victors in a very happy mood it leaves many people in a sad condition.

I was never in a war to know the worst. All I know is what I have heard or read. But, as far as my knowledge goes I think it foolish that a few men, leaders of the country they are representing, should take the privilege of sending their countrymen to fight. Why shouldn't they, who raked up the quarrel, fight it out for themselves instead of sending thousands and thousands of people to fight, some never to return?

I don't think war is at all necessary. Many people are killed and after that people get together and decide what to do. Whoever is supposed to have won the war is really not winning anything because you lose so much in winning a war.

To me, war seems a very unnecessary thing. It is cruel and inhuman and can be avoided by diplomacy if countries want to avoid war.

Candidly, I think war is the silliest thing on earth. I believe that it is brought on by misunderstanding and greed and that to avoid it nations must learn to yield, wisely of course, just as people living in the same house must.

War has never successfully settled anything and has no logical place in a civilized society. Much has been done to abolish war forever, and much depends on the coming Disarmament Conference.

Personally I hate war—terribly destructive of everything. But while there are still some governments that are so greedy and conceited enough to think of their power and not of the majority of people who suffer, we probably will have another war.

I think war brings out the animal instincts in mankind and is degrading to all civilization. I think we've seen the last big war and I have high hopes for the coming conference at Geneva.

War is about the poorest way of settling disputes between countries. The ones who are indirectly responsible for it never get near enough to it, to realize how terrible it is.

In my opinion war is all wrong. There is really no sense to it. To send hundreds of thousands of men out to fight, perhaps to be killed, is certainly something any civilized person would be against. Many of these who go out to fight have just a vague idea of what they are fighting for. War should be avoided by the use of compromise.

I am a pacifist and dead against war. I believe that war will die out and that there will never be another great war. At the rate at which destructive devices are being invented a war ten or twelve years from now would practically exterminate our entire "civilization". There must never be another war.

The International People's College

Peter Manniche

THE INTERNATIONAL People's College, Elsinore, Denmark, which was started ten years ago is the first international college in the world. With an international staff, it is teaching students from many countries in their own language with the view of establishing human relationships between representatives of the people of different nationalities. In the same degree as democracy all over the world is called upon to take an active part in the rule of the several countries, its representatives should also be trained for leadership in the international field, not only by books but by the establishment of human relationships.

The college began in a very primitive way, but it has grown steadily. It has now had in all twelve hundred students for its regular winter courses from November to March and its summer courses from May to July. During its vacation courses from July fifteenth to the end of August it has had about thirteen hundred students, among whom seven hundred are from England, America, Germany and Sweden, chiefly teachers.

In its curriculum it follows the traditions of the famous Danish folk high schools which were founded by Bishop Grundtvig. The Prophet of the North, as the Germans have called him. These folk high schools have had about one-fourth of the whole farming population of Denmark as students. They have educated also many of the leaders of the cooperative movement, which is so widely spread in Denmark that about eighty-five per cent of all its agricultural exports goes through the cooperative agencies.

Like the folk high schools the International People's College is personal in method, individualistic in principle, adapting its curriculum to the need of the individual, and ethical in its purpose, educating not only for a national, but for an international cooperative commonwealth.

The main subjects are the study of modern languages, cooperative culture and international relations. The pedagogical problems of an international college are of considerable in-

terest. The attitude of the different nationalities toward education created in the beginning some difficulties in working out a valuable curriculum. The English students work from the standpoint that the whole truth is far greater than our conception of it, and prefer a teacher who can give them those fragments of the truth they have use for in the movement. They are interested in facts, but they want to know reality in order to rule over reality. Whilst the English are chiefly interested in results, the Germans are interested in ideas. They want to get at the whole truth, and prefer a teacher who can give them a picture of ordered system. The Danes again prefer the patriarchal system, where the teacher is a father or better, a *primus inter pares*. It took the college some time to realize the different attitude of the students and to adapt itself to the various needs. But the very fact that the students are so different made them valuable channels of instruction to one another.

Therefore, the college has continued to grow, and all the bodies who have supported it from the beginning are still with it, and through the national committees in Germany, England and America an increasing number of students come to the college. Jane Addams is president and Professor E. C. Lindemann of the School of Social Work of New York, the chairman of the American Committee.

The student body forms in itself a little League of Nations, and in their fellowship each nation has a possibility of contributing characteristic national values; the English their practical sense and straight-forwardness, the Germans their rich musical gifts, their industry, the Swedes their chivalrousness, the Danes their intensity. In the attempts to create harmony out of these various elements the students must develop some of those personal experiences and ethical values for which a new world has use, a world where there is co-operation and mutual understanding, where there is the spirit to fill the outward framework of the League of Nations.

It will be of special interest to American teachers that the Scandinavian Teachers' Union for Peace will have a conference at the College next August. It is held every second year in one of our Scandinavian countries. Teachers from America who visit Europe next summer could spend a fortnight at the vacation in Elsinore from July fifteenth with its excursions to various places of interest in Denmark and Sweden, and then stay to meet Scandinavian colleagues and discuss common problems with them.

Radio and International Understanding

(Continued from page 10)

November 20th, W. S. Gard and Ruth Evelyn Henderson of Washington, D. C., told of the scope of the Red Cross work. On December 18th, Everett Colby discussed the World Court. On February 12th, during Boy Scout Week, the work of the Boy Scout organization throughout the world will be described, and on February 5th, Dr. Parker Thomas Moon will explain the Disarmament Conference.

Radio can then, even with young students, act as a powerful means of bringing about international understanding. Although it cannot take the place of a teacher nor act as a substitute for study, it can enrich the curriculum immensely and open the classroom door to the outside world in a manner undreamed of a few years ago.

Oxford University has accepted the challenge of Harvard University to the first international collegiate radio debate. Short-wave transmission will be used to carry the English and American teams' debate across the Atlantic for rebroadcasting in the United States. The National Broadcasting Company has invited the British Broadcasting Corporation to re-broadcast the debate in England.

Estimates of governmental expenses for 1932, released recently by the treasury department, show a total payment in contemplation for past, present and future wars of \$2,727,884,700.00. All other expenditures to be made by the government, according to the same estimate, will total \$1,754,268,700.00.

Education for Disillusionment

A. H. Lass

PEDAGOGICAL savants have been so emphatically unanimous in insisting that the school be converted into a miniature cosmos, and that the child be prepared for the exigencies of life in its very classrooms, that one hesitates to lift even a tiny voice in timid protest. The doctrine is so firmly established, so universally accepted, that to question the advisability of preparing our students for life is to face social and professional ostracism. And yet so striking are the psychological and sociological maladjustments which confront the products of our educational system, that it need not be considered impertinent to examine with an unbiased eye the foundations and implications of this phase of our educational philosophy.

Theoretically, it is unquestionably sound to use the curriculum as a means toward helping the student in his essays at individual and social happiness. The very *raison d'être* of an education is its potency for contributing to the adjustment of individual desires and social aims. Whatever else we do in the form of enriching our pupils' existence, giving their vision scope and depth, refining and directing their emotions into proper and profitable channels, is not to be decried; but, fundamentally, our duty is to produce an alert, intelligent, critical, harmoniously functioning citizenry. This is the return which nation, state and city have a right to expect on their stupendous investment. This is the prime responsibility of education. Fragrant rhetoric, redolent of matters of the spirit, soul and beauty, cannot and must not be allowed to obscure this basic issue. We are preparing our students for life. That is all we know on earth and all we need to know.

But the ardent advocates of this theory have considered it merely in abstracto. Much energy has been expended in bringing this vital point to the foreground of our consciousness. But little consideration seems to have been given to a rather important matter: What sort of life are we preparing for? What qualities shall we inculcate in our pupils to enable them to attain

the greatest happiness? And yet, it is the satisfactory answer to these questions which determines the ultimate validity of the whole procedure. Without some attempt at working out the theory in practice, it becomes a metaphysical curio, interesting but useless.

If we take as one of our cardinal objectives the careful and unceasing nurture of the spirit of critical inquiry, we shall be introducing our students to the sorriest mess that man has ever made of the gifts allotted him. With that clarity of vision, with that detestation of cant and equivocation, with that passionate thirst for truth, with that cool, impartial, disinterested examination of the facts of existence, with which we as teachers seek to endow our students, how will our modern civilization appear to them? What will justice mean to them when we help them to understand that judges may be and are daily bought, that innocent men may die or be kept in prison on the flimsiest kind of evidence or on perjured testimony? They will read it in the daily papers. We cannot hide it from them. With political corruption and nepotism rife in the land, on the tongues of the voters, can they escape the knowledge of it? When even capitalists admit that our economic system is motivated by the laws of the jungle, when Christian pity and humaneness seem alien to Big Business, will they not be able to see it? Can they remain untouched by the intellectual despair and philosophic doubt which permeates almost every phase of modern life? Will they remain blind to the absence of spiritual and cultural forces in modern life? We cannot and dare not teach our pupils the devious chicanery which characterizes so much of political and economic life, and which plays such an important part in making for success in these fields. None of us is bold enough to tell our students that the greatest minds of our time are floundering in the bogs of metaphysical doubt. Legally and morally, we have no right to lay rough hands on the tender, beautiful illusions which our students have about God and Man.

We cannot bring ourselves to tell them that organized religion is being savagely denounced from every quarter, and that in Russia God is dead. We cannot point out the bitter, almost irreconcilable schisms which wage internecine warfare within the ranks of religious devotees themselves. Sexual morality has changed. Victorian codes have been altered. Modern fiction is filled with half-articulate stirrings of these new notions. The movies, the tabloids actually reek of standards far from palatable to any intelligent, thinking being. The old gods lie smouldering in ashes, and no new phoenix has yet arisen. Shall we say it all?

The picture is sad, sordid, bewildering. And yet it is life today, seen not through the eyes of one or two isolated observers, but drawn to life by the keenest and profoundest intellects of our day. Is this what we are preparing our students for? Is our teaching helping them to participate in this seething wrangle of hostile forces? Do our precepts of unselfish devotion to ideals enable them to combat the regnant philosophy of hedonism and opportunism?

What of the virtues we teach—honesty, truth and spiritual integrity, critical inquiry, and all those other noble objectives? Will it not soon be painfully obvious to our students that these are not the *sine qua non* of success and happiness? Will they not be able to see the good man frustrated at every turn, and all his hopes turned to ashes? And will not the ways of Satan seem, as they undoubtedly are today, immeasurably more profitable? And will we not become a mockery when the seed of critical inquiry which we have so painstakingly planted and so solicitously fostered, comes to fruition in the minds of our young charges? Shall we not appear vain fools, impractical idealists, visionaries, Utopians? And will not the more bitter curse us for having lied to them about the world?

When they have come to see more clearly, they will realize that we have not prepared them for a happy, useful life. We have educated them for disillusionment and cynicism. We

have taught them what is beautiful, noble, elevated. But we have not given them the wherewithal to succeed. We have made them sensitive, humane, tender, and increased their capacity for suffering in our modern world. And when, like Job, they have followed in the ways of the righteous, and have reaped the rewards of the iniquitous, they will ask, "Why didn't you tell us of this?" And we shall not be able to answer. We shall be silent, knowing that we have broken their hearts on the rack of a nobly conceived philosophy.

What are we to do? Are we to abandon what we know and feel to be right, and preach what our hearts and minds will not allow us to accept? The answer is obvious. We ought not, we shall not, and we cannot. But we are still on the horns of a dilemma. We cannot, in all mercy to our students, continue to prepare them for disillusionment. And yet, to prepare them for a willing acceptance of all that is unattractive in modern life, makes our hearts shrink within us.

There seems but one way out. Preparation for life is a duty which we cannot shirk. But that life must be worth preparing for. The curriculum-makers should be less concerned with making courses of study fit into the patterns of contemporary life. The emphasis must be reversed. Our social, political, economic life must be so organized that what we teach may find full expression in it. Life must be the model for our courses. Our courses should not be essentially alien to our life. For it is cruel and futile to engender ideals and values which a hostile milieu will not tolerate. Our energies must be directed at life and at the course of study. These two factors must be brought into harmony if our educational efforts are not to result in misery and maladjustment. We cannot allow our national life to diverge too markedly from the objectives of our curricula. Nor can we allow our curricula to deviate too radically from our national life. So long as this dichotomy exists, so long will education fail of its noblest purposes. If we want a healthy citizenry, we must give them opportunity to express what we have been at so great pains to impress. And if we want an effective, well-rounded, virile and meaningful educational scheme, we must nourish it with worthy ideals. The issue is clear. We cannot live differently from the way in which we are educated. And we cannot be educated differently from the way in

which we live. It is a vicious circle. Our educational system and our national life are, causally, so closely interwoven that to separate the two, or to allow such cleavage to exist, is to court disaster. There is no balm in Gilead unless we approach the problem from these two angles.

Plying the levers of pedagogical and social zeal for something better, with the frank and mutual recognition that this is not as yet the best of all possible worlds, we shall be able to extricate ourselves from the confused and tragic inertia of our day. Without this combination of intelligently unified action, we must sit in monastic seclusion, spinning with our students phantasies whose alluring lineaments have no counterpart in actual life. And instead of fitting them to cope with problems of their time, we shall only prolong their infantilism, and dispose them to hating and reviling the life that is so strangely, so cruelly indifferent to, and so shockingly discordant with what we have taught them to hold precious. And they will want, with Omar, to

"..... shatter it to bits—and then Remold it nearer to the Heart's Desire."

But they will not do it. And their hearts will break. And they will turn from the repellant spectacle in upon themselves, and feed their warped and embittered souls on the delusions we have helped them to create.

Interdependence of Peoples of the World Today

(Continued from page 7)

more acute: the scientist and the teacher, with the exception of the small group of historians and social and political scientists devoted expressly to the story and the exploitation of their own nation and its prowess, has always been individually at the point of greatest international or cosmopolitan culture. He is today the natural spokesman of the facts of world unity, he should be the keenest critic of its values, and above all the most persistent observer of its unforeseen future.

Religion does not presuppose a definite belief in God or spirits. It is man's never-ceasing attempt to discover a road to spiritual serenity across the perplexities and dangers of daily life.—*Edward Sapir.*

The Teacher's Responsibility for Nationalism

(Continued from page 5)

country how the enactment of the body of special class legislation represented by the tariff was promoted, against all logic and against the opinion of experts, by the patriotic argument of a nationalistic economy. For this ideology the educated Philistines are chiefly responsible. It is among the workers that ideas of international solidarity and cooperation find their only welcome. Especially schools and colleges of all countries are recruiting stations for nationalism. A German professor is held up to ignominy for his explicit statement of the creed, but in fact it is a creed accepted implicitly everywhere as essential to the morale of citizenship. An American professor, raised to the position of impartial arbitrator in a world sick of war, ran true to academic form in thinking of the problem only on lines of national divisions, and rectifying the balance by calling into being a few more blatant and obstreperous nations.

The intelligentsia, above all the teachers, have something of an opportunity to correct the errors of their class in connection with the Disarmament Conference, soon to assemble. Not a very great one, perhaps. I agree with my colleague, Professor Gideonse, that disarmament will not of itself put an end to war. But armament is the chief expression of that national pride in power which is one cause of war, and the abolition, even the definite reduction of armament, will be a rebuke and a discouragement to the forces in every country which finds satisfaction in it. It is a commonplace that no one wants war. Nevertheless, the educated class of every so-called great nation wants something that can be got only by war, i. e., the consciousness of being the greatest power in Europe, in Asia, in the Mediterranean, on the sea, in the world, with consequent authority to impose its will on others. This is what in the last analysis "security" means. If articulate public opinion in the United States is willing to renounce security in this sense, whatever may be the course of other countries, there will be a gleam of hope for the civilization of which we are a part. The teachers of this as of every other country have contributed mightily to inflating nationalistic patriotism. Will they see the need, and have they the courage to undertake the task of deflation?



26,000 Citizens Demand School Relief

(International Newsreel Photo)

School Relief Day

Dorothy Weil

Adapted from The Chicago Union Teacher

GLOOMY indeed was the teacher situation when, on December 17, the special session of the legislature adjourned for the holidays. Toward this session the hopes of all teachers had been turned for relief since it had first been promised early last summer, yet when it adjourned there were no relief bills passed, and the key bill had been amended in the Senate to the point of emasculation!

The teacher representatives and their lawyers decided that with the breakdown of the schools imminent, something must be done to give impetus to the pressing need for school relief. Mr. Donald Richberg, attorney for the Federation of Women High School Teachers, conceived the idea of School Relief Day as a demonstration for January 4, the first day of school after the holidays, and the day before the reconvening of the legislature. His plan included the securing of a huge petition for the legislature through reaching the parents of the school children affected, and a citizens' mass meeting as the peak and culmination of School Relief Day.

This plan was the outgrowth of his earlier suggestion, presented at the October meeting of the Federation, that the 14,000 teachers cannot indefinitely carry the load of public schools alone, and must make an appeal for public relief that will definitely shift the burden from the shoulders of the teachers, where it has so far solely rested, to those of the

entire citizenry where it rightfully belongs.

All of the teacher groups welcomed and adopted Mr. Richberg's suggestion, and all cooperated heartily to make the plan a success. The cooperation of other groups was secured also. Most important of these probably was the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, whose officers appeared with the teachers at the meeting of the Board of Education on December 23, when the consent of the Board was sought to circulate the petitions through the schools, and who cooperated on all the plans which followed.

Immediately after permission to circulate petitions had been secured from the Board, THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, recognizing the value of the civic service the teachers were attempting to offer, came forward to do its share in the enterprise by furnishing the Chicago Stadium for the mass meeting, entirely without cost to the teachers. It is impossible to estimate the further contribution of the News in keeping the project before the citizens in front page stories during the ten days preceding the mass meeting, but certainly the teachers and civic-minded citizens cannot fail to recognize the splendid constructive work of this newspaper in the serious civic crisis.

The churches were asked to cooperate by setting aside January 3rd as SAVE OUR SCHOOLS SUNDAY, for a discussion of the school situation and

the signing of petitions. Many of them responded with excellent and helpful talks, and leaders in all of them—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—signified their keen interest in what the teachers were attempting.

During the holiday week the State Street stores cooperated by having booths where interested citizens could sign the petitions and learn about the projected mass meeting. These booths were manned by the teachers and their affiliated groups. Practically all of the radio stations announced the mass meeting, the need of signing petitions and other features of the project.

The Parent-Teacher groups, the Woman's Trade Union League and the Farmers Cooperative Association, contributed their regular broadcasting hours for discussions of the plan. The Presidents of all the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs and Parent-Teacher Groups were circularized and urged to cooperate in making the mass meeting a success.

This splendid cooperative effort culminated in the huge dignified mass meeting where 26,000 citizens gathered to express their solicitude for the welfare of their schools and in the petition to the state legislature signed by nearly a million names.

Perhaps the most difficult feature of the plan was the handing out of petitions to the children in the schools and the securing of parents' signatures within 24 hours, so that the

monster petition could reach Springfield by Wednesday, January 6th.

Without the cooperation of the entire teaching force and the efficient machinery of the organizations of principals and of teachers the colossal scheme would have been a total impossibility. But on Wednesday morning when the teacher representatives were ready to present the petition, there it was, bodily, with a total of 927,339 names. Those from the schools were all classified by senatorial districts, so that each senator and representative could see how many of his constituents wanted the Chicago schools kept open.

The petition was presented at a joint session of both houses of the legislature called for the special purpose of receiving it.

Two truckloads of petitions were rolled onto the floor of the House; the committee presented it with brief discussion concerning the school situation, while the other representatives of the teacher organizations sat on the speakers' platform with Speaker Shanahan and Lieutenant Governor Sterling.

The Jarecki decision invalidating the tax levies of 1928 and 1929 has so greatly complicated the financial situation since School Relief Day that the carrying out of the project and the

presentation of the petition has not of itself brought immediate financial relief. But the key bill of the relief program, that providing for the reorganization of the taxing machinery, and the Income Tax bill have been passed as necessary initial measures. Of inestimable value too has been the thrilling sense of solidarity between parents and teachers and the resultant feeling of their strength and their responsibility. To the teachers it has given a knowledge that they are not working alone, but that many thousands citizens of the City of Chicago are also interested in the welfare and the educational progress of the children.

Donald Richberg Speaking

WE ARE living in a time of world-wide distress. Millions of people are suffering. Cities and States are bankrupt. Governments are breaking down. The security of life in every community depends on the ability and character of its leadership.

In the City of Chicago and State of Illinois we have grown accustomed to muddled governments floundering in the mire of rotten politics. But today we are facing unparalleled disaster if we longer tolerate the control of public business by men too weak, too ignorant or too dishonest to fulfil the responsibilities of public office.

The schools of Chicago—the whole city—must have relief that the legislature alone can give. Our state senators and representatives have

been elected to write laws for the people. That is their job. We have a right to demand that they tackle the job, and that they stay on the job until they finish the job.

Some legislators have been saying: "You people don't agree upon what you want." That is a poor excuse for the evasion of a public duty. The people never do agree upon exactly what they want. But they elect representatives to make agreements for them. That is what we call "representative government."

This mass meeting speaks for the people of Chicago who have no favored program to give advantage to any party, faction, class or special interest. They are simply out of patience with government that does

not govern, with public servants who will not serve. If public opinion could be concentrated in one megaphone tonight you would hear a voice of thunder roaring to all the wrangling politicians: "Get together or get out of the way!" Let us be fair to our public servants. Their task is not an easy one. But it is their task. And so, in this time of urgent need, we have gathered here to call upon our representatives in the General Assembly to represent us, to act for us, and to accept a new commandment for the Special Session in the New Year:

Six days shalt thou labor,
Nor on the seventh duck;
Keep faith with thy neighbor,
And do not pass the buck!

Lessons of the Chicago Crisis

James Mullenbach

THE FLIGHT of the unpaid teachers of Chicago has become an event of world-wide notice. Here is a body of public employees, teachers and maintenance force, of some eighteen thousand men and women who have carried on for nine months—seven months of actual service—with only six weeks salary. It is a phenomenon unknown in the educational, political, or economic history of this or any other land. It is a test of public devotion and professional loyalty of outstanding significance.

The immediate circumstances that have precipitated and prolonged this

condition of unrewarded service need not here be set out in detail. They are known to the readers of the AMERICAN TEACHER through previous articles on the situation. It is enough that the teachers are the victims of an antiquated system of taxation, manipulated to the disadvantage of both tax-payers and tax spenders and brought to a climax by bad "politics." The attempt to remedy the inequities of one assessment failed to have the best effect through the mismanagement of the same interested tax officials and the postponement of tax payments, combined with the loss of

confidence by the public which broke the habit of tax-paying and thereby brought about large losses in tax returns. Added to these difficulties came the enormous dislocation of property values through the unprecedented business depression. The culmination of all these factors has furnished the condition for the exploitation of the teachers.

A beginning toward a remedy for the immediate condition could come only through creation by the legislature of a taxing body in whose assessments and rulings the people will have confidence and begin again to

support the government by regular payment of taxes.

It will be well if teacher and citizen alike learn from this crisis a larger lesson as the incompetence of our present methods of government stands revealed. What is the real crux of this situation? It lies in the confusion of the legislative and executive powers of government, terms that are well known to teachers of civics. The simple fact is that the founders of our governmental system and the formulators of the national constitution were careful to distinguish between the legislative and executive functions of government. Theoretically the legislative body was to represent public policy on any disputed issue. What party was able to command a majority of legislators of a certain conviction or persuasion determined to that degree the policy to be followed. They were there particularly to enact into law the policy which a majority of the people wanted. It was not expected that the legislative would dominate the executive in the government.

Our forefathers probably had no anticipation of the intricate society that was to come into being a hundred and fifty years after creation of the constitution and that the complexities of a social order such as ours would be reflected in political and governmental processes. Our "founding fathers" had no adequate conception of the demands of professional training for the executive positions that were to grow up under the new development. Right here lies the crux of the tax situation in Cook county or any other county. The assessing of taxes is a *professional* and not a "political" function of local government. The ability to levy taxes with exactness and equity is as much a professional task as teaching school, pleading at law, or treating sick folk. Because in this relation we have not recognized this fact but have acted as if any man—no woman has gotten in on this yet—prominent in the political counsels of the party could be trusted with this highly professional office.

Wherever the taxing powers of the government have been intrusted to politicians as such just this kind of confusion of interests arises and the public suffers, more particularly the tax payers in the first instance, but in the last instance the public servants.

Teachers, students and observers of the way they do things across the water, particularly in Britain and in Germany, come back with the impres-

sion—and it is a correct one—that municipal politics in those countries is different and better than in this country. Not always do they recognize why this is so. It is because in Germany, for instance, governmental administration is a professional career, chosen deliberately by the young man and trained for as for any other professional career. The standards of action and ideals are those, therefore, of a professional class, separated and distinct from the "real politiker", who seeks office through electoral franchise, and whose function as a legislator is regarded as lying in a different field. In the region of practical and professional administration no legislator or "real politiker", office seeker or office holder, will presume to intrude. It is safe to guarantee that not even the German Chancellor would venture to suggest to his secretariat that he would like to have a place found for one of his relatives or political favorites. No burgomeister of the humblest city would think of interfering in any way with the professional tax assessor of his locality. So deeply in the consciousness of the people and the office holding class does this line of demarcation lie that no one thinks of transgressing it.

What is the significance of all this for us? For one thing it reveals an objective in the teaching and training of the new citizen, the child of our schools, toward a new ideal or rather to a restoration of the old ideals of our forefathers—the strict separation of legislative and executive functions of government. Until the necessity for this is driven home so that we shall institute the same reforms that England did one hundred years ago, partly as the result of the Chartist uprising, we shall go stumbling and staggering along, falling in the mire, and apologizing for our stupidity and incapacity to govern ourselves.

For another thing we may observe that it is along this line that organizations of teachers and other workers get one justification. Trade unionism—and teacher unionism—is based upon the significance of professional standards. The unions start out as defense organizations to protect the interests of the membership. Almost invariably these interests whether wages, hours, better control of the conditions of work or service are found to be professional interests—that is bound up with the professional standards of the trade or calling. In the present plight of the teachers they have a direct interest in their wage,

but the alert teacher also knows that the serious interruption of wage payments has a close connection with efficiency, and with the joy and satisfaction which the teacher gets out of the professional phases of the work which are lost under the long strain of no salary or uncertain salary. The same interest lies in teacher tenure. It is the assurance of professional standing more than anything else that is really lodged in teacher tenure of office as laid down in our Illinois law.

If the teachers of the city are led by this bitter experience to recognize in truer measure the value of their own organization, the central failure of our American system of administrative government, and shall be led to set themselves resolutely to the inauguration of a reformation of our political practices at this point, the gain to themselves and the advantage to the general public will be immeasurable.

Detroit

Dr. Burt R. Shurly's attempt to have the Board of Education discipline Dr. Walter G. Bergman, professor of education at Detroit Teachers College, for alleged seditious remarks before a City College student's group boomeranged at the board meeting Tuesday afternoon and resulted in a wide-open invitation to teachers to discuss anything they please outside of school hours.

This invitation was embodied in a resolution offered by Inspector Edward H. Williams. Shurly's resolution, asking an investigation of the Bergman incident, by the superintendent of schools and a report to the board, with recommendations, was not even voted on. Williams' motion carried, 6 to 1.

Spectators to the number of about 125 jammed the small room in which the Board of Education meets, the largest attendance to grace a board meeting in years. The audience was well-packed with Bergman supporters, who cheered all speeches in his favor lustily and occasionally hissed an opponent. The Bergman gallery comprised teachers, students, and various leaders of liberal thought in the city.

Dr. Shurly had a few partisans in the room, which brought about some inter-audience repartee and by no means strong applause for pro-Shurly speeches.

Following the meeting, Dr. Bergman expressed his gratification and said the way now was clear for the battle for free expression in the class-

rooms. He said that the Thomas Jefferson Post, American Legion, would fight the revocation of its charter, recommended Monday night by the Wayne County Council of the Legion, through the State Department and into the Federal courts if necessary.

The Council recommendation was based on the contention that Bergman, commander of the post, has expressed himself in opposition to the national defense policy of the Legion; and that the post has not the required minimum of 15 members. Bergman said the post has 18 members.

In the speech which caused all the furore, Bergman had opposed the establishment of a Reserve Officers' Training Corps unit in the Colleges of the City of Detroit. The Board of Education has voted to establish such a unit, but the War Department has ruled it cannot be instituted at present because of lack of funds and personnel.

Shurly opened the discussion Tuesday by offering a resolution which referred the Bergman incident to Frank Cody, superintendent of schools, for "full justice and examination," specifying that Bergman be "eliminated from the service if found guilty."

Dr. Shurly said Bergman's remarks were inciting the students at the City colleges to "revolt and insurrection," a remark which blew up a gale of shrill laughter from the audience. He admitted the right of free speech, he said, but not to the length of "inciting students of impressionable age to riot and disloyalty."

Inspector Williams, in introducing his substitute resolution, spoke of his own war service and jabbed at Dr. Shurly by remarking that "war has a glamour to a colonel at a base hospital which is lost to a private at the front."

The Williams' resolution read: "It is the sense of this Board of Education that teachers may feel free to discuss and to express their honest opinion outside of the classroom, upon all subjects, including social, economic and political questions, without fear of official reprimand or coercion on the part of anyone connected with the Board of Education."

Dr. Shurly offered an amendment, containing a proviso barring sedition or talk "against the Government or the Board of Education," which brought a titter from the audience. It was not supported.

When the vote was taken on the Williams' resolution, Dr. Shurly said he voted "aye, with reservations."

"What are the reservations?" asked Mr. Jamieson.

"That the teachers be required to conform to the laws of the United States and the rules of the Board of Education," said Dr. Shurly.

Scores pressed around Dr. Bergman, who had stood the whole time at the rear of the room, to congratulate him as the meeting broke up.

—Detroit Daily News.

Buffalo

During the year of 1929, the Buffalo Board of Education voted an increase of \$700 to the teachers, to be paid at the rate of \$175 per year. Three payments have been received, of \$175, \$100 and \$100 respectively; slightly more than half.

This year, after a fair vote, the teachers again decided to ask for their regular payment of \$175.

The school board voted to suspend all payments this year by a three to two vote. One member proposed to take away the \$100 granted last year, but this was lost, three to two.

A bill has been prepared and is ready for introduction in the New York state legislature to mandate the present salary schedule. It is being introduced by both republican and democratic men and stands a good chance of passage.

This is a time when organization counts more than ever. Without it, the teachers would not have any way of forcefully registering their protest against unwise salary cuts.

Seattle

Four years ago the Seattle schools were governed by a smug, self satisfied board of five school directors which had not had a change in personnel for six years. Reelections were taken for granted. The administration was in charge of a superintendent who had no educational policy but a complete subservience to the board which regularly raised his salary, while both refused to consider increases to their low salaried teachers.

This board was horrified when it learned that teachers in the schools had joined an organization affiliated with labor. It not only required the teachers to withdraw from this organization but to sign contracts which were forfeited if the teachers joined such an organization.

The superintendent was either so opposed to labor or so anxious to curry favor with a reactionary board that he resigned his position rather

than associate himself with teachers connected with labor organization or with school directors who believed teachers should have the right to choose their own organization even if it were one not controlled by superintendents. Heroically, it was announced that he preferred to teach at \$4000 per year than to be an administrator at \$12,000 with such low connections.

Four years have passed and so have the five reactionary school directors. The last one is not a candidate for reelection. The present board is far from liberal but it has felt compelled to rescue Seattle from the disgrace of the yellow dog contract even if it refuses to employ union teachers.

The superintendent, cloistered in a university where the contaminating influence of progressive teachers and ideas may not reach him, is still drawing his \$4,000, unless, which God forbid, the university in economical mood has reduced or eliminated it.

Memphis

Labor Runs True to Form

Organized labor in full fighting strength turned out Thursday night at Labor Temple to protest the impending menace to the city's public schools and the threatened injustice to the more than 1200 underpaid teachers.

Every union labor organization in the city was represented at the executive session of the Memphis Trades and Labor Council. The council chamber was filled to capacity. Workers came in delegations. They included wage-earners in all the crafts employed in Memphis industry.

Delegates from the Memphis Teachers Association were present, and at the close of the meeting thanked the council for its fight in behalf of the schools.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

The existing deplorable condition in the finances of the city schools is so serious and far-reaching in its ramifications as to practically paralyze the perspective outlook of this most important part of our city government.

It is not a time for crimination or re-crimination; it is not a time for charges against individuals or groups of individuals. The loyal citizens of Memphis have given this loyalty on the pledges that their children would be given advantages in education laid out in educational programs heretofore prevailing.

The Memphis Trades and Labor Council, in its position as the central force of organized labor, has no inclination to criticize when it cannot act in a constructive way. We frankly admit we are not in a

position to point out mistakes in the operation of the city schools—if there have been mistakes—or in the management of the finances by the governing body. Nor do we assume that it is any part of our functions.

We do know, however, that we cannot expect the service due our children at a time when there is dissatisfaction, and possible distress, among those to whom our children are entrusted.

Teachers in the schools are second only to the parents in molding the lives and futures of the children. During the school life of a child the influence of mother and teacher are of equal importance. These teachers spend many years in preparation for this training, always dominated with the desire and ambition to so mold the young life that it will grow into manhood or womanhood that will reflect credit and honor to the school, and be able to take an outstanding place in the social, business and intellectual ranks of our great nation.

Teaching is a profession in which the teacher never completes his or her own education. Pleasures are secondary, and find small consideration in their daily experiences. It is a sacrificial service for which the pay has always, and always will be, niggardly. This is not peculiar to Memphis, but is universal. This pay has been accepted without complaint, the reward being satisfaction in results.

However, there should be some limit to which the teachers can be called upon to sacrifice. Therefore, the suggestion that the already insufficient remuneration of our city teachers be reduced is unspeakably obnoxious to fair-minded citizens. It is unfair, unjust and discouraging.

The Trades and Labor Council has confidence in our government. Those in office were placed there to work out the problems of the various branches of our governmental system. It is not a time for shifting responsibilities. It is a time for close co-operation.

This council stands ready to give assistance where it can be given, and will assume the responsibility that rightly belongs to it. It will be glad to co-operate with any or all agencies involved in the present distressing situation.

This council feels further that the protection of the welfare of the teachers is fundamentally its responsibility. This responsibility will in no way be evaded.

Therefore, be it resolved, That the Memphis Trades and Labor Council condemns any and all suggestions of demands for a reduction in the already meager salaries of the teachers in our city schools.

Resolved further, That the Council endorses the pledges made by the president of the council to the members of the Memphis Teachers' Association and commends him for his wise action in so doing.

Further, we pledge to the teachers full co-operation and undivided support in resisting any reduction.

—*Memphis Labor Review.*

New York

With Sheriff Farley at last indicted for theft, the discovered "tin boxes" of enormous cash supplies of Tammany Hall leaders, Jimmy Walker's missing financial agent, his consuming night life and his incidental blood pressure of 105, too low by 20

points—all as a social and civic background for the tragic misery of unemployed and starving hundreds of thousands in the great city—the educational authorities have suddenly sprung a demand for 5 per cent contributions from public school teachers for unemployment relief. The levy if carried out would yield \$400,000 a month. Local 5 is fighting the official demand for professional as well as for social reasons. It denies the right of officials to levy on the teachers' incomes. Compulsion is an ever present evil in the school system. The professional spirit cannot be developed under it. The Union fights this compulsion also for social reasons because it is educationally wrong for the school system to collect and administer funds for any purpose other than for education. Furthermore, the community is responsible for the feeding and the protection of needy adults and children, too.

Principals and district superintendents, mindful of the uses of political cohesiveness, are calling on teachers to give "unquestioning loyalty and support" to Superintendent O'Shea. Check-ups on individual teachers are the practical means of applying pressure in spite of the expressed warning of Superintendent O'Shea that there was to be no compulsion. Superintendent O'Shea himself has said in this campaign that there are ways of "shaming teachers into doing their duty." Other officials have interpreted the warning of Superintendent O'Shea as one made for "public consumption", as apparently it was. A sample circular letter issued by a principal bears the following "cut-off" form:

"Mr. Charles F. Thellusson

Principal, J. H. S. 115, Manhattan

Dear Mr. Thellusson,

In accordance with the circular of Superintendent O'Shea, I herewith pledge 5 per cent of my salary minus pension and sabbatical leave deductions for five months beginning February 1, 1932.

Date. Signature of Teacher."

The following letter and resolutions show what Local 5 is doing:

January 26, 1932.

Mr. George J. Ryan, President,
Board of Education
New York

My Dear Mr. Ryan:

The Teachers Union as heretofore is unqualifiedly opposed to the assumption of authority and responsibility that is involved in the effort of the educational authorities to levy 5 per cent on the salaries of New York City teachers to collect \$400,000 a month for the unemployment relief fund. In the official appeal issued to the teachers by you and Superintendent O'Shea on January 25, an item of \$150.00 a month for out-of-school or family relief is listed.

\$100,000 a month is requested for free lunches for children, \$30,000 for shoes, \$20,000 for clothing, \$15,000 for salaries for workers for new lunch centers and \$85,000 for relief in the summer months.

This is a gigantic undertaking which the education department is totally unqualified to carry without enormous waste, and is wholly unjustified in assuming as its business and social responsibility. When in your appeal you call on the teachers for concerted effort and self-denial in this "war on poverty," you insult the intelligence of every competent leader in the educational system. You are not conducting a war on poverty, because you have no economic program for so-doing.

The public school system is established for the purpose of carrying on an educational enterprise. It has had no direct responsibility for causing the economic disaster in which society is at present involved. Furthermore, no competent student of social problems would think of maintaining that the schools should slight their proper work of educating the children, as did Superintendent O'Shea on January 11th when he proclaimed at a meeting of district superintendents the idea that the schools must turn aside from regular school work to carry on relief activities, thus accepting responsibility which belongs to the community of parents and other citizens.

A pretense is being made that the \$400,000 a month will be collected as voluntary contributions. None know better than the teachers the dishonesty of this claim. There is compulsion all along the line, as there always is in these extra-official enterprises in which the school officials seek some popular credit, in order to escape from challenges directly concerned with their own responsibility. Especially at this time of the successful showing up of rottenness in the city government, the collection by the school system of a huge fund for relief has its value in softening the hearts of cruel investigators whose eyes may soon turn toward the Department of Education.

The salaries of 34,000 public school teachers in New York City constitute in the total a considerable sum, enough to tempt many who imagine they have claims upon it, or control over it; but the teachers have won the present schedule after many years of living on inadequate wages. At the present time many teachers have voluntarily assumed responsibilities toward near and remote dependents among the army of the unemployed. The threatened 5% levy on the salaries of employed teachers will inevitably menace the continuance of their own standards of living and giving through other organizations in which they have the fullest confidence.

It is well that the public understand that all levies on wage earners tend merely to spread the suffering incident to unemployment, since there is little or no surplus in the hands of teachers, such as is in the untapped reserves of the enormously wealthy. The educational authorities are performing no fundamental social service in their present high-handed enterprise—which by no ordinary interpretation can be termed as Superintendent O'Shea would label it, "a war on poverty and want."

In pursuance of the purpose of this letter, teachers throughout the school system are urged to cooperate with those who seek to force the city, state and national authorities to embark upon a constructive coordinated program of unemployment relief, and to refuse to comply with the school officials' request to give 5 per cent

of their monthly salaries. In this crisis everyone must do his share, but teachers should insist on their rights as citizens to give for relief where and when their own judgments and needs dictate.

Very truly yours,
(signed) HENRY R. LINVILLE
President.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE TEACHERS UNION AT A SPECIAL MEETING FEBRUARY 2, 1932.

Whereas, the President of the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools have asked the teachers of the City to assume full responsibility for feeding and clothing all the City's needy school children, whether in public or private schools; and, to a considerable degree, private family relief; and

Whereas, the contribution is in the nature of a compulsory tax to which teachers feel they must submit in order to avoid persecution, despite their family and other obligations heretofore assumed; and

Whereas, this policy forces teachers to withdraw funds from other needy and worthy causes to which they are contributing, or else to lower their living standards; and

Whereas, community responsibility for the care of the needy is thus shifted upon the teachers who have always been found to lend a ready ear to calls for assistance as shown by years of social work for the needy within their respective schools; and

Whereas, the policy being followed diverts the energies of the educational system to charity relief for which it is neither prepared nor its members qualified; therefore

Be It Resolved, that we ask the governments of the City, State, and nation to assume full responsibility for family relief, for the feeding and clothing of children during this emergency, leaving to the teachers the same freedom that is enjoyed by other citizens to give relief to the full extent of their ability where and when their judgment dictates; and

Be It Also Resolved, that teachers co-operate with those who seek to force the City, State, and national authorities to embark upon constructive programs of unemployment relief and to refuse to comply with the request to donate any part of their monthly salaries, and

Be It Further Resolved, that the Teachers Union act as a clearing house for complaints of coercion, and that it give full support to those teachers who have been coerced into pledging their contribution and now refuse to pay.

Whereas, the program of the Department of Education calling for a contribution is not a war upon poverty, but is an attempt to conceal the lack of an effective war; and

Whereas, unemployment and its inevitable result, poverty, is so great an evil that an effective nationwide campaign must be inaugurated against it, therefore

Be It Resolved that we urge the adoption of the following program:

1. The shorter work day and work week to increase employment opportunities without wage reduction.
2. The enactment of legislation embodying the principle of the Costigan-La-Follette bill, a Federal measure designed to give national aid for unemployment relief to the various localities incapable of financing relief to the extent needed;

3. The enactment of unemployment insurance at the cost of industry which will set up reserves to enable workers to continue buying commodities in periods of depression or unemployment, the reserves to be under the control of the workers;

4. The inauguration of extensive programs of public works at prevailing rates which are superior to the present method of dispensing charity;

5. The expansion of the tax program to obtain money for these purposes through the restoration of war rates on incomes, inheritances, corporation, excess profit taxes and by bond loans to alleviate poverty.

News of Our Members

Dr. Henry R. Linville appeared January 18 before the Sub-committee of War Department Expenditures of the House of Representatives Committee on Appropriations. Dr. Linville presented the position of the American Federation of Teachers on military training.

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet will address the Annual Conference of the Progressive Education Association, February 18, on the subject "Economic and social problems and the reconstruction of Education."

Dr. W. Carson Ryan is also on the program of the Progressive Education Conference.

Miss Lillian Herstein addresses the Open Forum of Bloomington, Illinois, February 14, on The Newer Trends in Education.

Miss Herstein has also been asked to make the address at the Washington Bicentennial Celebration of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr was the speaker at the Chicago Sunday Evening Club on February 7th.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—A surprise move in the house by Representative Darlington Hoopes succeeded in striking out the 4 per cent limitation in the constitutional amendment to be submitted to permit graduated income taxes to raise money for unemployment relief in Pennsylvania. Hoopes made the motion from the floor and caught the opposition off guard.

Miss Dorothy Weil is a member of the Mayor's Committee on the Washington Bicentennial Celebration for Chicago. Miss Weil is also on the Bicentennial Celebration Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Who's Who in This Issue

Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, Local 198, Associate Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War.

Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Local 5, Professor of English, Chicago University, Editor, New Republic.

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, Local 5, Vice-President, American Federation of Teachers, Legislative Representative, New York Teachers Union. Recognized authority on school legislation.

Dr. Pittman B. Potter, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

Alice S. Cheyney, Local 192, Associated with the International Labor Office in Washington and Geneva.

Alice Keith, Broadcasting Director, American School of the Air, Co-author of Listening-In on the Masters, organizer of Music Appreciation programs for radio, former teacher, actor, and playground director.

Dr. Henry R. Linville, Local 5, President of American Federation of Teachers, President, New York Teachers Union, author of scientific works.

Peter Manniche, President, International Peoples College, Elsinore, Denmark.

A. H. Lass, Department of English, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. Contributor to Educational publications.

Dorothy Weil, President of Local 3, Department of English, Crane Junior College.

James Mullenbach, Impartial Chairman, Personnel Committee, Hart, Shaffner and Marx, former member of Chicago Board of Education.

Donald Richberg, Attorney for Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, Attorney for Railroad Brotherhoods.