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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOL. XVII

OCTOBER, 1932

No. 1

Address of the President

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

American Federation of Teachers

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION of the American Federation of Teachers meets in the City of Chicago at a time when there is great economic distress throughout the world and an especially disastrous, remotely related, breakdown in civic morale in this city itself. Whatever the causes of the general economic disaster may be—whether the world war, or the terms of peace, or over-production, or greedy speculation, or the complex inherent weaknesses of an acquisitive society, these factors are but vaguely, or remotely, connected with the factors that have brought the City of Chicago in an era of plenty to a position in which the teachers of its children are being denied the right to live in economic self-respect. Those of us who come from communities other than the City of Chicago regard with apprehension the comparative success at defaulting that has attended the maintenance of a policy of inactivity and irresponsible attitudes by municipal and state authorities, who are charged with obligations to finance and protect the public schools. If the scandalous indifference of the Illinois Legislature, of tax authorities, of city and other officials, of their political parties, and of their economic backers and sponsors, can result in a continuous evasion of the legal obligation to pay for the services of teachers in Chicago, the same, or even lesser combinations, can effect the same result anywhere else. The attitude in Chicago may be the symptom of a virulent disease that may be "catching."

I would, therefore, not urge that the teachers of America consume their thought in condemning those who are collectively responsible for the Chicago situation. Together with other citizens whose safety lies in the development of a social order that is as free as possible from the practice of exploitation, I would urge teachers, first to become alert to the general menaces to their welfare that exist in the present economic situation. The emotion to reduce expenses by wage cuts can function only when those who are subjected to this operation are submissive and complaisant. Once the wage earners organize on an effective basis, and prepare for aggressive battle on an economic and political front, the impudent demands of the exploiters and self-appointed guardians of the communities will cease.

It is clear that such an economic and political front cannot be established at once. But the initial steps must be taken *now* if we would avoid the imposition of wage cuts, frequently repeated. For, once the practice of reducing wages is initiated in a "soft" profession such as ours is known to be, there is created the taste for more.

I feel sure that the American Federation of Teachers can stand before the teachers of America and strongly proclaim itself as the rallying-point for the opposition to unwarranted wage-slashing in this major social industry, public education. We have within the organization the resources of spirit, the inspiration of courageous leadership, and the equipment of scholarship, to

enable us to organize the vanguard of a movement that should meet the opposition effectively, and at the same time, prepare the way for the development of a sound proletarian profession. The means to the attainment of this objective is through organization.

Organization

With all the advantage the American Federation of Teachers has had in an appealing interest, and in a wide field for growth, it is regrettable that our efforts at organization have been lacking in effectiveness. Perhaps we have been overimpressed with the obstacles in the way, with the general lack of social intelligence among teachers, with their timidity and with their pride in the habiliments of a sham professionalism which scorns to establish contact with labor. It may be also that we have found it too easy, after accomplishing a comfortable measure of success locally, to settle back and rest on these laurels. Perhaps also in this process we have sometimes grown as stale as the conventional teachers' club, that forms one wing of other "Main Street" organizations. It seems very doubtful whether a truly progressive movement for the strengthening of the position of teachers in this country can be built up unless the locals themselves maintain high standards of aggressive activity and of increasingly productive achievements. Local teachers' unions that do not stand openly in their communities for the highest development of the schools as against the evil influences of partisan politics, dishonest government and unprogressive, time-serving school officials, are probably rationalizing themselves into attitudes of accepting the *status quo*. There is the possibility that their leaders are profiting individually through the soft-peddling of union policy. It would be a fine thing if an active teachers' union could have the enthusiastic support of its community. In the nature of the situation, a union could not develop much interest if it proved to be a rubber stamp for what the officials do. It might not be able to continue at all if it set itself up as a continual critic of the school officials. The alternative is not for the local to discover unobtrusive adjustments, but rather to make plans for the development of a character of its own.

Specifications for Teachers' Unions

By this time we should have agreed upon the specifications to be provided for, some positive and some of negative character. No teachers' local can be built on the grievance of an individual, or of a group. As a rule, a grievance is short-lived and may be dissipated by an insignificant concession. Grievances are liable to be little more than the manifestation of an emotional state. Locals can endure and become effective only when there is intelligent understanding among the leaders of the place of the union in a social situation. To make the local adaptable to its function, it should organize its own plan of action in relation to the educational needs of the community. In doing this, it should

as an organization keep itself free from political entanglements, so long as they involve the members in the acceptance of obligations in return for advances in salary, or any other benefit. The leaders of the union are fully justified in making it clear to politicians, to municipal and to state officials, that it is assumed that any vote they may give in support of a cause favored by teachers is given in the public interest. The old-line teachers' organizations can exchange favors on a political basis, but we cannot.

A local should as early as possible prepare its plan or program of action on the foundation of the social and professional welfare of the teachers of the community, as well as of their colleagues elsewhere. If salaries are below the living wage, and there are gross inequalities in the salary schedule, these facts should be described as simply and directly as possible, and made public.

The question of tenure should be presented from its professional and social angles. If there are local impositions, such as restrictions on dress, conduct and the like, they might be handled by small committees on manners without coming under the purview of a major planning committee. The local, by its activity in dealing with fundamental factors of interest to teachers, and also with the factors relating to the betterment of the schools, automatically establishes credit and character in the community, as well as proves to the people that they have better teachers than they may have contracted for.

Those of us who have worked in the teachers' union movement from the beginning believe that the "creative activity" that is involved in the work of organizing and carrying on a local teachers' union is far more educative than are any number of "codes for teachers." The reason is that "codes" in general are conceived by school officials from the preconception of those who require conformity for their official comfort. Local activity in the direction of promotion campaigns for one or another objective may require years for development.

Opportunities for Teachers' Unions

There is a multitude of opportunities for important work of interest to teachers, and of significance to communities. It would be difficult to imagine any but a teachers' union organizing a protest against an increase of the size of classes as well as against the wage-cut for teachers. Many of the so-called professional groups of teachers would accept the increase of size of classes as a compromise. A teachers' union could accept neither alternative.

While this report was being prepared, a member of the Board of Superintendents of New York City announced that during the past school term a course in character and citizenship training had been tried in thirteen elementary schools. If tests now being contemplated are successful, the course will be introduced in all the elementary schools of the city, and 1,000,000 children will be imposed upon. The course states that twelve virtues form the cornerstone of good character. If the course succeeds, it is alleged that the good boy developed by the public schools will never "answer back" or contradict his elders. He will never say "what?" or "huh?", but "pardon me." "He will imbibe soup from the side of the spoon, and will never push food on to his fork with his knife." "He will honor George Washington and other heroes, military and otherwise." He will know something about the way his government works. But in discussing current news about the activities of the President, the Mayor and the Governor, the teacher

is advised to use "very simple treatment." The teacher will make "only such references as will be of interest to children," which will include "the President sends a message to Congress, the Mayor speaks at patriotic exercises, the Governor reviews a parade." "Avoid the purely sensational," advises the syllabus.

The superintendent who organized this course secured his appointment through the favor of Boss McCooley of Brooklyn. None other than a teachers' union would expose the futility of a course of this kind and the political rottenness which the advice seeks to cover up.

Activity in School Units

There comes a time in the promotion of union work when it may be discovered that many school groups of members become so dependent on the officers and committees of the union that they are useless for initiating action in their own immediate situation. But time and experience help to take care of these situations and offer to union leaders the opportunity to insist that such incidents as the threat of a principal to bring about the unjustified transfer or other punishment of a teacher shall be dealt with as far as possible by the union unit in the school. If the school system is not too large, representatives might be elected on a substantial numerical basis from school units to the governing executive committee. In this way proposals for action may develop in school units and be carried by the representative to the executive committee. If these proposals for local and school unit activity are sound, it seems to follow that the kind of local which is carried in someone's vest pocket, or purse, is not the kind of local that is useful in building our international, the American Federation of Teachers.

Building the International

I have tried to present the reasons for developing the local work for the effective application of the movement to build a profession with intelligent interest in its own welfare and in the job that education may do for society. I would also urge the building of locals and of local morale as fundamental to the international movement itself, and to its extension among teachers. I would even suggest the futility of adding more locals through an intensive campaign until we recognize the fundamental need of more strong locals, and until we have the evidence of a strong, active organization.

I suggest that we subject the American Federation of Teachers to a friendly analysis for the purpose of setting forth for our own study the elements of which it is composed. Let us ask ourselves the question which new members of locals frequently ask, "What can the American Federation of Teachers do for us?" Have we meant to have the organization mean more than a federation? Is the organization chiefly a means for gaining affiliation with the American Federation of Labor? To what extent do the principles elaborated through experience in our locals carry upward to the Federation through convention activities to be formulated into an inclusive national policy that expresses itself in action between conventions?

Is the Federation an entity distinct from the pressures of its local environment? Have we succeeded in setting up a national establishment that acts along national lines, while giving support and leadership to adjacent locals as well as to all others? I urge the study of our organization in order that it may become effective in the leadership and the service we have a right to expect.

Our Affiliation with the Labor Movement

We have been affiliated with the labor movement for sixteen years. Even in our adolescence we may not be charged with undue impulsiveness if we seek to consider our affiliation in relation to the impending problems of the present social and economic situation. I take it that we still maintain that the labor movement throughout the world is the most fundamentally important of all social movements, the trends of which are in the direction of a progressively better social order. It has been the fashion, however, to maintain that the labor movement in America is the most conservative of all labor movements, and that if it is ever to take on responsibilities commensurate with its social obligations, it must be reorganized, or even destroyed, and a new movement and a new leadership developed. I take it that few of us are in the American Labor Movement for the purpose of boring from within, and destroying it, thus acting as traitors to the ideals of cooperation which we have avowed. Whatever may be said of the qualifications of our leaders, we have accepted them, and they stand as our representatives until they are replaced by others.

Our opponents must admit that in the present economic distress the American Federation of Labor stands firmly against the reduction of wages as a means to the

economy which the banking and industrial interests insist is necessary to economic recovery. All teachers are being protected to a certain extent by this fundamental stand of the American Federation of Labor. That the teachers are not adequately protected is certainly their own fault, except in so far as the labor movement itself may be less than effective through its lack of a comprehensive social program, and through its failure to recognize clearly the existence of pressure groups that are operating to defeat the social objectives of the workers. Obviously, we need a more exact analysis of the objectives of the pressure groups that operate in the American scene. If such an analysis were undertaken it might be found that the American Federation of Labor had established friendly relationships with bodies that prefer above all things the perpetuation of the *status quo* in which the exploiting classes control the destinies of the workers, and deny to them the just rewards of their toil. It may be that certain labor leaders have independently sought to involve the labor movement in these compromising relationships. If so, the responsibility is on us who permit this to be done.

I propose, therefore, more active participation in the determination of the policies of the American Labor Movement on the part of the American Federation of Teachers.

Report of Secretary-Treasurer

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

American Federation of Teachers

AT THE conclusion of its sixteenth year, a year of the worst depression in the history of the United States, the American Federation of Teachers finds itself financially solvent and with an outlook for the coming year while not altogether optimistic still not alarming. With reasonable care the organization can keep solvent.

Membership

The membership condition is good and the prospect for future growth encouraging. Though the increase in membership has been less than in previous years, there is nevertheless a small increase and a gratifying addition of new locals.

The American Teacher

The economy necessitated by the depression affected the publication of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* for the year 1931-32. Changes compelled by this need delayed some issues, but by June 1 nine issues were out as usual. As a temporary expedient to meet the emergency the magazine was reduced from 32 to 24 and then to 16 pages.

The *AMERICAN TEACHER* for the year 1932-33 will be a bi-monthly of 24 pages except the first issue which will be a Convention Number of 32 pages. This number will be out September 15 and the other numbers will follow regularly on the 15th of every alternate month up to and including May 15.

An editorial board of eight has been appointed to assist in building the magazine to greater usefulness to you.

It is the desire to make your magazine as valuable to you as possible and your cooperation is urged. Let us hear from you regularly each month. Let us know

what you are doing and let us know if and in what your magazine does or does not satisfy you.

A. F. T. Literature

The National office has a supply of worthwhile propaganda literature. Included in the list are:

Program of Action, adopted by the Fifteenth Convention.

Proceedings of the Fifteenth Convention.

Why Teachers Should Unionize, by Vice-President Schwarzauber.

The Historical Setting of the American Federation of Teachers, by Ruth Gilette Hardy.

Six Reasons for Joining the American Federation of Teachers, by Jerome Davis.

Why I Belong to the Teachers Union, by Dr. John Dewey.

Excerpts From Two Addresses of Dr. Dewey.

Preamble to the Constitution.

Labor and Our Schools, by Bertha Ferguson.

Gag on Teaching, by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Small Dodgers and Announcements.

Extra Copies of the American Teacher.

If this literature is of service to Locals in their membership campaigns, it can be supplied to them.

Work is progressing on the cataloguing of all the books, pamphlets and other material which has been collected in the past sixteen years.

Publicity

The importance of publicity for our program is being increasingly recognized both by the Locals and the Na-

tional. Portland, Chicago, Pennsylvania have had regular radio programs. Our activities and our position on "economy programs" have had wide distribution. It is recommended that publicity work be further extended and speakers and writers bureaus in the National created. It should be possible for each local to organize a publicity campaign, taking advantage of every means of getting before the public the story of the schools. A close co-operation between the National and the Locals in this matter will work for the general advantage.

Conclusion

The amazing thing is not that so little has been accomplished by the American Federation of Teachers, but that it has had so great an influence in steadying the avalanche. There can be no question but that without such an organization teachers would have been much worse off than they are now. If the organized will compare themselves with the unorganized, they will realize how much they have saved. The reductions and curtailments the schools have had to take are in direct proportion to the resistance offered.

Our Official Family

Henry R. Linville, Ph.D., New York Local 5, President.

A. F. T. president, 1931-32; A. F. T. vice-president, 1916-27, 1928-31; chairman, A. F. T. Academic Freedom Committee, 1927-32; president Teachers Union of New York City 5; director, Manumit Experimental School; active in the field of progressive and experimental education and in social movements; lecturer and author in social and biological sciences.

Florence Curtis Hanson, Chicago Women Local 3, Secretary-Treasurer.

A. F. T. secretary-treasurer, 1926-32; secretary and president Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers 3, 1923-26; president, Chicago High School Teachers Council, 1925-26; former teacher History, Hyde Park High School, Chicago.

Selma M. Borchardt, Washington Local 8, Legislative Representative and Vice-President.

A. F. T. legislative representative and vice-president, 1920-32; chairman A. F. T. International Relations Committee, 1926-32; legislative representative Washington Teachers Union 8; member Executive Council World Federation of Education Associations; chairman W. F. E. A. Social Adjustment Committee; former president Washington Women's Trade Union League; teacher of English, Business High School, Washington, D. C.

Lucie W. Allen, Chicago Women Local 3, Vice-President.

A. F. T. vice-president, 1923-29; 1931-32; A. F. T. associate secretary and editor, 1930-32; chairman A. F. T. Education Committee, 1927-29; financial secretary Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers 3; former treasurer and president Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers 3; teacher Social Sciences Lake View High School, Chicago.

Mary C. Barker, Atlanta Local 89, Vice-President.

A. F. T. president, 1925-31; A. F. T. vice-president, 1920-25, 1931-32; former president Atlanta Teachers Association 89; chairman promoting committee Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry; principal John B. Gordon elementary school.

Abraham Lefkowitz, Ph.D., New York Local 5, Vice-president.

A. F. T. vice-president, 1917-32; legislative representative New York Teachers Union 5; Committees on Education Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City and New York State Federation of Labor; head Department of Civics, High School of Commerce, New York; director Brookwood Labor College and Manumit Experimental School.

We are here to set an example to the conventions of the world by calmness, deliberation, harmony, wisdom, sincerity, courage, tolerance, cooperation, freedom of opinion and expression, adherence to the principles in which we profess to believe: Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy; open covenants openly arrived at.

The world is in a muddle; let us keep ourselves as clear as possible and face present day problems by looking at facts and then act on the basis of those facts.

This fast moving age has produced outstanding problems requiring solution—from us, from all those who approach the disaster in which we find ourselves with intellectual honesty, with spiritual clarity, with ethical probity, with social sensitiveness, with civic enthusiasm.

So, in the harmonious spirit which prompted our early leaders to create this organization to work for the good of us all, let us renew that pledge to be loyal to our standards. Loyalty and straightforwardness will carry us through. Working together, as we shall, with understanding and confidence, we shall pull through the present bad times stronger and more firmly joined in common purposes than ever before.

Allie B. Mann, Atlanta Local 89, Vice-president.

Regional representative of A. F. T. for South; president Atlanta Public School Teachers Association 89; chairman Education Committee Georgia State Federation of Labor; head Science department, Girls' High School, Atlanta, Ga.

A. J. Muste, Brookwood Local 189, Vice-president.

A. F. T. vice-president, 1923-32; director Brookwood Labor College; chairman C. P. L. A.; associate editor The World Tomorrow and Labor Age; lecturer and writer on social and economic questions.

Vivian Poindexter, Memphis Local 52, Vice-president.

President Memphis Teachers Association 52; teacher Merrill Elementary School, Memphis; delegate Memphis Trades and Labor Council, Memphis.

Bernice Rogers, Cambridge Local 195, Vice-president.

A. F. T. vice-president, 1931-32; chairman, A. F. T. Education Committee; president Cambridge Federation of Teachers 195; secretary Cambridge Central Labor Union; Executive Board, Women's Trade Union League, Boston; secretary Committee on Women in Industry, Cambridge League of Women Voters; Committee on Labor and Industry of American Federation of Labor, American Legion and Allied Organizations for Unemployment Relief, Cambridge; teacher of English and German Rindge Technical School, Cambridge.

Florence Rood, St. Paul Local 28, Vice-president.

A. F. T. president, 1923-25; A. F. T. vice-president, 1918-23, 1925-32; chairman Committee on Pensions and Retirement Funds; secretary-treasurer St. Paul Teachers' Retirement Fund Association; chairman Civic Committee, St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, 1931-32; president St. Paul Grade Teachers' Federation, 1910-13; chairman Women's Council of Trade Union Auxiliaries and Women's Unions, 1930-32.

E. E. Schwarztrauber, University of Wisconsin Local 223, Vice-president.

A. F. T. vice-president, 1923-28, 1930-32; president University of Wisconsin Teachers Union 223; former president Portland (Ore.) Teachers Union 111; head of History Department, Lincoln High School, Portland, Ore., 1919-30; director Portland Labor College, 1921-25; fellow in Economics, University of Wisconsin, 1930-31; teacher assistant in Economics, University of Wisconsin, 1931-32; lecturer in History and Economics, Wisconsin Summer School for Workers in Industry, 1930-32; teacher of Labor Problems, Milwaukee Labor College, 1930-32 and Janesville, Wis., Labor College, 1932.

Charles B. Stillman, Chicago Men Local 2, Vice-president.

President A. F. T., 1916-23; vice-president A. F. T., 1923-31; chairman A. F. T. Legislative and Finance Committees, 1929-31; president Joint Conference of Teachers and Principals Organizations of Chicago; principal Burr School.

Labor and Education

William Green

Address given at the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, June 28, 1932, Chicago.

DR. LINVILLE, Members of the American Federation of Teachers and Distinguished Guests: I esteem this a very great pleasure and privilege to bring to you my personal felicitations and to extend to you in my official capacity the fraternal greetings of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. I wish I could, in a very proper and appropriate manner, interpret to you the deep interest which the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor entertain toward you. I want you to accept my presence here as more than a mere gesture. I want you to interpret it as evidence of my deep interest in your economic, intellectual and social welfare.

I have watched with very great interest the progress which you have made, the efforts which you have put forth to develop a medium of expression through which the school teachers in the nation could speak out in behalf of those who so faithfully serve in the common schools of the country.

In many respects you are not unlike the great organized labor movement, serving as you do, in your special sphere, discharging your obligations in conformity with the charter rights conferred upon you by the American Federation of Labor. In our great labor movement we not only speak for those who are directly associated with it, but in addition we speak for that voiceless multitude which remains indifferent and unaffiliated with our great economic movement. When a reduction in wages of ten per cent or twenty-five per cent is imposed upon a group of people such as those employed by the U. S. Steel Corporation, there is no one to speak for them in protest except the great organized labor movement of the nation, for they have no instrumentality set up through which they may voice their protests.

When legislation is pending in the States and in the nation affecting millions of people, the American Federation of Labor does not take into account whether or not those outside our organization could be benefited or injured. They make the fight for the masses of the people; so a school teachers organization, your organization, is really the instrumentality through which the school teachers may express themselves upon economic questions at least—wages, conditions, and standards of life and living affecting so vitally the lives of so many people. I only wish that you could speak with more authority, that you could claim the right to speak for a large number; and I hope that the economic philosophy that you expound as your organization grows in influence and in power will so appeal to the school teachers of the nation that ultimately, within a reasonably short length of time, you will speak for a majority of the school teachers employed in the educational institutions of our nation. They need it, I am sure, and it occurs to me, as it seems to be brought home to you and those with whom you associate, that this great crisis, this great emergency through which we are passing, is serving one good purpose at least; and that is, it is teaching us all most valuable lessons.

Change in Viewpoint

I imagine there are many who have been compelled to

shift their point of view, have been compelled to discard old economic philosophies that had seemed to them to be eminently sound, who have subscribed to newer points of view, who have become more social minded, who have a different outlook on life and have learned that after all we have failed utterly if we do not appropriate to the future policy of our industrial processes and our governmental policies an economic philosophy that will guarantee to every man, woman and child a decent living, a decent standard of living, and that will, in its operation and application, wipe out that terrible stain that has been so indelibly fastened upon us, that in the midst of plenty there are millions of people starving.

We must learn that lesson and we must apply its teachings to our future economic policies, and it is upon that subject that I should like to dwell for just a few moments.

You know that during the last two decades particularly we have developed our productive facilities in this great nation until we stand supreme in the industrial world. It seemed that, after all, science and our scientific laboratories established by our great corporations were bent upon one definite purpose, and that was to develop in our great country a productivity that would enable us not only to control our own markets but to capture the markets of the world. They failed to take into consideration that simultaneously with the development of our production facilities, the mechanization of industry, the standardization of productive capacity, mass production, which we have worshipped and extolled, there must be a market that would consume this increasing volume of manufactured commodities. As they went on developing our productive machines, installing machinery thereby displacing human labor and creating an army of displaced workers on every hand, our facilities of production developed at rapid speed. Finally there came a halt. We found that the market was not consuming the goods that industry produced.

Distribution of Wealth

Then they began to think and to examine the whole situation, and they found out that there were two fatal mistakes that had been made, and I am happy to say that there are many outstanding industrialists who are admitting these facts now. There were two very serious mistakes which had been made; the one was that there had not been made an equitable distribution of the wealth created under this new revolutionary economic order, nor had there been an adjustment of the working time corresponding with our increasing facilities of production. When the crash came in 1929 we had already created an army of unemployed numbering from three to four millions. These were technologically unemployed, men and women who had been displaced through the introduction of mechanical devices. The skill of men and women acquired through years and years of training and service had been wiped out overnight. The young men who had served as apprentices in given trades, looking forward with hope and expectation to the time when they would become journeymen, found that through the introduction of some perfected device the training and skill they had acquired was rendered valueless.

And so it went on, one machine doing the work of hundreds of people, a few doing the work of thousands, trained men not fitted to go into other lines and other callings compelled to make their way in life handicapped because they were thrown into a new world and compelled to find a new way by which they could earn a decent living.

The one tragic feature of it all was that these skilled workmen, displaced through the introduction of machinery, were compelled to suffer in an additional way, because, having received the wages paid skilled workmen, having built up a standard of living as skilled workmen, having established a social and family standard based upon the earnings of skilled workmen, they found that with their skill destroyed their earning power was destroyed, and as a result their living standards were lowered, their family life was changed, their social outlook became impaired, moral values were destroyed, spiritual values were lowered, and the nation itself was dealt a terrific blow.

We have gone along, and as a result of all this dislocation the real cause of which it is difficult to determine, there have been added millions and millions of idle people—not only those displaced, and who may be classified as men and women belonging to an army who have been technologically displaced, but added to that are these hundreds of thousands, yea millions, of working people who have been thrown out of work because the buying power of the masses of people has been destroyed. Oh, if we could only go back to just before this industrial revolution again, and if, through some miraculous power, we could have penetrated the future and seen this evil day. How we might have changed our economic policy, so that instead of our barns bursting and children in the mining districts starving, and a hunger army camped at the door at Washington, we could have developed a plan of distribution through which all could have been happy and fed, for in the midst of it all we must admit our inability to deal with the great economic problem of production and distribution. There is no question about production. That problem has been solved. The poets formerly sang and the philosophers philosophied about the future when the human race would so increase upon the face of the earth that it would be impossible to produce enough to feed them all. They based their opinion of the future upon the primitive facts that then existed. But how we have gone along, how wonderful it has all been. We challenged the admiration of the world so far as our productive capacity was concerned.

Consuming Power

Now, my friends, what shall we do, or what can we do? Your problem enters into this. The facts are that an economic order must be established in America, I believe, if our republican institution is to endure, that will bring about an equilibrium, an establishment of an economic condition where the consuming power of the masses of the people will equal and approximate the productive power of industry; there must be a steady, uninterrupted flow of manufactured commodities from the point of production to the point of consumption.

Is that problem too difficult of solution? It seems to me to be simple in this respect at least, that if you will put in the hands of the masses of the people the power with which to buy, there will be no idle mills or factories, because our market is greater than our productive capacity. So long as there is a human need unsatisfied, so long as there is a hungry man in rags, so

long as there is an under-privileged and under-nourished child in America, we have a market for manufactured goods. During this depression, because of idleness, part-time service and reduced wages, \$15,000,000,000.00 of purchasing power has been destroyed. Can such havoc and destruction as that be wrought in our consuming markets and at the same time keep the wheels of industry running? *Every reduction in the salary and wages of the teachers of the nation impairs the consuming market of the nation.* Every reduction in the wages paid the common laborer, the miner in the mines, the skilled man erecting a building, the musicians entertaining us, the painter painting for us—every reduction in the amount earned by all of these groups of people impairs the consuming market of the nation.

So we have to stop this destructive policy; we have to stop this going down the hill. We can't bring about prosperity by going down. We can't keep destroying commodity values and the consuming market of the nation and at the same time have prosperity.

Labor's Warning

Labor has pointed the way, and labor has warned. Labor has told industry that the purchasing power of the masses of the people must be maintained, that the shorter work day and the shorter work week must be established in order to take care of the technologically unemployed, that the adjustment of working time must be made proportionately with our increasing facilities of production, and income must be accorded every man and woman who works so that he can buy freely, and with this income firmly granted and established, enough of leisure granted to people so that they can appreciate and use manufactured goods.

I venture to say that if this adjustment would be made in the luxury manufacturing side of industry alone their sales would increase enormously, and with the sale of luxury-produced goods increasing, it would have a most stimulating effect upon all other lines of industry.

Unemployment

I want to quote some figures from our most recent report on unemployment. To me they are startling indeed, and I prefer to deal with this question at this time. I would not be so presumptuous as to talk to you about your academic problems. You are interested, very much interested, in certain economic phases of this situation, and for that reason I prefer to discuss this question. For some time the American Federation of Labor has been gathering what we term "Unassailable Statistics" each month, showing the increase or decrease in unemployment, and based upon these figures we have been reasoning from cause to effect in an effort to educate and inform the people of the nation regarding the seriousness of the situation through which we are passing. I am happy to say to this splendid group of men and women associated with our great movement that our figures have been accepted. They have not been challenged; in fact, they have been authoritatively quoted on the floor of Congress and by economists and governmental officials.

Our latest estimate on unemployment shows at least 10,800,000 out of work in May. What an army! Trade Union figures for the first part of June show the largest increase this year. Applying them to industry generally would indicate that at least 200,000 more have been thrown out of work since the month of May.

Farm work has provided some jobs, but unquestionably the number now out of work is nearly 11,000,000.

Our weighted figures for all trades are, May, 22.8% out of work; June, 23.6% out of work. This is an increase of eight-tenths of one per cent, while no other month has shown more than three-tenths.

In June, according to our Union report, 63% were out of work in the building trades. Just think of that. Forty-one per cent in the clothing industry were out of work, forty-one per cent in the metal trades, thirty-five per cent in water transportation—the seamen and long-shoremen—eighteen per cent in printing, eighteen per cent in street transportation—truck drivers. Common unemployment in building has increased in June, when it should normally improve. It shows an increase in fifteen of our main cities. Detroit and Cleveland reported highest, with New York, Paterson, Boston and Chicago following closely. The month has brought increases in Baltimore, Denver, St. Louis, San Antonio, and so on.

The depressing picture is spread before you. Here in this great cultured city of Chicago it is my judgment that sixty-three per cent of the building tradesmen are unemployed. In the mining field outside of these cities a condition exists begging description. The agricultural industry is terribly bad. It has sunk to a low ebb, but multiply the distressing conditions in the agricultural industry many times and then apply it to the bituminous coal industry and you have an idea of the distressing picture prevailing there. I could not bring home to you tonight the distress, the poverty, the suffering, that exists in the bituminous coal sections of the nation, and it applies not only to the workers but to the owners as well, for they are on the verge of bankruptcy. This terrible downward push of the economic machine has dragged with it men who thought they were immune and safe. The public seems entirely unconscious of the growing catastrophe that is upon us. Unemployment has been increasing this spring at a rate unprecedented, and in the half year of distress we have just been through, from January to May, 1932, well over a million men and women have been thrown out of work in industries. The rate of increase this year has been considerably more than twice that of 1930 or 1931. Trade union figures for June show a still further increase.

Is Our Social Order Safe?

Now, here is a most significant statement, based upon facts: more than one-fifth of all American citizens who formerly earned their living are out of work. Do you think our social order is entirely safe with such an army of unemployed existing? They have shown remarkable self-control, self-restraint and patience. It has been truly wonderful, but, my friends, the bonus army in Washington is nothing more than an army of unemployed workers. They would not be there demanding their bonus if they had work back home. These are ominous signs, menacing, hungry armies, hungry marchers assembling here and there, starving people. I do not wish to appear pessimistic, but I cannot help but relate to you the facts. In April, 1930, 44,900,000 persons were at work. Since then the number needing work has increased with a normal growth of population, but jobs are fewer. This is the basis we had in March. In March of 1932, 49,600,000 wanted work, but only 38,000,000 were at work. About 1,000,000 are either unable to work or have been unemployed less than one week. I presented these facts and figures to the Committees in Congress when we appealed to them to respond, granting relief to harrassed communities and to hungry people. Congress now seems to comprehend,

and seems to understand that the facts we presented are sound and unassailable and true, and is now engaged in an effort to find a way by which it can appropriate large sums of money in order to relieve distress, for we are approaching another winter. It will soon be here, and in my judgment we are going to pass through a more severe winter, I mean severe because of unemployment and the distress which will accompany it, than we did last winter.

Wage Cuts

I repeat again that it is impossible to keep on destroying values, reducing wages, displacing man with machinery, without taking into account the adjustments that must be made and the development of a consuming market so that the wheels of industry may keep going. It is for this reason that we have opposed reductions in wages, in salaries. We have been the one voice that has cried out; we have stood like a stone wall against the pursuit of this false, unsound, economic policy. We believe that the only way by which we can cure this depression is by putting men and women back to work, restoring wages, paying high salaries to those who work and serve, so that in turn they can buy and use the goods which industry produces. If we have not work enough for all, then let us put them on a six-hour day basis so that they can all be given work, and along with that we can adjust the working time so that we can work five days per week instead of six.

If we do the work of the world with machinery instead of with human hands, and we can satisfy the wants of the world by working less hours and by paying decent wages, then would it not be the sensible thing for us to do it? It matters not how long they delay, how long they put it off—the fact still remains that this adjustment must be made before we start back toward that most coveted goal of prosperity.

Now, may I say just a word in closing to you? You know the public school system is an inseparable part of our political, social and economic life. It is like the thread that runs through the political fabric of the nation. If there is any one thing that stamps America as distinctly American, it is our public school system. It is the one great outstanding principle of our American political philosophy, and the man who would dare raise his hand and threaten to strike a blow at our public school system would be regarded as an enemy of the Republic. Yet it appears to me that there are those who are striking blows at this wonderful institution, striking at it directly, impairing and injuring it, limiting its functions without perhaps intending to do so, or without being conscious of the fact. It is for that reason that the American Federation of Labor has placed in its program of economic protection to the workers, protection to the public schools and the teachers employed in the public schools of the nation. We regard that as of equal importance with the maintenance of wages and living standards erected in America as a result of years and years of active service.

Labor's Pledge to Public Education

I want you to know that you have one staunch friend in America; if there is anyone upon whom you can rely more than upon another friend, if there is one friend in whom you can have absolute confidence, it is the great organized labor movement of the nation. As our labor movement becomes stronger, as it is strengthened in the cities and in the states and in the nation, as our city central bodies are represented by such magnificent men

as Brother Nance, as our State Federations of Labor become strong, represented by such splendid men as Victor Olander, you will be strengthened; because as they are strong you are strong. As their influence is increased your influence is increased. If they, for instance, can speak with more authority in the halls of the Legislature or at the meetings of the City Council and the Boards of Aldermen and the Boards of Education, the laborer's hand is strengthened and his voice is made more powerful. As they can mobilize their economic educational strength, the teachers of the nation will be helped, because labor will be stronger.

A strong central body in a growing city, taking an active part in civic, education and community affairs, is a most wholesome influence for good. *While the Chambers of Commerce may fail you, and the self-constituted boards of business men may fail you, when even the ministerial associations may fail you, please remember that the central body, the State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor will never fail you.*

Labor's Record

I know that our labor movement has not reached the state of perfection. It is not so old, and yet it is not so young. It has had only three presidents, and one of them served for forty-eight years. But our movement has developed an economic philosophy that represents the best judgment and the ripest experience of the millions of working people who make up our great movement. These men have become educated, educated as a result of experience, and through the development of their minds, for, after all, I think an educated man or woman is one whose mind is alert and whose reasoning faculties and powers have been developed to that degree that he becomes an independent thinker.

Now, my friends, they may not, in the development of their economic programs, satisfy the opinions of all. You may not feel that they have gone far enough, but if I understand the labor movement, I know that the people are impatient, never satisfied, because they never won a battle in their life without preparing at the same time for another one. Their whole history is one of struggle. They have learned that, after all, living in a practical world we cannot solve the problems that arise out of industry through the application of some vague visionary theory, nor by treating it as an academic problem. It must be dealt with as a live problem—the problem of human relations, the problem of clashing interests between employers and employees. They are jealous of this great movement and they do not want to do something that will weaken it or destroy it; they want to hold fast to all they have secured, and reach out and win more, because there is much more to win for the masses of the people.

Now, my friends, there are some who criticize and condemn us because we do not embrace some philosophy that those who criticize us advance. They believe that the philosophy they advance would more nearly and quickly solve our problems, but labor must be persuaded that such a philosophy is sound. What has it done by following the steady course it has pursued? Well, my friends, it battled for the children and it has been responsible for writing upon the statute books of the states and the nation the Child Labor Laws that are there. It has led in the fight for higher wages, for political and economic freedom, for shorter hours; it has never failed the worker in any crisis whatsoever.

It did not fail when it fought for the enactment of workmen's compensation laws, and for the enjoyment of political freedom. It did not fail, when, in the Senate of the United States, it fought against and defeated the confirmation of the appointment of a judge that we believe was wrong.

We have taken a position against those who have aspired to be elected to public office when we believed they were the enemies of the masses, and we will continue to do so.

So, my friends, I wish you would examine the records and see whether once in a while some little compliment cannot be paid to the American Federation of Labor for what it has done for humanity. If it were destroyed, what would the workers have? Would they erect something in a year or a day instead? The men and women of labor will change it, when they, in their collective judgment, think it should be changed, but they are intellectually honest, positively intellectually honest, and they will not change it until they are convinced that the change is going to be beneficial to the masses of the people.

Build!

Now, may I admonish you: build your organization. Go out and make an appeal to those who should come with you. It is better, however, that those to whom you make an appeal should not come than that they should come and not believe in the things you stand for. Build up a sturdy organization made up of sturdy men and women. No good purpose is served by having them come in and run out; but in all you do, do not permit your local organization and your National organization to be the instrumentality through which designing men and women may attempt to exploit their own political philosophy opposite to that of the American Federation of Labor. I wanted to give you this advice because I think it is proper and appropriate. We value the relationship of labor with education. I would rather have a million educated trade unionists fighting on the industrial field than have two million illiterate, uneducated, who fought instinctively alone. The million would fight intelligently; the others would fight in primitive fashion, and it is because we value the influence and power of education that we support it with all the power that we possess. We support the school teachers and the public schools of the nation because we see in them an ally of the American labor movement, fighting for the real satisfaction of higher ideals, for a higher standard of living, and for the enjoyment of all those things to which the masses of the people are rightfully entitled.

Duluth Voters Repudiate Committee of 77 in Decisive School Election.—Labor candidates, Malcolm H. McKnight, Leander M. Johnson and Henning B. Borg win victory over city pay cutters. The issue was squarely the attack on the public schools.

The successful candidates gave out this statement:

"We interpret our victory as an emphatic protest from the people against curtailing important school activities and reducing the salaries and wages of school employees until every other means shall have been found inadequate to balance the school budget.

"At all costs we shall endeavor to keep up the high standards of our schools to the end that the children of the depression shall not be denied opportunities that were enjoyed by the children of prosperous times."

The President's Page

Dr. Henry R. Linville

The President Regrets.

The President has been writing for this page for one year. Yet in that time not a single member of the American Federation of Teachers has said one word of approval, or of disapproval for that matter, except Mrs. Hanson who has had to say something encouraging to keep me up to my promise. I have, however, received one letter from a person who apparently is not a teacher, which shows that one other than Mrs. Hanson has read the page. This letter is as follows:

"As Author of the President's Page in the AMERICAN TEACHER, I write to you to ask if your paper is in any way in sympathy with the Soviet Movement. If it is not, I advise you to look into the article called—'Message from Pioneer Youth' printed in your May Issue, page 13—signed by one Agnes Sailer (Itals. mine). We know there are a number of schools sowing the evil seeds of this doctrine of hate into the tender minds of our children throughout our country. I beg of you to look into this one whose advertisement you have printed. The name is strangely like Pioneer Youth. I cannot believe that a magazine working for the betterment of our great and noble army of teachers would in any way encourage or aid this movement. In behalf of my beloved country I write you this.

(Signed) Mrs.

What Became of That May A. T.?

I can see a few persons trying to find their neglected copies of the May issue of the A. T., if for no other reason than to discover just how careless they were in not unearthing the "bolshevistic" stuff that got into the magazine. If they find it is "not so bad," they may be interested to learn that Miss Sailer is a teacher in the City and Country School, one of the best of our progressive schools in New York, and that in her vacations she supervises several progressive day camps in the mining districts of West Virginia and North Carolina. They may be interested to learn that a number of other teachers give up their vacations to work with Miss Sailer—all without pay. Some of these volunteers came from that bolshevistic center called Chicago, until that town stopped paying its teachers. If Mrs. Hanson has space in the October issue, she may print one of the recent reports which Miss Sailer has written, and let the people see just how menacing this organization called Pioneer Youth really is (p. 30). The President is a member of the Administration Committee of Pioneer Youth, and has had a son at the national camp at Rifton, N. Y., this past summer, and ought to be warned if anyone is.

Who Is a Menace and Who Is Not?

When we come to consider the kinds of persons and movements that are menacing to the safety of the country, I believe we shall agree that neither persons nor movements can work permanent injury to the country as a whole so long as we are building up social understanding on the part of the people. It is clear that Mrs. Blank does not know what she is worried about. Somebody has succeeded in getting her excited, as are others of her type of mind. Perhaps they are the ones who are a menace, because they would not know a real danger if they saw one in the form of a movement fostered by dishonest persons using hypocritical methods of appeal to a flaunting patriotism, which, as the discerning Dr. Johnson said, was "the last resort of a scoundrel." All is not well with the country we know, but so far as known no officer or member of the American Federation of Teachers is allowed to promote through the AMERICAN TEACHER any form of political dictatorship. But we do want to see the country become a better America, a land in which the children themselves will be taught through progressive methods of education to think about the conditions of their lives, and later to plan for the better social order. If Mrs. Blank knows of any body of children that needs a chance to do thinking of that kind, and needs an opportunity to help themselves and others, more than do the children of the destitute and exploited miners of the South (exploited by the mine-owners of the North), we want to know where they are. More power to Agnes Sailer and the spirit she typifies!

There Are Other Dictatorships and Menaces.

I hope some are reading this page now. If there are any, I want to say to them that when the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers elected me President in July for a second term, I made up my mind that in some way or other I would make clear my position on the subject of tenure of office among national officers of trade unions. I believe that one of the really shocking phases of the union movement is the extent to which there is prevalent among officers a tendency to interpret the word "tenure" to mean "tenacity." Many of them hold on with bulldog tenacity to the office which has been tendered to them in trust. It is a tragic experience for a local union of a national union to have to

resort to something like a crude major surgical operation to yank away the office which has been given in trust to a person who in the course of years has entrenched himself in the job to the extent that he and the job are one. Sometimes a bombing operation is the only one that seems to be suitable to the situation. They have to be blasted out of the position and the place built over for some one else.

Machines in Organization Politics.

Often there seems to be little value in the plan of electing a person to an office for one year, with the implied understanding that the electorate may or may not re-elect the incumbent. Unless the incumbent has made an obvious "flop" of his responsibility, his friends have to re-elect him. After the second year the incumbent may begin to personify a policy. In the face of the possibility that some one else may feel that he should have the place, or because some one has found fault with the conduct of the incumbent, a defense machine may be built up, and defense tactics as well as compromise tactics may have to be organized. It may be that some officers do become apparently indispensable owing to the fact that a tenacious officer will rarely concern himself with the matter of training other members for a trust in the organization. We then face the possibility of one-man organizations and life-tenure of leaders. What an enormous waste of union energy sometimes goes into controversies that rage around these situations! And what a waste of potential opportunities for progressive union work if members complacently avoid controversies for the sake of peace.

"Talking Turkey" to Officers.

There will always be strong, selfish, or merely selfish, personalities in union leadership, and some will try to run away with a union unless there is a conscious effort on the part of all leaders to establish the ideals of union work and policy as the major union enterprise, and deliberately to place leadership in the category of men and women under orders. Meanwhile, a tenacious union job-holder will immunize himself to all soft-hearted tips that may be he has served the "peepul" long enough. He will have to be blasted out. Well, let it be done with "T N T" if necessary. The present incumbent speaking gives you the prescription. He is against all practices that lead to the establishment of dictatorships, political and otherwise. Mrs. Blank should take courage.

Democracy in Education

American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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Co-operation is not a sentiment—it is an economic necessity.—*Steinmetz.*

A. F. of L. President on Educational Budget Cuts

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has declared the executive council of the Federation is giving special attention to educational budgets because of the drastic curtailment of educational activities in many communities. He pointed out that if economy programs that called for the discharge of teachers continued, it would mean the breaking down of the morale of the teaching staffs.

He deplored the failure of some cities to pay teachers for months at a time, and in this connection advocated loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to cities whose boards of education had been unable to raise funds for teachers' salaries. In some cases, he continued, a loan from the Government is the only thing that will prevent schools from closing.

"Every child should have an equal opportunity to education," Mr. Green said. "The American Federation of Labor always has fought for the up-building of the public school system, as it is the cornerstone of democracy."

We've Got To Organize

THERE is more at stake than decent salaries and working conditions for teachers for the next generation or two. The fate of public education as we know it is in the balance.

The events of the next two years will determine whether the American people will have for their children the amount and quality of public education they desire and are willing to pay for or whether they will get what a few bankers permit them to have.

In most cities the head of the local clearing house association is a far more powerful governmental figure than the mayor, city council, board of education and superintendent of schools combined. Bolstered by a successful propaganda that all government is wasteful and extravagant, he dictates salaries, the number of employees and even the activities to be engaged in by the local city and school authorities. If his orders are not obeyed, no money is furnished to meet public expenses. So dependent has government become upon the banks, their will is law.

There has been no tendency for these dictators to favor expenditures for school purposes over other public functions. In fact, in one glaring instance, Chicago, the money lords have discriminated against school employees in doling out long past due salary money.

The banks as guardians of their depositors' money are justified in refusing to make unsound loans. (How many, if any, banks have failed because of bad loans to cities and school districts?) When banks or bankers specify just how each loan made to a public body must be spent, they seem to be going a bit too far. It smacks of political domination.

What are the teachers of America going to do about it?

They can do nothing and see their salaries and conditions slip back to a point from which recovery during their lifetimes is beyond hope. They can watch public education become dominated by groups of wealthy men whose principal interest in education is lower taxes since their own children can and usually do attend private schools.

The teachers can and must organize the parents of the American children for the purpose of regaining control of their schools. They must first be soundly organized themselves.

A teachers' organization to be the most effective should be connected with as large a group of parents interested in the public schools as possible.

The largest organization of parents in America is the American Federation of Labor. Its members have children in the public schools and very few in the expensive private schools. Public education has never had a better friend or more loyal supporter than the Federation and its members. These millions of men and women are interested primarily not as taxpayers but as parents. This great organization is the one hope in retaining or regaining popular control of education.

The members of the American Federation of Labor are in sore straits themselves in this period of depression, but can be depended upon to support public education at any sacrifice. If the great body of American teachers were organized and affiliated with them, public education and the self respect and welfare of the teachers might be saved.

The American Federation of Teachers is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and needs the support of the teachers of America.

The responsibility for organizing these teachers rests with the American Federation of Teachers and its members. The national organization at its recent convention provided for an extensive and intensive organization campaign. The members must do their part.

With nation wide salary cuts, curriculum cuts, withdrawal of sick leave, shortening of school terms, withholding of salaries and all the other breaking down of conditions, a stronger national organization is imperative. Strong local organizations in a few cities are not enough. Cities with large locals have maintained their conditions remarkably well considering the general breakdown throughout the country. This proves the value of organization and the desirability of its extension.

Heretofore, organization has been desirable. Now, it is necessary not only to maintain salaries and working conditions for teachers but to preserve publicly controlled public schools. Without it, democracy in education an education for democracy is not even a possibility for the future.

Education for Democracy

Shall the Children Pay?

No, say Kane County, Ill., officials. A substantial cut in real estate valuations and consequent reduction in taxation will not affect the Kane County schools. School children are not to lose because their elders have failed in business acumen and economic understanding.

"We will not take it out on the children," Superintendent Waldo of East Side schools said. "Every other economy will be made, but the schools will be kept open."

To maintain the schools on full time at maximum efficiency is a procedure for revenue harassed communities contrary to the usual practice of cutting school costs first.

This action in Kane County is heartening to all who believe in America's system of public education and in the rights of childhood.

Dollars vs. Children in Detroit

The public schools of Detroit will close May 26 in 1933, thereby shortening the school year by four weeks and eliminating the June payroll, a saving of \$2,310,000.

The resolution to this effect was adopted on the recommendation of Frank Cody, superintendent of schools, and opposed only by Edward H. Williams, a member of the board of education, supported and endorsed by Labor.

The city of Detroit has decided that things are not bad enough there and that the children and the future citizens must bear a share of the burden. Putting it on the children is the last word in passing the buck. To quote no less an eminent educator than President Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, "Only a people who had no conception of the place of education in its national life could contemplate the ruin of the next generation as the best remedy for governmental insolvency."

Political Party Platforms and Public Education

President Green of the American Federation of Labor at the request of the American Federation of Teachers presented this statement to the Resolutions Committee of the Republican Party at its convention in June.

We urge the whole-hearted support to education, particularly the public school system of America, which should not be permitted to fall below its present stand-

ard of efficiency, but should be constantly improved even during the period of depression.

Nothing could be more disastrous than a curtailment of educational facilities for the present generation of young Americans.

A committee from the A. F. T. Convention appeared before the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic Party and asked for the adoption of an educational plank.

Educational Plank for the Democratic Platform

Educational statesmanship is the need of the hour. America must attract the highest type of socially-minded men and women to the teaching profession. This means not only sound tenure laws, but also academic freedom as well as a cultural wage. The Democratic Party as a friend and supporter of public education, and especially state control of education, pledges to maintain and where possible to improve educational standards during the period of depression. While wholeheartedly supporting educational economy in the sense of eliminating educational waste and duplication or husbanding educational resources to the utmost, it is opposed to a suicidal form of educational economy which expresses itself in the form of curtailment of necessary educational activity, in teacher-salary reduction, in the increase in the size of classes, or in the shortening of the school year.

A similar resolution was presented at the convention of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee.

Appreciation

Chicago Herald-Examiner

WHEREAS, During the past year the teachers of Chicago have suffered untold hardships because of delayed payments of salaries, and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Herald-Examiner has throughout the year given a fair and accurate news record of the school situation, and

WHEREAS, During the past six weeks the Chicago Herald-Examiner has militantly and courageously waged a fight to keep the schools open, to maintain teachers' salary schedules, and to secure the payment of teachers' salaries on time and in cash, and

WHEREAS, This newspaper has carried on this fight daily through its news columns, through its editorial columns and through the sponsoring and financing of the delegates of Chicago that appeared in Washington, D. C., before a Committee of the United States Senate asking Federal aid for the Chicago schools; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled expresses deep gratitude to the Chicago Herald-Examiner, the editor, Mr. Victor Watson, and the publisher, Mr. William Randolph Hearst, for the intelligent interest, the understanding sympathy, and the valuable assistance which they have rendered to the school and the teachers of Chicago, and to the cause of education throughout the nation.

WILLIAM J. BOGAN

The re-election of Mr. Bogan on June 29 to the superintendency of the Chicago Schools for a term of four years was announced to the Convention in session.

The news was received with great enthusiasm by the delegates, for it is not only Chicago teachers but teachers the world over who have the deepest admiration and regard for Supt. Bogan.

The following communication was at once forwarded to him.

One of the most pleasant convention memories of the American Federation of Teachers is the opportunity we enjoyed in our Twelfth Annual Convention in 1928 to welcome the election to the superintendency of the second city of our land of an educator long outstanding for his vigorous championship of the educational birthright of the children of all the people, and of the essential value of the initiation and freedom and security of the teachers of those children. That pleasure is renewed now, and the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers by unanimous vote desires again to extend to you and to the people and schools of Chicago most sincere congratulations. Your record for the four difficult years just past, your consistent attitude of cooperation with the teachers and the community, and your splendid leadership in the existing emergency in education have our hearty admiration and respect, and afford us a much needed stimulus to hope and action in this period of depression.

Esperantists' Congress

The twenty-fourth international congress of Esperantists was held in Paris, France, the first week in August.

1,650 delegates, representing 35 countries, were in attendance.

Four plenary sessions, twenty professional meetings and five university conferences were held, and a play was acted in Esperanto.

The next congress will be held at Cologne in 1933.

There never was a time when it was so important to be a union man. There never was a time when it was so important to BRING IN A NEW MEMBER.

Our Economic Dilemma and Our Schools

James Mullenbach

Address given at the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, June 28, 1932, Chicago

I HAVE been asked to speak somewhat broadly about the economic conditions that are exhibited in the condition in which we are. Of course, our country is in an economic condition the like of which we have never experienced in all the years of our history. It is a condition that was not foreseen by the wisest of our economic business leaders, whether they had been the professional or academic group, and after three years of experience with the depression I think we should begin to spell it with two E's. After three years of experience with this depression the leaders are still as baffled as they were.

As I read the economists' utterances, they seem to be puzzled over the cause for this depression in which we are, some ascribing it to what is called customary overproduction, that we produce goods to such an extent that the shelves are finally found to be full. Prices are reduced in order to move them, workers are laid off and factories closed, and the spiral runs down and down until it has gotten to where our commodity prices are going into the cellar.

The other groups say, "No, it is really due to the fact that we are on a gold basis and the production and distribution of gold has brought about a restriction of credit, and thereafter the general buying power and economic enterprise of the world." Now, you can just take your choice of these two, or neither one. The fact of the matter is that we are in a depression, a condition that has brought about dislocation and unemployment, for there are actually out of work, at least ten million workers, men and women, in America today. Some significant authorities think it will run as high as twelve million and even in some cases some of them have stated fifteen million. Illinois is one of the States that has a careful collation of statistics even though it does not have an actual enumeration. It is based on estimates consistently made from year to year. The statisticians say that in the city of Chicago there are something in the neighborhood of 700,000 idle men and women who were customarily employed in our industries. We have in the State of Illinois 1,400,000 unemployed at the present time. The number in the city is equal to about one-half of our working population, and the wage level has sunk to a point of 54.5% of the return in the years before our trouble.

We have on the relief rolls in Cook County about 120,000 families. We have, altogether, about 650,000 individuals now receiving relief from the State Commission. Just to give you an idea of what those figures mean, that is a number greater than the population of either North or South Dakota, and larger than the population of Milwaukee or St. Louis, or the combined populations of St. Paul and Minneapolis. You can see the condition in which we are as a people from those figures, and from the outlook, the thing that sends a shiver through us, is the thing that we are facing this winter without any promise of adequate funds, and please be advised that during this year these people have not been supported adequately by the funds that have been provided.

The Workers' Committee on Unemployment made a week's investigation in January and found that all the moral sanctions that ordinarily are present in a community with work were broken down under this degrading, humiliating, and inefficient scheme of relief. I can call it those names; I happen to be chairman of the committee that supervises the lodging houses for the care of homeless men. We made an investigation through the Church Federation, and I happen to be chairman of a committee in that connection, so I will take the responsibility of what I say. We found that all over the city, all the virtues that go to the establishment and maintenance of a business economy were disappearing under the pressure of our relief system, the inadequacy of it, and the uncertainty of it. We were paying very little rent, people had to be set out on the streets before they would be moved into some other quarters. Clothing has been inadequate. We were paying no gas or electric light. I do not need to stop but a moment to tell you the significance of having bright lights in the home so far as the maintenance of the morale of the household is concerned. It is a very vital thing. In a sense it is just as vital as food, drink and shelter. There has been absolutely no adequate provision for the decency or comfort of these people who have been suffering. Actually, the foundations of our moral order are going out under the pressure of the present conditions.

We have discovered that on the average it takes about eighteen months for a family to exhaust its earnings and resources before it comes over to the relief list, but you can imagine what is going to happen in the city of Chicago, the city of Detroit, the city of New York, and all the large centers this next fall, by reason of the fact that our industries are not opening up.

I think people will say, "Well, what are you going to do about it all, and especially, what are you going to say to the teachers?" So far as the general relief is concerned, I would say that I think the teachers are involved with the rest of us in trying to secure adequate relief for those who are in need, and I think that the only place that we can get that now is at Washington, because in the State of Illinois, at least, we practically have exhausted our credit.

There ought to be proposals made to Congress for the maintenance of the schools, and when you speak of the maintenance of a school, what you mean is the support and strengthening of the teaching force, your classroom teachers. The teaching force has been the conserving force in the community. I think the trouble with most teachers—and I think you Union teachers know it better than anyone else because you tried to shame them out of their complacency and get them into your organization, and you know what difficulty you have in persuading them to come in—is that teachers are temperamentally complacent. They accept a regular order without any particular exercise of their critical faculties.

I know that you have heard Mr. McDade, of our schools here, talk about the necessity of bringing into the schoolroom a scheme of teaching that would be really scientific in arousing the intellect of the child and bringing it to a point of suspended judgment on every

proposal that was brought before it. The characteristic of teaching in the past, according to McDade, has been an instruction that led to assent on the part of the child, instead of the exercise of his discriminatory faculties, the exercise of hesitation, of examination, of acceptance after reaching definite convictions through rational processes. Now, I think that teaching in the past has been too much of this complacent kind, the kind that has extorted assent from the child rather than promoting his critical and discriminatory quality of mind, and so we have raised up a nation of slogan-followers. If you can devise a good slogan for any movement you can pretty nearly get it going in this American habit of mind of conformity.

The words that Wells put in his "Outline of History," that "civilization is really a race between education and catastrophe," are truer today than the day he wrote them. We did not anticipate in that time any such world-wide catastrophe such as we are passing through now, but if we are going to hold our own against the forces that are disintegrating us, it will be because we have an intelligent citizenship. Our Republic was founded upon the theory that we had a population, that, so far as character was concerned, could be accepted—it had the moral stamina. The only thing that worried the "founding fathers," as Mr. Harding described them, was the question of whether they were intelligent enough. So, as you know, Jefferson set up in the Northwest Territory, Section 16, to make the school a social center, the community center, the center of intelligence, where the forces of intelligence and the moral quality of the community would radiate from the community center, the country school. If Congress has wisdom and understanding and appreciation of the necessity of maintaining the public school as a bulwark of our present order, it will see to it that the application of the teachers that was sent to Washington will be acted upon favorably. I think that one thing the united teachers ought to do, the teachers in the Unions, is to urge the Senate Committee on Labor to begin a nationwide investigation into school financing, urban and rural. I think they ought to deal with the standards of instruction and the scope of the curriculum.

When I think of school financing, I mean how the finances are raised, how disbursed, and what portion goes to the teacher and what portion goes along the line, and what portion perhaps is distributed in places where it is not needed, but where it is expected "to do the most good." I think there ought to be a canvass made of the relations of the public school to public welfare. Just how do the public schools today function in our national economy? What is their worth, after all, as a social institution? Why should not the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, through the Department or Bureau of Education at Washington, begin such a country-wide investigation into the financing of the schools, if they are one of the great bulwarks of the nation, along with the home and the church. Why should not the schools welcome that type of investigation? When I say, "investigation" I do not mean by the Senators; I mean by experts who will do such a job for the general system as the Strayer people did for the people of Chicago. Why should not that kind of canvass be made throughout the whole nation—we spend money for other things that are less worth while than what the schools are doing—what their needs are, and how they are being met or not being met adequately.

Then, I should like to talk for a minute or two about a broad program with which, I think, the teachers should unite with all the forces of our country who are

really looking for some sort of redemption and retrieval from all these evil days. You are, of course, a part of the American Federation of Labor, and I should like to emphasize first the proposal that the American Federation of Labor makes. Its chief proposal with regard to the cure of the present unemployment condition is reduced working time. I think we ought to start with the Federal Government. I think we ought to see to it that Federal employees are first put on the six-hour day; then I think that Organized Labor, of which you are a part, should see to it that all contracts that are made under government, for the expenditure of government money, should carry with them a clause in the specifications providing for the six-hour day and the five-day week. Action of that kind would mean an entering wedge in establishing the six-hour day and the five-day week.

I think that Labor could do a great deal in putting through that item in its program if it really went at it systematically and saw to it that those two provisions were urged upon the Government. This is a good year to do it when all the politicians are looking for votes.

I do not believe that unemployment insurance at this present moment would be able to retrieve the situation, but I am sure that if we ever get back to anything that approaches normalcy, unemployment insurance would act as a brake upon anything that would approach a time such as we now have. In the first nine months of 1930, according to the Standard Statistics Company, capital spent \$635,000,000 more in dividends and interest disbursements than in the corresponding nine months of 1929. How did that happen? Nobody will pretend that that money was earned in 1930, when we were shrinking. In fact, we started to shrink in June, 1929, but did not land until the stock market went out in October and November of that year. That money represented the savings and setting aside of surpluses in previous years.

Now, if capital can thus set aside surplus to insure itself against slow times, why cannot money be set aside to provide for labor during slow times? Utility companies take care of that all right, as you know. How do they handle it? You know the economists have divided unemployment into three different sections—seasonal, technological and cyclical unemployment. The same thing happens to capital as to labor. Take the Utility Companies. They go before the Utilities Commission and want an allowance. When they ask for this fare of seven cents, ten cents, or whatever it is, included in that fare are provisions for the unemployment of capital.

They say, "We want a six per cent return on the investment of our money." It makes no difference whether part of the cars are in the barns, and we are in the remaining few cars, hanging on the straps, or all the cars are on the streets, we have to pay for the investment of all that capital. They have a seasonal unemployment insurance on their returns.

Not only that, they have an old age pension scheme attached to their public utility. They say, "Look, our cars wear out; our rails wear out. We have to replace them. We have to junk them. They grow old and become decrepit. We can't afford to lose any money while we are doing that, so you will have to give us an allowance for depreciation." That is what it is called; it is really an old age pension for capital.

But these wise boys aren't content with that. They have a provision for taking care of the technological dislocation of capital. They go before the Commission and say, "Yes, that is true; you have given us an allowance for the use of our money, whether it is working or not.

It is true that you have taken care of the old age of our capital, but we have a lot of wise boys around the laboratories and they get new kinds of motors and new types of cars and new types of control, and everything of that kind, and we have to go to work and junk our cars. We have to take up the square edged rails, even if they are not worn out, because they are no longer serviceable, and put in grooved rails. We suffer from technological dislocation of capital, and we have to have some insurance against that," and these wise men sitting in the court, these commissions, say, "Sure, that's right; that is proper," and they put in a provision for what they call "Obsolescent Depreciation." It is nice to hit upon these legal phrases.

Now, if capital—and I am not blaming capital for having this foresight and understanding—has the sense to do that, why shouldn't labor have the right kind of sense in its head to make some provision for the time when it is going to suffer from these seasonal slacks, from technological depression, and cyclical depression, and depreciation or old age?

Now, I think that we shall have to come to some reduction in the budget of our government, as has been advocated, but I would not begin to reduce the budget at any point until we have started with the armaments. If the boys who are advocating the reduction of public expense are willing to start with armaments and go through with it, I would be willing to look at the expenditures that go out for the other services for the people. I would not be in favor of the reduction of our budget until the folk who are so strong for reducing public expenses, as our friend "The Tribune," were ready and willing to go into the matter of the reduction of armaments. The reduction is going to be forced upon us, anyway, throughout the whole world. The world today is spending, in round numbers, five billion dollars a year on armaments. We, ourselves, are contributing about eight hundred millions in this country toward that gigantic sum. How the world can stagger under that financial burden and expect to be prosperous must be a mystery, it seems to me, to any economist.

There has been a proposal also made about the matter of the Eighteenth Amendment. Well, I have only this to say about that, that, after all, we have only so much return. If you spend the money that is earned for booze, you cannot spend it for shoes. It is just a question as to where the worker's money is going to go. I think it is a great deal better to have it going into his wife's hat, cloaks, dresses, and the children's shoes and stockings, than going into the corner saloon. There is a diversity of opinion about that, but for me, I do not have any question about it and I do not see any relief for the present situation by the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. England has had all the beer it has wanted for the last twelve years and it has been in the slough since 1920. For twelve years England has been enduring what we have been experiencing in the last three years. It has never slumped to the degree we have, but England has had a permanent unemployed mining force of three hundred thousand men that have not been doing any work for the last twelve years, off and on.

I want to say a word about the cancellation of war debts. I have a friend, an economist, who has said, "Yes, it is all right to put through shorter working hours, and to have the government appropriate money for public employment, and it is better to buy up government bonds and release credit in the banks, and all the rest of it, but we are never going to get anywhere until those debts are cancelled and the redistribution of gold

has taken place." I said, "I can't see where there is so much trouble about this matter of gold." He said, "You used to play marbles, didn't you?"

I said, "Yes, and I was good. I skinned the other fellows generally."

He said, "When you got all the marbles, they couldn't play."

I said, "No, of course not—unless they got more marbles."

He said, "That is the way France and the United States have all the gold, and the others have not enough. They are not playing with us. They are playing their own game. They are pushing down our commodity prices to get over our tariff walls. The only way they can pay us for anything is by paying in goods. They push our prices down until they pull us down with them."

That is what we are suffering from. The fact of the matter is, we could not afford to collect on those debts. How could they pay us? Only in goods. If they paid us in goods some of the few factories that we have working would have to shut down very soon. The wise thing to do, as one of my friends said, is to take this paper over to Europe, call a conference, and say, "Gentlemen, it is true that you owe us this money. We know you are hard up. It is going to be difficult for you to pay it and hard for us to collect it. But I will tell you what we will do: as a matter of Yankee bargaining, you cut your war budget in half and we will throw this paper into the wastebasket."

I said, "I know that our politicians won't have the nerve to call a conference to consider the matter, and that the European nations, unless punished dreadfully, will not consent to a reduction of war expenditures."

Since that time the President has put out his proposal to cut them about one-third.

I think the most important thing of all, as a cure for our depression, looking toward something better, and certainly for the time being, what we will ultimately be forced to do, will be to resort to what is customarily called a "Planned Economy." I think that we have an example of controlled economy in our railroad system. There are some of you, as grayheaded as myself, who can remember when the railroads were entirely uncontrolled. They charged what the traffic would bear, what they could get out of you, and granted rebates to their favorites. If you want to, read Ida Tarbell's book on Standard Oil and you will find an account of how the Standard Oil Company got no rebates from the railroads in which they had directorships, but that those railroads paid into the treasury of the Standard Oil the excess charges that they put on their competitors. That is how the railroads were operated in those days. If you were acquainted with a conductor in those times, he would tell you that there were more deadheads riding in his car than live ones that paid for their tickets. Every pothouse politician could get a pass for himself and his family, to travel any place in the country free. Those were the conditions. They put out all the bonds, all the stocks they pleased. The railroads were waterlogged, and had to be put on the auction block, and these same fellows went in and bought them back for a song.

That is the sort of financing that our railroads endured, and when organizations, like "The Tribune" and others, complain about the control of railroads being in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission, you must remember that these railroads are still suffering from the over-capitalization that comes down from those old days—which has never been eradicated—and

from that burden of bondage, the bonds issued in that time, which are still resting on those roads; and that added to that has been the undercutting of competition through the trucks and buses and uncontrolled competition that ought to be taken out of that field and taken into the field of the Interstate Commerce Commission and made one with the control of our entire transportation facilities. That is the one intelligent thing to do.

I have not talked about agriculture. That is even worse than our industrial problems. As John Moody said in 1920, the farmers were not only deflated, they were deflated. They have not yet recovered their buying power.

Why did we get out of the depression in 1920? The farmers could not buy, but we happened to have at that time a great building reserve. We had not built because of the war prices; and that building boom lifted us out. Every depression before 1920 ended through the purchasing power of the farmers. They cannot take us out now because they have not got the money.

In South Dakota, the land that has gone over into the hands of the State because of the forfeiture of taxes is equal to the area of five of their counties. Over in Michigan there are eleven million acres that have been taken over in recent years by the State because the farmers could not pay their taxes.

We will have to maintain the Federal Farm Board, because it is the greatest thing, even today, for promoting cooperation among the farmers. This matter of buying wheat or cotton is a mere side issue compared with the work that the Farm Board is doing in organizing the farmers in Cooperatives. We have a situation right here in the city. You folks that live in Chicago know about it. We have a planned economy for the milk production and distribution within the milk shed of Chicago. We have an organized group of farmers known as the Pure Milk Association. They are ably led, a clean organization, and it is a closed shop. Nobody can deliver fluid milk to distributors in Chicago who is not a member of the Pure Milk Association. The distributors, of course, are organized. The Milk Drivers' Union is one of the finest organizations in the whole labor movement. So far as I know, it is a clean organization. I have known both men at the head of it for years. They have a good treasury, they are well-paid, they are still well-paid, and they ought to be well-paid.

I can remember when they used to work for slave wages as milk drivers in this community, before they were organized into the Union. These three interests, the producers, the farmers, and the milk wagon drivers—the distributors—are all organized and intelligently grouped to produce milk for the City of Chicago. They send us good milk, pure milk. Of course, the city is interested in its check through the Health Department. How is it managed? When a dispute arises between the producers and the distributors, how is it settled? It is settled by intelligence. Professor Clyde King, who is the man who acts as arbitrator in the eastern milk market, surveys the situation, takes into account all the items, and if he has to make a decision he does so and it is accepted by all of them. You cannot get a more intelligent scheme than that for organizing the production of a commodity.

But what happens! A bunch of farmers near Sun Prairie, in Wisconsin, and some folk—interested people in the city, maybe they are a bunch of racketeers, as the Union drivers accuse them—set up a dairy to provide nine-cent milk instead of eleven-cent milk.

All the citizens say, "Isn't that fine? Nine-cent milk!" But at what cost? At the cost of destroying this system of intelligence that has been set up. Now, if we had compulsory control of industry, that could not happen. That is the weakness of the Swope plan, in that it is voluntary instead of compulsory. The same applies to the clothing trades. The chiselers are working to upset the efforts of the clothing trades. We have redeemed the industry from the sweatshop condition, the amalgamated employers and those who have cooperated with them. The chiselers in New York, Baltimore, and other non-union shops are under-cutting us and jeopardizing these standards that have been set up with so much care and difficulty through these long years. If all the apparel trades were put under a general control, under a compulsory control, you could not under-cut. You would have to pay the standard wage, you would have to observe the standard hours, you would have to have Union representatives on your Board, and you would have, it seems to me, the application of intelligence to a situation that desperately needs it.

I don't know if anyone saw the article by J. Frankley in "The Forum." He wrote about planned economy. I thought it was too elaborate and detailed altogether for any opportunity of initiation in this country, but he did say one notable thing about Russia. He said, "They need everything. They need shoes, hats, caps, clothing; they need food, they need factories; they need tractors, they need transportation; they need locomotives, they need paved highways, automobiles, everything. Over here all we need is intelligence."

Now, it is really a serious question, whether we have the intelligence to administer our affairs competently, and whether we are able to furnish the public spirit that is essential. We have been given over to adherence to the pioneer virtues of every man for himself, the pioneer virtue that was a virtue in its day when every man had to depend upon himself on the frontier and carry his resources under his own hat; but living in a complicated order such as we have today, the pioneer virtue becomes in many cases simply a vice, a kind of extended, expansive selfishness, and there we have to supplement the initiative and resource that were characteristic of our people as a pioneer people, by human understanding, by sympathetic cooperation, by devotion to public spirit. We are going to have to revamp our political system. We are going to have to approach something such as they have in England and Germany.

And one of the objectives, I think, that ought to be before the school organization is that we are going to attempt, and you are attempting to a degree, to set up the ideal of having the administrative functions of our government carried on by professional men, that is, trained men and women. That is what you attempt to do in a school. That is why a school board is so often simply an interference. It assumes that it knows about the school. Why should they be members of the Board unless they know about schools? They are laymen. What do they know about the professional conduct of the schools? The less the Board has to do with the schools the better it is. Let the professionals run the schools. We have not sense enough to do that; we assume what is not a fact that, under this democracy, one man is as good as another, and one man can do one thing as well as another.

What do they do in England? No man can become a member of the "public servant class" in England without being either a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. They do not say that, but no man can pass the examination which will get him into that particular group

of professionally trained servants of the people unless he has been a graduate, or equal to a graduate, of Oxford or Cambridge, because it is the stiffest examination given in the British Empire. If he goes into the diplomatic corps, he goes up by a difficult series of promotions until he gains the Secretariat in London, the head of the British Commonwealth throughout the world, and Ramsay McDonald never takes a step without consulting the head of that department of his. And you can imagine Ramsay McDonald stepping in there and saying, "I have a good niece who is a stenographer. Can't you find a job for her?"

But that happens every day here. I would guarantee that it is happening right now. I have had an alderman say, "I have a girl on the list. Can't you push her ahead and get her into a school as a permanent appointee?"

The answer is. "No, too many people are watching that list. It can't be done, because there are other people ahead on the list," and the aldermanic applicant immediately gives the school man a black eye.

Now, that is the system we have in this country as compared with the system they have in England and Germany. I lived for two years in Germany, when I was a young fellow, as a student, and I never knew of a charge of graft being brought against anybody but a Police Commissioner in Berlin, and I do not know whether he was guilty because I did not stay there long enough to observe the trial. Graft is unknown.

Until we establish in the consciousness of our people the necessity of separating the various functions of government, we will never achieve that ideal that was in the minds of our forefathers, when, in the first article of the Constitution they put the legislative first, the executive second, and the judicial third. They intended that the legislative should not impinge upon the executive, or the executive on the legislative. But what happens is that the legislative forces in our government reach over into the executive and affect the administrative quality of our government.

You know what happened in Chicago when the verdict came through in 1927 from the Supreme Court, setting aside our practice of farming out the schools. It put three thousand jobs on the platter of Mr. William Hale Thompson one month after he was elected Mayor of the city. Those jobs were farmed out to the committeemen throughout the city, an utterly impossible situation in Germany and England. Perhaps it is because in Germany and England they have a sense of social responsibility that we have not yet acquired here.

We will have to secure that in our public life, and I do not know how it is going to come except through the influence of the schools, more particularly this co-operative existence that you live with the children, so that they come to understand and have the necessary regard for one another and one another's rights.

I do not know how you are going to bring this about. The fact of the matter, friends, is that *we are spiritually bankrupt, rather than financially or commercially bankrupt. And what troubles me more than anything else is how we are going to achieve such a thing as a planned economy or operate a good unemployment scheme until we can bring to pass a much larger measure of devotion to the public welfare than has been exhibited in the later years.*

Mr. A. S. Nance, President of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, Greets the A. F. T.

I should like to say one or two words to the teachers at this Convention to give you the situation as we see it in the South with respect to unions of teachers.

I have come to you to bring fraternal greetings from the workers of the South, and particularly Georgia; and I will say that I come from a state that along educational lines I am deeply ashamed of, but I come from a city that I am very, very proud of. I think as a state we rank at the bottom, but I think as a city, in Atlanta, we rank right at the top and the reason that we rank there is that the teachers' organizations of Atlanta have placed us there. Back before the teachers' organizations were formed, we of the labor movement knew from the lessons that we had learned in that movement some of the things that we wanted, but very few of the things we actually needed. We, of course, knew that free school books were a vital necessity to the education of all children. We knew, of course, that the more we paid our teachers the better teachers our children would have. Since the teachers' organizations have been formed in our city we have been able to get some of the things that we needed and we agreed there with one of the theories at least advanced by the taxpayers themselves. We hear this talk of reductions and eliminations all over the country, but the one point that we agree on is in the reduction of the per capita cost. We differed, however, just a little as to the method of reducing that per capita cost.

Our taxpayers' league and the bankers' association go along the theory that the way to do it is to pick out some of the fundamentals of the educational system. Mistaken though we may be, we believe that the proper way to reduce the per capita cost is to increase the number of pupils. We feel that about half the people of this country, or more probably, need education and need it badly, and if we can increase the number of pupils we will get a corresponding reduction in the per capita cost. We believe that is the real way to do the job.

There are one or two things that I think the teachers should bear in mind. You have a dual responsibility that you should not overlook in times such as these: First, there is your responsibility to the organized teachers. They are dependent on you to maintain the standards they have, poor though they may be. Also, there is your responsibility to educate the labor movement, and with that responsibility the opportunity to get a militant fighting force behind you that in many cities, particularly in the South, you are not taking advantage of.

In Atlanta and our local community any attack on the school brings an immediate challenge from the entire labor movement. The moment they begin to talk about reductions and eliminations the labor movement is ready to fight. We will accept the gauntlet with any of them on anything pertaining to our teachers or our children.

Of course, we are having our reverses, our set-backs, but you know *we can lose lots of battles but still win a war, and I am sure that if you and your colleagues throughout this country will really take the job pertaining to the workers of the country and the things they need to protect the educational opportunities of their children, you will find the labor leaders of America, under the able leadership of our president here, standing shoulder to shoulder with you to see that those standards are maintained and preserved.*

Chicago, A Key Situation

Charles B. Stillman

Address given at the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, June 28, 1932, Chicago.

MR. PRESIDENT, Fellow Teachers: I rather hesitate as a delegate from Chicago to dwell on the Chicago situation. You have heard a great many details of it at other sessions, but the thing that has grown on me as I listen to other delegates is the fact that Chicago is a key situation. The similarities in a variety of communities from one coast to the other have already been revealed in our various sessions and show up far beyond the possibility of mere coincidence to explain.

I believe that one reason that Chicago is the key situation is that we have been victimized a little in advance of other communities in the country. That doesn't sound very hopeful for the other communities; and I am not implying, either, that other communities have not suffered greatly, but after all Chicago is the only community that has gone twenty-six months without the collection of one penny of taxes, and that tax muddle, that complete dislocation of our tax assessing and tax collecting machinery, has given an opportunity to the enemies of public education that they have not been slow to seize upon, an opportunity which has not been offered them in any such inviting fashion in any other city as yet.

Another reason, perhaps, that we are a key situation is that Chicago is the geographical and commercial and financial center—I will have to finish this phrase so as not to offend New York—of the Middle West. Certainly it is true that whatever happens in Chicago, whatever the result, the net outcome of our present crisis here is going to have tremendous influence on communities throughout this section of the country. I doubt if even the two Coasts would completely escape. If what I have come more and more to consider a real conspiracy is successful here, it would merely gain that much more momentum for the next place of concentrated attack.

It has become a concentrated attack here. I know that I have sometimes seen a little expression of incredulity as I have said off and on during the last ten or fifteen years that I thought there were definite forces aiming to curtail the expansion of public school education. A good many of us have been saying that for at least fifteen years. We have at times been rash enough to itemize; we have mentioned, as I remember, the Bankers' Association, we have mentioned real estate interests, the Associations of Commerce, various commercial and industrial groups, and a great many people have thought that we were simply expressing prejudice. I think that Chicago is a key situation now, if in no other sense than that of offering some very definite evidence of the validity of such charges, and as I go on I wonder if the delegates from the other sections of the country may not recognize some very familiar phenomena.

Reduction in Education Cost

The general objective of this concentrated drive has been a reduction in cost of education, and as a necessary corollary a reduction in educational facilities. Curriculum starvation is the first note I have under the

reduction of educational facilities, and I doubt whether any other community in the country has presented the spectacle that Chicago has during the last several months of attacks upon any type of curriculum that could be justified in this modern world. They have avoided saying that they wanted to go back to the three R's of the Little Red Schoolhouse, but their propaganda has been definitely in that direction. There have been times, if you read one of our newspapers in this city, when you would think all we did was to teach golf to music in our school system. All they needed was to find one example of a volunteer class on a Saturday morning, of golf strokes being taught by a teacher in her off time to pupils in their off time and with a little music in the background, to offer an occasion for a barrage lasting for months in this city so far as the Press is concerned (a certain part of the Press) on that matter of golf to music. That is a trifle, but symptomatic of the desperate attempts to mislead the public so that costs could be forced down even at the expense of failure to provide an educational system that will prepare for modern life.

The people in the forefront of this attack are not worried about their own children because as a rule they do not send their own children to public schools. As Superintendent Bogan has said so often, practically all of these attacks have been attacks against the children of the poor, against the children who have no other opportunity than that offered in the public schools for educational facilities. In addition to curriculum starvation (and I needn't dwell on that any further in this group) an attack upon the number of years of educational opportunity ordinarily offered has been begun. They started, of course, at the top. We have had a desperate fight to retain our Junior College and our Normal School. I have discovered, in conversation with other delegates, that that is by no means confined to Chicago. One thing that did startle even the most hardened of us was a full-fledged editorial in one of our two leading morning newspapers a few months ago, definitely advocating tuition in Senior High School, claiming that the cost had reached the point where taxpayers could not longer be asked to assume the entire burden, and if our constitutional guarantee of a common school education was to be broad enough to include high schools it was only fair that the beneficiaries, so far as Senior High School was concerned, should pay tuition. I would not have supposed that to be possible. As a matter of fact, I think that that particular newspaper has attempted to cover its tracks since then. After that one blast they failed to repeat.

Increased Class Size

In addition to that, and this I know is country wide, there have been very drastic increases in the size of classes. Chicago had already reached the unenviable position of leading the large cities of the country in the size of its classes, and they have now in this emergency been still further increased. Of course, in addition to that there was a very concentrated drive on teachers' salaries, too. We are able to maintain our salary schedule standard only at the price of losing our pay for holidays, of a shortened year—two weeks

taken off the school year—and of a loss of so-called “bonuses” many of which were not bonuses at all. Then in addition—I am not mentioning this in connection with salaries although it has a salary bearing of course—there came the elimination of all but a handful of night schools and the complete elimination of summer schools up until about two weeks ago, when tuition summer schools were provided and a sufficient number of applicants applied so that four small summer schools are now in operation.

It looks from that list as though the enemies of the public schools had really won a great many of their objectives in Chicago. As a matter of fact, I hope to show you that their victory is not nearly so complete as they had hoped to make it. I wonder if the methods used will not also stir a familiar chord in the memories of the delegates from the other sections of the country. The principal method used in this city has been the attempted dictatorship of large tax-paying groups and banking groups, and these groups have adopted procedures that it seems to me are more dangerous from the standpoint of popular government than many of those advocated by so-called radical groups that are admittedly trying to overthrow our governmental institutions. There are more ways of securing a revolution than by violence. I submit that when you have an organized tax strike as we have in this town, fomented, many believe, along the lines of a racket, organized and pushed chiefly by one individual, and financed by a definite proportion of the tax bills of the people who were induced to join it, with the refusal of all concerned to pay any taxes until the last legal moment possible, and with the definite objective announced of compelling reduction all along the line of governmental expenditures—now admitting that some of the governmental expenditures should be reduced, that method of complete defiance, deliberate crippling of all public governmental activities, is just as definitely a revolutionary method as throwing up barricades.

Is This Revolution?

That, however, is not the most serious of the revolutionary methods used in this city, and I hesitate a little in speaking of the next one, because there are some members in that group, some leaders in it, whose motives I still have some confidence in, but we have a group that calls itself, “The Committee of One Hundred,” a completely extra-legal group. They admit they have no right in law to exercise any control, but they have definitely decided that the total sum of money which the people of this community can be asked to contribute for the support of public government is a certain amount, and they have then gone further and proceeded to allocate that sum of money arbitrarily fixed by them among the various governmental agencies. Now, a group of citizens who believes that there is misgovernment has a right, even has a civic duty, to organize to attempt to correct that misgovernment, but I do not believe that any group—and we are refraining entirely from passing on their motives—no matter how well intentioned, has a right to set up its judgment as to what proportion of the public income of the community shall be devoted to public education, for instance, and that is what we are especially interested in, as opposed to the decision on that matter on the part of the elected representatives of the people. When any volunteer extra-legal super-government of that kind succeeds in imposing its private, personal judgment as to the proper allocation of funds on a community, you

have just as definitely a revolution as though you had a red flag flying from the City Hall.

It certainly appears that that is precisely what we are up against in the City of Chicago. We have set by our state legislature certain maximum tax rates for various purposes. That for the educational fund of the schools happens to be \$1.56 this year, and for the city corporate fund, \$1.35. The budget adopted by the Board of Education is based on practically the same estimate of the assessed valuation as that of the city corporate, and this group said the city council was co-operating with them one hundred per cent because their \$1.35 rate produced the sum of money that the volunteer group said the city had a right to expend.

The \$1.56 rate set by the same legislature justifies the budget that the Board of Education has adopted, but this group in their own judgment said that while the figure was right for the city corporate it was altogether too high for the educational fund and I heard a leader of that group say in a meeting in the City Hall that until the Board of Education reduced its tax levy to the figure which this group of one hundred had assigned to it, they would not turn their hands over to see that a penny of money was raised for the Board of Education. And representatives of the bankers have stated that in purchases of tax warrants they would be largely governed by the recommendations of the Committee of One Hundred.

The usurpation by any volunteer group of the function (which can be properly exercised only by the legislature) of determining the proportion of public funds to be used for education is an exceedingly dangerous principle. That is true regardless of the quality of the men who are attempting to usurp that function.

“Voluntary” Cut

Another of the methods that this group has used, and I have heard various delegates speak of the same thing, is the principle or idea of the voluntary cut. I remember hearing one of these business leaders wax very eloquent in what he called a patriotic appeal to the employees of the Board of Education to take a voluntary cut to help tide their city over this tremendous crisis. No teachers’ groups showed any tendency to respond to that patriotic (?) appeal. I don’t believe that you will find very many teachers in Chicago who are quite so gullible in their definition of patriotism, but there have been numerous definite efforts to get the teachers to agree to a voluntary cut.

A member of our Board of Education, who is also a bank director, in one meeting of the Board made this public statement: “Of course, I can’t speak for the banks. I am not authorized to speak for the banks, but I am very sure that if the teachers would come forward and agree to take a ten per cent cut, that within a very short time after that we could get a big enough loan from the banks to pay up all of our back salaries.” There was no rush of teachers’ representatives, hard pressed though we were for money, to make that voluntary offer.

After all, I think that as teachers we do not want to forget that we are not responsible for the present high cost of education, if it is high. We are not responsible for the expansion of the educational system. I think we would be proud to be responsible, but as a matter of fact we are not. It is the public itself that has kept adding more and more burdens to the public school system. It is the public that has been sending its children to the schools in vastly increasing numbers, and it is cer-

tainly the public that has been flooding our secondary schools, where costs are highest, with pupils, while the elementary schools have remained practically stationary, so that if public education has grown to be a very serious part of the American tax bill, it is because of the demands that the American people have placed upon that public school system. It is not because of any initiative that we teachers have taken.

One of the reasons for resisting these efforts to cut salaries is the thing that has made it possible to attract a high type of young manhood and young womanhood into the profession, and that is the fact that although teaching offered no opportunities for riches it did offer some degree of stability. Young people could enter the teaching profession leaving all hope of wealth behind them, but at the same time being supported by the idea that in the economic fluctuations they were comparatively secure. Their very moderate place in the economic scale was at least something that they could depend on, and now if in this emergency that hope is taken from them, as it threatens to be in all sections of the country, we are going to have exceeding difficulty in attracting into our poorly paid profession the type of manhood and womanhood that we and that the public want in the public schools.

You can always find applicants for teaching positions, that is true. If you want to get the type of ability that, not going into teaching, would go into still more poorly paid callings, if you are satisfied with entrusting the children of the nation to that mediocre type of ability, very well. You will always be able to fill the classrooms with them. But if you want the type of inspiration and the type of leadership that the American public school system has attempted to give to the youth of this country, you will find that the continuance of this drive against salaries will make it completely impossible for the coming generation.

National Aid

I want to say one word about National aid. We have made, groups of us here, two trips to Washington in search of National aid in the last two or three weeks, and I wonder if you realize after all how sincere we are in believing that in a calamity of this kind it is entirely legitimate to ask the National Government to come to the support of the community to prevent the collapse of anything as important to the nation as education. If you had the same amount of suffering imposed by tornado, fire or flood, there would be no question about national funds immediately forthcoming, and there would be no criticism if the nation realized the situation here. I do not think that Congress would dare twiddle as they are now on technicalities, but after all that was not our only purpose. Another purpose was to bring pressure on the local banks here. I think that has been accomplished to some degree, to make the whole country realize that the banks in the financial center of the Middle West, the second financial city of the nation, had failed to function as banks in this emergency.

As Josiah Stamp of England said, the United States banks with their mania for liquidity are simply abdicating as banks. The members of Congress brought that out very definitely and in ways that have been rather troublesome to the local bankers here. That was one purpose. We may have to go further in that direction. I am not sure that this Convention might not definitely take some steps recommending the provision of credit functions in some other agency, such as the postal sav-

ings banks, in case banks as we now have them established continue to ignore their social responsibilities in this matter.

Another purpose was to focus the attention of the nation upon the seriousness of this educational crisis which we thoroughly believe is likely to be as serious in other communities in the coming year as it has been in Chicago this year, and to focus, if we could, the thought of the people on education as a self-liquidating process. We have heard a great deal of that phrase in connection with national legislation. They have a lot to give to self-liquidating projects, and they call a toll-bridge self-liquidating. If they only realized the cost in juvenile delinquency, the cost in lowered citizenship standards, which would follow the closing and collapse of public schools, the immediate cost in lack of stability in any community that has its schools closed as well as the later cost in reduced social and industrial effectiveness I think they would agree that the public schools are as thoroughly self-liquidating as any industrial enterprise they could possibly name.

A. F. of L.

Now, in closing, I am very glad indeed that we have the President of the American Federation of Labor here, because I am convinced that we have a situation so desperate that only the cooperation of all the interested elements in the community will successfully be able to resist, and among those elements in the community that are friendly to the public schools, those in this room, of course, know that there is none to compare in its record with the American Federation of Labor.

They took a very leading part in the founding of the public school system, and at times past in various crises they have come to the rescue of the public school system, and at this time, in addition to spurring our own efforts to the utmost, arousing the teachers themselves, without in any way attempting to belittle our own responsibility in the matter, I know that it is a real source of hope to us that we have a powerful ally in the American Federation of Labor.

Special Study of Retirement Systems

Retirement systems for teachers are also under attack. The need of safeguarding and improving the established systems and of securing sound systems where not established is apparent to the American Federation of Teachers.

A resolution was therefore adopted at the Convention.

Need of a Pension Committee

Resolution No. 39—Introduced by Chicago Women, Local 3

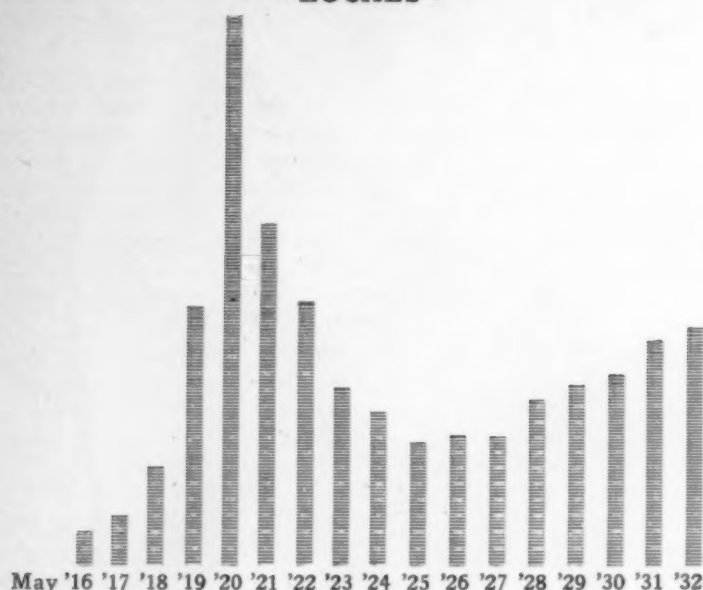
WHEREAS, The obligation of society to provide teachers with an adequate and secure pension is generally acknowledged, and

WHEREAS, There are, in many cases, grave doubts as to the solvency of pension funds; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the permanent committee on pension and retirement funds of the American Federation of Teachers be reorganized for the purpose, (1) of making a thorough review of pension and retirement provisions, and (2) of giving information from time to time about sound actuarial pension systems.

Miss Florence Rood, secretary-treasurer St. Paul Teachers' Retirement Fund Association, has consented to act as chairman of the Committee on Pension and Retirement Funds.

LOCALS



Persistency Is the Word

Promotion and Organization

The report on organization submitted to the Sixteenth Convention contained the following:

Every thinking teacher cannot fail to see that organization is needed in these abnormal times to protect his interests. Every teacher is doing more thinking than is his custom. The way to make a man think seems to be not an application to the head but a blow on the pocket book.

We have been saying for sixteen years "that the best interests of the schools and of the people demand an intimate contact and an effective cooperation between the teachers and the other workers of the community," and a few teachers have been listening to us. But at this time many more are ready to accept as truth that the best hope held out to them as teachers and workers is the organized labor movement. They are ready to accept with us that Education's Hope Is Unionism.

The President of the Utah Education Association in our office last week said, "The teachers of Utah are being driven into the American Federation of Teachers." I do not like the expression but the thought that they know where they should be for protection and as a last resource for that protection is something for us to think about, rather than that what for us is a matter of pride is to them a matter of reluctance and shame.

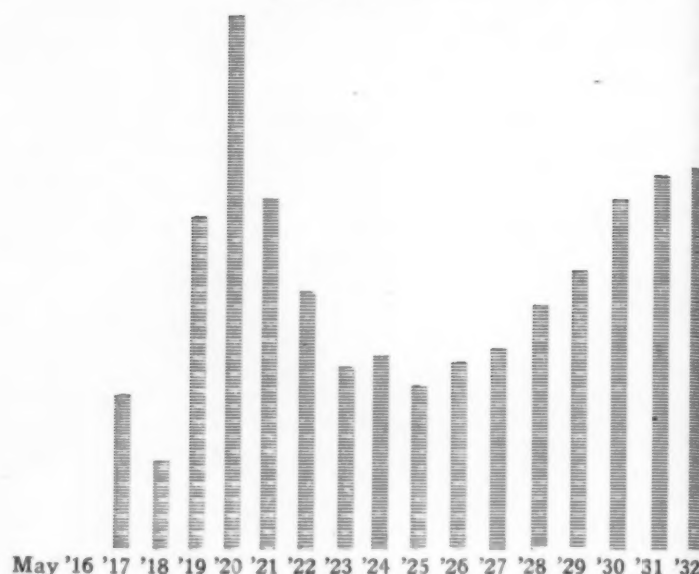
I quote two pertinent sentences from the address of Miss Barker at the South Central Labor Congress at Meridian, Mississippi: "Nobody needs organization like the teachers, and both the labor movement and the teachers will benefit jointly by such a move." And "The American Federation of Labor, the labor movement is the front line trench in defense of human liberties."

The accompanying graphs show the growth in membership and in locals.

There have been calls for information and literature from many sections. The seeds have been planted, the soil is good; on the earnestness and ability of the sower depends the harvest.

I believe that organization work should be carried on by a systematic long range plan. This plan should begin with contacts with state federations of labor and

MEMBERSHIP



Our Greatest Glory Consists Not in Never Falling,
But in Rising Every Time We Fall

city central bodies, followed by survey of fields and contacts with interested teachers.

How many times have I been told that teachers have been unfairly treated because of Chicago! Using Chicago as a horrible example, Boards of Education have proceeded to ill treat their teachers. This is now beyond a local situation. It is beyond an independent teachers association. Would this which has happened to the schools, to society, have happened so drastically if teachers had been organized in trade unions, if workers and teachers had been organized together? A national movement is needed for it is the nation's schools that need protection. If Chicago teachers lose their fight to preserve standards, the standards of all the schools will be lowered. If the Washington teachers lose their fight to preserve salaries, all salaries will drop lower and lower. If California teachers lost their fight to keep their tenure, tenure is gone in America. It isn't Chicago's fight or Washington's fight or California's fight. It is the fight of every teacher everywhere. What is needed in the face of the present crisis is not only the union of all the teachers but the union of all the workers. It is by "the union of all those who work whether with their hands or their heads," by union teachers working in and with organized labor that there can be hope for ourselves, our schools, our society. The American Federation of Teachers is joined with the one force that is making for a new world. Other teachers should have this proud privilege. We alone cannot save the situation.

The American Federation of Teachers is the solution of the teachers' problem of effective organization. The time to start is NOW.

Are we ready?

Policies Committee

The Committee on Policies, Mr. McCoy, Chicago Men Local 2, chairman, reported on the Organization Report, Resolution 2, introduced by Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59 on the creation of an organization fund, and Resolution 53, introduced by Delegate Mann, Atlanta 89, on southern organization, as follows:

The Committee on Policies has read with interest the organization report submitted by the secretary-treasurer. We wish to call to the attention of the convention the fact that much excellent work in this direction was done at small cost during the year just past.

We recommend that the congratulations and thanks of the convention be addressed to Mrs. Hanson both on the success of her efforts and on the low cost to the Federation treasury.

Substitute for Resolution 53

WHEREAS, At several preceding conventions resolutions have been adopted aimed at promoting the teacher union movement—sometimes generally, at other times with particular emphasis on sections; and

WHEREAS, The execution of these resolutions has necessarily been left to the national officers and the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, The paucity of financial resources has regularly prevented the effective accomplishment of the intent of these resolutions; and

WHEREAS, The existing situation, which puts all teachers upon the defense of their own status and the defense of educational standards, offers an occasion and an opportunity for the organizing of many new locals; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of the Executive Council be directed to the unique opportunity for Federation growth presented by the current situation, that they bear in mind that this period of danger and adversity makes the appeal for effective organization attractive as it can never be in normal circumstances and that every effort should be made by the Council so to allocate revenues of the national organization as to devote the largest possible amount to the purpose of organizing new locals in the more strategic and promising centers where local growth and stability seem probable.

Officers' Reports Committee

The Committee on Officers' Reports, W. B. Satterthwaite, Seattle 200, chairman, brought before the Convention the following:

One of the major activities of a labor organization should be continuous and aggressive organization effort. The American Federation of Teachers has not in recent years given a fair proportion of its effort to direct field organization work. As a policy not less than one-third of the gross receipts of the Federation should be used for this purpose. One-third of the income should be used for direct field organization work, and specifically for the coming year the officers and Executive Council are instructed that all money received from the liquidation of notes from local unions and tax warrants now held of date June 30, 1932, be placed in the organization fund to be used exclusively for field organization work.

Organization Plans

Upon the adoption of this policy the Executive Council immediately took up the work of formulating a practical method for carrying out these very definite instructions. A committee composed of Selma M. Borchartt, Allie B. Mann, Charles B. Stillman, and Florence Curtis Hanson, chairman, was set up.

This Committee presented to the Executive Council a plan for an intensive organization campaign which has been adopted. Four regional centers were created; Atlanta for the south with Miss Mann as regional representative; Wilkes-Barre, Penn., for the Middle Atlantic with Miss Barbara C. McGlynn as regional representative; San Francisco for the West and St. Paul for the North Central, regional representatives for the latter two not yet chosen.

The survey of the Pennsylvania field has already begun and the work in all centers will be taken up actively with the opening of schools.

The present time is one in which it requires unusual courage to be courageous. A weary acceptance of apparent defeat is easier.

A. F. T. Teachers Placement Bureau

The 1931 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers set up a committee to inquire into the need and advisability of establishing a Placement Bureau. Miss Amy A. Fox was made chairman.

The problem which the Committee set was on the basis of needed service.

Is there a real need of a Placement Bureau in the national office of the American Federation of Teachers, (1) for the beginning teacher, (2) for the experienced teacher who for personal reasons may wish a change, (3) for spirited teachers who may have lost their positions on account of frank expression of opinion on social or economic or political conditions?

Careful inquiry into the service rendered by commercial agencies revealed that in the main charges were reasonable, treatment not unfair and the beginning teacher furnished a means of contact.

While the service to the new teacher, provided for by agencies, university and normal school bureaus, is not regarded as a special need, the Committee declares that for the teacher dismissed, not for lack of efficiency, but for his avowed opinion on some phase of the *status quo* a placement bureau is of immediate necessity. It avers that this is a situation that strikes at the very heart of our organization and the principles for which it stands.

In discussing this part of the question, Dr. S. A. Mahood of Denver says:

"The program of the Federation, as I understand it, is one of aggressive action for the improvement of the social and economic order through the teacher and as such it is bound to react against the teacher; so it would seem to be the primary duty of the organization to protect the individual teacher against loss or humiliation; hence the chief function of a placement bureau in the Federation would seem to be to take adequate care of those who in the furtherance of their duties as members lose their positions or are subjected to other punitive measures . . . Furthermore, if the organization does not stand unflinchingly behind those who courageously stand for it and its principles, its influence will become very much circumscribed."

The Committee points out that a Teachers Placement Bureau will be a financial burden to the organization but emphasizes that the service is now more needed than ever before.

Replying to the question of to what extent would recommendations from the American Federation of Teachers help an applicant, the Committee says:

Probably the greatest success that the department could achieve would be rather closely linked with how successfully it could build up a close cooperation between the national office and efficient, energetic local committees.

Recommendation

In conclusion, the Placement Bureau Committee believes that the establishment of teacher placement work in the national office is not only necessary to care for the needs of our members, but is imperative for the social health of the organization. We hope that the bureau will eventually build up for itself a real reputation for disseminating mature teaching ability of a very high order. We hope that eventually teachers of maturity and ability who may desire for various reasons to change their positions, may find it easier to do so happily and successfully through our bureau than it is at present, when the demand seems to be almost entirely for inexperienced, low-priced teachers. Finally, although our study has shown no really great necessity of aid to the beginning teacher, we hope that eventually our service may extend to the saving of shakels for the youth of our profession. But above every consideration, if the placement bureau is established by the American Federation of Teachers, we hope that it will right some social wrongs among teachers in our own corner of the working world.

Work for Unemployed Teachers

WHEREAS, Teachers as well as other types of workers are suffering as never before from unemployment; and

WHEREAS, It is incumbent upon us to help care for our own and to be generous in allowing work to others; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers request the Secretary-Treasurer to send to each local a plea that a strong committee be formed in the local to help unemployed teachers

(1) By listing unemployed teachers wanting work.

(2) By helping to make contacts between unemployed teachers and such teachers in the local system as may have the correcting of papers or other work that may be handled outside the classroom.

WHEREAS, The policy of retrenchment in education is resulting in the non-appointment of new teachers and the dismissal of employed teachers not on permanent tenure thus adding scores of thousands to the army of unemployed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers and its affiliated locals organize campaigns against shortsighted economy programs in education and oppose any attempt to impair the free public school system, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers and its locals pledge cooperation with the unemployed teachers in their efforts to solve their problems, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Boards of Education and public teacher training institutions be urged to devise sound and equitable methods for maintaining a balance between the needs of the school system and the numbers admitted to entering classes.

Economy Programs and School Support

"Economy programs" in their various forms and the means of combatting them were a major topic on the agenda of the A. F. T. Convention.

Resolutions as follows were adopted:

Protecting the School Year

Resolution No. 36—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, The school year of ten months has grown out of urban conditions; and

WHEREAS, The first step in economy in a time of financial stress is the attempt to shorten the length of the school year, and

WHEREAS, Under present conditions of unemployment which have resulted in the demoralization of many homes, the school meets a social need in keeping the children occupied with educational activities of benefit to the individual, the state and the nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers urge its constituent locals to take all possible steps to inform the public of the dangers inherent in any shortening of the school year.

Guarding the Curriculum

Resolution No. 34—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, The demands of our modern society have become so severe and so complex that the problem of the schools in preparing their students for living under present conditions has become tremendously involved, and

WHEREAS, Because of the changing economic situation, many of the skills and arts formerly taught in the home have been transferred to the schools, and

WHEREAS, The enrichment of the curriculum made necessary to meet this complex civilization has been achieved by the addition of (1) vocational and industrial studies, (2) by instruction in the fine arts, (3) by health programs, (4) by training, in the social studies and understanding of social, economic and political organization, (5) by vocational and educational guidance to help the student adjust himself to the community in which he must live, and by other extensions of school service, and

WHEREAS, The shorter day in industry will mean that the generation in schools must be prepared for the right use of its leisure, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers urge all its constituent locals to take vigorous action to guard against any curtailment of the school curriculum, or elimination of any educational activities, and that furthermore it

work in ever possible way to explain in all local communities the value of a diversified and purposeful course of study.

Increased Cost of Public Schools

Resolution No. 30—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, At this time the panacea for all economic ills is reduction in governmental expenditures, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the cost of public school education during recent years is being given wide-spread publicity without due emphasis on the cause of this increase, and

WHEREAS, The greatest increase in school population has been in the secondary schools where the cost is greater than in the elementary schools, as, for example, in Chicago where the increase in total school population in the last 16 years has been 63%, while the increase in the high schools has been 263%, and

WHEREAS, Much of the increase in school expenditures is due to the higher price levels, since as late as December, 1931, the dollar was worth 70 cents on the 1915 base in Chicago, where according to the Columbia University Survey, 39% of the increase in the total school expenditures for the last 16 years was due to increased price levels, and

WHEREAS, Classes for anaemic, blind, crippled and sub-normal have contributed to the school costs in many communities, and

WHEREAS, When the schools are paying for medical and dental inspection, school nurses, and are providing penny lunches in various localities, they are carrying the financial burden which should be borne by other governmental bodies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers urge its various locals to advertise and in every possible way bring to the attention of the public these and other contributing causes for the increase in public school expenditures.

The Depression and Education

Resolution No. 32—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, During the past two years due to the industrial depression, a tremendous increase in school membership has shown itself largely in the junior and senior high schools, and

WHEREAS, The education of these workers, forced out of employment by industrial conditions over which they have no control, is a proper responsibility for the community to assume, and

WHEREAS, The increased burden on the schools has been accompanied by a decrease in school revenues, and

WHEREAS, Public and private businesses have long used loans and bond issues as a means of financing; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers recognizes as serious the emergency, created by a vast increase in school membership and a decrease in school revenues, and urges the expenditure of money by Boards of Education in sufficient amounts properly to maintain adequate systems of education for all children of school age even though payment for this education must be made at some future date.

Educating the Community to Support Public Schools

Resolutions No. 4 and No. 38 combined—Introduced by Minneapolis Local 59 and Chicago Women Local 3

Taxpayers' Associations and Chambers of Commerce are covering the country with propaganda designed to curtail school expenditures, thereby attacking the curriculum, the length of the school day and the school year, and the general efficiency of the public school service.

Such propaganda, if successful, will deprive boys and girls in the public schools of the training which a depressed economic condition makes all the more imperative in order that these boys and girls may have the guidance and inspiration necessary to meet the new problems which youth and the community must face.

It is also true that in some sections of the country such curtailment of the public school program would operate to deprive boys and girls in the public schools of educational advantages such as are received by students in the more favored private schools. The result would be discrimination in educational advantages between the rich and the poor, a condition unthinkable in a democracy.

These attacks upon public school education can be defeated only by an enlightened public opinion. Therefore, the American Federation of Teachers will undertake during the com-

ing year a publicity campaign for the purpose of presenting to the public the real effect upon the rising generation of injury to the public school system.

In carrying out this program our executive officers will be expected to use the services of a publicity agency, such as the Labor Research Bureau, or to conduct the campaign with such necessary assistance as the office of the American Federation of Teachers is able to employ.

The locals are urged to cooperation in this campaign, using speakers' and writers' bureaus, local newspapers and radio stations, and any other possible avenue of publicity, in order to build up an alert public opinion on school questions.

School Support in the Period of Retrenchment

Resolution No. 31—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, A decrease in public revenue due to economic conditions has been general throughout the country during the last two years, and

WHEREAS, The retrenchment thus necessitated in public expenditures has in many communities been expressed in drastic cuts in appropriations for public schools, and

WHEREAS, These reductions must inevitably reduce the efficiency of this great institution of service at a period when its stabilizing force is most needed, and when its resources are most heavily taxed by the increased school population due to the wide-spread unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Such reductions in the efficiency of our public schools constitute a grave menace to our nation during this period of economic distress and an unfair and unwise restriction in opportunity for the youth of the nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled call first, upon the people of America to take heed to the danger to which this policy of retrenchment in public school support is exposing the nation, since democratic government is founded on public education: that it call second, upon all organizations and individuals to whom the well-being of our nation is sacred to throw the whole weight of their power and influence into the protection of our public schools; and third, it charge its locals that they recognize their responsibility for awakening in their communities anew the tradition of American devotion to the public school, and that they place squarely before their fellow-citizens the danger in which reduction of school revenues will place their schools, to the end that the sentiment of the community shall demand of public officials that crippling retrenchments be not made in that public service most vital to the welfare of the community and of the nation.

Salary Cuts

Resolution No. 6—Introduced by Cambridge Local 195

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last convention in Vancouver reaffirmed its position in regard to the economic unsoundness and injustice of wage or salary reductions in this present crisis, and

WHEREAS, Throughout the United States severe cuts in teachers' salaries have been made, and automatic increases have been withheld, and

WHEREAS, In many cities and towns virtual decreases in salaries have been brought about by the so-called "voluntary contributions" to unemployment relief funds, and

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that as a general rule teachers' salaries have not kept pace with the wages of other workers or with the cost of living, and that at their best teachers' salaries have been far from adequate; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers together with the American Federation of Labor oppose with all its power and influence any salary cuts, and in places where such cuts have been made endeavor to bring about the restoration of the previous schedule.

Salary Reduction

Resolution No. 7 (a)—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, The depression has brought great hardships, not only upon millions of our fellow citizens and their dependents, but also upon communities; and

WHEREAS, The attempt in certain localities to meet the situation resulting from financial emergency by salary reduction is not only unwise but dangerous since it decreases purchasing power and thereby intensifies the depression; and

WHEREAS, The financial predicament in which many lo-

calities find themselves is due not only to the depression, but also to unwise financing and the failure to take the fullest social advantage of taxing possibilities; and

WHEREAS, Teachers, as well as public servants in general, have for years suffered a serious loss in purchasing power because of price inflation, stationary salaries and unusual profiteering upon the part of business men and financiers; and

WHEREAS, President Hoover said:

"The very first obligation upon the natural resources is the undiminished financial support of the public schools. We cannot afford to lose ground in education. That is neither economy nor good government." and

WHEREAS, Educational outlays are investments rather than expenditures, the curtailment of which will throw the schools back into the morass from which 30 years of constructive educational statesmanship has brought them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers go on record as unalterably opposed to the unwise, unjust, economically suicidal policy of wage reductions, which bleeds the schools rather than eliminates inequalities, and, instead, recommend the following social program which is economy in the best and truest sense;

(1) The maintenance, and where necessary, the increase in teacher standards.

(2) The limitation of class enrollment so as not to exceed 35, so that retardation, maladjustment and delinquency be reduced to a minimum.

(3) The creation of special classes to meet varying educational needs.

(4) Individualized instruction to enable the children to travel at their own speed, to give all a sense of achievement instead of frustration.

(5) The catching up in school building program at the present low building rates, and thus reduce part time.

(6) The elimination of real waste as embodied in unnecessary jobs, in duplication of activity, in the payment of administrative salaries for what is really clerical work, in exorbitant condemnation payments for school sites, in inflated repair rates, in the installation of expensive non-workable, heating devices, in having high salaried teachers and administrators do various kinds of clerical work, in unnecessary ordering of too great a variety of supplies and their inefficient utilization.

Voluntary Contributions

Resolution No. 7 (b)—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, Salary cuts are in many instances initiated and carried through by means of "voluntary contributions" and remissions of salary, as in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Jersey City, and New Rochelle; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers advise its locals—

(a) To conduct an educational campaign to the end that teachers realize that a voluntary contribution, no matter how small at the beginning and regardless of method used in its collection, is a salary reduction.

(b) That locals urge teachers not to remit any part of their salary.

Basis of Taxation

Resolution No. 29—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, Taxes are levied for the purpose of making it possible that the various units of governments render the services which society has delegated to them, and

WHEREAS, During this period of business depression, schools are the haven for thousands of young people deprived of employment who present a tremendous problem our schools are inadequately prepared to meet, and

WHEREAS, Law enforcing bodies are finding added reason for their existence, charitable institutions are crowded beyond capacity, and many other governmental agencies are confronted with enormously increased duties, and

WHEREAS, Self-constituted citizens' committees have seen fit to recommend reduced tax levies or expenditures on the basis of what these committees estimate the taxpayers can or will pay and through propaganda have attempted to force the adoption of these levies, and

WHEREAS, It is futile to expect that such determination of tax levies will more than superficially take into consideration the comparative value of the various services rendered by these bodies, and

WHEREAS, Such procedure will undoubtedly materially impair the functioning of the schools and other governmental bodies which are abnormally extended during this period of economic chaos; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers oppose any attempts to determine the tax levies or expenditures by unofficial committees who do not have proper understanding or due consideration for the social services rendered by the bodies for which the levies are made.

School Finance

Resolution No. 52—Introduced by Chicago Men Local 2

WHEREAS, During the past year or more there have been successful efforts over the entire country sharply to reduce the expenditures for tax-supported education, efforts which continue unabated, and

WHEREAS, These reductions have, in nearly all cases, resulted in a curtailment of the services rendered by the schools or a lowering of the quality of those services and in either case have compelled the teachers to carry part of the burden which should be assumed by the community, and

WHEREAS, In most cases of these curtailments they are not due to any inherent poverty of the community, since it is often one whose aggregate wealth is high in proportion to its school expenditures, and

WHEREAS, The public schools are universally admitted to be necessary for social stability and progress, which are effectively served only in proportion as the services of the schools are maintained and extended; therefore be it

RESOLVED by the American Federation of Teachers, That (1) in the name of the teaching body of the nation and of the pupils in our public schools we protest against the false economy of curtailing the services of the schools and of reducing the incomes of the educational staffs of those schools, and that

(2) We believe that the available statistics of our national wealth and income, reduced as the latter is at this time, show that the individual states and that the nation as a whole are able to maintain without distress the aggregate of expenditure for public schools which they made in school year of 1929-30.

State Aid

Resolution No. 11—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, Localities, because of inequalities of wealth, find themselves incapable not only of establishing equal educational opportunity for their children but also of adequately financing essential school needs, and

WHEREAS, Taxes on real property are largely inflexible, at times unjust and often bear heavily upon small land owners, and

WHEREAS, Educational needs must be met if America is to develop intelligent, world-minded, thinking, courageous citizens, ready to do their part in the solution of world problems; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That educational opportunities be equalized through larger grants of state aid, the state securing its needed revenue from income taxes, franchise taxes, mortgage taxes, a tax on gasoline and other forms of equitable taxation.

On New York City Board of Education Economy Program

Resolution No. 19—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, The depression and political extravagance have forced public officials to face the problem of economy in public expenditures, and

WHEREAS, The Monthly Survey of Business published by the American Federation of Labor defines economy as "reducing waste, not cutting out expenditures necessary for the constructive functioning of government," and

WHEREAS, Curtailment of necessary educational activity is not only poor economy but is socially menacing since that means reduction in the number of regular teachers, prevents the appointment of new teachers and substitutes, and thereby results in further unemployment and curtailed buying power, and

WHEREAS, Educational economy in the form of increasing the pupil load per teacher in the public schools is socially unwise since it will increase retardation, truancy and delinquency, and

WHEREAS, The efforts to destroy free education at Hunter College, City College of New York, and Brooklyn College, by forcing students to pay \$2.50 per point or \$37.50

per year exclusive of library and laboratory charges, is equally dangerous; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers express their unalterable opposition to such an unsound form of economy because it is not only pedagogically and economically wasteful and socially dangerous, but ultimately defeats the constructive purposes for which public education is established.

Federal Aid for Public Education

Resolution No. 50

Introduced by Chicago Men Local 2

WHEREAS, Public Education, although a state function and subject to control by state and local agencies only, is a primary national necessity in a democracy, and a serious impairment of public education in any part of the country is an injury to the nation; and

WHEREAS, In many sections of our country there has been a large lowering of educational standards, manifesting itself in shortened school years and a serious reduction of educational facilities and opportunities; and

WHEREAS, In some localities because of the temporary dislocation of the machinery of taxation the teachers have carried on their own shoulders the full burden of school support which should rightfully be borne by the community, having received only a few months pay during the past year, and unless funds can be secured for payment of back salaries, schools cannot be reopened, and public education must collapse in such communities; and

WHEREAS, During this depression the stabilizing influence of the schools is needed as never before, and a tremendous overload is thrown on the schools since young people unable to obtain jobs must be in the schools or on the street, with all the demoralization and danger to the nation that implies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixteenth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers memorialize Congress to authorize the Finance Reconstruction Corporation to loan to states for and on behalf of the municipalities, such as cities and school districts, for payment of salaries when in the opinion of the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation such municipalities are unable to obtain funds upon reasonable terms through banking channels or from the general public, and can offer adequate security for such loans.

Telegrams to Congress

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

American education faces a crisis. Thirteen thousand localities were forced to curtail constructive educational activity or to shorten the school year or to reduce salaries and teaching standards.

As economic conditions make it impossible for these localities, however willing, to relieve the situation, we call upon you to amend the Wagner Bill to provide aid to enable these localities to maintain their former high educational standards and under full state control.

We further request the immediate passage of the amended Wagner Bill to make possible the feeding of thousands of American undernourished children, the innocent victims of the depression.

In these days when democracy is being challenged by dictatorships, let us remember that the Father of the Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, said: "Above all things, I hope education of the common people will be attended to, convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a new degree of liberty."

Telegram to President Hoover

His Excellency, the President of the United States:

13,000 localities were forced to curtail constructive educational activity because of adverse economic conditions engendered by the depression. As one who has rendered a signal humanitarian service by feeding the starving of Belgium and Russia, we call upon you to use your high office to expedite the passage of the Wagner Bill which will make it possible for those localities, not only to maintain their former educational standards, but also to care for their thousands of under-nourished children, the victims of the depression.

Demand for Social and Economic Reconstruction

Resolution No. 46—Introduced by Delegates of New York Local 5

The economic crisis has reached a stage of development that enables teachers to see more plainly than ever

before their economic and social relationship to one another, to other workers and to society generally. We are plainly revealed as employees who work under conditions very much like the conditions of labor that all other employees, public and private, have to face. Our tenure, as a rule, is uncertain. We are subject to arbitrary discipline and to arbitrary wage-cuts. In the present crisis when there are tens of thousands of teachers unemployed our burdens are increased much in the same way as industrial workers are speeded up. Our professional dignity and privileges are a delusion.

The present crisis also reveals the intolerable contradiction in modern society of millions of people unemployed and without prospect of employment in the midst not only of a great need for goods and unlimited means of production but also of a plentiful supply to meet such demands. The progress of the industrial revolution of the last 150 years continues with cumulative effect, yet want and insecurity are the lot of the great mass of workers in all occupations including our own. America is especially blessed with an abundance of natural resources, with the most wonderful industrial equipment most efficiently organized in so far as individual plants are concerned, and with millions of skillful workers and managers. Moreover we have not suffered in recent years from the devastation of war or from any natural calamity that reached all parts of the country at the same time.

Hence it is plain that our burdens of poverty are not due to the limitations of our natural environment, but to "man's inhumanity to man," that is, to our stupid and cruel institutions that have become established by law and custom. Constitutional principles that were originally established to guarantee to the individual freedom of enterprise and the enjoyment of the fruits of his own labor have become the bulwarks of privilege. By means of the corporate form of organization the ownership and control of the most essential instruments and resources of wealth-production have become concentrated in the hands of the privileged few, upon whom the great mass of workers are dependent for opportunity to earn a livelihood. Moreover, the normal operation of the business corporation is the exploitation of labor as well as of natural resources. For labor must be hired as cheaply as possible if there is to be a substantial profit for the corporation. The effect is that labor is more extensively exploited under the wage system than it was under the slave system.

The cumulative effect of the long train of social and economic injustices that have grown out of this exploitation of labor makes a strengthening of organized labor imperative not only for winning the right to daily bread but for the reconstruction of the whole economic and social order.

Therefore, the American Federation of Teachers renews its urgent appeal to all the teachers of the country to organize and make common cause with all others who are doing the work of the world.

Moreover, we affirm that since labor, the source of all wealth, is the greatest sufferer from the present distribution of wealth, labor therefore has the responsibility for initiation and promotion of a program of social and economic reconstruction. Therefore, we appeal to all organized labor to draft and proclaim such a program based on the following principles:

1st. That labor shall recognize and assume responsibility for its share in the organization and control of the work of production.

- 2nd. That the means of production shall be so planned and utilized that they shall serve the needs of all society rather than that their usufruct shall be vested in a privileged class of absentee owners as at present;
- 3rd. That the modern equipment and organization of industry shall be utilized to effect a progressive reduction of hours of labor for all workers, an increase in the real wages of all workers, and a guarantee against the insecurity of unemployment;
- 4th. That the conservation of human resources be made the chief concern of organized society, and that, to this end, education, recreation, the protection of health, and social insurance be made available to all workers in all parts of the country;
- 5th. That the education of children shall receive much greater consideration than at present both in the thought and care on the part of parents and teachers and in the proportionate share of material goods and services devoted to this purpose.

Banking

Resolution Introduced by Policies Committee

WHEREAS, Speculative bankers in their desire for large profits and quick returns have diverted money from productive industry into the field of speculation; and

WHEREAS, This anti-social and unsound economic policy has not only curtailed productive industrial activity, but at the same time, has given an added impetus to speculation as well as to a policy of unprecedented inflation which helped to precipitate the present industrial panic or depression; and

WHEREAS, These speculative financiers in their mad desire to accumulate more wealth induced a trusting public to invest in billions of dollars of worthless foreign securities; and

WHEREAS, These same bankers are mercilessly capitalizing the present financial needs of cities by refusing to lend them money until they receive exorbitant and wholly unjustifiable interest rates, or unless cities radically curtail their necessary constructive functions and reduce salaries of public employees, whether earning a living wage or not; and

WHEREAS, The control of credit, the life-blood of industry, by private corporations interested primarily in profits rather than social welfare, is menacing to the existence of government and orderly progress; therefore be it

RESOLVED by the American Federation of Teachers, That we urge upon Congress and the President the enactment of legislation which shall enlarge the powers and duties of the postal savings banks so that they may engage in all forms of banking on a parity with private banks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers inaugurate a nation-wide campaign with a view of exposing these efforts of the bankers to undermine American education and constructive local governmental activity, as only through government control of banking and credit can the manipulation of our financial structure for private ends be terminated.

Teacher Tenure

The following resolution on Teacher Tenure, as a substitute for three resolutions presented by Chicago Women Local 3, New York Local 5 and San Francisco Local 61 was adopted by the 16th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In this period of economic chaos which is being used as an opportunity for a major offensive upon public education the tenure laws for teachers in the states of the United States are being made the target for destruction, and

WHEREAS, These attacks upon the existing tenure laws are various and insidious; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers reaffirm its position on tenure for teachers and renew its efforts to secure tenure laws based upon its tenure program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers wage a militant struggle against any attempt to take advantage of the present economic crisis to undermine tenure rights of teachers won through years of struggle.

Tenure Committee Statement

J. M. Graybiel, San Francisco Local 61, Chairman of the permanent committee on Tenure, submitted a statement as follows:

The California Teachers' Association through its committee has recommended that the present tenure law be left as it is with the exception that we take out of it the two words, "and fact." The present law says we have a right to go to the courts on questions of law and fact. If they can get these words out then we will have no tenure law. Of course, I do not think that such a law would be constitutional but why should we be compelled to spend thousands of dollars to prove it unconstitutional? Where is there a teacher who could afford to go to the courts to prove such a fact? If the California Teachers' Association was a teachers' association and not an administrators' association, it would be different. As it now stands, it is worth very little. Most of the school boards are voiding the law by dismissing all the probationary teachers at the end of three years. Something radically different is needed. The power must be taken out of the hands of a political board. This may mean a fight to place tenure in the constitutions of the several states so that every legislature will not make a political football out of tenure. The status of a teacher at the end of his probationary period must be determined by some sort of a disinterested board or commission or the granting of a teacher's certificate only upon a careful determination of the ability of the recipient of such a certificate. This certificate would then mean tenure from the very first for the holder of such a credential. Unless something of this kind is done I cannot see a bright future for the teacher or the cause of education. Our best talent cannot afford to take a chance at anything quite as uncertain as teaching would become. Women might take a chance with the hope of changing their names in the near future. Is it necessary to be a prophet to tell what the results will be for the public schools of the future?

As of particular significance and of direct bearing on this Convention topic is appended an article appearing in the Wauwatosa Teachers' Bulletin by Colin G. Welles, delegate from Milwaukee Local 212.

Importance of Teacher-Tenure

The job has come to have an almost sinister importance.

As jobs grow scarcer and more people are obliged to depend on each one, a sense of insecurity corrupts even those who are lucky enough to have work. And that sense of insecurity has a most demoralizing effect on the very qualities of character which we have been taught to value.

This is particularly true in the field of teaching, where, if anywhere, it is important that teachers display intellectual courage, originality and that sense of high adventure which should stimulate the raw young minds in their power.

No teacher afraid of losing his job dares fully to reveal these qualities. Indeed, insecurity sets up an altogether different

standard of behavior. Safety becomes the highest value. Only the undistinguished are safe. Better to be an automaton, lost in the group, than take the risk of attracting attention, because attention is perilous.

Community Pays

And so, in these days, teachers who have no tenure do not frankly express their opinions; they do not display to the utmost their originality of method or venture to give their pupils the benefit of whatever may be their special and peculiar gift of personality. Instead, they do only and precisely what is expected of them. They conform to whatever standard of behavior is least dangerous. They participate as little as possible in the civic life of the community, because they do not want to run the risk of offending any group which might bring pressure on the administrator.

This is much more true of the so-called common school teachers than it is of teachers of professions in universities.

It is conceivable that one might learn from a coward to be an able accountant, and it may take little inspirational imagination to train accountants or attorneys. But in the grades and in high schools, where attitudes and talents are given their first direction, it is of crucial importance that the particular genius of every teacher be released for the task of firing the children to the finest and fairest attitudes of which they are capable.

The cost to the community of insecurity for teachers lies in the comparatively inferior quality of teaching for the children. The children in such a community are not likely to explore new and thrilling paths in the wilderness of intellectual adventure. They will merely sit in their seats and learn reading and arithmetic, till the bell rings.

War and Education

Disarmament

Resolution No. 25—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, The governments of the great powers are spending more on armaments and war preparations today than they did prior to the last world war, and

WHEREAS, The antagonisms leading toward a new world conflict are accumulating with alarming rapidity and an actual state of war exists in the Far East, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Teachers:

1. That we call upon the teachers of the country to recognize their duty as educators to train the youth of the land to recognize the economic waste of war; the error of attempting to settle international differences by means of war; the tremendous cost to the people of maintaining huge armaments; the serious consequences of imperialism and imperialistic action; and to work for recognition of the fact that the brotherhood of man is universal and not national; to work for universal disarmament;
2. That we endorse any genuine disarmament proposal;
3. That we, as a section of the American Labor movement, advocate and work for the organization of labor councils of action against war to be set up by the labor movement with a view to meeting any emergency that may arise.

Comparative Costs of War and Education

Resolution No. 40—Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, Eighty-two per cent of the expenditures of the Federal government for 1931 went for past and future wars, and

WHEREAS, The effort to balance the budget has laid an added burden of taxation on citizens of the United States in part to support the enormous military expenditure, and

WHEREAS, Everywhere public education in the United States is being reduced in quality and in the opportunity offered the individual child, as though it were a non-essential luxury, and

WHEREAS, Public education is the foundation of sound citizenship and a progressing democracy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers assert through the press and through every available channel the prior claims of public education above battleships and guns.

Federal Unemployment Insurance Favored by AFL Executive Council

Atlantic City, N. J.—The executive council of the American Federation of Labor, at the closing day of its Summer session here, instructed William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, to draw up a Federal unemployment insurance bill to be enacted by Congress rather than by the Legislatures of the various States.

To meet the fear voiced by many trade union officials that under a Federal compulsory insurance unemployed persons would be compelled to accept jobs in plants where wages and hours were below trade union standards, the council directed Mr. Green to include in the insurance bill the right of trade unionists to retain their union membership and insurance benefits even though they refused to accept work in non-union shops.

Mr. Green will begin work on drafting the bill at the conclusion of the executive council's session here. He said he would study the various plans of unemployment insurance in Great Britain, Germany, and other countries, as well as the Wisconsin law recently enacted and insurance proposals in other States.

"Whether I shall propose that the Federal Government contribute to the insurance fund as well as employers and employees I cannot say at this time," he declared. "It may be that it will be sufficient for industry and the workers to make contributions. But the scheme, whatever it is, will have to be a national one—that is, it will have to be formulated for all employers and employees by Congress, if such a measure is found to be constitutional."

Mr. Green said the action of the executive council was made imperative by several factors beyond the control of the trade unions. In these factors he included the long-continued depression, the inability of industry to provide employment and the appeals by trade unionists urging some action by the Federation to alleviate their distressing condition due to long-continued idleness.

"In its annual report to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor," he added, "the executive council recognized the fact that the owners and managers of industry, through their failure to provide jobs for the working people of the Nation who are willing to work, have contributed much toward the creation of an increasing public opinion in favor of the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance legislation."

The unemployment insurance bill prepared by Mr. Green will be submitted to the executive council at its meeting in Washington on October 18. If the council approves the plan it will be placed before the delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati in November for ratification.

The following resolution was passed by the 1932 convention of the American Federation of Teachers:

Unemployment

Resolution No. 22—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment presents the outstanding problem and challenge to America's collective intelligence and statesmanship; and

WHEREAS, Under modern technology every worker should have his ordinary needs fully satisfied since we are living in a surplus economy era, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment due to our economic system and those who control it for gain, forces the innocent worker and his dependents to bear an unduly heavy if not impossible economic burden, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That pending the evolution of a saner economic system dominated by the idea of cooperative ser-

vice instead of individual gain, the American Federation of Teachers urges upon Congress and the American Federation of Labor the adoption of the following program to be made effective at once:

1. The establishment of the six hour day and five day week without reduction of earnings, to be justified by the existence of a national emergency greater than war or flood.

2. The establishment of a unified system of government employment agencies working in close cooperation with similar state agencies to avoid duplication.

3. The enactment of legislation for unemployment insurance maintained by the Federal Government or the states with or without Federal Aid, including the creation of a reserve to pay the unemployed in crises involving expenditures in excess of the unemployed reserves.

4. The establishment of economic councils on which labor shall be at least equally represented with industry, to plan for the stabilization of industry—public or private.

5. The long-range planning of necessary public works under federal and state appropriations.

6. The issuance of loans to states to help them finance public works and unemployment relief at least to the extent given to industry.

A resolution on Unemployment Insurance, the same in principle as No. 3 above, was introduced by the American Federation of Teachers at the 1930 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and was, we believe, the first resolution favoring compulsory unemployment insurance introduced to that body. Our delegates also have been the first to introduce resolutions for this legislation to State Labor and City Central bodies.

American Radio Audience League

The American Radio Audience League, of which Harris K. Randall is Executive Director, has been organized during the past year. The question which engages its attention is that of "custody of the broadcast channels in the hands of transmissionists, as compared to agencies acting on behalf of the audience." To teachers certainly this question is of vital interest "so long as educational institutions can secure access to the broadcast channels only by operating transmitters in legal and quasi-commercial competition with commercial transmitters, or else at the direct sufferance of transmission selling licensees."

"The Audience League is striving for the management of all broadcast programs so far as possible by authorities concerned primarily with the public interest rather than with private interests, yet without sacrifice of the traditional American principle of free and uncensored expression."

The American Federation of Teachers is interested in the betterment of broadcasting as an important factor in the child's home environment and has adopted this resolution:

WHEREAS, The American Radio Audience League has been organized for entrustment of the financially valuable broadcast channels to competent agents representing the audience rather than to sellers of transmission, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers is aware of the growing difficulty of tuning in on desirable programs and of the continually increasing amount of time being devoted to commercial advertising over the air, and

WHEREAS, The nature of the programs available to be tuned in is a vitally important item in the environment of the people and of young people in particular; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers approve the avowed purpose of the American Radio Audience League, namely, to limit the radio time devoted to advertising, to reduce the cost of radio advertising, to make the type of radio program desired by the audience more easily available, to make a freer use of the air for groups now often denied the opportunity for such, and to lift the standard of radio programs.

California Is a Leader in Wages for all classes of teachers, principals and superintendents. California has seven teachers unions organized in a State Federation of Teachers.

Pioneer Youth in Coal Mining Towns

Dizzily we swayed across the crazy little footbridge that swings over Paint Creek, and met our first playmates in the mud on the Holly Grove side.

"Won't you come and play with us this afternoon?" we asked. "We're going to have some games, and do carpentry and painting at the school house this afternoon. Want to come?"

The urchins nodded bashfully and sidled away. But they were there, thirty strong, when two o'clock came. The man with the school house key had gone off "up the holler, settin' bee bait," so we had to climb in through the window. The youngsters were ready for anything, and sang lustily favorite Union songs while two boys played their guitars.

At Dry Branch a flood had driven half the village up into the hills the night before, and the few children who weren't too tired to join us at the school house came with dirty faces and bedraggled clothes. But hollow-eyed as they were, they went vigorously at cleaning the school house, bringing buckets, brooms, rags, and scrubbing the whole place, even the walls. While the school house dried, we played games outdoors, and then settled down to plan eagerly what this "club" should do. The children wanted to try everything. All of them wanted to be on the library committee, and asked for every imaginable kind of book—history, geography, fairy tales, adventure stories—from Pioneer Youth's tiny library.

Ward tent colony was still digging out of the mud when we arrived there two days after the flood. The tents are almost in the bed of the stream, and water waist deep had swept the flimsy shelters away and scattered the miners' pitiful little belongings beyond recall. Everyone was washing bedding and clothes, rebuilding tents, or moving higher up on the hillside. The higher ground all belongs to the coal company, however, and the miners will only be evicted again and returned to the creek bottom, where sanitation is impossible, where flux and typhoid are prevalent, and babies are dying every week from disease and starvation. Mothers, dry-eyed, resigned, told us of losing a baby a few days before.

Yet out of this welter of mud and misery, that afternoon, came some of the cleanest children that we had seen anywhere, scrubbed until they glistened, little frocks stiffly starched and immaculate. And some of the dirtiest children we had seen were there, too, grimy, ragged, half sick, half starved. Two night-black little negro girls in clean tatters joined us late in the afternoon, but not to play. One said she had heart trouble, and caught her breath in short little gasps. The other told us she could not go to school, for most of the time she could not see well enough to read.

We are not allowed to use the school-house at Hughston, but we hold our painting classes on the school porches and play games on the school grounds. Farther down the road, on ground that belongs to the grandfather of one of the children, we pitched our tent and started boys and girls on carpentry projects. "Grandpap's" wooded hillside behind our tent supplies branches, saplings, and bark for the rustic furniture and baskets we are making. "Grandpap" is "proud" to have us use his property.

The doctor on our staff has been taking a microscope to all the schools to show the children why it isn't wise to dump garbage into the creek, to build open privies, to swim in the polluted streams.

"It looks like a cat's tail," a boy says in surprise, as he looks through the microscope at a fly's leg. The doctor leads his wondering thoughts toward what those bristles might pick up in privies and garbage.

"Germs," the boy decides; and then, "And germs make us sick."

So this is how our labor education is starting. When we write you again, there probably will be many more interesting developments to tell.

AGNES SAILER.

West Virginia,
July, 1932.

Pupil Self-Government

The National Self-Government Committee, Inc., of which Richard Welling is chairman and Sophie Pollack secretary and treasurer and on whose council are many distinguished educators and social workers, in the furtherance of its program of self-government or pupil cooperation in high schools and colleges has distributed a leaflet containing objections to the plan and excerpts from an address by Richard Welling on "Pupil Self-Government as a Training for Citizenship," as refutations to these objections.

The following quotation from the leaflet is certainly pertinent and seems unanswerable:

Objection No. 10.—We have self-government without an organization. Our children are orderly, polite and considerate. We do not need a formal system.

Answer.—And when the children leave the school they will continue to be orderly, polite and considerate. Each will go his way and work out his own salvation, thinking that the government of his city and state and nation is to be left to the politicians. And when he awakes to the fact that the politicians are in the governing business for what they can get out of it and he undertakes to better conditions by enlisting the interest of his neighbors and friends he will find them preoccupied and apathetic. Pupil cooperation aims to make apathetic citizenship militant, and in order to function there must be some system—all the better if the pupils evolve it themselves (always with the cooperation of their teachers).

The Committee began its publicity and educational work in 1904. It advocates the vitalization of civics by some form of pupil cooperation.

Headquarters are maintained at 80 Broadway, New York City. Literature and information will be sent on request.

National Picture Week October 16-22

It is acknowledged that good pictures are both an important and valued influence in a child's education; they are an element of brightness and beauty in the home, school or office. Therefore, they make for happiness in life and refinement of taste. Whatever is beautiful in our surroundings is an influence against evil. To this end good pictures in the home, school and office are a positive good in the community.

Two Resolutions

No. 27, Alertness Courses Introduced by New York Local 5

"WHEREAS, Our increments were formerly automatic and based solely on satisfactory teaching service, and

"WHEREAS, The new requirement of alertness courses in New York City conditions increments, and

"WHEREAS, This sets a dangerous precedent for the imposition of further conditions, and

"WHEREAS, Many teachers in New York have already been deprived of their salary increments due to this additional requirement; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers take a definite stand against this procedure, and that it help Local 5 and any other locals where this condition exists to wage an active campaign of resistance against this principle."

No. 35, The Junior High School Introduced by Chicago Women Local 3

WHEREAS, The junior high school program provides a greatly enriched course of study for the adolescent student, and

WHEREAS, These schools are so organized as to make provision for the varying interests and abilities of pupils, and

WHEREAS, The junior high schools give adequate attention to a program of exploratory courses thus insuring wise choice of vocation, and

WHEREAS, Through their program of extra-curricular activities and through their guidance programs, the junior high schools are promoting a high type of adjustment not only in the school but in the community as well, and,

WHEREAS, This valuable educational institution is now under attack; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers reiterate its stand in support of the junior high school.

Do You Know

That more than 98 per cent of nearly 1,500 cities now demand at least four years of higher education of their newly appointed teachers in senior high schools?

Who's Who in this Issue

William Green, president American Federation of Labor.

James Mullenbach, recent member Chicago Board of Education; arbitrator Hart, Schaffner and Marx for Amalgamated Clothing Workers; economist and sociologist.

A. Steve Nance, president Atlanta Federation of Trades.

Charles B. Stillman, vice-president A. F. T.; president Joint Conference of Teachers and Principals, Chicago.

Summaries of reports of permanent and special committees will appear in the November *American Teacher*.

Resolutions

No. 8, High School Loyalty Pledge

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers oppose loyalty pledges which limit thinking as not only futile but dangerous.

No. 9, Academic Freedom

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers reiterate its stand on academic freedom and offer its cooperation to individuals and organizations in their resistance to such attacks.

No. 13, Yellow Dog Contracts

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers urge all its locals to cooperate with State Federations of Labor to outlaw all Yellow Dog Contracts since they deny the fundamental right of individuals to unite for mutual protection and thereby deprive the teaching profession of the service of these socially-minded men and women who have the courage to assert their rights as citizens.

No. 14, Mooney

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers support efforts to bring about Mooney's unconditional pardon and the publication of the Wickersham Report dealing with the framing of Tom Mooney to the end that authoritative information may be in the hands of the general public.

No. 15a, Scottsboro Boys

RESOLVED, That this body strongly protest against the sentence of death passed upon the Scottsboro Boys under such circumstances, and express gratification that the Supreme Court of the United States has consented to review this case in order that the accused may be given full justice.

No. 15b, Class-War Prisoners

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers demands

1. The unconditional release of these victims of injustice,
2. The repeal of all "criminal syndicalist" laws,
3. The repeal of the "alien deportation" law which is used as an instrument of persecution against labor organizers and militant workers.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers locals be urged to give financial support to defense organizations.

No. 20, Discrimination Against Teachers Who Have Resigned and Desire to Return

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers oppose such unjust discrimination against teachers who have rendered valuable educational service and who are able to continue such service.

No. 23, Program of Home Construction

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers earnestly appeal to the President and Congress of the United States to adopt a national program of low-cost home construction as a part of the proposed federal unemployment relief plan, to be initiated and financed at the earliest possible date, the plan to be administered by the federal government through state, county and municipal agencies of government.

No. 25, Recognition of Soviet Union

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterate its position for the immediate recognition of the government of the Soviet Union by the government of the United States of America.

No. 41, Shortened Week and Increased Wage for Labor

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers and its locals, wherever and whenever possible, exert all the influence they possess in behalf of every effort to shorten the working week in every field where unemployment exists; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers and its locals work to the end that the wages of labor reflect the increased productivity of the laborer.

No. 54, Unemployment

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers urge local and state governments to study the Seattle situation with a view of using as much of the self-help idea for the unemployed as conditions permit.

No. 55, Vocational Education and Guidance

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers and its locals urge their respective state legislatures and the Congress of the United States to increase rather than to decrease appropriations for vocational education and guidance.

Residence Ordinances

Because of the seriousness and general spread of the situation outlined therein, we publish Resolution No. 18 in full.

WHEREAS, There is growing among many municipalities and communities the alarming tendency to enact residence ordinances, this tendency to set local residence as a condition of employment must be condemned as socially, economically and educationally unsound and unwise, and

WHEREAS, In accord with modern ideals of civic planning and general community welfare, teachers and other citizens have taken up homes in suburban communities, and narrow residence ordinances virtually compelling such teachers to move back to the already congested cities would mean not only unfair economic loss to the families of teachers but would bring added civic problems to the cities adopting such residence restrictions, and

WHEREAS, It would mean a dangerous interference with the American democratic right of freedom of residence, the consequences of which may be undesirably far-reaching, and

WHEREAS, This residence policy will result in an economic boomerang to those who think such legislation will mean increased business and increased employment for those of the home community, for on the contrary such narrow provincialism must result in other communities in self-defense, enacting similar restrictive legislation, thus setting community against community, city against city, and state against state, and

WHEREAS, The residence requirement would constitute an irreparable blow at the best educational interests of our schools and our children, such restric-

tions can only mean inbreeding of our school faculties with its consequent educational limitations and the American Federation of Teachers strongly maintains that sound educational policy demands that cities be free to seek the best teachers whatever their place of residence; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in the best interests of our children and our teachers the American Federation of Teachers declares residence ordinances restricting employment of teachers and others to local residents alone, educationally, socially, and economically unsound and unequivocally demands the end of such shortsighted policy.

Local 5, Libel Suit

Resolution No. 10—Introduced by New York Local 5

WHEREAS, Unions have been attacked by employers because they sought to substitute democracy for autocracy in industry, and

WHEREAS, Employers have sought to weaken or destroy unions by the abuse of injunction, court decisions, the establishment of the Open Shop, damage suits, and

WHEREAS, The latter method of undermining unionism has been followed in a libel suit for \$25,000 because of charges of coercion in connection with the collection of 5% from teachers for the relief of hungry children attending the schools and for family relief, and

WHEREAS, If such a suit were successful it would establish a dangerous precedent which would undermine the union movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Teachers give the fullest moral and financial support to the Teachers Union, Local 5, in its efforts to render abortive this new attack upon the union movement, and to enlist the backing of the American Federation of Labor in this struggle.

A. F. T. Permanent Committees

Chairmen of permanent committees of the American Federation of Teachers are the following:

ACADEMIC FREEDOM, *Carlotta Pittman, Memphis 52.*

EDUCATION, *Bernice Rogers, Cambridge 195.*

FINANCE, *C. L. Vestal, Chicago 2.*

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, *Selma M. Borchardt, Washington 8.*

PENSIONS, *Florence Rood, St. Paul 28.*

TENURE, *J. M. Graybiel, San Francisco 61.*

The following committees and chairmen are continued:

CREDIT UNIONS, *H. S. Bechtolt, Chicago 2.*

EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS, *Mary C. Dent, Washington 8.*

EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES, *Alice F. Drechsler, Minneapolis 59.*

PLACEMENT BUREAU, *Amy A. Fox, Minneapolis 59.*

POSITIVE HEALTH, *Bertha F. Ferguson, Minneapolis 59.*

American Federation of Teachers

506 South Wabash Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.

The American Federation of Teachers

desires to establish an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community.

The American Federation of Teachers

desires to co-operate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

Our Slogan Is:

Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy

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