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American Teacher

IN THIS ISSUE

John Dewey

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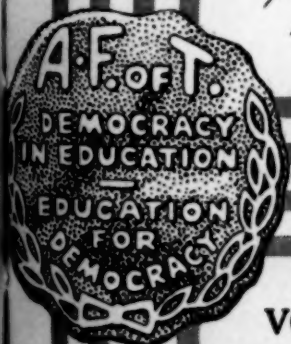
Henry R. Linville

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VOL. XIX

MARCH-APRIL, 1935

No. 4

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Teacher and the Public.....	Dr. John Dewey	3
More Abundant Living.....	Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel	4
Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers	Aileen W. Robinson	6
Academic Freedom and Progress.....	Abraham Lefkowitz	9
Ives Oath Law Repeal.....	Henry R. Linville	11
The Peace Cause Moves On.....	O. Myking Mehus	14
Participation vs. Complaisance.....	Raymond F. Lowry	17
So This Is America!.....		18
Editorials		20
The Teacher in Politics	Many Teachers Receive Less Than Dole	
What Fell O'er Alabama	Equal Educational Opportunity	
I. Q. of the U. S. C. of C.	What Price Speaking Out Loud!	
Who Are Enemies of Teachers?	Unions the Need of the Hour	
Be An Organizer		
The Meldahl Trial.....	R. J. Ahlstrom	24
Federal Aid for Education.....	Clyde R. Miller	25
Cooperation Builds a College.....	Ross Stagner	25
Books		26
Webster's New International		
Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.		
The Story of the Paris Pact.		
The New Democracy—Harold L. Ickes		
Reviewed by F. Melvyn Lawson		
Redirecting Education—Tugwell and Keyserling		
Reviewed by H. L. Latham		
Social Basis of Education—Harold S. Tuttle		
Reviewed by Mark Starr		
News from the Field.....		28
They Write		31
Who's Who In This Issue		31
Advertisements.....		2, 13, 19, 30, 31, 32

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOL. XIX

MARCH-APRIL, 1935

No. 4

The Teacher and the Public

Professor John Dewey

WHO is a worker? Are teachers workers? Do workers have common ties to unite them? Should these ties be expressed in action? These are some of the questions I want to discuss with you for a few moments this evening.

Who is a worker? I answer this question by saying that all who engage in productive activity are workers. It is customary to speak of a certain class of criminals as "second-story workers." The appellation is obviously humorous, and so it is when we speak of one person "working" another to get something out of him. Not every form of activity, even if it brings in some return to the person engaged in it, is work. It is work only when it is productive of things that are of value to others, and of value not simply in a particular case but when that *kind* of activity is generally of service. Those who live upon the work of others without rendering a return are parasites of one kind or another. The man who lives upon interest, dividends, or rent is, so far as that includes what he does, a parasite. There is something intellectually and morally, as well as economically, topsy-turvy when honor, esteem, and admiration go to a section of society because its members are relieved from the necessity of work. To believe otherwise is to believe that those who subtract from the real wealth of society instead of adding to it are the highest type. Everybody assents to this statement in theory, but in fact the attention given in this country to the rich just because they are rich, proves that we do not live up to our theoretical belief.

Are teachers workers? The basis for answering this question has been given. Are they engaged in productive activity? Are only those persons who turn out material products producers?

Physicians who maintain the health of the community are certainly producers of a fundamental social good. The business of the teacher is to produce a higher standard of intelligence in the community, and the object of the public school system is to make as large as possible the number of those who possess this intelligence. Skill, ability to act wisely and effectively in a great variety of occupations and situations, is a sign and a criterion of the degree of civilization that a society has reached. It is the business of teachers to help in producing the many kinds of skill needed in contemporary life. If teachers are up to their work, they also aid in production of character, and I hope I do not need to say anything about the social value of character.

Are teachers producers, workers? If intelligence, skill, and character are social goods, the question answers itself. What is really important is to see how the production of material things depends finally upon

production of intellectual and moral goods. I do not mean that material production depends upon these things in quantity alone, though that is true. The quality of material production depends also upon moral and intellectual production. What is equally true and finally even more important is that the distribution and consumption of material goods depends also upon the intellectual and moral level that prevails. I do not need to remind you that we have in this country all the means necessary for production of material goods in sufficient quantity, and also, in spite of the low grade often produced because of desire for profit, that we have all the resources, natural and technical, for production of sufficient quantities of good quality. Nevertheless, we all know without my telling you that millions have no work, no security, and no opportunity either to produce or to enjoy what is produced. Ultimately, the state of affairs goes back to lack of sufficient production of intelligence, skill, and character.

Why do I say these things which are, or should be, commonplace? I say them because of their bearing on the third question I raised. Do teachers as workers, as producers of one special kind of goods, have close and necessary ties with other workers, and if they do, how shall these ties be made effective in action?

Some of the facts that indicate the answer to these questions are found in the fact that schools and teachers, education generally, have been one of the chief sufferers from that vast industrial and economic dislocation we call the depression. Salary or wage cuts are almost universal. Multitudes of schools have been closed. Classes have been enlarged, reducing the capacity of teachers to do their work. Kindergartens and classes for the handicapped have been lopped off. Studies that are indispensable for the production of the skill and intelligence that society needs have been eliminated. The number of the employed has been increased in consequence, and the mass consuming power necessary for recovery has been contracted. But along with these consequences, there has been a greater injury. The productive work that is the special business of teachers has been greatly impaired, and impaired at just the time when its products of intelligence, skill, and character are most needed.

The cause is well known. It is in part the inability of large numbers to pay taxes, combined, however, with the desire of those able to pay taxes to escape what they regard as a burden. In other words, it is due to the depression on one side and on the other side to the control exercised by the small class that represents the more parasitical section of the community and nation, those who live upon rent, interest, and dividends.

An address in the WEVD University of the Air, Wednesday, January 16th, 10:15 P. M.

If something striking, striking home, was necessary to demonstrate to teachers that they are workers in the same sense in which farmers, factory employees, clerks, engineers, etc., are workers, that demonstration has been provided. The same causes that have created the troubles of one group have created those of the other group. Teachers are in the same boat with manual, white collar workers, and farmers. Whatever affects the power of the latter to produce, affects the power of teachers to do their work. By the same token whatever measures will improve the security and opportunity of one, will do the same thing for the other. In both the causes that produce the trouble and the remedies that will better and prevent the recurrence, teachers are bound by necessity to workers in all fields.

Teachers have been slow to recognize this fact. They have felt that the character of their work gave them a special position, marked off from that of the persons who work with their hands. In spite of the fact that the great mass of their pupils come from those who work with their hands on farms, in shops and factories, they have maintained an aloof attitude toward the primary economic and political interests of the latter. I do not need to go into the causes of this attitude that has been so general. One phase of it, however, is definitely related to my main topic. I have said that the business of the teachers is to produce the goods of character, intelligence, and skill. I have also said that our present situation shows and is proof of lack of these goods in our present society. Is not this fact a proof, it may be asked, of a widespread failure of teachers to accomplish their task?

The frank answer to this question is, Yes. But neither the question nor the answer gives the cause of the failure. The cause goes back to the excessive control of legislation and administration exercised by

the small and powerful class that is economically privileged. Position, promotion, security of the tenure of teachers has depended largely upon conformity with the desires and plans of this class. Even now teachers who show independence of thought and willingness to have fair discussion of social and economic questions in school are being dismissed, and there is movement, sponsored by men of wealth, to label (bolsheviks, red, and subversives) all those who wish to develop a higher standard of economic intelligence in the community.

This fact brings me to the answer of the last question asked. If teachers are workers who are bound in common ties with all other workers, what action do they need to take? The answer is short and inclusive. Ally themselves with their friends against their common foe, the privileged class, and in the alliance develop the character, skill, and intelligence that are necessary to make a democratic social order a fact. I might have taken for my text the preamble of the constitution of the national American Federation of Teachers. A part of it reads as follows: *We believe that the teacher is one of the most highly productive of workers, and 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—upon whom the future of democracy must depend.*

In union is strength, and without the strength of union and united effort, the state of servility, of undemocratic administration, adherence to tradition, and unresponsiveness to the needs of the community that are also pointed out in the same document, will persist. And in the degree in which they continue, teachers will of necessity fail in the special kind of productive work that is entrusted to them.

More Abundant Living

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel

MANY current discussions are concerned with the *means* to be used in bringing about a restoration of economic activity. It may help clear our minds if for once we ignore mechanisms and devote ourselves to the *ends* which reorganization of the economic machine should serve. Instead of talking about prices, wages, and markets, P. W. A., N. R. A., A. A. A., or the like, let us look at production, consumption, and the opportunities for individuals to work and to share in the products of work.

Abundant Living involves not only an adequate supply of the physical necessities of life and sufficient leisure in which to enjoy them, but also a share in, and appreciation for, the finer things of life which we call "culture." Culture, however, cannot flourish amid privation and want. Adequate and secure comfort for the individual is generally a prerequisite for the development of culture.

In past civilizations culture appeared only among the small class at the top of society, supported by the

hard labor of a large group of slaves or serfs. The culture of today is shared by a larger group in the population than was that of the Greeks, the Italian Renaissance, the Elizabethan, or even the English Victorian period; but even so it is shared by all too small a proportion of our total population. Beneath the favored middle and upper classes, is a very large portion of the population which exists in virtual slavery. It is not the slavery of the past, however, but the slavery of ignorance and lack of training, the slavery to machines which have not been properly incorporated in human activity, and the slavery to outmoded institutions which have not yet been supplanted by those better adjusted to a modern type of living.

Before attempting to discuss what a broader share in abundant living would involve, we must agree as to what abundant living is. Merely as a rule of thumb, we may assume that on the average, an income of \$2500 per year would be needed to enable a family to live a moderately full life under American conditions.

It is quite apparent that according to this standard the majority of the people in this country do not live abundantly. If we go back to the standards of living

of the years of prosperity, we find that less than half of our families were in possession of such an income. According to the findings of the Brookings Institution, 71% of our families received less than \$2500 in 1929.

Many persons feel that the problem of more abundant living would be solved if we had more uniform distribution of income. Certain facts appear to support this view. For example, the lower 60% of the families in 1929 received only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total income, while the upper 1.2% received another $\frac{1}{4}$. If it were possible to average these two groups directly, the income of millions of families would be greatly increased. The problem cannot be solved as simply as that, however. It takes machinery and equipment to produce goods for consumption. A large part of the income of the higher income groups is invested, and so used for the creation of such capital. The Brookings figures indicate, for example, that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the income of the families above \$2500 goes for savings—that is to say, capital formation; while $\frac{2}{3}$ is spent for consumption. In the very wealthy families, as much as half or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the income is saved. Even if some system were worked out for more equal incomes, it would still be necessary to continue to divert a considerable part of our annual production to the creation of capital. The extent to which a diversion of income from those now enjoying large incomes to those of smaller incomes would improve the whole economic picture, is therefore much more limited than is generally recognized.

The more important problem is to increase our productive efficiency. This involves not only effective use of our material resources of land, water, and minerals, but even more important, effective use of our human population and labor power.

The more we can substitute machines for men, and the more we can increase technological efficiency, the higher the standard of living can be for everyone—if only the economic system is sufficiently flexible to provide effective employment in new industries for the workers thus set free from old industries.

The position of agriculture is of particular interest. In this country, increasing productive efficiency per man has always gone hand in hand with a smaller proportion of our population in farming, the decrease being from $\frac{3}{4}$ of the gainfully employed in agriculture a century ago, to less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gainfully employed in agriculture now. As fewer and fewer people were needed to produce the essentials of food and clothing, more and more were set free to go into other occupations. There they produced the elements of an adequate life.

If all our underprivileged families were provided an adequate standard of living, they would increase their consumption of other products far more than they would increase their consumption of food. The Brookings study shows that the families below \$2500 spend 36% of their income on food alone, while the remaining families spent but 17% of their income on food. Increasing incomes mean much greater expansion in the production of other products than they mean in the expansion of food. To shift our production so as to balance the demands which would appear with increased incomes for the lower groups, we would need to expand very greatly the number of

people employed in the urban industries producing housing, recreation, professional services, and clothing; while we would need to increase the number of people working on farms little, if at all.

To produce for the more abundant life, however, we would not only need to absorb in industrial employments the great bulk of those now unemployed, but we would also need to increase very greatly the productive efficiency of workers in both agriculture and industry. The methods by which this could be done are quite well known in many cases; all that is needed is to find effective means of putting them into practice. For example, in agriculture, the farmer who uses improved seeds, proper liming of land, and proper use of leguminous crops, frequently produces double the products per hour of labor of those who farm less efficiently. In cotton production, there are hundreds of thousands of families producing only 3 to 6 bales of cotton per family. Even at a very high price for cotton, such families could not have an adequate standard of living. Means need to be found, mechanical or otherwise, for greatly increasing the output of those who grow cotton, and for shifting into other occupations the farmers whom this would release. We have too many mine workers, probably too many people employed in marketing. In these cases rationalization of the industries would free many men for more effective types of work. On the other hand, in the field of public health, education, recreation, and the professional services, we need far more workers than we now have.

Even in the industrial occupations themselves, there are great opportunities for increasing the productive efficiency. The building industry, for example, still uses in many operations hand methods in almost the same way as those of 2000 years ago, and has made almost no application as yet of mass production, coordinated assembly, or efficiency planning.

Besides changes in methods of production so that each worker could produce more, such energy is now spent on producing products which are useless or in some cases even harmful, when there is so much want for other products. While there is no accounting for tastes, there is a question whether consumers' tastes are now shaped with a real regard for "abundant living." It is possible that there are other values which would be far less costly to produce, which yet would yield much greater satisfaction in the end. We take much of our recreation through mechanical devices, watching or hearing others live for us. Perhaps the more abundant life should involve doing and experiencing more ourselves and depending less on vicarious enjoyment of experience of others.

Even with moderate success in the proper coordination of what we produce, of the occupations which our people follow, and of making effective use of our labor power and our inventive and organizing skill and genius, we could increase our production to give all our underprivileged families a reasonable standard of living. Perhaps the time will come when economic organization will work as smoothly and as effectively to produce what we need as our railroads and airplanes now operate to take us rapidly and smoothly where we desire to go. Perhaps each youth

(Turn to page 13)

A Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Education at Smith College, May, 1934

Aileen W. Robinson

CHAPTER V.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AND THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION

AFTER studying the history, aims, and activities of the American Federation of Teachers, it seems reasonable to conclude that the organization is endeavoring to raise the standard of the teaching profession by a direct attack on the social and economic status of the profession. For both its aims and methods it has been severely criticized by the majority of educators.

In order, however, to evaluate this organization, it must be examined in the light of the present crisis in education. What is the nature of the crisis, and what is the Federation doing to meet the situation? These are two of the questions which must be investigated.

The Office of Education of the United States Department of the Interior in Washington issued a bulletin, on November 10, 1933, entitled the "Deepening Crisis in Education." (70.) The title leads to the assumption that the crisis, which the bulletin designates as economic, is of an increasingly grave character. The following distressing facts, relative to the crisis, are all taken from the official bulletin. In the sections of the country fortunate enough to have escaped the worst effects of the depression, they are not sufficiently appreciated.

First, the bulletin presents the following facts pertinent to the so-called equality of opportunities of our schools. Over two million American children of school age, who, according to compulsory education laws, should be in school, are not. Two thousand rural schools in twenty-four states failed to open this fall. Private schools, parochial schools, commercial schools, and institutions of higher education have been closing in considerable number. In some communities, free public schools have become tuition schools. (70, 1.)

Still another phase of the lack of equality of opportunity offered to our children is the shortened school term in many sections. More than seven hundred rural schools are expected to run less than three months—only one-third of the usual school time. School terms in practically every great American city are today one or two months shorter than they were seventy or one hundred years ago. This situation is rapidly growing more serious, because the figures given do not include the schools known to be contemplating cuts in time, but only schools where the shortened school year is an accomplished fact. At present the United States offers substantially less time in school to its children than do France, Sweden,

Germany, England, and Denmark, yet all of these countries have been affected by the economic crisis, and some of them much more seriously than have we. (70, 2.)

Children are not the only ones who have suffered. Few people realize what has happened to the teachers of the country. Under the existing "codes" an unskilled factory worker laboring for a year at the minimum blanket code rate would receive \$728, which is little enough as a living wage for a year. But while unskilled labor is protected by wage codes, the teacher has no such protection, and one out of every four teachers is now teaching at the rate of *less* than \$750 per year. More than 40,000 rural teachers will receive less than \$450 for the year, and one of every thirteen Negro teachers receives \$25 a month, or less. Add to this the figures of communities where teachers have not been paid for years, or where they have been paid in warrants or scrip, which are cashable at a discount, and the plight of teachers is appalling. (70, 2.)

Another factor, which has reacted to the disadvantage of both children and teachers, has been the curtailment of school services. Due to a lack of funds, schools have been economizing frantically, if not wisely. Art, music, physical education, home economics, kindergartens, and manual training have been dropped at an alarming rate. (70, 3.) One of every two cities has had to reduce or eliminate one or more of these services. This involves dropping the teachers who offered the course, so that today, due to closed schools and curtailed services, 200,000 teachers are unemployed, and 18,600 fewer teachers are employed in city schools than in 1931. On the other hand, if city schools were operated today with the same number of pupils to a teachers as in 1930, it would be necessary to hire more than 26,000 additional teachers. Also, if the country were to provide education for the 2,280,000 children from six to fifteen years of age not now in school, it would be necessary to hire 76,000 teachers. (70, 4.)

School enrollment has increased more than 1,000,000 since 1930, but the number of teachers has decreased more than 30,000. Hence, we find not an actual oversupply of trained teachers, but children needing to be educated, and teachers equipped to do the job, but kept from filling the need by the economic situation.

The abolition of child labor in industry by the National Recovery Administration will put more children on the school doorstep. Whether they can crowd inside seems problematic, even if they are lucky enough to find a door unlocked.

Obviously, this crisis is of a grave character. How has education come to such a pass? The first answer is to be found in the depression, but the fact has been pointed out that in other nations which have experienced the depression, the educational situation is less critical. There are two other points to be considered in addition to the depression.

First, the local control of American education is another reason for the particularly bad effect of the depression, from which our schools are suffering more severely than most European schools. In the majority of European countries, the control of education is more highly centralized and a function of the national government. National funds are available for at least the partial support of education.

On the contrary, in this country, where education is a local service, the support of education is also local, and the most local sources of income have been taxed for its support. (70, 5.) A real estate tax on farms, homes, stores, and factories is the chief source of revenue. The depression sent real estate values down, and property was reassessed at a lower figure, with the result that the income for educational purposes was lowered in all communities. In sections where the taxpayers defaulted on their payments, the schools were faced with the problem of operating with practically no cash available.

In the second place, educators have been woefully slow to examine and try to remedy the situation. Professor Kandell, in his recent book, *Comparative Education*, writes:

The larger associations have limited themselves too narrowly to education and instruction, and as contrasted with the activities of similar associations in England, France, and Germany, their work has been mainly that of assembling, disseminating, and interpreting information on current tendencies rather than of leadership. (7, 623.)

Certainly the National Education Association, our largest teachers' organization, has consistently refused to be interested in the economic situation. The American Federation of Teachers, on the contrary, has a history of interest in the social and economic situation in which the school is forced to function.

One writer said recently (32, 121):

Chicago has been going broke for twenty years. It has been hiding behind Depression's skirts these last three.

It was pointed out, however, on page two of this thesis, that as early as 1902 the teachers were attempting to remedy the evils of the tax situation in Chicago. That was over thirty years ago, and the teachers who unionized have been voices crying quite constantly in the wilderness ever since. They pointed out that in 1925 the assessed valuation of Chicago property should have been four billion dollars, while the actual assessment was one and a third billion. In addition, they called attention to the situation in regard to capital stock. The teachers filed a complaint listing among other items fifty-one corporations, the net assessed valuation of whose capital stock should have totaled \$96,000,000, and which had not been assessed one cent on capital stock. (55, 18.)

Thus, it appears that the American Federation of Teachers has adopted the philosophy that education is inextricably interwoven with the social and economic structure—a philosophy which prepared it to face the present economic crisis in education immediately and realistically.

A startling phenomenon of the present depression has been the attacks on the school by organized pressure groups. Extra legal committees have sprung up all over the country, composed mainly of large property holders, who, according to Dean Haggerty of the College of Education of the University of Minnesota, by their refusal to pay taxes, and by their dictation to banks, determine the level of school support, and even the question of whether teachers' salaries shall be paid at all. (21, 36.)

In Chicago a "Citizens' Committee" took charge of civic policies, including matters that directly affected the public schools. Of the twenty-nine members of the executive committee there was not a single small home owner or citizen-in-ordinary among them. (54, 10.) The committee was composed of bankers, industrialists, and real estate dealers, the groups which John Dewey, America's eminent educator, says more than any other special groups in this country have helped bring on the present economic and financial crisis. (17, 5.)

These various groups state that they have intervened in the interest of economy. Have they attacked the problem in any fundamental way, attempting to eliminate waste, graft, unnecessary duplication of units, official favoritism, the sacrifice of public to private interests? No, for by economy they have meant the reduction of wages and salaries of all persons on the municipal pay roll. (17, 5.) Consequently, the schools and the teachers have come in for a ruthless attack, and it is a pertinent fact, that on these committees there has been scarcely a single public-school patron. (54, 10.)

While in New York and Chicago are the outstanding examples of this dictatorship of organized pressure groups, other cities have had similar experience. There is also evidence that the battle going on around the school may be more than one of financial support. Mr. Morgan, the editor of the *Journal of the National Education Association*, says,

It concerns the ability of the people to maintain their schools at all in the presence of an economic structure dominated by super-corporations which are more interested in maintaining control than they are in the preservation of democratic institutions. (35, 34.)

In support of his statement it should be remembered that the American Federation of Teachers has been calling attention to the activities of the super-corporations for years, and that now the National Education Association, too, has realized the significance of the activities.

In a recent issue of the *Journal of the National Education Association* (36, 35), Dr. J. K. Norton, Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Emergency in Education, wrote,

The educational emergency has its roots deep in certain unsound conditions which existed long before 1929. The depression has aggravated the conditions.

The keen interest which the American Federation of Teachers has in social-economic conditions has caused it to call constantly for attention to these unsound conditions, but until very recently the great majority of educators had only condemnation for such a point of view.

When the United States Chamber of Commerce sent out to local Chambers of Commerce a program for school retrenchment, the American Federation of

Teachers exposed the propaganda and its implications. There were twenty recommendations on the program which, briefly summarized, were as follows: curtail the purchase of school supplies and the operation of the school plant; postpone all building and replacements; simplify the curricula; discontinue evening classes and kindergartens; shorten the school day; increase the size of classes, and the teaching hours; suspend automatic increases of salary; reduce teachers' salaries; shorten the school year; reduce the elementary school from eight to seven years, and the high school from four to three years; impose a fee on high school students. (63, 16.)

The American Federation of Teachers, as counter-propaganda, gave publicity to the educational program of the American Federation of Labor, which, because of the contrast it offers to the suggestion of the business interests of the country, warrants being given in full.

1. Waste and extravagance must be determined by careful study, the responsibility placed where it belongs and no economies which harm the children permitted.
2. No curtailment or elimination of any school activity necessary to maintain and improve educational standards.
3. Raising the top-age of compulsory school attendance.
4. No reduction in teachers' salaries.
5. No increase in the size of classes.
6. No shortening of the school year.
7. No lengthening of the school day.
8. No elimination of valuable subject matter.
9. Free text books for all.
10. Widest extension of the program of adult education.
11. Tenure law for teachers.
12. Maintenance and improvement of teaching standards.
13. Adequate school buildings adapted to the needs of modern education.
14. Increased revenues to maintain and develop public education. More money for public education, not less. Our complex social order, the complications of our economic system, call for widening the scope and influence of our public schools and require larger instead of restricted appropriations.
15. Equal educational opportunities for all children. (63, 16.)

Why did organized business take such an uncompromising attitude toward the schools? Royce Pitkin, Headmaster of the New London School, writing for the *Journal of the National Education Association*, suggests the following reason:

If the schools are likely to be moderately successful in bringing about an informed and alert populace, one can easily understand the readiness of the barons of business to seize the opportunity afforded by the present depression to cripple them under the guise of economy. . . . A satisfactory program of education for the masses and the continued domination of industrial, political, and social life by a favored few are decidedly inconsistent. This would seem to suggest the real motive that lies behind the strenuous efforts of organized groups of selfish interests to disable the schools. (37, 43.)

In addition to exposing the propaganda of the business groups in the country and issuing counter-propaganda to arouse public opinion, the American Federation of Teachers has been engaged in attempts to aid teachers.

The plight of the teachers of Chicago has for years been the outstanding example in this country of pitiable conditions. It has been impossible for teachers to collect their salaries. It is known that at least seven Chicago teachers have lost their minds; one has killed himself; upward of a hundred have suffered one form or another of nervous collapse. No one

knows how many homes and life insurance policies have been lost. (32, 121.)

The city, in 1933, attempted to raise money to pay its debts and, unable to float loans because of its bad financial condition, offered tax anticipation warrants which went begging for a market. Finally, it paid the teachers four months back wages in warrants, which were not negotiable at a bank, hence the teachers were unable to redeem them. (32, 121.)

The teachers appealed to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which, to bolster the tottering structure, had loaned \$90,000,000 to the Chicago City National Bank of which former United States vice-president Charles Dawes was head, but the Reconstruction Finance Corporation refused to buy the warrants. It offered, however, to accept them as collateral for a loan, from any Chicago bank. The teachers appealed to the banks to take advantage of this offer, but the banks refused to buy the warrants. (32, 121.)

This was the last straw for the desperate teachers. During the month of April they staged demonstrations, marching to the banks with placards reading, "Pay the Teachers," "Pay Your Taxes," "Buy Our Tax Warrants," and other such statements. A committee of the marchers called upon Mr. Charles Dawes, president of the City National Bank, seeking his assistance. He replied, "To hell with trouble makers." (60, 18.)

Fifteen thousand children, in sympathy with their teachers, joined in a one-day strike, as a protest against conditions, and this was the background for the opening of the Century of Progress Exposition, in the summer of 1933.

In spite of these facts, the National Education Association decided to hold its annual convention in Chicago, so that the country's educators could visit the fair. A group in New York, including John Dewey, George Strayer, Jesse Newlon, and George Counts, protested to the secretary of the National Educational Association, Mr. Crabtree, saying, "A decision not to go to Chicago would electrify the profession." (34, 782.)

Mr. Dawes was informed of the protest of the New York group by Mr. Crabtree. Incidentally, Mr. Rufus Dawes, brother of the prominent banker, was in charge of the fair, and concerned to have it financially successful. Eventually, the banks bought the tax warrants, and the teachers were paid three months salary for October, November, and December of the preceding year. This step on the part of the banks was undoubtedly brought about by the demonstrations of the teachers and children in Chicago as well as by protests from outsiders. Mr. Crabtree apparently was satisfied with the results, and the National Education Association met in Chicago.

Dr. Clyde R. Miller of Teachers College, Columbia, commented on the incident as follows:

Some of us think the N. E. A. made a mistake. The situation reveals the need for an N. E. A. more vigorous and virile and socially intelligent than we have known in the past. Making speeches and adopting resolutions will not get very far. To be timid is to go down to sure defeat. . . . This is a time when the N. E. A. ought to be fighting. . . . If this fight is undertaken it will mean forth-right attack on great financial and industrial interests of which most teachers and teachers' associations and officials have stood in awe. (Turn to page 13)

Academic Freedom and Progress

Abraham Lefkowitz

FROM the dawn of history man emerged from the brute state because of his own power to think and to profit by the experience of others as well as his own. Despite the importance of ideas, every new idea had to fight with the upholders of the *status quo* for the right to survive. Every time new or advanced forms of government or of society were established, its beneficiaries sought to prevent basic changes. Where possible, existing beliefs and institutions were hallowed by clothing them with divine sanction. The heralds of progress who conceived new ideas and dared preach them paid dearly for the privilege. Thus Socrates was forced to drink the hemlock; the Gracchi were murdered; Giordano Bruno was burned at the stake; while Galileo had to recant. Yet persecution could not halt progress nor the onward march of new ideas. On the contrary, the blood of the martyrs fertilized the soil from which sprang a new crop of martyrs.

History has taught us that progress is the result of new ideas or change; that it cannot be prevented—though it may be retarded or accelerated. New ideas are the result of critical thinking upon the part of teachers, pupils, and citizens. Anything which tends to undermine, delimit, or throttle critical thinking and teaching, is not only historically unwise, but subversive of progress to which all intelligent citizens should be dedicated. Hence censorship should be resisted because it interferes with academic freedom which plays so basic a part in change. Every precious right humanity now enjoys—freedom of speech, press, religious toleration, political equality, etc.—all are the result of progress or change due to new ideas. It was the clash of ideas—the old with the new, and the triumph of the latter—which explains the vast difference between the standards of civilization found in the heart of Africa, the bushmen of Australia, and the civilized countries of today.

Opponents of academic freedom are generally persons who are consciously or subconsciously devoted to the past and hence seek to maintain the *status quo* of which they are usually the beneficiaries. As ardent upholders of things as they are, they oppose the spread of new ideas. This they can achieve best by attacking the intellectual integrity of the teaching profession through fear of losing their jobs. Hence the attacks upon their tenure through Lusk Laws, loyalty oaths, and certification proposals.

We teachers are not, as teachers, upholders of the *status quo* or its opponents, except in so far as these are inevitable by-products of our teaching. Propaganda has no place in the school room dedicated to the development of critical thought for social service. Fear and education are antipodal to each other because fear paralyzes thinking while critical thought is indispensable to the educational process. Fear not only paralyzes thinking and teaching, but also places a premium upon intellectual dishonesty, makes for submissiveness, and substitutes for the courageous independent thinker, a supine servile

obeyer. Since critical thinking and new ideas engendered by thought are basic in the solution of our problems, all socially-minded citizens should oppose any attempt to limit academic freedom by undermining tenure, or by endangering the intellectual integrity of the teaching profession.

The outstanding assaults upon academic freedom in New York state were:

1. The Lusk Laws engendered by the hysteria which followed the period of the World War. Under these laws the Commissioner of Education, without trial or hearing, could revoke the license of any teacher if it appeared that such teacher advocated a form of government other than the government of the United States or of the State, or advocated changes by unlawful or violent means.

2. The Ives Loyalty Oath which requires a teacher, every time he is moved to a new school, to take an oath to support the Constitution of the State and the United States.

3. The certification proposals of the State Department of Education which substitute periodic tenure in place of indefinite or life tenure, thus making teachers probationers for life. The pretext for this attack upon our tenure is the desire to secure improved service and professional aliveness. We concede the need for both but deny the need for undermining the tenure law or the possibility of securing these desirable ends by "imposing culture from above." These certification proposals will not make teachers professionally alive, but professionally subservient to a cultural weapon that can and will be used to crush the initiative, the creativeness, the courage, and the independence of teachers. Under these proposals, our school doors again will be opened wide to political and extramural influence. This proposal not only will undermine education, but it will also close the door of every school house to critical, self-respecting, socially-minded teachers who seek but to serve their community. Under this proposal, that which is politically expedient will be taught, rather than that which is socially and educationally desirable.

All these laws and proposals undermine tenure and are intended to intimidate teachers by inspiring fear. Hence they tend to destroy or undermine academic freedom, without which real or creative teaching is impossible. All of these measures tend to fetter discussion, to paralyze teaching, and to inhibit fearless thinking. The result of such legislation is gradually to leave the teaching profession open largely to those who are unfitted for so basic a calling. Those courageous and independent thinkers who are needed by our schools, are either driven out or are prevented from entering it by such legislation. Children trained by uncritical and spineless teachers, are hardly likely to become worthy citizens in a republic seeking to give the greatest happiness to all. True democracy is possible only where teachers are free fearlessly to expound the truth as they see it.

The unionized teachers of this country, and all thinking citizens, are, or ought to be, opposed to legislation which undermines academic freedom not only because it is a negation of real creative teaching but also because it constitutes a gratuitous insult to the teaching profession. Why assume that men and women who have dedicated their lives to the service of their fellowmen should be singled out, by implication, as disloyal or should have their rights as citizens and as thinkers curtailed by legislative fiat? Equally bad is the silly notion that patriotism or love of country can be inspired by loyalty oaths when, in reality, love of country is a cumulative product developed from within? Legislation of this type is inspired by a false philosophy and equally false basic assumptions.

The philosophy underlying these laws was best expressed by Senator Clayton R. Lusk when he said:

The public school teacher is a representative and officer of the State as it *now exists*. He is employed by the State to teach loyalty to its institutions and obedience to its laws. In entering the public school system the teacher assumes certain obligations and must of necessity surrender some of his intellectual freedom. . . . *No person who is not eager to combat the theories of social change should be entrusted with the task of fitting the young and old of this State for the responsibilities of citizenship.*

This same idea was expressed by His Imperial Majesty Francis of Austria, when he said:

There are new ideas in progress which I cannot and will not approve. Hold fast to old ideas. I need no learned men. I do need brave citizens. Your duty is to make the nation into such. Whoever serves me must accept what I command. Whoever is unable to do that, or comes to me with new ideas, can go, or I will remove him.

In a word, this philosophy or doctrine transforms the teacher into an intellectual serf and into a propagandist for the *status quo*—a negation of the basic purpose of teaching. Thus we find that the basis of this legislation is the cultural lag bequeathed to us from the days of absolutism in government and industry.

What are the basic assumptions which accompany this dangerous philosophy so unsuited to a democracy in a period of transition to a new social order? They are as follows:

1. That you really teach children by telling them something. Teaching comes from conflict, thought, application of material presented or obtained by the students, and not from passive acceptance of predigested thought.

2. That training, which implies indoctrination by repetition, is educative. Training is necessary in life and has educative value. But it is not education in the higher and better concept of that term. We train dogs, but we should educate students to be fearless, socially-minded, and independent. It is this concept of training that leads to military training, to implicit obedience to the uncritical acceptance of shibboleths, etc.

3. Fear of punishment will prevent progress by intimidating the fearless thinkers. This assumption totally ignores the teachings of history which prove conclusively that the enemies of progress and new ideas may kill or maim the body but they can *never* hurt the spirit. Hence the pages of history are full of the heroism of those who died that society might progress.

4. That critical intelligence can be developed in an atmosphere of fear—a ridiculous assumption.

5. That while the scientific attitude and critical thinking are desirable and should be encouraged in the field of the natural sciences and the conclusions thus arrived at hailed as evidence of progress, a similar attitude in the social sciences is looked upon with disapproval because they regard the results of that attitude as dangerous. Dangerous to whom? To the exploiters or war mongers, or to society?

6. The feeling that it is necessary for teachers to "uphold the Constitution," whereas it is the function of teachers to "uphold truth" as they see it or discover it.

Legislation of this type is conceived in fear and born of hysteria. It is advocated by men of limited intelligence or by those who seek to perpetuate the *status quo* with all its iniquities and opportunities for the exploitation of the weak or the less fortunate by the strong or more fortunate. It tends, as Governor Alfred E. Smith so ably said, to "limit the teaching staff of the public schools to those only who lack the courage or the mind to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions"—the type the schools can well dispense with. Under these laws delimiting spheres of intellectual activity, the greatest benefactors of mankind and the greatest of our leaders would be ineligible for teaching positions in our schools, notably men of the calibre of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Seward. Can legislation which would bar from the teaching profession those who would be its greatest ornaments, be socially desirable?

Legislation of this type harks back to mediaeval juridical principles and ideas. They assume that teachers are guilty unless they establish their innocence. Hence they encourage snooping and spying by supervisors, fellow teachers, parents, and even by students. How can education flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion, spying, cowardice, and fear? Shall intelligent citizens permit themselves to be carried away by unthinking superpatriots inspired by mediaeval and Teutonic ideas of justice, or shall we stand by our democratic ideals of freedom, toleration, and justice?

As against the enemies of progress, we present the basic philosophy that change is imperative in a living and growing society; that freedom is basic in such a concept and that without such freedom society will stagnate and die. As against the concept that the teacher must be a servile tool of those who uphold the *status quo* and indoctrinate children with such ideas, we posit the theory that it is not the business of the teacher to uphold any doctrine but to present all available data or views on debatable questions and to permit and to encourage the play of critical intelligence upon these ideas.

May I sum up by saying that teachers oppose all repressive legislation which limits or interferes with academic freedom because it destroys the basic purpose of education, retards progress, breeds servility, fear, and subservience. Incidentally, we oppose such legislation because—

- a. It reflects upon the teaching profession and tends to detract from its attractiveness. Hence it will keep out of the profession those most needed—courageous, socially-minded, thinking teachers who

would do much to turn out citizens capable of grappling with a society cursed by poverty amidst plenty, by war, and by competition and exploitation.

b. It is useless to achieve its purpose of eliminating the so-called dangerous "reds" or communists in our public schools or institutions of higher learning. Since these so-called dangerous "reds" do not believe in bourgeois morality, they will be the first to take such silly oaths and then laugh at bourgeois stupidity and morality.

c. It undermines the effectiveness of private schools which have been the educational laboratories where progressive ideas are born later to infiltrate our public schools.

d. Such oaths are weapons of repression and persecution—the enemies of progress and social justice.

e. The terms used in such legislation, as "subversive," "loyalty," etc., are not susceptible of accurate definition and lend themselves readily to abuse at the hands of reactionary boards of education or ambitious supervisors who seek to climb by currying favor with the most reactionary and powerful and unthinking elements in the community.

f. They presuppose omniscience by placing in the hands of one person an arbitrary power which no one is fitted to exercise or to be entrusted with.

All such laws limit the spread of ideas on the assumption that new ideas are dangerous to our democratic institutions.* This assumption shows a lack of faith in these institutions as well as in our citizens.

I have enough faith in the soundness of American ideals and institutions to tolerate all opinion, discussion, and criticism. I believe, with Jefferson, that the solution of our problems lies, not in censorship nor in suppression; not in the deification of Teutonism or Prussianism; but in education and free discussion. Educate people to appreciate the value of a worthwhile institution and no amount of propaganda can harm or undermine it. Like Wendell Phillips, I believe that the age of bullets has been displaced by the age of ideas. Prevent the growth of ideas and you restore the age of bullets. The worst enemies of organized government are not unfortunates of our economic system who hold subversive ideas of overthrowing our government by violent revolution and a dictatorship, but the Lusk, the Ives, and those who would place social thought in a straight jacket. Metternich, who dominated Europe in the early 19th century, tried repression, and his system came crashing down about his ears. Well might the Lusk be reminded that

Humanity sweeps onward, where to-day the martyr stands:

On the morrow crouches Judas, with silver in his hands:

While the hooting mob of yesterday, in silent awe returns;

To glean up the scattered ashes in history's golden urn.

Ives Oath Law Repeal

Henry R. Linville

ON AUGUST 10, 1934, an act was passed by the New York State Legislature to amend the education law in relation to an oath to be taken by teachers, instructors, and professors in all public schools of the state and in such private schools and colleges as are exempt from taxation.

The act is entitled "An Oath to support the federal and the state constitutions." It is Section 709, Chapter 862, Education Laws of 1934. The first paragraph of the law reads as follows:

After October first, nineteen hundred thirty-four, it shall be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to serve as teacher, instructor or professor in any school or institution in the public school system of the state or in any school, college, university or other educational institution in this state, whose real property or any part of it is exempt from taxation under section four of the tax law, unless and until he or she shall have taken and subscribed the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (of affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America and the constitution of the state of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge, according to the best of my ability, the duties of the position of to which I am now assigned."

It is now proposed to repeal this law on the ground that it is a recrudescence of the Lusk law spirit which brought disgrace to the State of New York in the post-war period of 1920 to 1923. In the latter year the Lusk laws were repealed under the leadership of Governor Alfred E. Smith. The bill to re-

peal the Ives Teachers' Oath Law has been introduced this month by Assemblyman Kaminsky of Brooklyn, and is in the hands of the Assembly Committee on Education. The attention of the interested public is called to the repeal measure in order that all social groups may exercise their full influence to eliminate from the statutes the grossly unfair attempt to place upon teachers the suspicion of disloyalty which the discriminatory requirement of a special oath imposes.

It has been said in extenuation of the requirement of this oath that teachers are public officers, and should take an oath to support the constitution as do all other public officers. In reply to this argument we can point to the law of 1917, Chapter 574, amendment to the Civil Service Law in which public school teachers are required to take the constitutional oath to support the federal and state constitutions. No other group of employees is required to take two oaths. The implication would appear to be that teachers are an especially dangerous class. The Legislature of 1917 also further guarded the schools by amending the Education Laws to the effect that teachers, superintendents, and other educational employees may be removed for "treasonable or seditious acts or utterances."

Thus, the law sets up three defenses against the apparently serious potential risks which the state takes in employing teachers in the public schools. But the Ives law affords the only specific protection against the apparently potential menace of the private

*Broadcast over Station WABC, New York, January 16, 1935, under the Auspices of the National Student Federation.

schools and the colleges. Assemblyman Ives and his supporters appear to have believed that this menace should be met. But Governor Lehman, in vetoing the bill in the regular session of 1934, called attention to the unfairness of requiring the teachers in private schools and colleges to take an oath. However, when the same bill was passed in the special session he signed it. His reasons for a change of view were not fully understood.

Although the Lusk laws of 1921 to 1923 were more far-reaching than is the Ives Oath Law, the spirit which inspires such legislation is the same at any time and in any place. Vague fear in the minds of the leaders of dominant social forces manifests itself in the determination to regiment the thinking of all employees who are in the position to engage in intellectual inquiry, as teachers undoubtedly are. Whether teachers live in Germany, Italy, Russia, or in America, there are forces that deem it necessary to set up controls that will insure the particular kind of safety which for the moment appears necessary. Fortunately, in America there are sections of the public that are able to see that greater danger can come from repression than from freedom itself.

It is fortunate, indeed, that many of the organizations active in the campaign for the repeal of the Lusk laws are with us today in the campaign for the repeal of the Ives Law. Furthermore, the civil and political leaders whose influence was effective in the repeal campaign of 1923 are still remembered for their courageous challenge against the reactionary groups that helped to pass the Lusk laws. It is worth our while to review the positions taken by some who participated in the 1920-1923 campaign.

The Lusk law applying to public school teachers was adopted in May, 1921, under the administration of Governor Miller. It provided that every public school teacher in the State of New York should be required to hold a certificate from the Commissioner of Education to the effect that the teacher "has shown satisfactorily that he will support the constitutions of this state and of the United States, and that he is loyal to the institutions and laws thereof." On March 25, 1920, Dr. Felix Adler, the late leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, telegraphed to the Committee having in charge the campaign against the enactment of the Lusk school bills saying, "The provisions of the Lusk bills are capable of great and sinister abuse, and the public should awake to the fact that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty' and was never more true than at present."

On March 21, 1920, the City Club of New York issued a memorandum in opposition to the Lusk school teachers' bill. The reasons given then for opposition to the Lusk proposals were:

1. It is unjust to discriminate against teachers as a class.
2. It deprives teachers of their right to freedom of opinion.
3. It is intended to dragoon public opinion through the schools.
4. It means inevitably the detention of the *status quo*, since progress implies criticism and criticism would be interpreted as disloyalty.
5. No self-respecting teacher would accept service under the proposed conditions.
6. Such a bill would disrupt the educational machinery by introducing a system of espionage. The teacher would be at the mercy of his colleagues, his pupils, and their parents.

When the Lusk school law applying to teachers was first passed by the Legislature in 1921, it was vetoed by the then Governor, Alfred E. Smith. In his veto message he said:

The test established by this law is not what the teacher teaches, but what the teacher believes, and the effect of the bill would be to make the Commissioner of Education the sole and arbitrary dictator of the personnel of the teaching force of the state in its public schools. It permits one man to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty, and this even without hearing or trial. The bill unjustly discriminates against teachers as a class. It deprives teachers of their right to freedom of thought; it limits the teaching staff of the public schools to those only who lack the courage or the mind to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions. The bill confers on the Commissioner of Education a power of interference with freedom of opinion which strikes at the foundation of democratic education.

Governor Smith made his campaign for a return to the Governorship in 1922 in part on the proposed repeal of the Lusk school laws. These laws were repealed in April, 1923. The reasons Governor Smith gave for the repeal of the Lusk laws apply with equal force today to the Ives law.

Unfortunately, it cannot be said truthfully that all the teachers of New York State are back of the present repeal movement. Indeed, many of them were not concerned about the repeal of the Lusk laws. To admit this fact is to confess that teachers as a class have not been taught to realize the exact nature of the social conditions most favorable to good and effective teaching. Nor have they in general comprehended the principles involved in this field of professional experience. However, the leaders of the profession know that neither effective teaching nor effective inquiry and research can be carried on except under conditions of freedom from fear of official discipline for thinking thoughts that may be different from those that are approved by an educational administration. Without freedom to think there can be no inspiration for teachers, and no worthwhile learning for students.

When Senator Lusk proposed his Lusk school bills, he announced that they were intended to serve as model laws for the other states in the Union. But they did not live long enough to serve effectively as models. There are, however, thirteen other states that have laws similar to the Ives Teachers' Oath Law. Certain conservative organizations have endeavored to promote the adoption of this type of legislation throughout the country. The Teachers' Union of New York and other teachers' unions, together with the American Federation of Labor, and certain student organizations, such as the National Student Federation, have endeavored to make it clear to the public in general, and especially to state legislatures, that the profession of teaching should be permitted to set up its own standards in its own way. Although the personnel of the teaching staff of any state, and the faculties of our universities, are of supreme importance in the development of a sound citizenry, external agencies, made up of persons who are generally not educators, are doubtfully qualified to formulate regulations for the government of a great profession. Like the members of other important professions, we claim the right to set up our own standards. Ultimately and inevitably these stand-

ards will become effective in the interests of the public. For this reason all cooperating organizations are working with the teachers' unions to bring about the repeal of this discriminatory legislation everywhere.

The Ives law was obviously intended to entrap radical teachers who, it was presumed, were employed in the schools, or might later be employed. No more futile device could be invented to guard against radicalism than an oath. So far as known, every teacher in the State of New York has taken the oath, and not a single dangerous radical has been discovered. But a large number of teachers have been stunned by the manifestation of a suspicion that they are less than loyal as citizens, and less than honorable as teachers.

Then, shall we not say to the Legislature, "Your radical-hunting device has broken down. Throw it out with other legislation that has been not only useless for its purpose, but also discreditable to its promoters."

Critical Evaluation of the A. F. T.

(Continued from page 8)

Such a battle would grow out of a philosophy rooted in the American dream of adequate opportunities even for the humblest. Only rarely have individuals among us been willing to risk our jobs by fighting for them. (34, 782.)

The American Federation of Teachers on the other hand, in protestation of the treatment accorded the Chicago school teachers, held its convention in Milwaukee.

In August, 1933, the American Federation of Teachers made an application to the National Recovery Administration for the approval of a code for public schools and public-school teachers. It incorporated in this code demands for a professional wage, security of tenure, decent working conditions, and the right to establish teachers' unions and to affiliate with organized labor. The code said in part:

We propose that in sections of the country where the school funds available from real estate taxation and from state income laws are not sufficient to pay the salaries of teachers to maintain the schools on a scale commensurate with the needs of the community, federal grants of funds be made to bring the school personnel up to the standards herein set forth. We believe that such federal participation in the support of the school is necessary in view of the fact that the taxable wealth of the nation is not equally distributed through the states, and can only be reached by the federal government itself. Unless this is done, equal educational opportunity for all the children of America is impossible. (66, 5.)

Its activities, during the crisis, seem to have been grouped into three main channels of endeavor. It has advocated economy, not through ruthless slashing of budgets at the dictate of organized pressure groups, but, through a careful study, to eliminate waste and extravagance in such a way that it will not harm the children. It has advocated protection for the teachers of America through organization, and a fair code of labor. It has sought equality of opportunity for all our children, which, it claims, can only be brought about by federal aid and a thoroughgoing reform to broaden the tax base. "Such a battle grows out of a philosophy rooted in the American dream of adequate opportunities even for the humblest." (34, 782.)

(To be continued.)

More Abundant Living

(Continued from page 5)

when he graduates from school or college will know there is an assured job for him to start in along the line for which he has been trained just as surely as the West Point cadet knows a position will be waiting for him. Perhaps each head of a family will have the security of knowing that as long as he is willing to work, his family will have a reasonable share in the necessities and comforts of modern living. To make that time come nearer, we must first solve the problems of human organization which are necessary to make the unlimited potential productivity of modern science and modern machines the servant of man instead of his master.

For the present, we are still struggling with the problem of getting our economic machinery back at work. The experience gained in that effort will then need to be focussed on the even bigger problem of making our economic system function far better than it has ever functioned in the past. We have the materials and resources, the labor and technical ability, the machines and processes, to maintain for all our people a far more abundant living than most of them have ever enjoyed. All that is needed is to work out the problems of the proper coordination of materials and men to match an expanding ability to produce with an ever expanding desire to consume. If the New Deal is to justify the faith which the people of this country have in it, that is the basic problem it must work to solve.

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The Peace Cause Moves On

O. Myking Mehus

THE peace cause moves on. There can be no doubt about it. At times the outlook is dark and seemingly hopeless, but when one gets a broad view of the whole world situation one realizes that the forces of peace are active and war is not "just around the corner."

This view was so well expressed by General John J. Pershing, Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in the World War, that we want to quote it here. In a cable from Paris to the *Kansas City Star* on November 10, 1934, he said:

On this Armistice Day, when we are celebrating the end of the greatest war the world has ever known, there exist in many countries certain grave apprehensions caused mainly by sensation mongers that the world may soon be in the throes of another such war or perhaps one even more destructive. I do not share in any such apprehension and believe it to be unfounded. There are very few national governments that would willingly contemplate the prospects of war even though they felt confident of victory and these few are not in a position at present to have any such confidence. They know this and expert opinion everywhere knows it, and that is why I think that instead of wars, nations will address themselves to the peaceful problems of economic recovery toward which our country is giving such a courageous and magnificent lead.

Another world figure spoke recently in this same vein. General Smuts, who foresaw at Paris the wickedness of the Treaty of Versailles and denounced it when it was finished, declared that in spite of the failure of disarmament and "vogue of silly drilling, strutting about in uniforms and shirts of various colors," he did not find a real war temper anywhere or the material conditions necessary for a modern war.

Edward Price Bell, writing in the *Literary Digest* recently, points out that the composite official attitude on the world situation in Washington is that it is "disquieting, but not intrinsically and imminently dangerous." We all know what the disquieting factors are—both Europe and Asia are looked upon as gigantic powder-magazines ready to blow up, but there are many favorable factors which will act as deterrents to this and make the situations "not intrinsically and imminently dangerous." It is these factors that I want to discuss in this article.

In the first place there are too many people in the world today who remember with bitterness and grief the horrors of the last war. They know that war is not a Sunday School picnic. They know that there is nothing glorious about modern warfare. They know that it is gruesome and vile and frightful. War today is not enshrined with the glamor and glory with which it was surrounded in 1914. Today millions and millions of people in every part of the world know that war is brutal and inhuman and a thoroughly uncivilized and unchristian method of settling international disputes.

The hard-headed business man and students of economics know that the war was responsible to a great extent for the world-wide depression that we are in today. They know that modern war "hurts everybody, benefits nobody but the profiteer, and settles nothing" as was so strikingly expressed by Field

Marshall Sir William Robertson. They know that no nation can win in a modern war. Secretary of War Dern, in an address on Armistice Day, 1933, at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, made an amazing confession for an official in his position when he said:

There has been much dispute as to who won the war. The plain fact is that nobody won the war. Everybody lost. The war was purely negative in character and the cost was ruinous. In a prolonged modern war both sides in ultimate results are bound to lose.

Because of the international character of trade the business man knows that when we shoot an "enemy" we have killed a customer. Business men know that trade and commerce are stimulated by ambassadors of good will and not by marines who bring death and destruction. What marines and soldiers failed to accomplish in Mexico, Morrow and Daniels have brought about—namely, better business relations between the two countries.

When Hitler had risen to power in Germany, the French militarists and munition makers wanted to crush him by sending an army into Germany. But the French peasants were not interested and politely told the militarists, "Nothing doing." They remembered the horror of the last war. When the militarists found that the peasants would not act as cannon fodder, they dropped the idea of an invasion, as they valued their own skins too highly to have them filled with German bullets.

Because of the work of the League of Nations and similar international bodies the countries of Europe are in a position to act swiftly for peace. And consequently they were able to withstand the shocks caused by the assassinations of Dollfuss, King Alexander, and Barthou, while in 1914 there was no League of Nations nor any other similar organization where international complications could be discussed and so the assassination of the Archduke of Austria was the match that started the conflagration. As Lloyd George said,

No country really wanted war in 1914, but we gradually slid into it.

The statesmen of Europe know that no country could start an aggressive war today and hope to win because of the peace pacts and non-aggressive treaties that have been ratified. World sentiment would be aroused against any country that would defy the peace pacts and no statesman is willing to take this risk, however much he might be willing to send an army into a neighboring state. The people of the world have spoken through these pacts and the militarists know that this intangible thing called public opinion is still to be reckoned with in world affairs.

In the past we have been taught that war is an instinct that could not be eradicated and therefore it was inevitable that wars should come ever so often. But today this false doctrine has been exploded by scientific investigations of modern psychologists. The wide spread idea that the urge for war is too deeply rooted to be eradicated is denied, and, in some cases, ridiculed by 346 of 378 members of the American

Psychological Association who answered a query sent out by Dr. John M. Fletcher of Tulane University, New Orleans.

The question asked the psychologists was,

Do you as a psychologist hold that there are present in human nature ineradicable instinctive factors that make war between nations inevitable?

The question was sent 528 members of the association. Of these, 378, or 70 per cent, replied. The vote was: No, 346; yes, 10; unclassified, 22. Dr. Fletcher says, reporting on his findings in the *Scientific Monthly*,

There was no intention to draw inferences as to the attitude of psychologists respecting the possibility of ending war, or respecting any particular plan of doing so. The question is a specific one concerning a psychological doctrine, which has been made current by soldiers, lawmakers, journalists, economists, historians, and all sorts of other makers of public opinion.

The conclusion to be drawn from the questionnaire, he believes, is as follows:

Without raising the issue as to the inevitability of conflicting claims and interests arising between nations, American psychologists are almost unanimously agreed that the traditional opinion that instincts determine the mode of adjustment of these conflicts is without scientific warrant.

The common people are getting a better understanding of the underlying causes of modern war. They are realizing that modern wars are not fought primarily over such noble principles as "ending war," "crushing militarism," and "making the world safe for democracy," but that the causes of wars are economic disputes over oil or coal or railroads or markets and the like. Even Woodrow Wilson realized this fact after he had come in contact with the grasping nationalists at the Peace Conference. In an address in St. Louis on September 5, 1919, he said:

Is there any man here or woman—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry. . . . This war, in its inception, was an industrial and commercial war.

This economic cause is being discussed by intelligent men and women on every hand. Major General Smedley D. Butler, who won his fame as a hard fighting Marine, declares in a current magazine that "war is a racket," and describes it as the worst of all rackets.

Says General Butler:

War, like any other racket, pays high dividends to the very few. But what does it profit the masses?

The cost of operations is always transferred to the people, who do not profit. The trend now is to poison us against the Japanese.

He points out that the only stakes in such a war are the trade with China, amounting to \$90,000,000 a year, and our private investments in the Philippines, about \$200,000,000. Then he continues:

To save that China trade of \$90,000,000 or to protect investments of less than \$200,000,000 in the Philippines, we may be roused to a war that may cost us tens of billions of dollars, hundreds of thousands of American lives, and many more hundreds of thousands of physically maimed and mentally unbalanced young men.

The only way to stop this racket is by taking the profit out of war. Conscript the nation's capital before conscripting the nation's manhood. One month before the government may order the young men of the nation to be killed it must serve notice of conscription on the country's capital.

Let the officers and directors of our armament factories, our gun builders and munitions makers and shipbuilders all be conscripted at \$30 a month.

Give capital 30 days to think it over; and there will be no war. That will stop the racket—that, and nothing else.

According to an Associated Press release of October 28, 1934, Major General Smedley Butler told a gathering of war veterans in Charleston, West Virginia, that wars are international "rackets" and the source of the world's economic ills. Butler attacked that group of people which carelessly sacrifices the lives of those dumb, honest soldier boys to satisfy their own greed in starting wars.

The former marines chief urged the veterans to unite in a fight to "outlaw war."

Munition makers and other greedy manufacturers in the World War used 4 million soldiers to collect 4½ billion dollars owed by the allies.

Butler said,

They went to the White House and intimidated President Wilson by saying they could not meet their payrolls if America did not help the allies to defeat Germany.

Butler declared,

I swear that I will never place another gun across my shoulder to go to another country to fight, and the only way we can stop wars is by allowing only those who are able to fight themselves to vote on the question.

Butler advocated a constitutional amendment making a declaration of war subject to the approval of the people.

Statements like the above are causing the average man to think and to think seriously about the whole war system and to question the justice and worth of it. When he finds out that during the World War 21,000 new millionaires were created in the United States and that 69,000 men made more than three billion dollars over and above their normal income, he realizes that for some men the "war for democracy" was very lucrative.

In April, 1934, the American Legion issued a statement on *Universal Service in Time of War* which contains the following illuminating figures:

During four peace years the United States Steel Corporation enjoyed an average annual profit of \$105,000,000, while during the four years of war its annual average profit was \$239,000,000.

The du Pont interests during four years of peace found themselves enjoying an average annual profit of \$6,000,000, while during four years of war they enjoyed an average profit of \$58,000,000 annually.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation in peace times had an average annual profit of \$6,000,000, and in war times an average profit of \$49,000,000 annually.

Anaconda Copper had an annual average profit of \$10,000,000 in peace times, and an average in war times of \$34,000,000.

Utah Copper, \$5,700,000 in peace times and \$21,600,000 in war times.

American Smelting & Refining Co., \$11,500,000 in peace times and \$18,600,000 in war times.

Republic Iron & Steel, \$4,000,000 in peace times and \$17,500,000 in war times.

International Mercantile Marine, in peace times \$6,600,000 profits per year and in war times \$14,000,000 in profits per year.

Atlas Powder Co., \$485,000 profit in peace years per annum and \$2,374,000 per year in times of war.

American and British manufacturing, \$172,000 profit in peace times and \$325,000 in time of war.

Canadian Car & Foundry, \$1,300,000 in peace times and \$2,200,000 in war times.

Crocker Wheeler Co., another munitions institution, \$206,000 annually in peace times and \$666,000 in war times.

Hercules Powder Co., in peace times had an annual profit of \$1,200,000 and in time of war an annual profit of \$7,430,000.

General Motors in peace times had a profit of \$6,900,000 per year, and in war times \$21,700,000 profits per year.

The sordid story brought out at the investigations of munition makers both in our country and in Europe has opened the eyes of millions of people in regard to how the munition makers disturb the peace of the world, because they profit from wars and war scares. These investigations have shown how the munition industry subsidizes the press, bribes officials, gets government people on its boards, connives with unscrupulous bankers, organizes international armament rings, plays one country against another, and sells its wares to both, as for example to Bolivia and Paraguay, to Peru and Columbia, and to China and Japan.

A very significant article appeared in the March, 1934, number of *Fortune Magazine* in regard to the workings of the munition makers of Europe. This article tells that German soldiers were killed by German guns fired by Russian and Belgian soldiers; that French soldiers died in the blasts from French 75's, manned by Bulgarian artillerymen; that in London is a cannon captured from the enemy—on one side is a tablet which gives the names of the British boys who were killed in making the capture and on the other side of the cannon we find these words, *Made in England*.

This article shows that the English and French industries supplied glycerin (for explosives), nickel, copper, oil, and rubber to Germany throughout the war. Germany in turn sent iron and steel to France. Magnetos made in the Fatherland were used in French army trucks. And still we allow these munition makers to parade around as 100 per cent patriots, when they are ready to knife their own country for a few pieces of silver, only in their case it is not a few pieces, but millions and millions.

Perhaps the most dastardly act of the munition makers was that through political power in France they were able to compel the French artillery to spare the German iron and steel works in the Briey basin. The French could easily have shelled these works, but a French general who suggested this was reprimanded. In return for sparing the German source of supplies, the Germans spared the French mines at Dombasle. If the French had been permitted to have bombarded the German source of iron and steel in the Briey basin, the war would have ended much sooner. But, no, that would have ended the profits of the munition makers, and what are wars for if not to enrich these loyal patriots?

Because of the revelations brought out in the investigations of the munition makers in Europe and later in our own country by the Nye Investigating Committee of the United States Senate the Missouri Department of the American Legion in its 16th annual convention at Kansas City, Missouri, September 3 and 4, 1934, adopted resolutions in regard to world peace which are in part as follows:

The members of the Legion reaffirm their consecrated personal devotion to the ideal of World Peace that led them during the Great War victorious over every battle field, under the belief that they were fighting the war against war, the war to end militarism, and the war to make the world safe for democracy; and which spirit and belief still actuated the soldiers of the war as they banded themselves together, when the smoke of battle had scarcely cleared away, and in the Legion Preamble expressed it to be one of their cardinal purposes *To Promote Peace and Good Will on Earth*. The men of the Legion still believe that one of their greatest

missions is to lead the people of America into paths of international peace, and to teach them the complete truth about war, all the way from its causes to its final results, and to teach them that war is not, as of old, a matter of chivalry and of glory, but that modern war is unromantic, brutal, hideously cruel, and inhuman; and that war, though at present outlook is not improbable in the future, nevertheless is not an inevitable thing, but by proper understanding and return to sanity can be avoided and prohibited.

The American Legion says that war is caused by stupidity and lack of understanding, by cheap and incompetent statesmanship, and by the sinister forces of greed.—The American Legion through its membership shall at all times in all matters strive in the selection of national leadership toward the securing to public life only of men who are broad in statesmanship, capable of understanding the problems of nationhood, sane on international issues, and who are fearless in their position therein; and we condemn cheap adventitious leadership which will goad nations to fury for partisan or political reasons, or which will oppose programs and methods of international adjustment, of conciliation, or of justifiable settlements, for partisan reasons, or who advocate any national program from any motive other than that of intelligent and pure patriotism; and we condemn as jingoists, as enemies of peace, and as traitors to the ideals of The American Legion, those who foster suspicion, fear, and distrust among the nations; and we commend the activities of the true lovers of peace who advocate the prevention of wars by the cultivation of good will, of friendship, and mutual understanding among the family of nations; and we desire above all men, and in men who know the horrors of war, that this nation should live in peace with all peoples; that our children and the future children of America may, if possible, be spared the costly carnage and butchery through which we passed in 1917-18.—

We condemn as unpatriotic and as unAmerican, that there could exist during the Great War a situation whereby for every three American men who gave their lives on foreign fields during the war, it was possible for one man back home to be able to amass at least a million dollars; and we condemn a situation whereby corporations, companies, and individuals were able to see their peace-time profits grow to ten or twenty times the value of the original capital investment, while this country became loaded with grinding debt which has stifled our commerce and made the promise of American life for the future less glowing, and while the soldiers of America went haggard and hungry through mud and blood at one dollar per day. We commend the American Legion proposal of Universal Draft on the theory that its adoption will take the profit motive out of war, will be a mighty deterrent against war.—

The American Legion demands that the makers of munitions of war in America be investigated completely, and that the war time profits, the munition makers' activities during the war, their activities and profits after the war, be investigated and made public to all people; that the present interlocking intercompany interests of munition makers be made public; that the holding of any interest by Americans in foreign companies, or the holding of any stock or interest by foreigners in American companies engaged either in whole or in part in the manufacturing of munitions be made public, and be prohibited by law; that in the event of war, all munition manufacturing be operated under Government supervision and licensing; that no munitions shall be shipped from this country to any other country at any time except with the knowledge and written approval of the Secretary of State of the United States and that the records thereof be made public in every detail; that some system of regulation, licensing, or prohibition of private munition manufacturing of war munitions be undertaken by the Federal Government; and that no persons or member of the military or naval force of the United States Government, or any employee or official or representative of the United States Government, be permitted to have any financial interest in, or to represent as agent or salesman, any foreign or domestic company engaged in the manufacturing either in whole or in part of munitions and materials of war.

It is indeed encouraging to find such a strong peace attitude in an organization as influential in moulding public opinion as is the American Legion.

(Turn to page 30)

Participation vs. Complaisance

Raymond F. Lowry

A SORT of poetic justice is being meted out upon the teachers of public school and college in these dark days. To quote from the report of a recent investigation made by the American Association of University Professors and to make a blanket application, "It is indeed the (teacher's) failure to see the importance of social and institutional relations to the final educational purpose he has in view which blinds him to the irony of his own sentiment and to the value of facing critically and analytically the existing institutional situation, economic and social, in all its ugliness and confusion."

That faculty members are rapidly being subjected to the traditional attitude of employer and employee argues strongly for an heroic awakening. The total absence in the present scheme of the application of any of the rules of tenure arises not of outside antagonism alone but more primarily from the lack of the protection of inside organization. The few are left to battle in the interests of liberty, personal freedom, or academic rights. The greatest danger to them and to all others of the profession rests with majority teacher attitudes. The complaisant state of mind so characteristic of teachers in times of world security, social and economic, fails to stir itself even in the face of national sabotage of the educational system. This attitude is proving itself to be the greatest asset of the enemies of public schools. These alone will play a major role in depleting the economic security of higher institutions of learning as these "feeders" are destroyed.

The ironic contradiction to statements of principle so often made by those high in educational life lies in the failure of almost all to realize how we may be betrayed. Perhaps honestly we have tried to serve indiscriminately all classes of society. Undoubtedly, in an ideal state where all citizens practice the Golden Rule, the candid statement which follows would merit whole-hearted approval. It might even be endorsed by the American Federation of Teachers. But parents and educators alike are aware of organized forces within the commonwealth which have advocated and adopted programs of retrenchment and destruction in the fields of education. The following quotation, then, would brook of no denial if existing facts and conditions were other than they are.

"No teachers' organization has the right to affiliate with any organization of a part of the people, because the State educates, trains, licenses, and pays the teachers."

If there were time and space we might digress at this point to set forth clearly what group or groups within the State have most perfectly fulfilled and even made possible this condition. From the total context of this article our attitudes will be clear beyond all question. Instead, your attention is yet directed to the reason for majority teacher attitudes, for, in the face of the above statement of principle, many therein defined are allied fraternally and sympathetically with those organizations which are sponsors of programs antagonistic to the best interests of the children and the welfare of the electorate of tomorrow. These individuals or groups, so allied, represent only too frequently either the leaders or the teachers most responsible for the adequate maintenance of the school system.

To avoid the further betrayal of a democracy's greatest asset, to champion

the right of America's children to a constitutional birthright, the teacher must embattle propaganda and discrimination underneath the banner of those who legislated the public schools into being. Any mental attitude or failure to participate in the struggle for the emancipation of the system and the profession is unworthy and ill-advised. Failure to correlate motivating agencies with judgment will continue to increase the precariousness of this entire structure of government.

Need the United States signally fail to provide adequately for the schools when, at the same time, the majority of governments are increasing the outlays for education? To do so now would be to run contrary to the history of our people. It would be the first time that such a reaction were allowed to take place during a period of economic readjustment.

Evidently a powerfully organized and intelligently led army of defenders must be brought into the field. If present powerful organizations of teachers are inadequate to the challenge, a new and more powerful organization must be formed. We believe that such a force exists in countenancing and abetting the growth of the American Federation of Teachers.

Malformed and unsupportable arguments are and will continue to be advanced to prevent the teacher from recovering the ground as well as prestige lost through the last few years. Isolated from life in the classrooms of the land, it would be difficult for him to comprehend the changes which are taking place and the disaster which threatens. However, his training will stand him in good stead. The taboos of habit and tradition, no matter how long they have been under process of formation, will hardly hamper his action as they do those of the uneducated savage. Hence, I believe I understand him well enough to know that he will not long consider too seriously the loud voices of "Thou shalt not!" when he observes the need for teacher participation in problems of government, politics, society, and economics. He will see that it is indeed ethical, in the interests of efficient service, for him to struggle for his own economic security, for academic freedom, and professional rather than occupational recognition.

If, under the constructive ideology of the New Deal, he observes the threat of frustration, he will quickly conclude that educational advantages should have been prolonged for the adult instead of terminated with the man yet adolescent. He will seize upon the right of every citizen to help develop individual liberty and social responsibility. He will override the obstacles which impede the progress of democratic civilization in an active effort to spread the gospel of understanding, brotherhood, and good will. Perhaps he will discover how to interest those who regard civic thinking as tiresome; with the great army of those who produce on farm and in factory, compel the attention of politicians from selfish to altruistic schemes, and frustrate the selfishness of him who fears an enlightened electorate.

The President's Page

So This Is America!

Sales Tax.—According to the National Federation of Taxpayers Association nineteen states have passed a sales tax and control enough votes in Congress to adopt a federal sales levy.

Finger printing of all persons in the United States was advocated at the annual convention of International Association of Police Chiefs at Washington as a further deterrent to crime.

Unicameral Legislature in Ohio?—In Ohio an effort is being made to do away with the two houses of the legislature and substitute one house of 52 members. Because such division of the state into districts would deprive the rural areas of every vestige of influence they now have, the Grange will strenuously oppose the movement.

A. F. of L. Survey Declares Increased Production Needed.—Number of people on relief increases to 18,402,000; 39,683,000 at work in industry; latest unemployment figures placed at 10,671,000.

Hearst Leads Drive for U. S. Gag Laws.—With the Hearst newspapers beating the drums, an anti-red drive of more serious proportions than in years is being conducted by military and patriotic groups, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Legion, and the D. A. R. Their representatives urged action upon the Congressional Committee Investigating un-American Activities at its closing sessions in Washington in December.

They demanded a federal sedition law punishing mere utterances, the barring of all Communist literature from the mails, a political secret service in the Department of Justice, more stringent control of immigration and deportation, and making a crime of spreading "disaffection" among soldiers and sailors. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce has published a pamphlet outlining these measures against "subversive activities."

Child Labor Amendment Supported by Cummings.—The firm support of the Roosevelt Administration for the ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment by the State Legislatures now in session was demonstrated here when Attorney General Homer S. Cummings issued a statement to "all liberal-minded persons" to mobilize their efforts to realize "this great reform." He said in part:

"The child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States should receive the support of all liberal-minded persons interested in social and economic progress. The problem has been of vital concern to the American people for many years. It can be adequately and satisfactorily solved only by concerted action on a nationwide scale. As a prerequisite for such action, a Constitutional amendment is necessary. Such an amendment has been pending since 1924. The legislatures now in session in the various States have it within their power to make this great reform effective."

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers offers a plan whereby local school boards would be responsible for motion pictures shown to children in their communities.

A.C.L.U. Aids Teacher in Fight Against Gag.—James Stewart, young high school teacher in Plumville, Pa., denied a permanent teaching certificate because he quoted Theodore Roosevelt as saying that "we just went in and took the Panama Canal Zone," is being backed by the Civil Liberties Union in his fight for a hearing, which was refused by Dr. James Rule, head of the state department of public instruction. It is likely an appeal will be made to the governor. Mr. Stewart declares James Chapman, superintendent of Indiana county schools, labeled him as "a Bolshevik."

It's a Collar This Time.—The White Collar League of America is a new patriotic, non-profit, non-sectarian association, which opposes "any change in our American traditions of freedom of thought and individual action."

One-sixth of the children in the United States are in families on relief and are not receiving adequate provision, Katharine F. Lenroot, newly appointed chief of the federal children's bureau, told the national conference on the 1935 needs of children.

The nation's school bill is \$2,448,633,561 annually. The amount spent for tobacco is \$2,141,220,000. For a nation so addicted to tobacco as the United States, that should convey a fair idea of the burden (?) of modern education.

Cause for Dismissal.—According to "The New Republic," "teachers in San Francisco are subject to dismissal if they are seen carrying 'The Nation' or 'The New Republic' on the school grounds."

Child Labor Amendment.—The child labor amendment to the federal constitution has been defeated by the New York and Texas legislatures. Wyoming and Utah pass it.

Lawrence, Mass., Turns Upward.—All city employees got a 5 per cent return from the 15 per cent waivers which has netted every teacher a gain of from \$2.25 to \$5.00 weekly. In other words a 10 per cent, instead of a 15 per cent waiver for 1935.

New York City Sets Public School Budget.—The budget of the New York City public school system for 1935 amounts to \$133,918,053.33. This figure is \$3,158,069.97 in excess of the budget for 1934. Owing to the action of the recent special session of the legislature in restoring full statutory state aid to the schools, however, the share to be borne by the city in 1935 actually will be \$1,587,555.79 less than the amount contributed in 1934. The city will pay \$80,103,760.97 for 1935 as compared with \$81,691,316.76 for 1934.

Taking Profit Out of War.—Taking the profit out of war, which is alleged to be the object of certain bills under consideration by Congress, did not receive the approval of Secretary of War Dern in his testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives. He limited his approval to measures designed to prevent "profiteering," which is far removed from abolishing all profit.

Gov. Nice Flays Sales Tax.—Repudiation of the sales tax as a method of raising increased taxes required by the State Government and support of the income tax characterized the message of Gov. Nice to the Maryland State Legislature. Confronted with the necessity of raising at least \$30,000,000 additional taxes, \$18,800,000 of which will be required for unemployment relief during the next two years, Gov. Nice said: "While the choice of methods is within your province, I think it proper to say that there should be no sales tax, for it operates disproportionately upon those in the community least able to bear it." The recommendation of Gov. Nice reflects the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which has persistently opposed the sales tax and favored in its place higher taxes on incomes and inheritances.

34 Ousted Teachers Lose Final Decision.—The Court of Errors and Appeals, the court of last resort, has upheld the dismissal of 34 teachers by the Hoboken school board in June, 1932.

The teachers sought without success reversal of a Supreme Court opinion upholding the dismissal. The school board failed to obtain reversal of portions of the opinion which ordered two months' pay to the dismissed teachers and the return of seven tenure teachers. The high court affirmed the Supreme Court opinion in all particulars without comment.

At the end of the 1932 school year 26 teachers in the school system were transferred to two schools and a day later were notified that the schools would be closed and their positions abolished.

Arthur T. Vanderbilt, of Newark, who represented the teachers, told the court that those transferred to the school, and eight already there were all married or non-residents of Hoboken or "suffered from both infirmities."

Rockford, Ill., Teachers Get 10 Per Cent Boost in Pay.—Salaries of Rockford teachers will be increased 10 per cent under the 1935 budget. At the same time the school tax rate on local property will be reduced approximately 5 per cent as a result of the increased income from other sources.

Class Railway Fares Stressed by Eastman.—The establishment of various grades of railroad service with transportation charges determined according to the paying ability of rich, middle class, and poor, was recommended by Joseph Eastman, transportation coordinator, in a report outlining a number of methods by which it is hoped the railroad managers will be able to increase railway travel and income.

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The Teacher in Politics

The first duty of the public school is to teach citizenship, that is to inculcate a sense of civic duty and responsibility. But it is to be done by teachers forbidden civic and political interest and activity. A conspicuous example of the blind leading the blind!

The American Federation of Teachers has consistently held that teachers should take an active part in the civic and political life of their communities, but when they take this advice with the purpose and intent of protecting the schools and themselves from exploitation by politicians, a storm of protest and indignation arises. As Dr. William McAndrew says in complimenting the Cleveland teachers upon their entry into the political arena, "Did you ever notice that the most violent critics of teachers for going into politics are politicians?"

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL BOARD JOURNAL, January, 1935, in an editorial on *The Public School and Politics* expresses grave concern over the action of the New Bedford, Massachusetts, teachers in seeking to select those who are in a sense their employers;

and deplors that

in at least two states, educational bodies are urging active interest in the nomination and election of the members of state legislatures.

The editorial continues,

The purpose here is to insure legislation that may provide adequate school support. The wisdom of this approach may be seriously questioned.

It concludes

The general public must exercise its judgment as to the selection of those who shall govern the schools.

To organize themselves into a political body is inconsistent with their (the teachers') professional calling and to seek to control the selection of those who are to be their employers is illogical and untenable.

That is those than whom none have a greater stake in the future development of our schools are to be barred from participation in their control and administration.

THE SCHOOL BOARD JOURNAL editorial itself arraigns the character of school board members and argues for active participation by

soundly interested persons of character when it says:

The candidate who is most vigorously opposed is sometimes elected. The teacher who has openly sought to defeat a candidate for the school board, will stand in an awkward relationship if that candidate happens to win an election. *The spirit of retaliation may assert itself; a bad situation will certainly ensue. (Italics ours.)*

Teachers Exploited by Politicians

On the other hand we have seen no deep concern over another all too prevalent teacher-and-politics relation. We have failed to find editorials in the public press, school board journals, and educational journals on the growing evil of soliciting and compelling financial contributions from teachers in support of political campaigns and candidates.

The anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, where teachers have been required to contribute substantial sums to the party in power on penalty of losing their jobs, has long been a scandal. This is not, however, an isolated example. Within the month the editor was discussing with a group of teachers in a nearby state the importance of teachers organizing for their own protection. A teacher present said,

Why should I join an organization for protection when I pay for my job?

When pressed for an explanation she said,

I paid \$125 as a political campaign contribution when I got my contract. We all pay according to our salaries.

Chicago with all its difficulties, political and other, has been in the past free from political assessment. In the past, but not in the present. This fall tickets for the city championship football game between public and parochial schools, the proceeds to go to the Mayor's favorite charity, were sent to the schools with instructions that the teachers should purchase for themselves and sell to others. Civic bodies protested this use of the schools, and the president of the School Board denied that a statement that a list of teachers who failed to purchase tickets would be filed with the Board for future

Education for Democracy

action had been issued from his office.

Cambridge, Massachusetts, furnishes a conspicuous illustration of the injection of politics in the schools and a convincing explanation of why teachers are in some places forbidden to interest themselves in the choice of school board members.

The Cambridge League of Women Voters on November 16 addressed a letter to the school committee of Cambridge in which it asked

Does the school committee approve of the sending of a written request to the teachers in the schools for contributions to campaign funds?

and in a letter of January 21 the League suggested the adoption by the school committee of a resolution of the following tenor:

No teacher while on the school premises shall be solicited personally, or through any other means, for funds to be used in a political campaign. The school committee further records its disapproval of any teachers' organization in soliciting funds or support for a candidate for public office.

This action on the part of the League of Women Voters was the result of the solicitation from teachers of campaign funds to aid a member of the school committee, Ralph W. Robart, to become sheriff of Middlesex County. It appears from the investigation that every school had been canvassed and that contributions were turned over to a headmaster in the school system. The League has also asked that the alleged political activities of the Teachers Club and its officers and their part in the solicitation of campaign funds be examined. The Teachers Club is the company union of the Cambridge school system.

The hearings on this matter before the Cambridge school committee were the most violent in the history of that body and the charges of the League that teachers gave to the Cambridge election fund and sums were levied to aid school committeeman's Robart's race for sheriff on a quota graduation, a fixed amount for masters and another for teachers, were substantiated.

This is the kind of politics which we have in the schools and which

teachers are seeking to eliminate and which apparently are not the deep concern of politicians and some others. Teachers in politics but not tools in politicians' hands is the desideratum.

What Fell O'er Alabama?

The two hundred teachers of Clarke county, Alabama, after teaching for two months without pay—a meager wage below a subsistence level—decided to remain away from their classrooms until pay should be forthcoming. The federal relief money for their pay was in some unaccountable way held up.

County superintendent D. C. Mathews and the County Board of Education approved the action of the teachers. Not so Governor Bibb Graves. He answered the teachers with a statement "the schools are going to stay open," and issued an "executive order" to the probate judge of Clarke county to "order" the sheriff of that county to "order" the teachers to report for duty, and to perform their duties under threat of arrest and imprisonment. "If the superintendent of education or anyone interferes" with plans to keep the schools open, the sheriff's orders read, he is to arrest him and hold in jail "for further orders."

The governor then instructed Dr. J. A. Keller, state superintendent of education, to "go to Clarke county, take complete charge there, and keep the schools running."

The determination of the teachers was increased by the action of the governor in setting aside the duly-chosen officials and turning the schools over to the sheriff and the probate judge. The innovation of forcing teachers to go to work by armed deputies found no support.

The governor took a second thought and revoked his orders to the state superintendent and county probate judge and sheriff.

He also found the money for the teachers' pay!

Be not simply good—be good for something.

—Thoreau.

What Is the I. Q. of the U.S.C. of C on Education?

You buy things to use when you understand something of how they work. The salesman has a much harder job selling goods to people who are entirely ignorant of them. The science courses of a school are a major instrument for the teaching of such understandings of machines.

The present immediate problem of business in the U. S. A. is to promote a wider effective demand for its goods by an understanding public. In proportion as people appreciate the workings of various apparatus of modern convenience they will buy, use, and be satisfied with more such things.

The phenomenal increase in the acceptance of and use of modern appliances in the home and the shop, (which are but modern science applied to make work more effective) parallels the growth of the high school as the place of education of the great body of intelligent Americans.

And now along come the solemn financiers and so-called businessmen of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and announce that the way to improve our present situation is to lessen the costs of education by the following measures:

1. Increase the size of school classes and the teaching hours.
2. Reduce the elementary schools to seven grades.
3. Reduce the four-year high school curricula to three years.
4. Impose a fee on high school students.

Now let us see how these are likely to change business: (1) If size of classes and teachers' hours are increased, there will be even less time for the teacher to help able students to do their work quickly, and slower students will flounder without hope of rescue and renewed courage in success. So the school process will be slowed down for all. Even more children than now will feel discontent with the schools, and will leave as soon as any alternative is possible. So these young people will have little contact with science courses, which tend to familiarize them with applied science.

(2) If we reduce the elementary curriculum by one year and the high school likewise, we will have to leave out some of the present content. And the things that will be left out next will be the next in order of recency in the school: the chemistry, the physics and the general science, the biology and courses on physiology and health. These are the courses that make for the understanding, appreciation, and use of the applications of science, from the use of sewing and washing machines to the application of nitrifying bacteria to the soil or the importance of vitamins for the health of a herd of cattle or a family of children. If school work is shortened, the understanding of the benefits of modern science will be still more severely decreased, and the purchase of important products all too severely lessened.

(3) Finally, if tuition is charged high school students, as the C. of C. suggests, that will lessen the funds available for the purchase of home equipment still more drastically.

Let the United States Chamber of Commerce finance a census of the modern apparatus used in the homes of some representative city, and of the high school or lower educational course of these people, and let it correlate these. If tuition is charged, less graduates will spend still less for the products of business. So manufacturers and finance will contract.

However you look at it the propositions of the C. of C. are self-contradictory and stupid.

We have public schools because they are a better and a more economical means of education than private schools can be. We want every genuine economy, but we do not want to starve our children to save a few dollars in taxes now, whether for the lack of food or for the malnutrition of an inadequate school experience. The understanding of the methods and to some slight extent the content of modern science is a prerequisite for social experience out of which is grown civic and economic intelligence.

They starve their own financial and business security who starve the schools. Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children

still remains inevitable, and the only alternative is support of the schools to the full.

Not scarcity, but abundance; not pinch-penny economy, but far-seeing investment for ease, comfort, and security; not power for the few but assured security for all;—these are the legitimate goals of our society. And the first means for such full freedom for all is found in an ever vigorous and intelligent process of education.

T. F.

Who Are Enemies of Teachers?

Under this caption a letter appeared in a newspaper of recent date cataloguing those who uphold the teachers in their demands for adequate compensation, security of position, and proper teaching conditions, as enemies of education. In the last issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER there was published an article entitled *Enemies of the Public Schools*. It seems to be an acknowledged fact that the schools and teachers have enemies to whom they are depends on the point of view. A little introspection on this subject may be in order.

We recognize as enemies of education entrenched wealth evading its just share of taxation.

We recognize special interests thoroughly organized with all the resources of money, power, and propaganda.

We recognize the inertia and indifference of the general public deceived by all this false propaganda.

We do *not* recognize the greatest enemy of education—the teachers ourselves. The attitude of the teachers is the chief enemy of progress in education. Their fear, their timidity, their belief that by conciliating their enemies they can gain, their failure to recognize their friends, their expectation of accomplishment by seeking favor of their opponents rather than the support of their friends, their pitiful efforts to claim professionalism rather than taking action to build a profession, and above all their lack of loyalty to each other.

When the teachers recognize their enemies, they will destroy them and a better day will dawn.

Be An Organizer

Sound effective organization of teachers would be the most powerful single influence for social betterment possible. The value of organization is known to every one better than to teachers. It is amazing that in this day of organization the one group with the greatest potential power should be the most unorganized and disorganized. The unorganized teachers need to have the gospel of organization carried to them. Whose task is this?

Let each member of the Federation take up the responsibility; let each member become an active organizer, and the work of building a strong organization for school and teacher protection is done. The A. F. T. should be able to say that it has thousands of organizers working to build unity, solidarity, loyalty in the teaching group and among all workers.

The strongest influence upon the unorganized teachers is the influence which you, their fellow-teachers, can wield. Are you ready to use this influence for the American Federation of Teachers? Do you wish to do your utmost for your organization? If you do, then you will become an organizer among your friends. You will know and see that they know that *the American Federation of Teachers is the national organization of classroom teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor*. You will explain to them the significance of these three points. It is evident from results that local organizations can not meet the crisis and that a national organization is needed to meet a national problem. It is evident that an organization controlled by administrators cannot or will not solve the problem, and that the rank and file who know best what is happening and by close contact with the children are most deeply concerned must assume their responsibility, if a better day is to dawn. It is evident that no one group standing by itself can win in a struggle so vital to us all against a foe so strongly entrenched, and that those having this foe in common should unite in a common cause.

Tell these things to your fellow teachers. Study the history of A. F. T.; understand its fundamental

principles; acquaint yourself with modern school problems and the needs of teachers. And then tell them where is the source of help.

Be An Organizer.

Many Teachers Receive Less Than Dole

The Detroit *Labor News* is pleased that its efforts to further an adequate educational program met with the approval of the Detroit Federation of Teachers. Incidentally, it is rather amusing that the State Superintendent of Public Instruction is reported to have told an audience in Flint that when the present funds for the operation of schools are exhausted, the schools should be closed tight.

No one would accuse Dr. Voelker of being a Union man, yet he here expresses a sound Union principle that if a service is worth having, it is worth paying for.

Gas and electric companies are at liberty to discontinue service when their patrons fail to pay for them. Should we demand that schools be kept open even if teachers in many instances are receiving less than people on the welfare rolls?

The American Federation of Teachers does not believe that children should be sacrificed at a time of economic stress, yet the children are being sacrificed due to the procrastination and evasion of responsibility on the part of those who are directly responsible for public education.

—Detroit Labor News.

Equal Educational Opportunity

Equal educational opportunity for all,—child, youth, adult,—regardless of the accident of birth or residence is the traditional American standard. We have never reached this goal, but we had always been working towards it and making progress until the present economic debacle came upon us.

Now we find ourselves farther away from our goal than ever before. In the work for National Recovery, we find Education disregarded. Educational Recovery is basic to National Recovery, but we find this fact overlooked, and while banks, industry, agriculture

receive federal aid, schools, libraries, recreation, are beyond the pale.

The inequalities in American educational opportunity are indicated by the following figures:

One state has approximately 8 times as much wealth per child of school age as some of the less fortunate states.

Children of school age (6-17 yrs.) constitute 31.3 percent of the population in one state; 16.6 percent in another.

Average number of days schools were in session in 1932 ranged from 132.9 in one state to 188.3 in another.

Average number of days attended by each pupil ranged from 98.1 to 163.2.

Annual expenditures for education per pupil in average daily attendance ranged from \$31.70 to \$152.85.

Average annual salaries of all teachers, supervisors, and principals ranged from \$593 to \$2,494.

Value of school property per pupil enrolled ranged from \$74 in one state to \$391 in each of two other states.

Why this discrimination?

The answer may lie in the reply of a government official who, when asked why teachers were receiving only 30 cents an hour while skilled labor was receiving \$1.00 an hour, said, "Well, you know Labor is organized."

How to make our ideal of equal educational opportunity not a dream but an actuality is our next question.

The answer is clear, Federal Aid for Education sufficient to guarantee a satisfactory program for all children in every state.

A. F. T. Bulletin

The National Office prepared and published a special bulletin under date of January 15, 1935. The main article of this Bulletin was the report of our Legislative Representative, Miss Borchardt. A second article was the story of Hearst's attempt to Hitlerize America.

The publication has been so well received that we hope to issue others from time to time. They will

be devoted chiefly to legislative matters.

Not enough of these Bulletins were printed to supply each member. It was expected they would be passed about until all had seen them. If you have not had one, ask your president or secretary for a copy.

What Price Speaking Out Loud!

A New Voice

The Social Frontier, a monthly journal of educational criticism and reconstruction, made its debut in October. Under the editorship of George S. Counts and the guidance of a Board of Directors headed by William H. Kilpatrick and including a veritable roster of progressive educators, it aims to become "the expressive medium of those members of the teaching profession who believe that education has an important, even strategic, role to play in the reconstruction of American Society."

The Social Frontier, to quote its own editorial:

"assumes that the age of individualism in economy is closing and that an age marked by close integration of social life and by collective planning and control is opening. . . . It will devote its pages positively to the development of the thought of all who are interested in making education discharge its full responsibility in the present age of social transition. Its editorial staff and board of directors hope that it will help fight the great educational battles — practical and theoretical—which are already looming above the horizon. And they trust that it will engage in the battles of the twentieth and not of the eighteenth century."

And don't miss its funny page, "Voices from Olympus!"

The magazine is published at 66 West 88th Street, New York City. Subscription price \$2 per year.

Hearst's Red-Scare Campaign

A new wave of anti-red hysteria has been set in motion by Mr. William Randolph Hearst, of numerous great financial interests including a chain of newspapers.

"Red propaganda in schools and colleges" is played up with complete disregard to facts. On Mr. Hearst's list of dangerous "Reds" are the editors and contributors to *The Social Frontier*. The reason for this can be found in the above quotation from this periodical.

What Price Speaking Out Loud indeed!

The American Federation of Labor and others have instituted a boycott on German goods. Since this idea of suppression of academic freedom is an importation from Germany by Mr. Hearst, should not the boycott include certainly his idea if not Mr. Hearst himself?

Unions the Need of the Hour

There was never a time when wage-earners had so much to gain by membership in a trade union or so much to lose by neglecting their rights and opportunities through union affiliation. We are now determining the fundamental policies and agencies that will largely shape future industrial relationships. Organized representative groups can have a part in shaping decisions by presenting experiences and needs. Employers and other special groups are organized and active in presenting their interests.

During the session of Congress which has just begun momentous issues of public policy are to be considered and decided. The future of the National Recovery Administration, Labor's right to organize in trade unions free from employers' interference, and the enforcement of this right, jobs for the unemployed and a social security program, are coming up for definite action.

Even though the representatives you wished to be elected are now members of this Congress you can bring your welfare to their consideration only in organized capacity.

After public policies are determined and laws become effective, every wage-earner must look to his union to see that laws are put into force. Though the law may give workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, the right to form their own unions; though codes may fix minimum wages and maximum hours—it is only the union that can police the workshop, report violations, and see that justice is done.

It is the union that takes cases to the National Labor Relations Board and its regional boards, that makes presentations to the National Recovery Administration

and the President when necessary.

It is the union that enables workers to get their full rights under workmen's compensation laws and it is the union that helps to make our social security plan effective.

The union is a voluntary institution which serves public as well as private purposes. It performs a social purpose that can be greatly strengthened as wage-earners more generally fulfill their responsibility by joining the union to which they are eligible. It is the agency that can put a balance into our individual and social living that will provide justice between men.

The greatest responsibility that rests upon us for the coming year is to advance organization work and help unions to become more effective in doing their work.

—WILLIAM GREEN in *American Federationist*.

The Meldahl Trial

Representing the A. F. of T. I attended the trial of Mr. Andrew Meldahl, principal of the East Junior High School, Duluth, Minnesota, on January 12th, 1935. Mr. Meldahl had been charged by Mr. Young, Superintendent of the Duluth Schools, with insubordination and conduct unbecoming a teacher. Both these charges are statutory causes for dismissal under the Minnesota Tenure Law. Mr. Young, of course, acted for the Board.

Specifically on the charge of insubordination the complaint was that Mr. Meldahl had been insubordinate when he wrote, and had printed in his school paper, an editorial declaring that the Board of Education had been intimidated by the Duluth Taxpayers' League. The question before the Board was whether they should make drastic cuts in teachers' 1935 salaries to keep a balanced budget or issue warrants against delinquent taxes and other revenues to maintain the salary schedule in full. Appearing before the Board the Taxpayers League's representative threatened suit to establish personal liability for each board member who would vote for the issuance of warrants.

On the charge of conduct unbecoming a teacher Mr. Meldahl was alleged to have spoken in an

uncivilike manner to a certain woman who inquired as to community fund collections among the teachers in his school.

Since the entire School Board was involved in the charge of insubordination one by one they were placed under oath and testified that Mr. Meldahl's statement was substantially correct in that each did not relish the idea of personal liability actions against them as individuals. Intimidation was reasonably inferred from this testimony.

On the second charge Mr. Meldahl denied that his alleged statements to the aforementioned woman were true. Since this was a telephone conversation with no witnesses, there was not much legal ground to make this charge hold.

In making its decision the Board of Education returned the verdict that Mr. Meldahl had not been insubordinate but that he should be given a reprimand by the Superintendent of Schools for his conduct.

This is the first lawsuit I ever attended where the jury was at once the witness and the judge of its own testimony. I doubt whether a similar situation has ever occurred in our fair land. I believe that the reader's sense of humor is aroused when he considers the circumstances surrounding this trial. I have heard rumors that certain groups in Duluth are agitating for changes in our Tenure Law here in Minnesota.

R. J. AHLSTROM.

Nineteenth Convention American Federation of Teachers

The Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers will be held in Cleveland the week of August 25, 1935.

The headquarters will be the Hotel Hollenden.

Cleveland Local 279 has various committees already at work on plans to make this an outstandingly successful meeting.

The complete program will be published in the next issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Federal Aid for Education

Clyde R. Miller

Only one thing can arrest the continuing breakdown of our schools and bring a return of educational opportunity to millions of American children now deprived of it.

That one thing is federal financial aid.

Congress has appropriated more than three billion dollars for public works. It has given through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation around three billion dollars to banks, railroads, insurance companies, and such enterprises.

Operation, building, and maintenance of schools should be included under federal aid. Federal money is needed today to open the closed schools, to restore the shattered curriculum, and to place once again on a pay roll scores of thousands of teachers who have been going without pay or have been living from hand to mouth on limited script payments.

Dams, roads, and bridges may be desirable, but *schools are necessary!*

Ninety per cent of the money spent for schools, moreover, will go into pay rolls which will immediately be spent in the local communities to bring once again some measure of prosperity to those communities.

Direct action by the Federal Government must involve appropriation of hundreds of millions of dollars.

These sums must be distributed among those states which are unable to finance public education.

The need is imperative. It becomes greater with every passing day.

As far back as January, 1933, it was revealed by the U. S. Office of Education's National School Survey that 9,500,000 American school children were without adequate educational facilities.

Hundreds of thousands of this number have since been deprived of all or nearly all school facilities.

The old bugaboo that federal aid means federal control is just that—a bugaboo.

This aid can be given on a strictly objective basis, determined by the financial status of the local community and the state of which

it is a part, and by the needs of that community.

To raise the question of federal control at this time is to raise a question entirely academic.

Federal aid to our schools will mean no larger measure of federal control than we have already.

It does not and it will not mean that the Federal Government determine who will teach what.

The Federal Government, in the making of these school appropriations, can set forth for all the states in the union desirable taxation plans, and recommend their adoption.

Such plans are in existence, ready at a day's notice. The Office of Education provided the basis of them in the National Survey of School Finance, published last January.

It is likely that out of the large and immediate grants of federal money for local schools there could come *within a year* vast improvements in state systems of taxation—improvements which otherwise would be delayed for a generation or longer.

The giving of federal aid will raise this issue and it can decide it, to the great advantage of the farmers and small property owners in the various states; for such tax reform means far less dependence upon the property tax and much greater emphasis on the income tax.

But the main point is not to argue either federal control, of which there will be no more than we have now, or systems of taxation.

The immediate aim is to remove those great barren areas where educational privileges are entirely lacking or are being increasingly curtailed.

—*Extracts, Congressional Digest.*

Cooperation Builds a College

Ross Stagner

The unique problems facing college teachers and students as a result of the collapse of our economic system have called attention more and more to the death of competition and the birth of an era of cooperation. In the radical movement, where cooperative thinking was much farther along than in academic circles, cooper-

ative colleges have been attempted for years. I do not believe that strictly academic education has witnessed many experiments in cooperative colleges, and for that reason I think that members of the American Federation of Teachers will be interested in the People's Junior College, where the ideal of our union, "Democracy in Education," comes very near to being carried out.

In 1933 the city of Chicago closed Crane Junior College, which has accommodated thousands of young people who wanted the first two years of college at minimum cost. This "economy" move rendered unemployed many college instructors, and left a large number of students stranded with no chance to get a higher education.

Private educational institutions could not help these students. Most of them could only afford a fraction of the fees charged even at well-endowed colleges.

The situation called for cooperation between teachers who were equipped to form a college, students who wanted to go to one, and some group which could furnish buildings and equipment, at least the minimum essentials.

The Jewish People's Institute of Chicago, a social and educational center on Chicago's west side, solved the most difficult problem by permitting the use of its modern plant at 3500 Douglas Blvd. This included rooms well-adapted for classroom teaching, some laboratory material, and the general equipment of the Institute, library, gymnasium, lounge, etc.

A group of about twelve college instructors supplied the faculty. They came together on the agreement that all would share alike in work and in the financial rewards (such as they were!) of the venture. The faculty was given practically free rein by the Educational Board of the Institute, so that college matters are settled by discussion and democratic vote at faculty meetings. As a result, remarkable harmony prevails. Since all have equal work and equal privileges, little friction develops.

About four hundred high school graduates and former junior college students supplied the student body. Evening classes were created for those who found it neces-

(Turn to page 30)

BOOKS

"There is no frigate like a book
To bear us lands away."

—Emily Dickinson.

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY, Second Edition, 1935, Unabridged, 3,350 pp. Cloth binding, \$20; also terms; G. & C. Merriam Co., Springfield, Mass. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

"The most notable publishing event of the century," say the publishers about this new edition of *Webster's International Dictionary*, and truly it is! Since 1907, 207 special editors, outstanding authorities in their respective fields of endeavor, have been at work, gathering new words and citations until the stupendous number of 1,665,000 have been reached. With that number as a basis they sat down to the task of putting the *Dictionary* in final shape, and the result is a work that constitutes "the greatest single volume ever published."

The second edition of *Webster's* is an entirely new book. Sixty per cent of its listings are either entirely new or completely revised. Almost all the new words of the English language, reflecting the momentous changes that have taken place in the world since the World War, in government, geography, science, social philosophy, etc., are included and clearly and accurately defined.

The *New Webster's* contains more than 600,000 entries, consisting of the following classes: 552,000 vocabulary entries, 5,000 abbreviations listed in a special table which includes the entire nomenclature of the N.R.A.; more than 35,000 geographical terms, with population figures drawn from the latest census statistics for each country; and 13,000 biographical entries. The *New Webster's* offers 122,000 more words than any other dictionary.

When the mass of data was accumulated, the editors divided their material into several dozen subdivisions and sent them to experts for definition and synonymous terms. Thus medical words went to medical authorities, aeronautic terms to outstanding personalities in the field of aviation, scientific terms were distributed to the leading men and women of the various sciences, and so forth, with the result that the *Webster's New International Dictionary* embodies in one really over a dozen dic-

tionaries, medical, technical, business, etc.

In addition to the hundreds of thousands of word definitions, there are in the *New Webster's* hundreds of charts, tables, and articles which are encyclopedic in scope. There are listed in convenient tables the nomenclatures of nearly all sciences. Under the word *planet* the reader will find the listing and description of the major planets; under *element* a full list of the known elements with concise descriptions; under *color* is given a picturesque chart indicating all colors and their variations; under *coin* the reader will find the most exhaustive list of the coins of the world with their equivalent value in American money, and so on.

One hundred and fourteen outstanding public speakers, teachers of speech, linguistic scientists, have "furnished invaluable information about their own pronunciations," under the supervision of Paul W. Carhart and John S. Kenyon, author of *American Pronunciation*, an outstanding, authoritative work on the subject.

Professors John Livingston Lowes and George Lyman Kittredge, both of Harvard, were in charge of the compilation of synonyms and antonyms, of which there are hundreds of tables.

More than 12,000 terms are accompanied by clear illustrations. There are numerous full-page and many-colored plates of the flags of all nations, birds, butterflies, coins, gems, insects, wild flowers, and others.

An invaluable aid to the student and teacher is formed by the tabulation of hundreds of groups of words compounded by various prefixes and suffixes.

While the *Webster's New International Dictionary* is far from being all-inclusive of all the words employed in the English-speaking world (I failed to find these words taken from one issue of the *New York Times* in December, 1934; aetiological, jumboism, phonogenic, and regisseur), and while a few errors have crept in here and there (*semi-weekly* is inserted under *biweekly* thus giving the reader the impression that they are interchangeable), it is, nevertheless, "the most notable event of the century" and no library, public or private, is complete without it.

Never despair, but if you do, work in despair.

—Edmund Burke.

THE STORY OF THE PARIS PACT. Arthur Charles Watkins. National Student Forum on the Paris Pact. 532 Seventeenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 160 pp. Cloth-covered 75 cents; paper-covered 15 cents, in quantities 10 cents.

THE STORY OF THE PARIS PACT, revised and brought up to October, 1934, describing the first five years of the application of this world agreement, has been prepared for the use of "students of the higher citizenship" in all kinds of schools and in study groups everywhere, but particularly for the use of students in those schools that are participating in the program of the National Student Forum on the Paris Pact.

In the five years, 1929-34, approximately one million students in eight thousand different high schools in the United States and its Territories and Dependencies are recorded as having studied the Paris Pact. The revision at the close of 1934 and the publication at a nominal price of the one available book on this subject make it possible for all students of international relations to have access to the essential facts. The whole story is told simply but attractively in a style that appeals to all ages and classes of students. The general reader, likewise, will find himself intrigued by the appealing philosophy of this remarkable book. The book is highly commended by leading educators and experts in the Peace Movement.

O. MYKING MEHUS, Department of Sociology and Teacher Training, State Teachers College, Maryville, Mo., says:

Excellent for the high-school student as it contains the material we need to supplement our regular textbooks. It ought to find a place in every high school in our land.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY. Harold I. Ickes. New York. W. W. Norton and Company. \$1.50. 156 pp. Reviewed by F. Melvyn Lawson.

The spirit of the exploiting conqueror has been bred into the flesh and fiber of the American people by their struggle for existence on a virgin continent. Once successful in that struggle, they turned to exploiting human beings. Failing to bend the spirit of the Indians to their will, they used the Negroes and poor immigrants in abundance, and made little distinction between men, women, and children. Coincidental with human exploitation went the ravaging of the nation's natural resources. Forests, soil, wild game, natural gas, oil, and similar forms of natural wealth were wasted with wanton

abandon, all to the tune of a "rugged individualism" which resulted in a game of "Dog eat dog." The inevitable consequence of it all was an unwieldy industrial Goliath brought to its knees by its own stupidity and faced with the necessity of throwing itself wholly on the mercy of the government at Washington. In this fashion does Secretary Ickes open his attack on the old order, and proceed to defend the new. In perhaps the choicest words yet arranged in sentence form since the depression began, he defines and flays the "rugged individualist." His denunciation of the "liberty leaguers" and the "great constitutional lawyers" is a classic that should be preserved for future generations who will undoubtedly have to face the same kind of obstructionists to true group liberty.

Contending that the New Democracy is the application of "the greatest good to the greatest number," Mr. Ickes discusses the minimum "good" which the government might set out to accomplish for all of its citizens. Its activities should include a three-fold program. First it should protect "life" by safeguarding health and giving assurance of food and shelter to everyone. Second, it should guarantee "liberty" by protecting the majority from the interpretation given that word by either the die-hard reactionary or the be-whiskered anarchist; and third, it should promote the "pursuit of happiness" by developing an education for children and adults that is adapted to a changing society.

As Secretary of the Interior and Public Works Administrator, Mr. Ickes has had ample opportunity to view the Roosevelt policies on the firing line. His picture of the P.W.A., N.R.A., A.A.A., T.V.A., and other widely current alphabetical combinations in action is an alluring one, and it would be more so were it not for the fact that many of his readers are too close at grips with the situation he discusses to be economically and socially revived by mere well phrased verbalizations. Granted that the administration program is tremendous in size, content, and idealism, still Mr. Ickes often has a tendency to overstate its actual achievements.

The book is short, readable, and extremely frank. One cannot but agree that its author has the right idea even though he may disagree on the question of how to put the idea into practice. The seven cryptic chapters may constitute a cleverly fashioned piece of administration propaganda, but even so, their obvious political utility cannot be used to detract from their essence of truthfulness.

REDIRECTING EDUCATION. VOL. I, THE UNITED STATES. Rexford G. Tugwell and Leon H. Keyserling, editors. Columbia University Press, N. Y. 273 pp. \$3.00. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

The writers in this volume are as follows: Rexford G. Tugwell on *Social Objectives in Education*; Leon H. Keyserling on *Social Objectives in the American College*; Thomas J. Blaisdell, Jr., on *Economics in the College*; Charles Woolsey Cole on *History in the College*, and Joseph McGoldrick on *Political Science in the College*. These topics form a part of a course at Columbia University conducted by a group of lecturers who seek to explore the countless interrelations of education to the several spheres of human thought and experience.

Here we reach bed-rock in the analysis of social conditions, world progress, and educational development. Instead of the strained-out thoughts of a writer of educational textbooks the authors have given to us their actual findings, the ore from the vein. At every point where you begin to read you feel the need of continuing to the end of the story.

There is positively nothing radical or revolutionary in the trend of these discussions. The conclusions seem as inevitable as the gliding of ship into the waters at the time of launching. One feels like saying, "If you want to know just how to readjust your educational policy, read this book." The authors know the facts, face the facts, and tell us plainly what the facts mean. The discussions are frank and forceful and may well serve as a measure of intelligence for those who actually read the book or who are able merely to turn its leaves.

A SOCIAL BASIS OF EDUCATION. Harold S. Tuttle. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$3.00. Reviewed by Mark Starr.

In this most recent volume of the Crowell Social Science Series, Dr. Tuttle makes the necessary point that education cannot be concerned exclusively with the psychology of the individual child, his complexes, and his particular I. Q. More importantly, education must consider its aim in relation to society. His main thesis is that "education can serve its social purpose only by consciously cultivating social interests and motives." To most of the readers of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* such an assertion will seem like knocking at an open door, yet doubtless they will benefit from the arguments

and reasoning learnedly compiled with a superabundance of references. The teacher must be the social engineer to use the school as the agency to rescue society from its present deadlock. The aim of education, Dr. Tuttle claims, should be "progress toward a truer democracy, a finer culture, and a richer civilization." And naturally this carries with it the removal of inter-racial prejudice. "A common language is needed, if complete understanding is to be achieved among nations of the world. . . . Without doubt it would do much to diminish the misunderstandings and suspicions growing out of ignorance as to the ideas and sentiments of other peoples." (Strangely enough Dr. Tuttle seems unaware of the use already made of the international auxiliary language Esperanto in this connection.)

Amid a wide variety of suggestions on the before mentioned aim, the author insists that security of tenure is indispensable to obtain teacher efficiency, although there is no direct advice how to gain the strength of organization without which tenure cannot be assured. This is probably due to Dr. Tuttle's academic attempt to be above the battle. He would have the workers insist on "economic justice" rather than develop "class consciousness" (that is his inference on p. 309); he thinks the good school can remake the bad society—a utopian idea. It is through class consciousness and struggle (including the struggle over the control and aims of the school) that the great majority of the people will be able to destroy what is bad in education and build up a real community consciousness and an education devoted to the high aims stated in this book.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD. Norsworthy and Whitley. Macmillan. N. Y., 1933. 479 pp. Bibliography. \$1.80.

First published in 1918, this well-known and able study has been revised and brought completely up to date. A good text, as well as a handy book for any teacher to use as a reference. Contains an excellent bibliography.

News from the Field

New Locals

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes into membership and its crusade for school protection and social betterment 19 new locals since the last previous issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Teachers Union of San Diego and Imperial Counties, Cal., Local 370.

Ransom County, N. Dak., Federation of Teachers, Local 371.

Barnes County, N. Dak., Federation of Teachers, Local 372.

Oklahoma City Federation of Teachers, Local 373.

Bismarck, N. Dak., Federation of Teachers, Local 374.

Miami University, Ohio, Federation of Teachers, Local 375.

Cabell County, W. Va., Federation of Teachers, Local 376.

Buffalo Teachers Union, Local 377.

Granite, Utah, Federation of Teachers, Local 378.

Oshkosh, Wis., Teachers Federation, Local 379.

Highland Park, Michigan, Classroom Teachers Association, Local 380.

Duluth Federation of Teachers, Local 381.

Wood County, W. Va., Federation of Teachers, Local 382.

Harrison County, W. Va., Federation of Teachers, Local 383.

Monongalia County, W. Va., Chapter, Local 384.

Marion County, W. Va., Federation of Teachers, Local 385.

Midwest, Wyo., Teachers Union, Local 386.

Lone Star, Tex., Local 387.

Sioux Falls, S. D., Federation of Teachers, Local 388.

State Federations

State Federations of Teachers, composed of A. F. T. locals, are now formed in California, Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Arkansas, Utah, Michigan, and North Dakota. Their program is legislative action and organization promotion.

Pennsylvania has formed a Joint Legislative Board, which, it is planned, will develop later into a State Federation.

Madison Local 35

In reviewing the work of the Madison Federation of Teachers the following accomplishments are outstanding:

(1) We were instrumental in having our salary cuts proportioned so that those in the lowest brackets are cut least.

(2) We have affiliated with the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers.

(3) Members of our local were leaders in the formation of a Council of City Employees. This body did splendid work in presenting to the public the case of the city workers and secured Dr. Arnold Zander, secretary of the state federations of both teachers and state employees, as its paid representative, an office which he fills in such a way as to command the respect of all.

(4) As a result of the fine work of the federation in behalf of salary restoration the best of feelings and splendid cooperation have been manifested by the general association of all teachers.

Miss Yeager came before the Teachers' Council at Supt. Bardwell's suggestion to explain the research work of the Central Council of City Employees. She reported that Dr. Arnold Zander is advisor to this group, the last move of which was to present to the City Council a budget for 1935 which would include the restoration of salary waivers. She further reported that funds are needed for the research being done, that the individual contributions are not coming in rapidly enough to be a fair representation from the teachers, and that it might be the wish of the Council to add a subscription to the amount already collected from individual teachers. The Public Accountant who has been working on the books at the City Hall is paid at the rate of \$25.00 a day and his assistant \$10.00 a day.

The Council appropriated \$100.00 from its treasury for the furtherance of the Central Council work. Council members were asked to take word back to their schools to aid in getting the dollar contribution from each teacher for the work of the Central Employees Council.

Our efforts have so far borne little fruit as teachers have had only 4½% salary restoration, thus bringing them up to the cut given all other employees. Needless to say our efforts will continue.

The officers elected at the December meeting for the ensuing year are: President, Miss S. Amelia Yeager; Vice President, Miss Harriet Kuhns; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Benjamin Ashman; Delegates to Federation of Labor, Mr. Richard Butler, Miss Josephine Brabant; Alternate Delegates, Mr. Leo Schleck, Miss Ruth Bartholomew.

HELEN E. DAVIS.

Atlanta Local 89

Letter from Supt. Sutton

Enclosed you will find a clipping from one of our local newspapers giving the story of the "bonus" given by the Board of Education to the employees of the Atlanta Public Schools. While our employees suffered a reduction in salary this year, the school administration and the Board of Education have worked with unceasing zeal to try to make it possible to restore a part of the cut which they had to take. It was a pleasure for the superintendent to be able to announce that there were thirteen months in the year 1934 and that the thirteenth check for a half month's pay would be paid on the basic salary schedule.

I am happy to state that the program has been kept intact and that we have eliminated none of the services rendered to the children and adults of our city.

Cordially yours,

WILLIS A. SUTTON,
Superintendent of Schools.

Teachers Get Bonus of Half Month Pay

Atlanta school teachers received good news when it was announced that a balance of \$134,877.29 due for 1934 will be distributed among the teachers, each to receive a bonus of a half-month's pay.

Dr. Willis A. Sutton said the surplus was accumulated because of the economical operation of the schools under the direction of Thomas W. Clift, business manager.

Dr. Sutton said in view of the fact that school teachers had received more cuts in salaries than other city employees he felt that the distribution of this money in the form of bonuses was the proper procedure.

Each teacher will receive one-half a month of the basic salary scale. This means that the bonus will be given on the basic rate scale and not on the reduced rate scale.

(Atlanta Georgian)
Jan. 2, 1935

Fulton County, Ga., Local 183

At the fall meeting of the Fulton County Teachers' Association the following officers were elected: R. L. Ramsey, president; Mrs. C. C. Julian, vice-president; Miss Sallie Shannon, secretary; Miss Sara Swanson, treasurer; and representatives to the meetings of the Federation of Trades, Charles W. O'Rear, Mrs. R. D. Osterhout, Miss Caroline Jeter, J. W. Rogers, and B. D. Purcell.

In December, committees were appointed by Mr. Ramsey and announced at the regular Directors' Meeting. The chairmen of these committees are Miss Lydia Guice, membership; Miss Margaret Wallace, educational; H. R. Adams, teachers' interests; Miss Marie Long, publicity; Miss Mary Brooks, social; R. H. Lamkin, grievances; Mrs. Tom Lewis, amendments; Miss Mattie Michael, nominating committee; Mrs. R. A. Aderhold, floral; Mrs. R. D. Osterhout, legislative; C. W. O'Rear, labor; and G. N. Coleman, citizenship.

Twenty-nine schools were reported to have reached 100 per cent membership in the association by December.

Definite steps are being taken to have a teacher tenure bill brought before the next meeting of the state legislature. Mrs. R. D. Osterhout is chairman of the legislative committee.

The association feels very fortunate in having its president, R. L. Ramsey, recently elected to the state legislature.

MARIE LONG.

Philadelphia Local 192

In continuing our salary restoration campaign, we plan the following steps—first, to try to secure the immediate repeal of the Wilson Act (which empowered the Board to cut salaries in the first place); second, to prevent the passage of any similar bill.

Our entire legislative program for this year embraces, however, much more. It includes the passage of a Tenure Law, a Milk Bill (to provide for the distribution of free milk to needy children), support of the proposed state income tax for school purposes, and firm opposition to any sales tax movements.

To these ends, a Legislative Action Committee has been formed. The activity of this committee is divided among four groups—a Citizens' Committee, a Teachers' Committee, a Labor Committee, and a Legislative Committee. The response for workers on these committees has been most gratifying. Their main task will be to enlist the support of the various groups mentioned above, to stimulate general public opinion in our favor, and to secure strong mass backing for our program.

Another project we are undertaking will, we are sure, bring forth some very interesting results. We have begun an investigation of school conditions throughout the country to determine to what extent the 20-point program of the Chamber of Commerce has been realized. Results will be published when the survey is completed.

Bloomington, Ill., Local 276

The Bloomington Federation of Teachers has increased in membership until it now has enrolled all teachers in the system except two. A better and closer feeling between all teachers has already developed.

Meetings are held monthly, at which the attendance and interest are good.

Milwaukee Local 252

At a recent meeting of the instructions committee of the Milwaukee Board of Education, Director William Buehm, Socialist member of the board, presented a resolution which sought to substitute live teaching of social science in the public schools for the static system now in vogue.

Speakers for the resolution in addition to Mr. Buehm were, Mr. T. F. Friedrich of the Federated Trades Council, Mr. W. W. Lindeman of the Electrical Workers Union, Mr. James L. Fitzpatrick of the Teachers Union, and others. The speakers emphasized the facts that our present social science courses are limited in scope and formal in character. That they present only one side of the question, the desirability of the *status quo*, and that such courses, in order to be of educational value, must present all sides of all questions whether of a controversial nature or not. The committee referred the resolution to Mr. Potter, Superintendent of Schools.

The coming school board election is of special interest locally at this time. The present board is composed of eight Non-Partisans (?) and seven Socialists. Five members are to be elected, the terms of three Non-Partisans and two Socialists expiring this spring. Most of the so-called Non-Partisans are partisans of the special privilege, anti-social groups. The Socialists have been in the minority so far because of the opposition of the Hearst and other dailies of like nature.

Local teacher organizations are barred from taking an active part in school board elections. The Federated Trades Council, of which this Union is a member, is very much interested in securing a more liberal school board. While it is the policy of organized labor not to recommend any political candidate,

this does not prevent the local organizations from sending out questionnaires, nor the individual members from taking an active part in campaigns. The League of Women Voters is also sponsoring a questionnaire to be sent to each school board candidate and will have the replies published.

A "teachers oath bill," sponsored by Hearst and similar to the New York bill, is up for consideration before the state legislature at Madison. Members of the Madison local, representatives of the State Federation, and representatives from nearby locals lodged vehement protests against the bill before the hearing committee. The committee sent the bill to the house with an adverse report.

SEVERIN SWENSEN.

New Rochelle, N. Y., Local 280

The New Rochelle Federation of Teachers, Local 280, invited Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the New York City Teachers Union to speak on the *Legislative Outlook for Public Education in 1935* on January 17th. The meeting was well attended by teachers and citizens interested in education from all of Westchester County.

Dr. Lefkowitz stressed the viciousness of the new certification regulations for teachers in New York State and pointed out they were a direct attack upon tenure although the State Department of Education has never conceded this point.

At the time of this meeting Dr. Lefkowitz had proposed a bill to protect the teachers of New York City from the infringement upon their rights and advocated that the teachers of the state propose a similar bill to protect themselves.

As an outcome of the aforementioned meeting, on January 24th the Yonkers Teachers' Association of Westchester County invited Assistant Commissioner of Education Mr. Cooper to speak to the teachers of the County on these new certification rulings. At the meeting Mr. Cooper was asked many questions of a very pertinent nature. He did not convince the group of the purity and virtuousness of the work of the State Department of Education at Albany.

On Wednesday, January 30th, the *New York Sun* published a news article announcing the proposal of two bills by Dr. Lefkowitz to protect teachers tenure in smaller cities of the State from attempts by the State Department of Education, through certification proposals, to interfere with their tenure. These bills were backed by the Joint Committee of Teachers' Organizations of New York City and sponsored by our Federation, No. 280, the Teachers' Welfare League, and other organizations throughout the State.

State Teachers College, Valley City, N. D., Local 281

On January 12, the secretary of Local 281 attended the meeting of the Barnes County teachers which resulted in the formation of the Barnes County

Federation of Teachers, Local 372. Mr. W. B. Satterthwaite was in charge of the meeting.

On the evening of the same day Mr. and Mrs. Satterthwaite were the guests of V. C. S. T. C., Local 281, at an informal dinner. Mr. Satterthwaite spoke on the development of the union movement among teachers in North Dakota and expressed the expectation that very soon there would be a call of the locals in North Dakota to meet and form a State Federation. (Since accomplished.)

Mr. Satterthwaite is doing an excellent piece of work and I hope that he will not have to leave the state until all possibilities at the present time have been canvassed.

We are growing!

JAMES H. SEYMOUR,
President.

Wisconsin Legislative Program

The Wisconsin Federation of Teachers is sponsoring several important educational measures in the Wisconsin legislature.

Efforts are being made to pass a bill introduced by Professor Harold Groves, Madison senator and progressive leader, protecting teachers in their right to join any teachers' organization of their own choosing and their right to hold any economic, social, or political opinions. This bill was discussed before the senate committee on education, but at this writing the action of the committee is not known. Several organizations, including the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, appeared for the bill. There was no public opposition on the part of any individuals or organizations. While this bill is not as general in its scope as a tenure bill, it is a beginning and guarantees to teachers specific rights, which at present frequently cause them the loss of their positions or other penalties.

A second bill which is of major importance requires the retirement of all teachers and administrators in the state educational system outside of the State Teachers' Colleges and the University of Wisconsin, after the school year in which they become sixty-five years of age. There is some opposition to this bill on the part of those whom the bill affects. It is believed by the State Federation that the bill is as fair to these people as any retirement bill could be, because it does not take effect until July 1, 1937. Its application is

also restricted to those teachers who are under some pension system.

Wisconsin school attendance laws now require all young people up to the age of sixteen to attend school full time. Those sixteen and seventeen years old must attend at least one day each week. The Federation of Teachers has introduced a bill requiring this group to attend school full time until eighteen, unless employed. Among other things, we feel that this bill, if passed, will reduce juvenile delinquency.

COLIN G. WELLES.

Cooperation Builds a College

(Continued from page 25)

sary to work by day. The fees charged were only fifty dollars for a full semester program, and proportionately less for evening students who necessarily carried reduced schedules.

The creation of the P. J. C. made it possible for many students to carry on their education, when otherwise, as a result of a tax-saving board of education and high private school fees, they would have been deprived of this

opportunity. The college has been very successful. Its enrollment held up this year in the face of hastily reopened city junior colleges, and as it enters its fourth semester an increase seems in prospect.

As has often been remarked of the capitalist system, we have enough of everything, only some people have too much and others don't have enough. The disease of the economic system has also afflicted education. The depression only underscored a problem which had been seen by many educators already — that we have plenty of people trained and anxious to teach, plenty of students prepared and anxious to learn, but the difficulty is that they aren't brought together. The answer both to capitalism and to a confused educational system is cooperation. We hope that the cooperative idea in education will spread rapidly and far.

Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control; these three alone lead life to sovereign power.

—*Alfred Tennyson.*

The Peace Cause Moves On

(Continued from page 16)

Another important factor in the onward march of peace is the militant stand that church leaders are taking in this matter. They are declaring that as Christians they will have no part in any program which violates the principles enunciated by the Prince of Peace. They affirm that war is murder on a colossal scale, and they refuse to be partners in any scheme that contemplates the wholesale destruction of human life. They are insisting on cooperation and good will instead of brutality and carnage in settling disputes that may arise among nations.

A wholesome international attitude is developing among thinking men and women in every walk of life, for they realize that the world is so constituted today that no nation can live economically aloof from the rest of the world. We exchange products with every country. We are one big family; and any war between nations in one part of the world would affect every other nation, for no nation can live unto itself alone in our complex world.

In this article we have tried to show that there are many encouraging signs for those who are trying to work for world peace and better international understanding. The stakes are so great that we must expend every effort to attain our goal. Let us take renewed courage and push on with new enthusiasm, for the peace cause does move on!

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They Write—

I have enjoyed THE AMERICAN TEACHER the past year very much, and especially the January-February, 1935, issue with your Pittsburgh speech and some other strong features.

GRANT E. FURBUSH.

Syracuse, New York,
January 23, 1935.

You will be interested in knowing that at the recent election of our Trades and Labor Assembly I was elected Vice President, which gives me the Chairmanship of our legislative Committee. Mr. H. Storlie, also of our Teachers Union, was elected to the Board of Directors.

We are very much pleased to have Mr. Satterthwaite in the state. He is doing splendid service for education. I understand that the legislators have great respect for him. It is marvelous to me the command that he has of figures on taxation and school operations as a whole. I cannot imagine a better type of man for Organizer than he is.

We are very busy this winter in aiding and securing legislation for labor as well as a tenure law for teachers in this state.

HERBERT C. HANSON,
Secretary-Treasurer,

N. Dak. State College, Local 265.
January 22, 1935.

I believe all members of the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers agree that the AMERICAN TEACHER is a very fine magazine. However, the January-February number is exceptional, and I wish to congratulate you on this splendid issue. As I read the various articles I wished that this number could reach every teacher in the United States. It would help to educate and enlighten and give many courage to face some of the difficult problems which confront us.

GRETCHEN STEINHAUSER.

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On the Strike Issue

At the Delegate Assembly Meeting of the New York Teachers Union Local 5 on January 9, 1935 the following resolution was approved:

Resolved, That the Teachers Union, Local 5 of the A. F. of T., does not subscribe to the position taken in an editorial on *Teachers' Strikes* appearing in the November issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER toward teachers who are driven to strike by non-payment of salaries or other intolerable conditions. We rather express our solidarity with such courageous teachers and offer them our moral and financial support.

Be it further resolved, That this be forwarded to the AMERICAN TEACHER with a request that it be published in the next issue as the opinion of Local 5.

And be it further resolved, That a member of the Union staff be instructed to write an article along the line of this resolution, for publication in the UNION TEACHER, and in the AMERICAN TEACHER if possible.

The Delegate Assembly of Local 5 has adopted the accompanying resolution, one condition of which is that some member of the staff is "instructed to write an article along the line of the resolution." Since the writer is the only member of the "Union Staff" who is supposed to have the time to undertake such a task, the selection of a writer becomes automatic. However, it may be thought that there is no point in attempting to write an article "along the line" of a resolution, especially when failure to do so may consist in the following of some other than a preconceived "correct" line. Thus, the writer may be running as much risk as did the Editor of THE AMERICAN TEACHER when she published the editorial on *Teachers' Strikes*.

Frankly, I see nothing to discuss in the editorial except what may be interpreted as too great anxiety concerning the charge continually being made by our opponents that unionism means strikes. I think we may protest too much against being attacked as potential strikers. Certainly, there is no reason for our giving the impression that we feel apologetic to unfriendly critics because the strike is used as an instrument in labor's fight for the right to bargain collectively. While we are realistic in recognizing the fact that a strike by teachers under existing social conditions would almost surely prove disastrous, nevertheless, we should not yield this potential weapon simply because our opponents hold that we have it concealed about our persons.

On the point of whether organized teachers are unsympathetic toward unorganized, striking teachers, as implied in the resolution, I must regard the language of the resolution as based on inference, rather than on evidence. The American Federation of Teachers is doing its best to organize all teachers of whatever economic status.

HENRY R. LINVILLE,
President, Local 5.

Who's Who In This Issue

R. J. Ahlstrom, instructor social science department, Edison High School, Minneapolis; president, Minneapolis Local 238; vice-president A. F. of T.

Dr. John Dewey, professor emeritus, department of philosophy, Columbia University; distinguished educator and author.

Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Advisor, Office of the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture.

H. L. Latham, director, Character Research Service; editor, Character Education Inst.; author and teacher.

F. Melvyn Lawson, Sacramento Local 31, instructor in the Social Studies, Senior High School, Sacramento, California.

Abraham Lefkowitz, legislative representative New York Local 5; vice president A. F. T.; author and lecturer.

Dr. Henry R. Linville, president New York Local 5; past president A. F. T.; chairman A. F. T. Committee on Academic Freedom.

O. Myking Mehus, professor of sociology, Northwest Missouri State Teachers College.

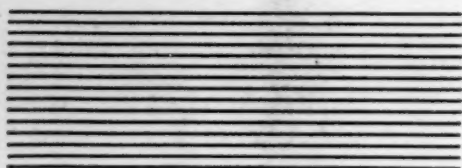
Clyde R. Miller, director Bureau of Educational Service, Teachers' College, Columbia University; treasurer, Progressive Education Association; author and lecturer.

Aileen W. Robinson, teacher Eaglebrook School, Deerfield, Mass.

Michael B. Scheler, free lance writer whose work appears in many periodicals.

Ross Stagner, instructor, department of psychology, University of Wisconsin.

Mark Starr, instructor in Brookwood Labor College, organizer and lecturer for the National Council of Labor College of England from 1921 to 1928, and three times a candidate for Parliament on the British Labor Party ticket; author of a number of books among which are "Trade Unionism, Past and Future," "Lies and Hate in Education," and "A Worker Looks at Economics."



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Edited by Dagobert D. Runes, Ph. D.

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American Federation of Teachers

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