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September-October 1935 • Volume XX No. 1



Official Organ of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

IN THREE PARTS

PART ONE

A Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers

A Thesis

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

Aileen W. Robinson

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United for Democracy in Education and the Nation

President's Address to the Nineteenth Annual Convention
of the American Federation of Teachers

At no time in the history of the American School System has the professional leadership in that field been as thoroughly aware of the importance of its position in American life—social, economic, and political. Although at no time has the educator been remiss in attempting to approach scientifically the problems which face a constantly changing civilization, catastrophe and suffering have hurled him suddenly into the arena before an audience not so much desirous of fixing the cause for the present dilemma as in shifting the opprobrium. Questions directed at discovering solutions for wrongs strongly entrenched in national life fall upon ears deafened by prejudice and greed. His honesty of purpose is denied; his erstwhile position of leadership is ridiculed by the press and the public tongue. Yet such accusations as would destroy the position which he has long held only furnish further proof that the schools and the educator are at the very center of national life.

To understand more completely the predicament in which he, with other leadership, now finds himself, one may have recourse to the revelations of history. At least, on the side of the interpretation to be made of the reactions of social groups throughout the ages, one may begin to appreciate the reason why those who would by scientific investigation and experimentation increase the knowledge of humanity once more should be bound beneath the searchlight of unreasoning criticism and fear. During the darker days of the Middle Ages those who employed themselves in the search for truth suffered. In the fields of medicine, mathematics, and religion they were criticized, persecuted, and delivered to death. Their search was termed blasphemy, "emanations of the devil," by those less learned and too often utterly ignorant of the need for such investigations and even startling revelations.

The little worlds in which men then lived socially, politically, and economically have indeed broadened, but their inhabitants are just as prone to accuse foolishly in the face of unexpected reversals. In this light we may better understand why a professionally scientific group should again suffer from those who live largely to themselves in a world seeking readjustment.

While both accused and accuser will admit that the blessings of knowledge today are the fruits of those who pioneered, we are startled to learn that further efforts in emulation must be terminated. We are forced to a position of defense. Democracy is largely the direct product of the procedures followed by the educator. Without public schools offering equal opportunity for knowledge and training in democratic functioning, representative democracy would be an impossibility. We have only to look to the prophetic utterances of the fathers of the Constitution to realize that we have gone far in developing the idealism which gave their words

power. One who would now cripple and destroy this institution by ill-conceived criticism and abuse cannot lay the slightest claims to the sentiments which he insists are so utterly lacking in the leadership of the schools. According to Bismarck, "The nation that has the schools has the future."

Furthermore, the schools have become rightfully the scientific laboratories in which new facts are sought and old ones are tested. In the interests of youth and of future generations we are resolved that the educator still has the right to discover by a scientific approach new truth. As to methods of procedure to be employed he is the logical social factor for determining. He is as distinctly fitted for his profession as the doctor, the lawyers, or the nurse. Except as specialists in these various fields he does not presume to dictate to those of other vocations. It is due to confusion in thinking that leads him who has been successful in the march of trade to believe that he may dictate the programs and policies of educational institutions and the curricula of the schools. Financial success does not posit the superior understanding of problems not immediately connected with that particular activity. To cross over the boundaries of this experience into a totally different one is only to lend evidence to prove the truth of that ancient assertion that, "A little knowledge is a bad thing."

We will admit that it has been largely a process of trial and error that has brought us thus far along the high road of civilized progress. As it has been practiced in business, so also has it characterized human effort in every trade, profession, or social activity. In order to achieve any marked degree of perfection such failure and success is correlate with man's effort to rise to higher planes. While it is not contemplated, neither is it denied as less than the expected. To deny the attempt is to frustrate the development of man and lower him to a level with the brute. It must continue. Crippled with the hope of success, it animates and inspires; even the realization of error is brightened by the joy of having attempted; to have reached up even though the grasp proved short, leads to enriched living.

It is to pursue this academic right that the educator has given his life and talent. In defense of this right and the citizens of tomorrow the American Federation of Teachers present a united front and will here determine a program of action. They will perfect plans for enrolling greater numbers of like-minded professionals into their ranks to the increased efficiency of the schools and the advancement of our Nation along the path of representative democracy and peace.

Granted a very certain knowledge of the difficulties which impede our program from without we may only proceed slowly after we have ascertained the problems which face us from within. A few well-timed words

from the address of Dr. Henry R. Linville, last year, stated the first, a fundamental one, as follows:

We may well ask whether we may hope for social and educational stabilization without doing more in the schools than we have been doing. It could hardly be expected that we can avoid doing more. The protection of the schools involves the adequate social education of the nation's teachers. . . . The broad education of teachers to an adequate understanding of social problems is a necessity not only for the social education of the young, but also for the raising of the level of effectiveness of public education.

Such a situation evinces itself in the personnel of many institutions. It is in the effort to eradicate this evil that an even graver peril than ignorance of social problems arises. This statement is not intended as a reflection on the above quotation; that is all too gravely justified, but it should be accompanied by another observation which current experience has forced upon us, namely, the very effort of many teachers to broaden their understanding of social problems has so far resulted in a narrowing of their viewpoint and a divorcing of their interests. At least, the resultant of this endeavor has apparently in many quarters furnished us within the labor movement with one of our major responsibilities. All too often schisms and factions have formed around certain central social ideas which have resulted in individuals and groups of individuals affiliating with parties and interests whose ultimate aims are not alone detrimental to but actively destructive of the purposes and program of the American Federation of Labor.

If this factor is serving to divorce loyal teachers from the primary ends to which they have taken oath, it would seem that the formation of locals and the institution of new objectives of study were not pursued sufficiently in educating the membership to any fundamental appreciation of the Labor Movement. Certainly, our organization and our methods of accomplishment are subject to change, but this danger accompanies the course which we would follow. We must fight *for the application of a principle against the substitution of some new system*. This does not carry with it any denial to the individual of the right to participate in the activities of any political or religious group of his own choosing, but it does mean that utter loyalty to his Country and his Union is demanded. Subversive interests may not be tolerated. There is no place in the Labor Movement for those who would seek first the interests of other than that declared in accord with the ideals of representative democracy.

Hence, education of the teacher in the problems facing modern society consists neither in discursive survey and nominal affiliation, nor in the specialized attention which leads to alienation and unrest. It does not mean the adoption of a system as a cure for economic ills and social unrest. Our education must lay emphasis on the enlightenment of the individual in the operation of a democracy. Since "Cooperation is not a sentiment, but an economic necessity" (Charles Steinmetz), we must learn that the real good to be obtained through organization is the improvement of the individual for cooperation, that he may be freed from ignorance and intolerance and inspired with the desire to serve. Under this banner there is a place for those of every creed or race or belief. We have committed the Golden Rule to memory; this is an opportunity to put it into practice.

Such an endorsement does not preclude scientific investigation and experimentation; rather, it encour-

ages the culture of better attitudes and leads to a greater general elevation of society. A thorough education in the problems of society is to be encouraged by every means available to the educator, but the official sanction of interests foreign to the national good still are to be most carefully avoided and even in theory most discretely advanced.

Even though there are those who might regard any pretense on our part to offer leadership to the majority of our profession as the most naive effrontery, nevertheless, our affiliation with the five and more million of the organized men and women in labor does place us in a rather unique position to offer both leadership and security. This conclusion brings us to the second internal problem which should weigh heavily in our considerations.

There has been much talk, especially of the last few years, that the growth of our union is impeded by the fear of the manner in which such an affiliation of the teachers would be received by the general public. Such a consideration is, of course, a natural one. It should receive respectful attention. However, in addition to a sincere desire not to antagonize unduly those outside of the labor movement, we must bear in mind that the very presence of antagonism imbedded in public opinion is largely because of the very failure of the teacher for so long to join with those to whom he is most deeply indebted. The cure rests in the intrinsic purpose which we hold for the whole program of enlarging our organization. We must create new attitudes by cultivating in mass thinking the proper regard for the creators of the world's wealth. Thomas Carlyle would have so directed their attention, when he said, "The movement they call organized labor is the universal, vital problem of the world."

We have neglected too long to advocate in the classroom the truth expressed so succinctly by Abraham Lincoln, "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration." Advocacy of this truth must be made by precept and example in spite of fear to destroy fear.

The members of the adult legislature of the land were once the students in some classroom. There the considerations which go into the framing of laws so destructive of the best interests of his former instructor and that instructor's friends were formed.

Thus, as has been previously stated in this paper, it is infinitely more difficult to achieve a program for stabilization and protection until the educator has been converted to a new attitude. Until the effort to psycho-analyze has reached beyond the brochurian and has reacted to change the individual himself, pupils will continue to ape the doctrines of the classroom and past sowings will reap present harvests. When, however, a fundamental change has taken place in the human nature of the membership our second problem will reach solution. Threats of discrimination and actual persecution will cease; entire groups of those so actuated will in reality be bound together inseparably for the defense of their colleague and the program of an ever widening curricula of instruction. Conscious conviction will demand unity for defense as well as progress and growth. When the many locals of the American Federation of Teachers have learned this lesson and have advanced to this degree of understand-

ing, discrimination will cease and schism will be done away.

Further, by this personal step upward in a knowledge of the ideals of Labor the teacher will come to an abiding conviction for need for closer and more intimate cooperation with the Labor Movement nationally and internationally. To our affiliates we owe a tremendous debt of gratitude. In spite of our dereliction, even Dr. John Dewey cannot fully express for us what Organized Labor has accomplished in spite of and too seldom with the teachers of America. They have received us as brothers into every trades body, where the teachers have organized, in sympathy as well as the most serious support. Would our conscience, at least, be not more at rest if we were to reciprocate more entirely?

It must be quite clear to the careful observer of national and world trends that with each new day the fears of those who refuse to bear their part in the blame for international confusion are steadily winning ground toward a refusal to accept much longer the attempts of those who would listen to the desires of the people. The beneficent skies of the New Deal are darkening. Dictatorial policies are becoming more rapidly than ever the rule of the day. The very immediate, not the more distant, but the very immediate future welfare of those who labor, depends upon the teacher's closer sympathetic cooperation with their affiliates. We have yet a long way to traverse in seeking to supplant ignorance with knowledge, that selfishness may be done away. The recent decision of the Supreme Court and the votes of the citizens of Rhode Island would declare a rapid departure from the conviction voiced by that indisputably American of Americans, Daniel Webster, when he vigorously declared, "The freest government cannot long endure when the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few, and to render the masses poor and dependent."

The only salvation for the social security of the people rests in the closest possible organization of all who labor. We must come to understand one another and our problems. We must pay the price of sacrifice and struggle that justice may prevail.

With this mention of price in sacrifice and struggle, two closely allied ideas are conveyed. On the one hand, we have the sacrifice of time, the struggle to reconstruct misguided attitudes of mind and of social reaction. On the other hand, we must approach in our fourth problem one of the most difficult for our consideration and action. We cannot cite the cost of federation in other social, religious, and economic groups for fear of stumbling upon some of the almost *a priori* predispositions and attitudes of the professional fraternity. We are either unwilling or indisposed to carry over into the defense mechanism of the Union a conviction which we have been forced to accept beyond dispute in many other of life's relationships and institutions. We know that in the marts of trade we receive only that for which value is given. Faced by a crisis beyond that yet experienced in the annals of public free education in America we are still looking for an exception; we would have more, much more than that for which we render payment.

This general, widespread attitude on the part of the membership is due no doubt in part to the more or less human frailties within the organization. The territory covered by our lines of affiliation are most extended.

The Central Office, as a clearing house for all who draw upon its resources, seems at times far removed and ill-acquainted with the local or territorial difficulty. Its wealth and the lines of communication are immediately dependent upon the support given to it from the small and widely scattered membership. Various suggestions for solution have been made by the Executive Council, but all have failed of adoption because of the more primary consideration which few desire to advocate, particularly at this time. This financial problem must be thoroughly considered at this Convention and our definite recommendation made to the various parent locals.

To checkmate the fear which exists even within the membership of certain of our locals, through a sound financial program more of security may be offered them. Such additional protection might even be extended to those who are looking toward our ranks in this day of uncertainty. A fund directed toward achieving this one objective has already been set up. While the policy of contributions has its obvious advantages, results do not speak so well for it. The advantages of an organization which really protects the interests of its members cannot fail to attract many more into affiliation with us. A certain degree of economic security is open to us. Its strength will be in direct proportion to the financial sacrifice which we individually will undergo. Further, our very life within the brotherhood of organized labor is directly dependent upon the constant cooperation and unity with which we maintain our group. Closer contacts must be made. And, although many of the divisions which arise from time to time for divers reasons within the separate locals must be autonomously settled, yet a national awareness, achieved in time, might be of utmost assistance to them. It is most certain that a decidedly more perfect machinery of organization and cohesion should be set up.

These five problems within the organization; fundamental social education, faction, fear, fraternalism, and finance by no means complete the list. They do, however, in their inter-relation demand the careful consideration and action of this deliberative body that we may more successfully meet the challenge for which we exist and proceed with growth through organization.

First, the education of the teacher to a fuller knowledge of current social problems, even if it becomes an incentive to more courageous instruction, can result only in the gradual evolutionary dissolution of attitudes hostile to organized labor. It may be accompanied by two grave results. On the one hand, unless such study is maintained on the basis of strict scientific investigation and experimentation, alienation of affiliation or actual divorce of interest may result. Our second problem—factions, follows. On the other hand, the investigation and experiment may arouse idle speculation by those unacquainted with the license which the educator should enjoy and a threat to tenure and academic freedom arise. The first and last of these problems await the development of a solidity of group consciousness within the teaching personnel which, by offering security, can furnish protection and a bulwark of defense against attack from without. Unless the second danger, factionalism, is avoided, both of the other achievements are destroyed. All three situations, then, are dependent upon the degree of unity achieved within the group. This strength is very seldom determined by the initial size but rather attitude and idealism of the nucleus around which the local grows, to the destruction of internal dissension and the overthrow of the

general ignorance which breeds fear. And lastly, to the extent that the individual member feels his financial and fraternal responsibility, will come the local and national power for protection and growth—the stabilization of the schools and the heightened efficiency of the educational program for a democratic commonwealth.

When we have determined in our individual hearts to develop such an attitude; when we have collectively enacted such a program, then may we proceed with the fulfillment of the dreams of our Secretary-Treasurer to secure the realization of the six major purposes of the American Federation of Teachers in serving the educational program of our Nation:

1. *It can and must develop such a loyalty of teachers to each other that no teacher will accept the position of another teacher who has been unjustly dismissed.*

2. *It will organize the teachers in such strength that they will determine the standards of their calling and raise these standards to a level of excellence.*
3. *It will, through continued group solidarity and intelligent militancy, protect freedom of teachers.*
4. *It will help our locals to a fuller knowledge and understanding of each other and a fuller cooperation with the social purpose of the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor.*
5. *It will establish teaching on a sound basis of adequate compensation and security of tenure in order that only the ablest and most self-respecting may be the teachers of our children.*
6. *It will work together with other social agencies to build a saner economic world in which social justice will prevail.*

Highlights of the Cleveland Convention

The 1935 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers opened auspiciously the morning of August 26 with a record attendance of delegates and visitors.

Thomas J. Donnelley, secretary-treasurer, Ohio State Federation of Labor, got the Convention off to a good start with a keynote speech emphasizing the devotion of Labor to the Public Schools and the need of unity and solidarity of all workers.

The Get-Together-Luncheon on Monday at which representatives from various sections of the country outlined conditions as they found them was declared by many to be the finest meeting in A.F.T. history.

Fraternal delegates were present from the Canadian Teachers Federation and the Federacion Escolar Nacional, the teachers' union of Cuba. Mr. C. N. Crutchfield, general secretary, Canadian Teachers Federation, brought an inspiring message and constructive criticism. He expressed himself as surprised, and apparently was disappointed, at the extent to which politics occupied the convention. He said they appeared the paramount interest.

Miss Rosa Sanchez gave a thrilling account of conditions in the Cuban schools. She was enthusiastically received.

James Wilson, for many years vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, as the personal representative of President William Green, addressed the convention on Wednesday. He urged upon the members of the A.F.T. a full realization of their responsibility in the present crisis and the need of unity and solidarity. He emphasized Labor's devoted support of public education, past and present, and pledged its continuance. The fine clarification of Labor's social and economic principles and the warm interest in the American Federation of Teachers brought enthusiastic response from the delegates.

Academic Freedom, a major issue in education today, was a major topic of the convention. James J. Stewart, teacher of social science, Plumville, Pennsylvania, eloquently gave his experiences. Mr. Stewart's case illustrates one of the many dangers confronting teachers who are without adequate tenure safeguard. Mr. Stewart, in relating to his class how the United States came into possession of the territory on which is built the Panama Canal, committed the crime of quoting Theodore Roosevelt's laconic phrase, "I took it." When Mr. Stewart's temporary certificate neared expiration,

he was given so low a rating by the County Superintendent, Dr. James P. Chapman, that the State refused him a permanent certificate. Mr. Stewart charged that Dr. Chapman gave him a low rating to prevent him from continuing as a teacher. After court action had been started by the Civil Liberties Union, Dr. Chapman agreed to submit Mr. Stewart's rating to a disinterested educator. The latter rated him satisfactory, and Dr. Rule signed Mr. Stewart's permanent certificate.

Another attack on academic freedom and teachers' security in Pennsylvania is that of Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania. Dr. Hallett was a delegate from his Local No. 359. The militant fight and the plans for combatting this grave injustice were outlined by Dr. Hallett.

From California came a third case, that of Victor R. Jewett, a delegate of Bay Cities Local 349. A series of attacks aimed at Mr. Jewett, Junior High School teacher, Eureka, culminated July 2 and 3, 1935, in statewide newspaper and radio statements that the Board of Education had voted to suspend him on charge of "unprofessional conduct." Although not permitted by the California teachers' civil service law—the Tenure Act—this action came shortly after the failure of an admitted attempt to force his resignation by a 20% salary cut. Newspaper reports featured the charge by "loyal employees" that they saw Jewett on the picket line during the current lumber strike. Doubtless the false impression was left in many minds that the "unprofessional conduct" charge in Principal J. T. Glenn's letter to the Board, had an actual basis in fact, although it was not backed by a single example.

Mr. Jewett's Defense Committee is composed of members of Bay Cities Federation of Teachers No. 349, San Francisco Federation of Teachers No. 61, and California State Federation of Teachers.

A strong resolution protesting the cut as a threat against Civil Service, was adopted by the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, in Oakland.

The pamphlet "Teachers on the Firing Line" explaining the attack on Mr. Jewett and published by the Teachers Union Defense Committee contains this paragraph:

What is the significance of this, and similar cases scattered across the country? The fate of a single person is not so important, but these cases indicate a menacing trend which must be resisted, if traditional American liberties are to be anything more than meaningless words. The few who want to

maintain and extend their strangle hold on the means of life, at whatever cost to the many who are in need, conceal their own flouting of American principles of freedom, democracy, and a good life for all, by making loud attacks on all forward-looking ideas. Some fail to recognize this as the early steps in the establishment of a dictatorship such as that of Hitler, who used exactly similar methods. Some do not understand the strategy of the reactionaries in getting rid of the most progressive individuals in schools, unions, or wherever they are, by raising a red scare over them. Having disposed of the more outspoken leaders, they find it easier to deal with the others, who thought themselves safe in their more cautious position.

E. B. Pendleton, Ashtabula, Ohio, gave an enlightening exposition of the situation in his city where three men teachers had been dismissed. After drastic cuts in salary and other curtailments in educational facilities, a petition for forming a teachers' organization (not A.F.T. local) was circulated. A committee drew up excellent objectives which were presented to the superintendent, who assured the committee that he was not opposed to a local teachers' association. However, no arrangement for the use of a school building as a meeting place could be made. Indirectly the answer has come. Three men of long and satisfactory experience were dismissed.

A Year of Progress

The secretary-treasurer submitted a report gratifying in its indication of progress, with the organization financially solvent and with increasing activity and growth.

The membership is the largest in the history of the American Federation of Teachers, the gain being 45.6% in number of locals and 12.1% in membership. Locals have been formed during the year in large industrial centers.

Attention was directed to the attack upon organization coincident with the attack on public education, being in fact a part of the latter, the purpose being to prevent effective organization of teachers that can protect the schools.

The activities of the year were outlined. National and state legislation occupied an even larger part of attention than formerly. Tenure and federal aid for education were the chief objectives.

In the combatting of Teachers Loyalty Oath legislation, a bulletin and a pamphlet were prepared. Members are urged to purchase them as helpful in future legislative campaigns.

A Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers by Aileen W. Robinson was published in attractive book form and the Legislative Report which gives our program and policy was reprinted.

We are attempting to make the AMERICAN TEACHER a magazine which will command a greater interest among teachers. We are anxious to obtain suggestions as to format and content.

Does the American Teacher serve the needs of the members of your Local?

What items in the American Teacher interest you? Which do not?

What type or types of article should appear?

Would you like to see featured other topics than those we mainly emphasize, that is promotion, teacher welfare, teaching conditions?

The forceful presentation of the Ashtabula situation carried home to the delegates the need of sound, effective organization and the value of labor affiliation.

Mr. George P. Hambrecht, Director, Vocational Education, State of Wisconsin and President, American Vocational Association, gave an inspiring talk on *The Out-of-School Youth*.

The factional differences in the New York local occupied a large part of the attention of the Executive Council and the Convention. The decision not to revoke the charter was based on the belief that a better and less drastic method has been devised. Dissatisfaction with this decision caused the temporary withdrawal of a few delegates.

We regret that these delegates absented themselves from the proceedings of our convention during the last few hours.

The outgoing Executive Council had a plan of settlement and the present Executive Council, mindful of the New York problem, is considering a plan of settlement in harmony with the established principles of the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor.

Part of the magazine is printed in double column and part in triple column. Which set-up do you prefer?

We hope to have a cover with color as soon as finances permit. Also we hope to return to nine issues a year, as formerly. We regard frequent issues of the official publication as important and valuable.

To compensate in a measure for the bi-monthly instead of monthly publication of the AMERICAN TEACHER, we have published this year four bulletins, one a legislative report, one on War and Peace, one on Academic Freedom, and one on Loyalty Oaths for Teachers.

The report concludes,

In conclusion I wish to emphasize the need of unity and solidarity in our group. It is only by the union of all those who work that we can build a saner world. Our potential power is practically limitless if we will but unite upon a common program and proceed with the social vision and clarity of purpose which were ours at the birth of this organization. We are faced with attack the like of which we have never known and we have known much. The enemies of the schools, the enemies of society are entrenched in power. The resources of wealth and propaganda are theirs. If we will be joined in truth and understanding, in loyalty and devotion to the cause to which we are dedicated, we cannot be defeated. Every evidence of lack of unity among us is cause for rejoicing among our enemies. Let us be too intelligent to permit them to be successful in their efforts to break the solidarity of our ranks. There are no differences which cannot be settled by calm deliberation around the council table. "United we stand; divided we fall." Let us in truth and frankness and generosity and tolerance attack our problems.

Nine years ago I was chosen to this office largely, I believe, because I am a temperamental optimist. I still am and in exalted hopes that the purpose of this organization as set forth in the Preamble and Article II of the Constitution will be realized, I submit this my final report to the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

The Real Problem of the Schools

L. H. Thornburg

January *Harpers*, 1934 carries an article which paints pictures of "Educators Groping for the Stars," but this is only one side of the school problem. The other side presents the real crux of the school situation and it deals with local control of the schools. Only incidentally are the educators who are accused of groping connected with the present crisis in education. They are only incidentally connected because they have relinquished their leadership in order to chase theories.

The present need is with the here and now. It is not concerned so much with the future because what is happening to the schools now will determine that to a far greater extent than philosophical dicta or theories. Philosophers may come and philosophers may go but we still have with us the same school problems which have retarded progress for the last century. Public education has tried to reflect the changing needs of society, but it has bogged down in the process. The reflection has become more and more distorted.

The real problems of education are more political than they are philosophical. They are political because that happens to be the way the schools are controlled—by politics, and often on a low plane at that. The truth of the matter is that many boards of education are mainly interested in keeping school expenses as low as possible, and this side of the educational problem takes precedence over all others at the present time. This curtailment of school revenues would not be so bad if it were planned on an orderly and scientific basis, but it isn't. Many local school systems, and there are thousands of them scattered throughout the land, have cut school revenues without rhyme or reason during the depression. There is at present no effective educational or political organization to halt these curtailments. Worse yet, there is none being planned with the authority to cope with this growing problem. Here then, is a job for the educators that does not call for theories but clever politics. It calls for this brand of politics because that is the kind which is used against the schools.

As we entered this year 1934 we were still blessed with nearly 150,000 one room schools. On January 1, 1933, nearly 2,400 of these schools had closed their doors for lack of funds. The present situation is not greatly improved because nothing of importance has been done to open them during the past year. The federal government has opened the treasury and provided funds by the millions of dollars for the railroads and banks. The N.R.A., A.A.A., H.O.L.C., F.E.R.A., and other initialed organizations have all been formed to aid recovery during the past year but what about the three C's for the schools? What about character, citizenship, and culture? Can permanent financial recovery ever be achieved unless these attributes of civilization are stressed more than they have ever been stressed before? Aren't we as a nation of people suffering from a cultural lag which only character and citizenship can cure? Why have the public schools been overlooked in this struggle of the socialization of the individual against rugged individualism? Here is a ready made institution (the public school) whose ideals and philosophy embraces all the concepts of the New Deal yet this institution is ignored in the struggle for recovery.

Why is it that the Blue Eagle does not wave from the belfry of the little red school house? If the New Deal is to be permanent, how shall we achieve this permanency unless the oncoming generations are aroused to the necessity of change? If the schools are the laboratories of democracy and if more democracy is the ideal of the New Deal, why have the New Dealers forgotten the schools? How can the teachers in the public schools teach citizenship when they are not permitted to live this citizenship themselves? These are questions which demand an answer before the teachers in the public schools of the United States can take the New Deal seriously. How can they practice citizenship, how can they teach character and culture when one out of every four will receive less than \$750.00 this year? How can 40,000 rural teachers who receive less than \$450.00 in wages for their year's work be expected to even maintain themselves in decency on such an income? How can our legislators complacently ignore the 2,280,000 American children who cannot attend school because their schools have closed or because their parents cannot pay tuition fees? Isn't this proof that we as a nation of people are sadly lacking in those self-same virtues the schools are supposed to teach?

The school terms in many states have been greatly reduced. Even before these reductions the average school year in the United States was considerably shorter than in France, England, Germany, Sweden, or Denmark. School enrollments have increased by 613,000 pupils and many other thousands will undoubtedly enroll as a result of the abolishment of child labor. Hundreds of schools are defaulting on their indebtedness. Thousands of teachers are being paid in scrip or warrants they cannot cash. Thousands of others receive such a low wage that they can scarcely pay their barest living necessities. Nearly one-third of the teaching personnel receives a wage lower than that paid the day laborer under the codes. As late as 1924, and this was one of the good years, nearly 70% of the teachers were receiving less than \$1,000 per year. 30% were receiving less than \$700, and 12% less than \$450 annual wages.

In the face of such conditions many of the educators still talk of far reaching social reforms or of remaking the social order through the schools. One wonders just how it is to be done. How do the teachers feel about a leadership which ignores these conditions, which solves one problem by ignoring it and proposing another?

Teachers have always had to fight for the right to a decent living. Their tenure has always been insecure. Teaching has never been a real profession and for that matter it never will be until its personnel is balanced. At least half the teachers should be men. The social, psychological, and educational implications connected with the practice of employing a teaching personnel in which women outnumber men four to one is not healthy for the schools. The lack of vigor and aggressiveness which is now so apparent may be in a large part attributable to this practice.

Nature has provided for the equalization of the sexes with the result that the number of boys and girls are about equal in the grades. This equalization now car-

ries upward into the high schools and colleges. Because of the personal relationships and the close contacts between the teacher and the pupil it does not seem fair to deprive these youths of the influence more men teachers would bring to the schools. School boards engage in the practice of employing young women teachers between the period of their own schooling and marriage largely because young women teachers can be employed for less money. If this is not so, why is it that nearly 80% of the teaching personnel in the United States is women? Such a practice keeps men out of teaching because they cannot maintain a home or a family on the wages paid these young women teachers. School boards also engage in the practice of employing their own relatives, and it is not uncommon to find half the teachers in some school systems either relatives of school board members or local young women who received their appointments because their parents were influential with the school board. The short tenure of those who use teaching as a stepping-stone to marriage or other vocations helps to keep standards and wages low. It is also perhaps the greatest single factor in keeping teaching from being a profession.

In many localities teachers are denied the ordinary political rights accorded other citizens, and again the reason is obvious. Women are not usually members of the Chambers of Commerce, of Rotary or Kiwanis. These are the organizations around which the economic life of the community centers. Men teachers being outnumbered four to one by women, are placed in the same category as the women. Because they are teachers the community unconsciously places them outside its major activities. They can attend church, sing in the choir, belong to a fraternal organization, and teach school, but they must never attend the Chamber of Commerce and offer constructive suggestions. They are supposed not to have any. They are supposed to know nothing of business, finance, or taxes. They must not offer advice about the character building institutions in the community irrespective of the fact that character building is a chief function of the schools. Their job is to teach from books what some one else said about something which has already taken place, and all the better if the person they quote is a rugged individualist. Their light, such as it may be, must be hid under a bushel and its only glimmerings must be in line with the *status quo*.

Various states erect barriers against teachers from outside their borders in order to supply jobs to the graduates from their own institutions. This may appear to be a highly desirable procedure, but state lines do not exist for the intercommunication of citizens. Modern methods of transportation bind us together as a whole nation of people and not as separate states. Our citizens travel east, west, north, and south, and education is national in scope even though it is still locally controlled. Intellectual pursuits are not defined by state borders. Why should states erect barriers against teachers from other states because a line was once surveyed designating land boundaries? Is this the way to solve the problem of overproduction of teachers? Why should colleges and universities engage in struggles against each other for students? Why should teacher training institutions want more graduates when they cannot place those they do graduate? Will more teachers solve the problem or does not the solution rest elsewhere? Is it not true that education and experience do not count for much in a school system which ignores

these qualifications, which continually casts out the experienced in order to make room for the beginners? After all, is not the teacher problem economic, more than it is educational? The great annual turnover of teachers keeps the schools in a constant state of flux and uncertainty. The economic waste involved is likewise a factor well worth considering. The cost to the states in financing their teacher training institutions is considerable. Teachers who benefit by such training only to use it for a year or two cost more than those who make teaching their life's work. If the truth be known, there is no other great nation in the world which treats its teachers with such little regard as does the United States. Students of education who would challenge this statement need only refer to the status of the teachers in Germany, England, France, Denmark, or Italy.

Judged by the leadership education has had in recent years the teachers are not at fault for present school conditions, even those within the class rooms. They have always been between the cross-fire of the school administrators on the one hand and the board of school control on the other. The boards of education control the purse-strings and the administrators set the standards. The teachers are thus blessed with the unique position of serving two masters neither of which is greatly interested in their welfare, whether it be economic, social, or educational. They have never had a voice in school control or planning as this is supposed to be taken care of by the administrators and the school boards. They are considered as workmen in our educational factories to be hired and fired at will, regardless of the personal, educational, or economic waste involved. Under existing practices they have but little recourse to justice notwithstanding the state laws which pretend to protect their rights. Any society which keeps its teachers virtually in a state of economic bondage cannot expect much in the way of educational results from its school system. Any reorganization of the schools must give the teachers a larger place and greater responsibility if it is to be successful.

Instead of one system unified and integrated, the United States has forty-eight separate state systems of education. Each state has divested itself of much of its authority by giving it to the smaller districts. As a result we have thousands of local school systems each practically a law unto itself. Such local autonomy may have been excellent practice when we were largely an agricultural people, but that day is past. The big difficulty is that those who now control the schools will not admit it. They still wish to control the schools by methods which worked in the days of the ox cart. This is especially true in obtaining school revenues. The present taxing system is not based upon ability to pay but upon the tangible property of the district. The problem of changing these obsolete methods of obtaining school funds is intensified because of the scattered school control and the lack of any centralized governmental authority to give it force and direction.

From the signing of the Constitution down to the present time the national government and the various state governments have had very little to say about the schools. What authority they now exercise has been bitterly contested in almost every instance by the local communities. The people of the United States certainly believe in local control when twelve states out of the forty-eight are able to boast of two school board members to each teacher employed. This scattered local control and the lack of any centralized authority has

left the schools open to attack by the short-sighted and selfish interests. It has been relatively easy for a certain group in each community to control school revenues by exerting economic pressure upon local school boards. This is one reason for the present deplorable conditions in the schools today. In the larger communities the schools are invariably controlled by bankers, business men, and industrialists, and they have sacrificed public education during this depression because dollars are more precious to them than a good school system. The one answer to this problem is to balance school control by reasserting the right of equal representation for the common man. He has had some education made available for his children, but it has been education without representation, because he has had little to say about the schools. In theory he has had his chance to serve on school boards but it has not worked in practice. Both the school administrators and that minority group which has controlled the schools have largely ignored his interests.

In all fairness, the masses of the people should have educational representation. The workmen, the artisan, the laborer has a daring spirit because he has yet to make his stake. He is not afraid of change but will welcome a reorganization of the school system if he can see that he is to benefit thereby. Most important of all, he will see to it if he has equal representation on school boards, that the necessary taxes are levied to maintain the schools. Part of this crisis in the public schools is due to poverty which is actual and does exist in school districts, and part of it is due simply to the refusal of school authorities to levy sufficient taxes to meet school needs. The educators will hold a better hand in the educational game if they will place more faith in the common man.

Our schools need a thoroughgoing reorganization from top to bottom, but that will never be brought to pass as long as one particular class in our society controls the schools. It is to the interests of this minority group to keep the schools as they are because good schools cost money.

The reorganization must include more good teachers and at least half of them men, to teach well what is to be taught. What is now taught should not be added to, until we have done one job well. We do not need more theories or more courses but more good teachers. Overcrowded class rooms, mass production, piece-meal methods of instruction must be abolished. This nation is wealthy enough to maintain decent schools. If we have not yet learned how, let us take lessons from those nations which have. Above all, a school system which is based upon growth, freedom and becoming, is impossible unless the teachers themselves are growing free and becoming, members of a teaching personnel, self-determining and responsible to the social regime in which they function. Economic bondage and slavery to the existing *status quo* will ever be the lot of teachers until the present educational system is reorganized from the top down. The changes so greatly needed today must be imposed from above because they will never be initiated by the present school boards which control the educational systems of the United States.

Boys and girls are not to be considered as cogs in an educational factory. Going through an educational mill whose hopper is fed from the upper educational levels with theories guarantees nothing, least of all an education. If we have mistaken means for ends, husks for kernels, and forms for substance, shall we add more

of these and forget the ends? If we have stressed the system rather than the education of boys and girls, shall we enlarge it or purify it? We have in practice stressed quantity rather than quality, and numbers graduated rather than intellectual achievements. We have stressed architectural splendors in the form of buildings, but bricks and mortar and fine buildings do not make a school. In our inconsistencies we have glorified 150,000 one room schools by calling them little red school houses, when, as a matter of fact, they were dull, dingy, and gray, thousands of them without modern sanitary accommodations, and the majority of them with new and untried teachers. We have regimented classes, overcrowded class rooms, mass production factory methods of instruction, samplings of this subject and that subject—all this we have called education, but is it?

Here are but a few of the problems facing the educators in this year 1934, and what are they going to do about it? They have laid claim to leadership in the press, over the radio, and in the schools—what are they going to do about it?

Many of these educators must learn to use the forces available. They must use their own psychological theory of moving from the known—the now, and what is. The gap between theory and practice is already too wide. The quickest way to solve it is to make a beginning toward solving immediate problems.

If the present educational leadership cannot meet the challenge, they should give the teachers a chance. They at least have their feet on solid ground, and they are not greatly concerned with theories. An open school house door, with books and supplies for the pupils and bread and butter for the teachers, provides the challenge for 1934.

Almost daily some periodical carries an article dealing with the depression and its challenge to the teachers but this is only half of the story. The real challenge is to the administrators and the school boards. They are the ones who are largely responsible for the sad plight of the schools today. The teachers were not the ones who squandered the school funds during the years of prosperity because the incomes of the teachers have always been extremely low. Poor management, lack of planning, and lack of an integrated and unified national school system provide the answer for the plight of the schools today.

The public schools of the United States must be taken out of the hands of the minority group which now controls them. The quickest way to do this is for teachers throughout the country to align themselves with labor organizations, and they can best do this by joining the American Federation of Teachers.

The federal government should immediately classify all teachers and provide them with an educational code. They should have the right to organize the same as other workers, because their economic status is practically the same and for that matter it always has been. As the status of the teachers improves, public education will improve.

Forty-eight separate states with thousands of local school districts will never pull together or provide a system of education which will meet the challenge of reorganization. The greatest need of the public schools is a strong federal interest and activity in the problem of education. Public education must have a new deal instead of the raw one it is now getting.

The Teacher and the Consumer Cooperative Movement

Elmer W. Johnston

The American teacher in the last six years has been given to realize in a most painful and pertinent manner that he now stands at the crossroads of his career. A challenge has been laid down to him to the effect that he must choose whether he will continue his former prosaic existence in the "ivory tower" of insulated intellectualism or face the facts of life and go out to conquer them. One of the saddest spectacles in America in these recent difficult days has been the manner in which the great majority of American teachers have faced a national emergency. It is all too true that the difficulties which many teachers must meet today were brought about, if not by deliberate action of the teachers themselves, at least with their silent acquiescence. We have all heard the saying that people generally get the government they deserve. If this be true, and there is strong historical presumption for believing so, then teachers can largely blame only themselves for the dilemma in which they are now placed. Certainly, if teachers as a group had actively exerted the influence which their position and numbers warranted and had directed that influence toward the study of and participation in new ways of living more fitted to the circumstances of a mechanized environment, they would not now find themselves the unwilling victims of a crumbling economic order. When cases of exploitation and suppression have been brought to their attention, when striking workers have appealed to liberal minded citizens for support against autocratic employers, when children have appeared in their classrooms semi-starved and underclothed, when "radical" teachers have been fired for the free expression of their views, when cheap politicians have stolen their right to a living wage under the pretext of "protecting the taxpayer," the teachers in the past have looked the other way. We admit that many teachers have given liberally of their small stipend to well-meaning charitable works, yet this is but a negative way of trying to correct an evil. If the teacher is to become teacher in deed as well as word, he must begin to take an active part in the daily business of life itself, and find out for himself his true and proper relationship to his society, following which he can map out for himself a course of action constructive in nature and suited to the times of which he is a part.

That he has begun to realize this necessity is evidenced by the growth of the American Federation of Teachers in the past few years. Teachers are learning the power of united effort exerted toward a common objective, salary schedules have been maintained, liberal-minded teachers have found a new sense of freedom in the classroom and in public, and in general it might be said that the American teachers have slowly been developing a group consciousness. Yet we would point out that although the teacher within his group is learning a new relationship technique, he is still working within the frame of the old economic system and that, apart from his union organization, if some vital change does not occur in the economic picture he stands to repeat the experience of the recent depression if a like emergency ensues, and which economic history tells us we

can reasonably expect. Hence the teacher finds it necessary to ask some pertinent questions as to the line of economic thought he should pursue and the resulting action he may be required to take. It is our purpose to show how the teacher may be the leader on the road to a new and more highly civilized economic order.

"The road to Hell is paved with good intentions." Many otherwise sensible people have believed in the past that pressure upon politicians, donations to relief organizations, slum clearance projects, doles to the unemployed, labor organizations, free medical and other services, vocational guidance, and a host of other similar activities were the paths to lead us out of the woods of depression and distress. Past events show that these activities, worthwhile enough in themselves, after all is said and done are merely efforts to correct conditions after they have been created by forces which such ameliorative activities do nothing to prevent or change. In fact, in some cases they actually make the conditions worse, as for instance, the dole system which in its final analysis is nothing more than an admission by industry that it has failed to pay a living wage, so that the difference between starvation and minimum subsistence must be made up by taxation of the public. Such a dole not only gives the recipient something for nothing but removes his incentive to better his condition through his own efforts.

Socially motivated individuals with charitable inclinations for centuries have been crying out against the evils of exploitation and suppression of the working classes and have invented all sorts of schemes political, financial, and social to circumvent this exploitation. May we point out that up to date the exploitation still goes on; not only has it held its own, but it has actually increased as the economic distance between the exploiter and the exploited has grown and "those darker Vandals" which Henry George saw so prophetically some sixty years ago now rise to plague us in the names of Communism and Fascism. We have forgotten in our enthusiasm as producers that although exploitation takes place at the point of production, it is only realized at the point of consumption. The power to remove exploitation by changing the economic system lies not in the hands of the producer, who could not change it if he would, but in the purchasing power of the consumer, whose dollar on the counter determines who shall receive the wages of production and what his share will be. The consumer controls the economic processes as no other individual can, yet until his power is organized, he can be effective only in a negative manner. Organized under democratic forms, however, his power is invincible, as he has demonstrated in convincing manner in any country where the Consumer Cooperative movement has grown to be a factor in the life of the people. We believe that there is a close relationship between the condition of such a country and the degree that it has taken over the ideals and the practices of consumer cooperation. Sweden, Denmark, and Finland have suffered least from the world-wide depression, have found unemployment a comparatively unimportant problem, and recovered soonest. In each of these countries a

large fraction is controlled by the consumer cooperatives. These nations are a living illustration of the power of consumer cooperation, not only from the economic standpoint, but also in their known resistance to the forces of Communism and Fascism. Consumer cooperation has justly been called "the Bulwark of Democracy," proof of which lies in the acknowledged democratic outlook and practices of these countries.

What is needed then is some base in the economic system which will reinforce and support those activities which have heretofore failed in attaining their objective of changing the social and political order because of the lack of an enduring economic foundation. We firmly believe that there is no true democracy, no true freedom of the people in any field, that is not based on an economic system which is democratic in principle and in practice. "The democracy of the dollar must precede all other democracy, or there is no democracy." Hence it is our interest to examine into the possibility of economic democracy and to ask ourselves as to how these principles may be applied.

The finest illustration of democracy in economics is to be found in the Rochdale consumer cooperative, based on a few very important fundamentals. These basic principles were first stated by the Rochdale pioneers; if properly carried out they cannot fail to produce a workable organization. For the purposes of comparison with the typical corporation setup, we might state them briefly. First, a consumer cooperative is democratically controlled, that is, every member has one vote no matter how many shares he may own, thus making all members equal in their control of the affairs of the cooperative. Secondly, money invested in a cooperative society receives a fixed percentage of interest which may not be more than the prevailing current rate, thus removing the incentive for excessive profits gained at the expense of the consumers. Thirdly, all net profits are returned to the consumers who patronize the society in proportion to the amount of their purchases. This again is the essence of democracy, making each individual responsible for taking a part in the enterprise and rewarding him accordingly. Lastly, the membership is open to all, regardless of political, financial, or social views or station in life, all men being assumed to be equal in their capacity as consumers.

Ninety-one years ago, in the little village of Rochdale, England, there was born the idea of the Rochdale consumers cooperative, which today has grown into a worldwide organization of three hundred million consumers in fifty countries buying products worth billions yearly, and serving consumers in many countries with all the necessities of life. For instance, a member of a cooperative in England may wish to "start in house-keeping." He may borrow the money from his cooperative building society at low rates of interest, his cooperative housing society will build his house for him from plans drawn by his cooperative architects service, and he may take out insurance on it in his insurance cooperative. He can obtain all the furnishings for it from his cooperative furniture factory, his clothing and that of his "cooperative" life partner will come from a cooperative clothing factory and the food and supplies for running his home he may buy in the cooperative store around the corner. In Denmark, an individual may be serviced by his cooperatives in several hundreds of different items in production and distribution and may belong to as many as forty different cooperative societies to take care of all his needs. In Sweden, the cooperatives have broken the bread trust, the electric

bulb monopoly, the rubber boots racket (an extremely important matter in Swedish life), and others, until the life of the Swedish cooperative movement has become a succession of victories with the trusts which formerly controlled the life of the Swedish people as our own trusts control America today. Unemployment is below two percent today in Sweden, we believe largely because of the consumer movement as expressed through the cooperatives. In Finland, the only country in the world to pay its war debts to the United States, the interest of the people in cooperatives amounts to a national passion. It has gone so far that the Finnish "coops" control not only the financial system, but also unofficially the political life of the community. Perhaps we see here an answer as to how the Finns can pay their debts when other and much richer countries cannot. There is practically no unemployment in Finland, largely production is geared to consumption by the known demand of the consumer cooperatives. Over there, the cost of milk distribution is ten percent of the farmer's price; in America, 300 percent, another illustration of the difference between the efficiency of the cooperative and individualistic methods of getting things done. Cooperatives do business not only within one country, however, but also trade internationally, though hindered by tariffs and international "trade agreements." It is interesting to note that the first shipment of American oil produced by American cooperatives was sent to cooperative societies in Esthonia and France this year. Thus a beginning has been made in cementing peaceful economic relations between Europe and America on the basis of mutual needs.

All these illustrations are, however, far from our shores. The problems closer at home are resolved to some extent if there is near you a cooperative enterprise. Such will very likely be the case if you live in the north-central part of the country, where there will in all probability be a cooperative store or perhaps a gasoline coöp at hand and already functioning. This will also be true of scattered parts of the northwest and New England and New York City. Contact with these developments will be part of the answer to the question as to what we may do as individuals in and for the cooperative movement. Another activity in which we may immediately engage is the organization of a consumer cooperative club. In fact, the consumer club movement is spreading so rapidly that there is every likelihood of there being a club in your vicinity. The club is a very effective means of bringing before the community the need for consumer organization in advance of the time that the people concerned are ready to function as a property holding cooperative. The club has numerous possibilities for consumer education and can direct its activities into a dozen different channels. It may be a buying group, pooling its purchases to obtain lower prices for its members and saving money which would otherwise be eaten up in the wastes of the profit system. It might be a pressure group for the betterment of working conditions placing its orders with those firms which provide decent labor conditions, and withholding them from companies where labor is mistreated and exploited. It could also be effective in publicizing fact material concerning such items as the costs of milk distribution or excessive public utility rates. The club as a study group could devote its energies to investigation of the work of government agencies and government literature in the field of consumer interests. A group of club members might study the reports of such fact-finding agencies as Consumers

Research, and find means to make effective the recommendations of that body. The club can work with the Federal government through the local County Consumers Council on such objectives as better quality and lower prices for locally sold products. It can make home tests of canned goods and other common products, the results of which it can use in everyday purchasing. In these and in many other ways the consumer club can be an entering wedge in the education of the public to the consumer cooperative viewpoint. It can work with religious, workers', professional, and other groups for changes in the social order because of its universality of membership, taking in members from all other groups without discrimination. We must remember that cooperative activity "begins at home" with our own community needs and problems, hence the club idea has proved itself in numerous instances to be the connecting link between a knowledge of consumer cooperative practice and its fulfilment. As an instance, we might cite the Cincinnati Consumers Club which started in January as a small group of a dozen interested consumers and in June was already operating its own local cooperative store supplying over two hundred families with groceries and other supplies. A consumers club in Chappaqua, New York, turned over eight thousand dollars worth of business in its first year, proving that a consumers club is not only a good educational device, but a practical one as well.

The consumer cooperative movement offers an opportunity for participation in other fields as well as the local club. We should be active in that part of the movement that is already well organized or now in the organization stage. Not only can we throw our own purchasing power to the existing cooperative store, but we can organize cooperatives to help strengthen the movement in other localities. These cooperatives may take many forms. The commonest is the cooperative store, where consumers may buy near at home their groceries, canned goods, and other household supplies. As proof of what teachers can do in this particular, we might cite the case of a Chicago University professor who is the president of Consumers Cooperative Services, Inc., of Chicago and the manager of which is the son of a well-known professor of economics in a New York University. A teacher of music in Flint, Michigan, has been the inspiring leader in the development of a study group which evolved into a buying club and finally into a cooperative store in that city. A professor at Shurtleff College has resigned in order to give his full attention to a successful store which he was instrumental in organizing at Alton, Illinois. There should be a cooperative store in every community, not only for the savings it may make economically speaking, but because it is an excellent center for education in the new economic movement which the cooperatives represent. There are also the various fields of insurance, fire, life, casualty, and others, in which the cooperative movement serves its members. A beginning has already been made in cooperative insurance by certain Farm Bureau Federations and the Cooperative League. Medical service is another field ripe for cooperative development. Cooperative medicine, as practiced by the Ross-Loos group in California, or even better as in Elk City, Oklahoma, where the consumers own their hospital, is the only logical answer to the advocates of government medicine and to the rugged individualism of the American Medical Association. Cooperative oil and gasoline distribution has proved highly successful in the Middle West and has already gotten a start in the East.

One of the latest cooperative oil stations in Ohio has been recently launched under the direction of a professor of mechanical engineering in Ohio State University, again showing what teachers can do in a practical form if they devote their spare time interests to the cooperative idea. Milk distribution, with its juicy profits to the middleman recently exposed by the Federal Trade Commission, has been undertaken in several communities and savings are being returned to consumers which formerly found their way into the already swollen pockets of the distributors who own the milk trust. Cooperative housing is another field which offers attractive possibilities. Five millions of dollars invested in cooperative housing in New York has survived the depression and is still safe in the hands of the cooperators, while literally millions of unorganized consumers have lost everything in real estate "investment."

The Credit Union is one of the most important branches of consumer cooperative activity. It is a device to pool the savings of its members and to lend these savings to other members at low rates of interest for provident purposes. The credit union and cooperative insurance are especially important fields of cooperative endeavor as they promise to become the consumer cooperative banks. The ownership of their own banks will in turn give the consumer cooperative movement the control of consumer finance, and take the consumer out of the hands of the loan shark and the predatory private banker. In addition, the control of consumer finance by the consumers themselves will make it possible to prevent the maladjustment in industry which occurs when bankers, lending other peoples' money, create credit inflation which leads to periodic booms and depressions. It is interesting to note that while America's banking system nearly had to suspend operations and finally reached the point where government had to step in to prevent a fiasco, the credit unions, with a business in the hundreds of millions, had losses of less than one-hundredth of one percent. Some of the most successful credit unions so far organized have been set up by and for teachers. Consumer cooperatives also work well upon the mail order principle. Quite a volume of consumer cooperative purchasing is now being built up through this method. This enables consumers at widely scattered points where the cooperative method is not yet in effect to purchase cooperatively and thus reap the same benefits as would ordinarily result from purchasing at points where cooperative stores have been organized. The mail order cooperative affords the most effective consumer cooperative educational medium through which teachers who are as yet unfamiliar with cooperative practice may learn how cooperation works.

In all these developments the teacher should be a leading figure, but in addition to taking an active part in the projects we have outlined, he has yet another duty, more in line with his professional activities. It is obvious that the cooperative movement is too important for teachers to ignore in their daily work in the classroom, yet it is safe to say that the schools of America have until very recently remained blissfully ignorant of the whole idea of cooperation. This is true for two reasons, one being that teachers themselves knew so little of the history of cooperation, the other that the spirit of American life and the temper of the American people in general, as would be expected in a new territory waiting to be exploited by a *laissez faire* economy, was not sympathetically inclined toward the idea of helping oneself by helping one's neighbor. Rugged

individualism, however, seems to have run its course and America has shown by the eagerness with which it has turned to the cooperative idea in the past few years that it is ready to accept the fact and the spirit of cooperation. This presents to the American teacher a golden opportunity to help lead America toward a new economic and social ideal, and at the same time to make a genuine place for himself in the American scene. In countries where cooperation has become the dominant mode of life the teacher has risen to a place of prime importance, for cooperative communities everywhere have stressed the necessity of education for the continuity and growth of the cooperative movement. The cooperative way of life accords to the teacher a permanent high and respected place and thus guarantees him in the community a position which carries with it the prerogatives which are necessary for carrying out the educational processes in a proper and scientific manner. Yet this is but a minor reason for teachers being active in the spreading of the idea of cooperation. If, as we believe, the cooperative way of life is the sensible and the right way, then let the teachers of America see to it that their students learn of the great work of the cooperators everywhere and that young America understands the significance and value of this new way of life. Young people are already learning about cooperation in the folk schools of Indiana, in institutes held by the Cooperative League in various parts of the country, in cooperative societies operated by themselves as in the Students Cooperative Association of the University of Washington, in cooperative clubs, and in a growing number of farm organizations. Teachers know how students are today asking questions which require definite answers of a practical kind, and if teachers do not or cannot give such answers, they will search for other sources of information where they will be accorded a more favorable reception. At the present time, the great development in cooperative education has not come from the teachers, who would be its spokesman, but from the cooperative societies, which

have supported an educational program with practically no help from the teachers of the public school system. It is our opinion, aided by the history of the movement in other countries and by figures showing the geometric growth of the cooperative movement in America since the beginning of the depression, that the American teachers should begin immediately to study the idea of cooperation, to see the opportunities in it not only for themselves, but for the young people of America and for American society at large. This study followed up by the type of action we have indicated will again give to the teachers that acknowledged place of leadership in the American community which not so long ago was their proud possession.

Bishop Sonne, the patron saint of the teachers of Denmark, said to his people after their disastrous war with Germany, "What the enemy has taken from us in war we must regain through the education of our people." He advocated a new way of living which we now call "cooperation." From that time until his death Bishop Sonne carried his message through the highways and byways of Denmark into every village and hamlet throughout the land. Denmark today, while poverty stalks the great part of Europe, is a land where peace and plenty reign, a land of happy and prosperous people, made so by the daily practice of cooperative ideals. As Denmark once looked to a great teacher for a way out of disaster and depression, so America also might look to her teachers to lead the way toward new goals and new ideals. It is the privilege and duty of our teachers to tell their fellow-citizens and students the story of cooperation, to show them the picture of what cooperation has done in other parts of the world, and the promise it holds for the people of America; then, as did Bishop Sonne, go out into the highways and byways and help organize America to this new and better way of life, the way of cooperation.

NOTE: Literature on the cooperative movement may be obtained from the Cooperative League, 167 W. 12th St., New York City; Cooperative Distributors, Inc., 30 Irving Place, New York City; Credit Union National Association, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

Office Workers Seek Solutions

Jean Carter

For many years industrial workers have been seeking, through discussion of their problem in workers' schools and classes, to find possible solutions. It is only, however, within the past few years that business and professional workers have been willing to face squarely the fact that they, too, must get together to talk things over and determine lines of action if they are to meet the social and economic challenge of today and survive.

Two years ago a summer school, sponsored by the Affiliated Schools for Workers, opened its doors to office workers on the campus of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The two-week experiment of that year proved so successful that, during the two succeeding summers, four-week sessions have been held, the first of these at Oberlin, the second at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Now, at the close of this third session, the need for such a school in the scheme of things seems to be a fact beyond a doubt.

This summer, thirty-one young woman office workers came to the school eager to devote the precious weeks of their vacations to the study of their problems as workers, and they agreed that it was worth it. About

the middle of the session, one of these students exclaimed enthusiastically, "When I came, I expected to study more and learn less." Although there was some study of a formal nature, the curriculum was so planned as to make an exchange and re-interpretation of experience an important part of the educative process. To a group of girls, most of whom were graduates of our secondary schools, the informal nature of this method was at first startling. Very soon, however, they realized what was happening and, to an astonishing degree, achieved what Dewey says should be the result of all education: they not only reconstructed their own experience in the light of the facts they were acquiring but they "gained control of the process involved." Their education had really begun, for they had within themselves the means of continuing it.

The first afternoon of the school was devoted to a discussion of "who I am, and why I'm here." At the end of that discussion, the faculty felt that a very real challenge had been presented to them if they were to make even an approach to all the problems presented. The keynote of the entire discussion was "I want to know in order that I may do . . ." Such purposeful

seeking relieves the teacher of the need for stimulating a demand for his wares, but at the same time makes him realize that the quality of what he offers must be beyond reproach.

Although a curriculum plan had been tentatively set up in advance, the plan was modified and the content of the courses was determined in part by this discussion. Each student was assigned to an economics class and in addition selected a project on the basis of her own interests. The work in economics was of a general nature, but the approach in each class was through problems presented in the economic world of today of which the students were a part. The projects, planned on the basis of interests expressed by the students in their applications and in the preliminary discussions, included social legislation, political philosophy, and trade unions. In each of these groups there was study and discussion of general background while each student worked on the phase of the subject in which she was most interested and reported her findings to the group. Twice during the summer the entire school met to hear reports and to discuss the work of the three projects, thus giving all the students the benefit of the study of each group.

The trade union project proved the most popular. This, as well as attitudes of students toward the desirability of organization for office workers, indicated a definite change of heart from the old-time attitude of the white collar worker. The problem seemed no longer whether "to organize or not to organize" but *how* to organize. During the last two weeks the students in this project insisted upon going through the process of actually organizing an office—one group drawing up their grievances, another making plans for procedure, a third drawing up an agreement, and so forth. This, of course, meant a thorough consideration of all that is involved in organization and a careful weighing of pros and cons. Differences in attitudes toward unions in different communities and different offices were considered. The fact that three of the nine workers among the students were school clerks and belonged to the American Federation of Teachers, while school clerks from other communities belonged to organizations for clerical workers, made inevitable many long and sometimes heated discussions of where these people belong.

Not all the students in the school, however, nor even all in the trade union project expected to function through the trade union movement on their return to their own communities. In some cases this was due to the fact that the community made it impossible; in other cases, students themselves felt that they could accomplish more through political action or pressure groups.

In addition to the economics classes and projects, the entire school met for discussions of social literature and social ethics. At intervals throughout the session there were school discussions for the purpose of evaluating the curriculum, and as a result desirable adjustments were made. Both faculty and students participated in all these discussions, and, as one girl later confessed, the students at first thought the faculty had planned in advance who would say what at just which point in the discussion. They were delighted when they realized that differences in points of view were as real among the faculty as among the students. At the final party, each group demonstrated thorough understanding of the other in skits in which the faculty presented

students as they saw them, and the students conducted a faculty meeting as they visualized it.

The fact that for practically all the students there would be no vacation until another year had passed made the planning of the health and recreation program of great importance. Tennis, bicycling, hikes, and picnics met the need for out-of-doors; while spontaneous dramatic skits, interpretive and folk dancing, and group singing made possible gay social evenings indoors. Into most of these activities there carried over some of the purposefulness expressed by the group in the discussion of that first afternoon. A dramatic skit was likely to present a problem which had arisen in one of the discussions, and the fact that it could thus be treated in a half-in-fun-whole-in-earnest manner made it more meaningful. For example, no one is likely to forget that changes are sometimes made by manufacturers in their products upon which Consumer's Research has placed its stamp of approval, after the hilarious play in which the beautician recommended Sweetheart Soap as a cure for all tragedies, domestic and personal, only narrowly to escape the angry mob when the newsboy shouted his "extry" announcing a change of formula for the soap.

Some students could remain in the school for only two weeks because it was impossible to get additional time off; others remained throughout the month. At the end of the session they returned to their typing, bookkeeping, filing, or machine operating in sixteen widely separated communities, ranging from New Orleans on the South to Chicago on the North, Philadelphia in the East to Denver in the West, realizing that their bond as fellow workers and their need to seek solutions as such, united them much more closely than mere geographical proximity possibly could.

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Jean Carter, acting director, Affiliated Schools for Workers.

William Green, president, American Federation of Labor.

Elmer W. Johnston, Philadelphia Local 192, teacher Roxborough High School, Philadelphia.

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

Raymond F. Lowry, president American Federation of Teachers; instructor University of Toledo and Toledo High School.

Frank Morrison, secretary, American Federation of Labor.

Jay F. Otis, Seattle, contributor to Oregon Historical Quarterly, Social Science, labor journals, and other periodicals.

David H. Pierce, Cleveland Local 279; chairman Convention Publicity Committee; teacher social science John Adams High School, Cleveland; former editorial writer for the *Cleveland News*; contributor to *Educational Review*, *Crisis*, *Nation*, *Survey*, *Survey Graphic*, and other sociological and educational journals.

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

Joel Seidman, instructor in economics, Brookwood Labor College.

L. H. Thornburg, member state legislature, Idaho; former teacher Kellogg, Idaho; member Local 278.

So This Is America!

Married Women Teachers Upheld in New Jersey.

Four women teachers dismissed last year by the Wildwood school authorities because they were married and had husbands to support them were ordered reinstated by the New Jersey State Board of Education with back salaries for the time they were kept from their classrooms.

The board ruled that the women were under the State tenure law and could not be dismissed except for reasons that would apply to both married and single teachers.

135,000 New York City School Children Suffer Lack of Adequate Food.

The annual report of the Division of Handicapped Children of the Board of Education declared that at least 135,000 children in New York City's elementary schools are too weak and undernourished to profit by attendance in regular classes. The undernourishment has been increasing constantly during the five years' business depression characterized by employers refusing to employ workers, many of whom are parents whose ability to provide for their families depends on wages.

Veterans Attack N.E.A. on Freedom.

The Legion of Valor of the United States, composed of persons who have won the Distinguished Service Cross or Congressional Medal of Honor, condemned the "academic freedom" resolution of the National Education Association at its meeting in Bridgeport, Conn., and demanded that recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States be abrogated.

The resolution of the education association was characterized in a resolution adopted by the Legion of Valor as "a sugar-coating of propaganda and a cloak under which to teach atheism in the schools." The Legion called upon all "loyal members" of the N. E. A. to "follow and preserve the Constitution."

Seven Public School Systems in New York State Use Talking Films on Cooperative Basis.

Public school systems in seven cities of Westchester County, New York, have initiated a cooperative use of the Erpi educational talking pictures during the current school year.

The scheduling of the films is so arranged that it coincides very closely with the New York State science syllabus.

Thirty Mile Trek to Evening Class.

Deeply appreciative of the educational opportunities offered in California for adults, two San Joaquin Valley farmers, natives of Afghanistan, drive thirty miles twice a week to an elementary evening class in English and Americanization.

Workers Favor Good Books.

According to Charles H. Compton, in a talk to the midwinter conference of the American Library Association, it is not the person of formal culture, but the working men and women, without college or even high school education, who are reading the best books nowadays.

More Jobs for Teachers.

According to the Bureau of Educational Service, of the University of Nebraska, unemployment among school teachers has been reduced one-half this year, as compared to last year. Records show that of the persons registering for employment, only 16.6% remain unemployed, as compared with 31.2% for the same period last year.

Reserve Officers Training Corps Expanded.

The War Department Appropriation Bill for 1936, passed by Congress and signed by Roosevelt, carries the unprecedented peace-time total of \$401,998,179.00. It includes a million dollar increase for the R.O.T.C., new units of which will be established in high schools and colleges. About two-thirds of the new R.O.T.C. units will operate on a compulsory basis. They will place under the tutelage of the War Department instructors from 30,000 to 60,000 young students in addition to the 148,000 already enrolled in R.O.T.C. military units.

11,000,000 Workers Are Still Jobless.

A. F. of L. unemployment report reveals over two million refused jobs by industry are temporarily employed on government projects. Relief rolls include 19,250,000 persons.

A. F. of L. Membership Makes Great Gains.

Despite the fact that a huge army of workers have been unemployed the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have added over one million persons to their membership during the last two years.

Teaching Requirements.

In 1941 an Oregon certificate for teaching in the elementary grades will require three years of normal school training after graduation from high school. The present requirement of two years of normal school training will be gradually increased during the years between 1937 and 1941.

We have not heard of any salary increases to go along with higher qualifications.

Living Costs Compared.

A comparison of cost of living changes in thirty countries from 1929 to the first quarter of 1935, issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, shows that the decrease of about 18% in the United States was exceeded in several other countries. The drop in Germany was 21%, as it was also in Switzerland, and that in Belgium was 23% and in Italy 24%. In Lithuania the decline was 49%, the greatest among the countries considered.

Countries in which the decline was less than in our own include Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with a 15% drop; Sweden, Norway, with 8% and 10%, respectively, and the Irish Free State, with a 13% drop. In only two of the countries, Greece and Chile, did the average living cost increase since 1929.

Last of Five Students Reinstated by Univ. of S. Cal.

The last of the five students suspended in October for alleged radical activities by Provost E. C. Moore of the University of California have been reinstated. Apparently this final reinstatement was due as were the others to the intervention of President Robert G. Sproul of the University of California at Berkeley.

"No Discrimination" in Pay of Teachers.

Men and women teachers in the public schools of the state must be put on the same salary schedule after the close of the present school session, T. H. Harris, state superintendent of education, has notified the parish superintendents and presidents of the parish school boards throughout the state of Louisiana.

Facts About the High Schools.—More than one-fourth of all the 23,930 public high schools in America are located in five states: Texas, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Illinois, the Federal Office of Education announced in a report on public high schools for 1929-30. Texas high schools reporting totalled 1,400; Ohio, 1,322; Pennsylvania, 1,185; Missouri, 1,063; and Illinois, 1,065.

School Conditions Called "Shocking."—Children attending classes in cloakrooms, teachers harried, is the news from Chattanooga, Tenn.

"The crowded and inadequate condition of many public school buildings in Chattanooga and Hamilton County is another reflection of the neglect to which our schools have been subjected," reads the statement issued by A. F. T. Local 246.

The International Typographical Union, at its Chicago convention, declared that the major networks virtually control radio facilities at present and urged the government to hold back at least 50% of all licenses from private hands for the use of labor, farm, educational, religious, and fraternal groups.

Newsboys on Strike!—"One of the most difficult ever faced," is the police description of the newsboys' strike against the *Holyoke*, Massachusetts, *Transcript-Telegram*, according to *Editor & Publisher*. The boys demanded their papers for \$1.00 per 100 instead of \$1.25—and they won their point. But not until, reinforced by other youngsters who caught the hoodlum spirit, they had destroyed thousands of papers, broken windows, wrecked show cases, and mobbed truck drivers. According to *Editor & Publisher*, "The boys rolled Hallowe'en and the Fourth of July into one and had a rare good time, but for every newsboy there were at least five other youngsters destruction bent."

FERA Feeds 290,000 School Children.—Free lunches were distributed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to over 290,000 school children in 45 states during the last school term, a tabulation just completed shows. The cost of each meal averaged seven cents. The total fed represented 7.5% of school enrollments in every state, except Alabama, Illinois, and Michigan, which did not report.

Nye Amendment to Tax Bill.—Senator Nye has introduced an amendment to the tax bill to provide that "Whenever Congress shall declare that a state of war exists, the income tax then in force shall be increased by 100%, provided however that in no case shall the tax so imposed, together with all other Federal, State, local and foreign taxes imposed upon the same taxpayer, exceed 98% of his entire net income; provided further, that in no case shall the total of such taxes be less than 98% of each taxpayer's net income in excess of \$10,000 a year."

5,000,000 Youths Face Dependency.—Prof. Mark A. May, of Yale University, speaking in New York recently, sounded a startling warning against the "stagnating" of over 5,000,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25, many of whom, he said, may become permanent wards of society, unless they are promptly provided with educational and work opportunities. These victims of the depression, he added, are in a dangerous emotional state which "may break out in disastrous mass action or be turned inward with equally dire results." He urged emergency gov-

ernment relief as a stop-gap, with work opportunities to follow promptly.

Pupils Burn Toy Guns in Chicago School Crusade.—Principal W. W. Reed, aided by the parent-teacher association, persuaded the majority of pupils in the Ryerson School, Chicago, to sign a pledge to stop playing with guns.

Eighty boys and girls from the forty rooms of this elementary school recently marched to the platform bearing toy weapons and dumped them in a heap ready for a bonfire.

Two thousand children gathered around the fire, held on the school grounds. The band played while the school janitor threw box after box of B-B guns, toy pistols, slingshots, and popguns on the blaze.

Part of Salary Cut Is Restored in Indianapolis.—A salary restoration of half the reduction made by the board of commissioners in 1933-34 has been promised Indianapolis public school teachers in a new salary scale recently adopted by the board to apply to all teachers whose scale was \$1,500 or more.

The increase in lower salaries is higher, and ranges from 7½% to 20%. The minimum salary is raised from \$1,000 to \$1,200 for teachers with experience. Teachers at the \$1,300 level will receive an increase of 11%, which is equal to the board's reduction, and those at the \$1,400 level will receive a 7½% restoration.

A reduction formula ranging from 4 to 26% was made mandatory by the state legislature in 1932-33. This law is still in effect, the restoration being that of an additional 11 per cent reduction made by the commissioners in 1933-34.

Duluth School Teachers Given New Salary Cut.—With one dissenting vote, cast by Mrs. Victor Gran, the board of education authorized contracts be sent to some 700 members of the teaching staff of the Duluth public schools, calling for a further 3% pay reduction, and with a demand that the contracts be signed and returned not later than Aug. 15. The salary slashes for Duluth teachers now total 27%.

Dismissed Teacher Is Offered Her Old Position.—Esther De Lee, dismissed last November from her position as teacher at Pompey Hollow, New York, by a trustee who said she had shown disrespect to the flag, has been offered a contract for this year by the new trustee, Ward Van De Bogart.

Mr. Van De Bogart led the Pompey Hollow faction which demanded Armstrong's removal after he ousted the teacher.

When I was a young teacher I used to think a business man to be a high type of civilization. I left school and worked in a railway office and on the road. I dealt with office executives, traveling men, chambers of commerce, and such. Their conversation seemed to vision important things. Their vocabulary is soon acquired. Their failures, stupidities, dullnesses, and poverty of intellect appeared to me amazingly more boring than anything I had seen in the educational ranks. What they have done to the country at large does not change my view. But they are strong in maintaining the myth that they are super-respectable. If we folks had told one another and the world more convincingly the bigness of education and had given the business man the laugh more often it would have been a good thing for him and the world.

WM. McANDREW.

Democracy in Education

American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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The American Teacher

Official Organ



Make This Comparison Between Company Union and A. F. of L. Union

Nine Points to Think About

The Company Union

1. Is formed by the company to prevent organization in a real union.
2. Is favored by employers because they know there is nothing to fear from such unions.
3. Can be destroyed by the employer at any time, since he runs it.
4. Is paid for by the employer and controlled by the employer.
5. Charges no dues and makes no contribution to general improvement in working conditions.
6. Does not secure higher wages or better working conditions.
7. Is not a true agency for collective bargaining since employee representatives under company union plans are required to follow the instructions of the management.
8. Is not able to bargain in the true sense of Section 7(a) because when the company bargains with the company union it does not bargain with the workers but with itself.
9. Is limited to one shop, plant, or establishment, while employers themselves are so organized on a nation-wide basis in trade associations that individual groups of employees are powerless.

The A. F. of L. Union

1. Is formed by the employees themselves to secure better working conditions.
2. Is opposed by employers because they know that such unions will secure better working conditions for their workers.
3. Can never be destroyed so long as it is actively supported by all union members.
4. Is paid for by the union members and controlled by the union members.
5. Charges dues which help directly to build nation-wide organization and to bring about labor laws to protect workers.
6. Does secure higher wages and better working conditions, as is clearly shown by the history of the American Federation of Labor.
7. Is a true collective bargaining agency which negotiates with the management as directed by the union members upon questions of wages, hours, and working conditions.
8. Is chosen by the workers under Section 7(a) to represent them in collective bargaining.
9. Is affiliated with and supported by the American Federation of Labor, which is a nation-wide organization, giving protection to all workers against organized employers.

American Federation of Labor

What Is a Company Union?

An organization of workers promoted and controlled by their employers or supervisors is designated as a company union. A voluntary organization of workers on their own initiative is a bona fide trade union.

Under which category do the following cases fall?

The Indiana County, Penn., Program of Teachers' Institute and Directors' Convention issued by the county superintendent has the following paragraphs:

No enrollment fee will be collected from any teacher but it is expected that every teacher in Indiana county enroll in the P.S.E.A. and pay the small fee to

help send the delegates to Harrisburg. The amount of these fees is \$1.25.

The people named below have been selected in the various districts to take the membership fees and turn them over to C. Ernest Kinsey, president, local branch P.S.E.A. One dollar of this amount pays for the Pennsylvania School Journal and the twenty-five cents helps pay the expenses of the delegates to Harrisburg.

The California Association of Secondary School Principals has adopted a Professional Code of Fair Practice which includes the following items:

That all principals and teachers serving in secondary schools should endeavor to include in their professional budgets (a) Membership in all local organizations of an educational type which shall have faculty approval or departmental approval, and

Education for Democracy

(b) Membership in state and national organizations, including membership on the basis of either the minimum or the maximum fees in the following organizations:

California Teachers Association.
California Society of Secondary Education.

(and such other state-wide or regional organizations as teachers may desire).

National Education Association.

That all principals and committees on professional organizations should recommend to all faculty members, membership in their local educational organizations and in the California Teachers Association, the California Society of Secondary Education and such other state-wide or regional organizations as teachers may desire, and the National Education Association, and that there should be agreement among principals and teachers that membership, on the basis of the minimum fees, in the organizations above mentioned should constitute their minimum fair share of responsibility for the advancement of public education, and should be considered as essential to such professional growth and solidarity as will command recognition by the public of teaching as a profession.

That all principals of secondary schools and all committees on professional organizations working with such principals should annually prepare a formal budget that shall include their local educational organizations, and the state and national organizations herein listed, and present such budget to the individual members of the faculty at the time of securing subscriptions to membership.

The Union and the Press

In these days of growing labor unrest it is well for the teachers to possess a clear understanding of the attitude of the daily press toward the workers' side in disputes involving capital and labor. This was clearly expressed in the instructions I received back in 1925 when I became an editorial writer for a large metropolitan daily. My managing editor called me in and pointed to a column by Arthur Brisbane.

He advised me,

Write like Brisbane. Pretend to be a friend of organized labor, but do not be one. Notice, for example, how Brisbane handles the coal mining situation. He does not attack the miners. Brisbane merely states that "if the miners go on strike they will lose." He discourages them. You should write the same way.

It is somewhat amusing to those of us who know the modern daily from the inside to hear laymen try to assess the relative degrees of friendliness manifested by certain newspapers toward organized labor. It is especially funny when a reader tries to balance the merits of two

papers, one a morning paper and another an afternoon sheet, both controlled by the same corporation. Only a moment's thought should cause the reader to comprehend that political differences between such "rivals" can only be sham differences, and all battles must be of the Tweedledee-Tweedledum variety.

Aside from the labor press, labor has no real friends in the field of journalism. I would except, of course, some of our liberal and radical periodicals, but your large daily newspapers, whether published in Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, or New York, are uniformly anti-labor. Some of them cannot express themselves too freely, because a drop in circulation affects national advertising contracts; but I notice in these critical days that the conservative press is willing to risk a heavy loss in circulation in order to deliver blows at the organized labor movement. Injunction judges are branded as "courageous," labor leaders are pictured as "vandals," and violence whose origin cannot be traced is immediately attributed to labor "vandalism." The conservative press is, of course, playing a deliberate game. It seeks to frighten away prospective union members. Incidentally, I have heard members of the American Federation of Teachers, as well as prospective members, condemn "criminal" labor leaders, accepting at face value the statements of editorial writers who have unquestionably been told to crack the organized labor movement as severely as possible.

It is going to require courage in the days ahead to resist the assaults which organized labor must expect. Members of the American Federation of Teachers owe it to themselves not to be too gullible when the *Evening Shriek* in their particular community seeks to transform a petty labor dispute into an attack on the established order. Such a newspaper assault must not be allowed to overwhelm us. We should, in retaliation, win new members, strengthen our locals, and reach out for a stronger alliance with the Central Federation of Labor in our particular city. The teachers' union should establish promptly friendly contacts with the members of the Newspaper Guild, in order that all moves against the public schools, engineered by reactionary elements

in the community, will be exposed by friendly associates of the journalistic profession.

At our local meetings, every trick of the enemy should be exposed. Not only must we win new members; we must also hold them. Consequently we must devote more time at our meetings and more space in our own local union bulletins and periodicals in educating our own associates.

Rest assured, we are a long way from out of the woods in this crisis in education. We must be prepared to meet further determined assaults from the enemies of our schools.

DAVID H. PIERCE.

Tenureless Tenure

The past year has seen more activity in the matter of teacher tenure legislation than any previous one in school history. Teachers have sought to have placed on the statute books tenure laws for their protection, and where such laws are already in effect, school trustees and administrators have sought to change them from protective tenure to tenureless tenure.

An effort was made in New York state to substitute a continuing contract for the existing tenure. A vigorous fight by the teachers of New York City led by the New York Teachers Union gained for the teachers of New York and Buffalo the best tenure protection that any teachers have yet secured, while the other teachers of the state led by the New York Education Association have what the school trustees and administrators want them to have—a tenureless tenure.

In California a statewide tenure law has given teachers a measure of security. This law has again and again been attacked by school trustees and administrators.

If the bill sponsored by the State Association of School Trustees were enacted into law, tenure sections of the School Code would read:

No permanent employee shall be dismissed except for one or more of the following causes: Immoral or unprofessional conduct, dishonesty, incompetency, evident unfitness for service because of personality or other characteristic trait, conduct or cause seriously affecting the efficiency, competency, or the pupil leadership of such employee, persistent violation of, or refusal to obey school laws of California, or reasonable rules or regulations prescribed for the government of public schools by the State Board of Education or the local Governing Board.

Nothing in this part shall be construed in such manner as to deprive any person of his right and remedies in a court of competent jurisdiction on a matter of law.

This section is altered *only* by the omission of the words *and fact*.

Here we have an example of a blanket cause that would cover and justify any dismissal. Tenureless Tenure again.

Why the omission of the words "and fact" if teacher security is the desired end? This omission is the most serious change of any made and gives to the school boards the full power of "hire and fire," which apparently is the objective. It makes the prosecutor-judge school boards sole arbiters of the facts behind which a court of law cannot venture. Tenureless Tenure with a vengeance.

The demand for tenure on the part of teachers arises not from selfish interest but from devotion to the best good of the schools. The denial of tenure by school boards and administrators does arise from selfish interests and political motives.

A study of the professional status of teachers shows improvement in every way, preparation, continued study, professional interest, after the establishment of tenure. There is much talk of taking the schools out of politics. A sound tenure law is one step in that direction.

The United States lags behind European countries in literacy and in tenure.

Comparative illiteracy is shown in the following table:

Country	Percentage of Illiteracy
Germany	.2
Denmark	.2
Switzerland	.5
Netherlands	.6
Norway	1.0
Sweden	1.0
Scotland	1.6
England and Wales.....	1.8
France	4.9
United States	6.0

In the European countries here listed indefinite teacher tenure with service during efficiency and good behavior is universal. The annual contract system, one of the most detrimental to sound educational policy of our American system, is unknown to these countries with their low illiteracy rank. These two facts are not irrelevant. If America desires an improved school system, a higher degree of literacy, a stable teaching profession, it will give to its teachers a security of tenure comparable with any in the world.

The American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor have for years been vigorously opposing the annual contract system almost universal in the United States and will continue with unabated interest and energy to work for indefinite tenure for teachers as a security to them essential to a sound school system.

Administrative Change in Buffalo

After seventeen years in the office of superintendent of schools of Buffalo and constantly recurring scandals connected with his administration, Ernest C. Hartwell has been ousted from his administrative post.

The Buffalo *Courier-Express* of July 24 reporting on the "whirlwind that has blown Dr. Ernest C. Hartwell out of office as superintendent of schools" says:

Superintendent Hartwell, whose complete control of the school department has been compared often by opponents of his regime to a veritable czardom, was dethroned suddenly and sensationally, when a majority (4 to 1) of the board of education voted for his ouster as a result of his implication in the now dramatic case of Miss Celia Silverberg, suspended head of the former psychological department of the school department.

Using as an opening wedge a decision on the charge that Miss Silverberg, in endorsing other teachers' names on city warrants, and receiving cash with which she additionally reimbursed employees in her division, was guilty of misconduct, the board succeeded in the space of half an hour in removing Dr. Hartwell from the post which he has held for nearly two decades despite continued onslaughts and repeated investigations, surveys, and considerable inner school opposition from rebellious teacher groups.

In contrast to former attempts to dislodge the educator, yesterday's bomb-shell action was preceded by no fanfare of publicity, barrage of charges and counter charges, or spectacular political maneuvering.

Dr. Hartwell came to Buffalo from St. Paul, Minn., where his political activities likewise were unpopular. He is an ultra-conservative and a labor-hater. He has been known as an opponent to any organization of teachers which he could not control. The reference in the quoted newspaper account to "opposition from rebellious teacher groups" is doubtless chiefly to A. F. T. Local 182, which he fought bitterly and unscrupulously.

Dr. Robert T. Bapst, deputy superintendent in charge of high schools in the City of Buffalo, was elected to the post of superintendent of schools at a salary of \$10,000 a year. Dr. Hartwell received \$15,000

a year on a five year contract. At the time the teachers received a drastic cut on an already low salary schedule, an unsuccessful attempt was made to reduce Dr. Hartwell's salary to \$12,000, but he stood upon the contract he had secured from the Board of Education and the state department of education ruled against the reduction.

Readers of the AMERICAN TEACHER will be interested to know that the press commented at length on the political significance of what it terms "the most sensational upset in school affairs in the city's history," calling attention to the fact that the retiring superintendent is a Republican while Dr. Bapst is a Democrat.

The *Courier-Express* gave a page headline and a column space to explanation that Dr. Hartwell's ouster was insignificant politically.

It is of great significance educationally and the outcome will be watched with keen interest.

Teachers' Mental Health

Headlines in a metropolitan daily to the effect that 1,500 teachers in New York City are "mentally unbalanced" recently startled not a few readers and possibly set a few persons fretting over their seemingly sad lot in belonging to so hazardous a profession. Those who read more than headlines (which are generally intended to be startling), will find the very prosy statement by the medical examiner of the board of education that the estimate was justified by the "known incidence of mental disability" in similar groups of workers. Figures run large in New York and 1,500 is only about 4 per cent of the total number of teachers employed. Statistics collected recently by the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene indicate that 4 per cent of persons born in the State "may be expected to succumb to mental disease of one form or another." Whether New York school teachers "come up to the average" in this unfortunate respect is not proven. If it were the case it would not be because they are teachers, for a study of 700 teachers who were, or had been insane, published in 1931,¹ showed that "teaching as a profession did not seem to be the direct cause of their psychoses."

If physical health is linked at all closely with mental health, teach-

ers should be less subject to mental aberration than most persons for the death rate of teachers is one of the lowest for any occupational class and their average annual absence from work on account of illness is far below that for other groups for which we have records.

Even so, much might be done in many quarters to safeguard and improve the physical and mental health of teachers. School room conditions are often far from ideal and the nervous wear and tear to which the teacher is subject could frequently be reduced by better understanding between employer and employee. The teaching profession is a healthful one for those who are naturally and educationally fitted for it, but there is room for improvement.

JAMES FREDERICK ROGERS, M.D.
School Life.

¹ Mason, Frances. Study of 700 Maladjusted School Teachers. *Mental Hygiene*, 15:576-599, August, 1931.

Maintaining Professional Control of Schools in Opposition to Dominant Political Interests

Public education in the United States will be set back half a century unless dominant political interests and minorities representing special interests are defeated in their efforts to dominate the schools, Claude V. Courter, superintendent of schools of Dayton, Ohio, said speaking before the Conference of Administrative Officers of Public and Private Schools at the University of Chicago last summer.

The dictation to the Chicago board of education by interests opposed to educational expenditures has given tremendous impetus to similar attacks all over the country, Mr. Courter said.

During the past five years there has been increasing evidence that the organized school forces of the nation have a real battle before them to maintain the advances that have been made in the last half century toward a non-partisan administration of public education by boards of education in the interests of the nation's children.

The further development of professional control, under trained school executives, of the operation of public schools, is threatened. We have seen successful raids made upon public school systems by powerful financial and business interests dictating to politically appointed school boards the activities of the school system that must be dispensed with.

We have seen numerous instances of school board members of high type replaced by politically minded individuals pledged to destructive retrenchments. We have seen some fine school executives replaced by men of inferior ability and training, and others shorn of authority.

We have seen a general retrogression in the efficiency and effectiveness of our public schools because of the activities of special-interest groups.

The issue is plain. Professional control of schools must be maintained and dominant political interests and powerful minorities representing special interests must be successfully opposed, or public education will be set back half a century in its progress.

School interests will have to enter politics with the avowed purpose of influencing the election of friends of the schools to local and state public offices and to secure such school legislation as is necessary to safeguard the proper administration of public education, Mr. Courter told the 150 superintendents and principals attending the conference.

Among other measures which he suggested in a program to combat the groups seeking to control the schools, Mr. Courter advocated the creation of non-partisan citizens' committees to interest men and women of high type in becoming candidates for the school board and to back their campaigns. Formation of a non-partisan committee to serve as a nucleus of intelligent public support of vital and basic committees was another item in the program.

Establishment of a program of adult education conducted as a public forum for the discussion of vital community problems, including that of securing and maintaining expert direction of public education and the community's business, was still another policy advocated by the Dayton superintendent.

Other steps which he outlined were: Establishment of a school publicity campaign to create understanding of the function of a system of free schools in a democracy; the training in the schools of future citizens so thoroughly indoctrinated with ideals and loyalties toward public education that the fate of the schools can be safely placed in their hands; and the organization of all educational interests in defense of the schools and in support of non-partisan administration of public education.

Mr. Courter declared,

If such a program of activities could become generally wide spread for a decade, not only would professional control of schools be maintained but the future of public education in the nation would be assured. Without such activities as these, dominant political interests and selfish special interests will increasingly dictate the policies governing the operation of schools.

Labor and labor interests alone are the basis for national prosperity and international amity.

Significant Facts About American Education

Twenty-three of every 1,000 adult Americans are college graduates.

One hundred twenty-five of every 1,000 are high-school graduates.

These statements from the Federal Office of Education accompany many others. Other pertinent facts on education in the United States reported are:

The chances of a boy or girl going to high school, which were only 1 in 25 in 1890 are now 1 in 2.

The chances of a boy or girl going to college, which were only 1 in 33 in 1900 are now 1 in 6.

One of every 4 Americans attended some kind of school during the past year.

Of every 1,000 pupils in fifth grade, 610 enter high school, 260 graduate from high school, 160 enter college, and 50 graduate from college.

Ten cents per day paid by every person of voting age in the United States would pay the entire bill for public education.

Per year for each child: Elementary, current expense, \$67.82; high school, \$144.03; college and university, \$500.

Costs per school day per child in public elementary school: 39 cents; in high school: 80.9 cents.

Costs per hour per child in public elementary school, 7.8 cents; in high school, 16 cents.

Costs per hour per class (average of 39 elementary pupils) \$3.04; (average of 25 high-school pupils) \$4. Of these costs 75 per cent is for providing instruction by trained teachers and supervisors.

The above facts have been brought together largely from statistics collected on a nation-wide scale by the Office of Education in Washington, D. C.

Milk and Money

We often hear it said, "What he doesn't know, won't hurt him," but sometimes it does hurt him, and frequently it hurts others even more. If the great general public knew what college leaders know with regard to early education, would the money that is needed for the pre-grade child be spent for other things? Who can imagine a milk famine during which the men and women seize all the milk they can lay their hands on and drink it greedily without providing for the little children? Yet similar behavior has been enacted repeatedly during

the money famine. When cities and towns have found it difficult to raise the funds they needed, they have seized the school budgets and helped themselves. As a result, over a thousand kindergartens have been closed. This is particularly appalling because of the fact that even before the money famine kindergartens had been provided for only one child in seven.

Now what is it that the general public know about milk that they don't know about systematic pre-grade education? They know that milk is of special nutritive value to little children and that a substitute entails dangerous consequences, both now and later. Most of them don't know this about systematic pre-grade education. College leaders do know it. They have known it and declared it for years, but their voices are lost in the din made by the unknowing multitudes. Will you step aside with me and listen for a few moments to the colleges? The President of Boston University says:

The findings of modern psychology make plain that no education can be more important in forming the bent of the individual than that which is given at kindergarten age.

Notice his words, "the forming of the bent of the individual." Will you think of that for a moment, please? . . . Now from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute comes the message:

Unless kindergarten training is given, the community runs the risk of having a great many maladjusted citizens. Apparently this country is seeing now the results of the sins of omission. The refusal to provide kindergarten on account of the lack of money is one of the most futile economies of any state.

And the President of Tufts College tells us:

It is nothing less than absurd to curtail the educational effort in the time of depression and it is especially absurd to restrict the effort in the early years of the child. Kindergartens, by all means, ought to be maintained at full strength.

A thousand educators are speaking in further support of these facts, but we can listen now to only one more. But why do men and women at the top of the educational ladder spend time urging attention to those at the very bottom? The President of Asbury College of Kentucky answers:

Every builder says "Look well to the foundations." Surely in the building of the greatest thing in life—character, the kindergarten becomes one of the essentials. The mind of the child is wax to receive but steel to hold its early impressions. A right beginning indicates a

happy ending. What investment can be made which will yield larger returns in health, moral conduct, and fine citizenship than that which is made to inaugurate and maintain in the community a kindergarten for the young Americans of tomorrow?

If the general public could know what these educators are saying, could ponder and understand their words, would they allow the children's kindergarten money to be diverted, however great the need? They don't know, so kindergartens are closed, children of four and five are left to learn false standards and form unfortunate attitudes and habits from an environment unfitted to their development. Such conditions tend to develop criminals. Men and women who wouldn't drink the children's milk take their kindergarten money and cause undernourishment with regard to the most worth-while things of life.

FLORENCE JANE OVENS.

NOTE: Publicity material on kindergarten values and advice with regard to procedure to secure the establishment of a public school kindergarten may be obtained without charge from the National Kindergarten Association, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York City.

William Green Urges Labor to Act

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has appealed to the State Federations of Labor in every state where the Amendment will be considered in 1935, urging that ratification of the Amendment be made the chief legislative objective this winter.

"It is imperative," wrote Mr. Green, "that we consolidate the gains made in the abolition of child labor through the adoption of industrial codes of fair practice, by adopting the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This is the only way by which we can make permanent the uniform abolition of child labor in industry. . . .

"It has been made convincingly clear that the evils of child labor can only be overcome and the child life of the nation protected through the application of national remedies. The evils of child labor constitute a national menace which can only be successfully dealt with through the enactment of a federal statute by the Congress of the United States. . . .

"Let us win this great victory this winter in behalf of human welfare, child life, and the resultant moral advancement of the national life."

Pennsylvania Child Labor Law Is Signed

Maximum 44-Hour Week Imposed—Age Regulation Is Raised from 16 to 18

By A. F. of L. News Service

Harrisburg, Pa.—Gov. Earle signed the child labor bill, enacted by the recent session of the Legislature, regulating the employment of minors until they are 18 years of age, instead of 16 under the old law, and barring children under 16 from certain types of employment.

The law raises the minimum age for employment of minors from 14 to 16 years in manufacturing occupations at any hours and other occupation during school hours. Children of 14 and 15 years may be employed in non-manufacturing operations during vacation periods and after school hours.

Six days a week, eight hours a day and 44 hours a week are the maximum work periods permitted, applicable to all minors under 18. The old law affected hours only of employed minors under 16.

Employers are required to provide a lunch period of at least 30 minutes after no more than five hours of continuous work.

Boys selling or distributing newspapers or periodicals come under special provisions which stipulate that boys under 18 may work a nine-hour day and 51-hour week. Night work for children under 16 is prohibited between 8 P. M. and 6 A. M., and employment certificates are required for children under 16.

Telegraph offices employing only one messenger are permitted to impose a nine-hour day and 51-hour week.

An 18-year minimum is established for employment where alcoholic liquors are manufactured, sold, or handled.

Trade Unions Seek End of Race Discrimination

Green Says A. F. of L. Desires to Protect All Workers "Regardless of Creed, Color, or Nationality"

By A. F. of L. News Service

New York, N. Y.—Representatives of 110 trade unions at a meeting in Renaissance Casino here pledged themselves to do everything possible to eradicate race prejudice and discrimination from the trade union movement. The delegates, Negro and white, set up a permanent organization to work for race

unity within the framework of the American Federation of Labor.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., expressed his approval of the plan in a letter to the conference. He reaffirmed the Federation's determination to guard the economic rights of all classes of people regardless of creed, color, or nationality.

Mr. Green wrote,

We are constantly endeavoring to promote a condition where all international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, clothed with autonomous authority, will conform to the declarations, procedure, and principles of the American Federation of Labor itself regarding the admission of members without regard to race, color, or nationality. We are certain that time, patience, and good judgment will bring about a solution of our vexed problem.

William Mahoney, State organizer of the A. F. of L., gave a similar pledge of co-operation. He said,

Only too often have rapacious and greedy members of the employing class set black against white and white against black in an effort to defeat labor organization.

Frank R. Crosswaith, organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was chairman of the meeting. In the keynote address he said:

We know that race prejudice is just as much a part of America as is the Constitution, but we are resolved to fight to abolish it from the labor movement.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention demanding removal of color bar in labor groups, urging Federal legislation against lynching, recommending the thirty-hour week, favoring a constitutional amendment giving Congress power to regulate labor and industry, and asking Negro clergymen to devote at least one Sunday a month to consideration of the economic plight of their worker-parishioners.

Asks Teachers Lead in Social Reforms

Columbia Professors Tell Them to Take More Active Part in Organizing for Future

More than 1,500 Columbia University summer session students attended a conference on education in social conflict, held on July 27 in the Horace Mann Auditorium of Teachers College, and heard four Teachers College professors urge teachers to take a more active part in the formation of a better economic and social life.

Professor Harold Rugg, asserting that "there are clear signs that the increasing physical privation and steady increase in enlightenment will

in our time lead to a drastic change in the basis of ownership and operation of our present system," warned the students, most of whom are teachers, to organize for a more effective means of educating the great mass of people.

"The great ignorant and indifferent mass of fifty or sixty million adults in the country," he declared, "do not want things changed much because they hope, with better luck, to rise above their fellow-men."

Asserting that the majority of teachers are "middle class" and "uncertain of the way out of the present problems," Professor Goodwin Watson urged teachers to take their position with the great mass of people and "fight for the right of classless society."

Professor George Counts declared that the nation's teachers must form a positive organization with "financial resources to protect discharged teachers, hire expert legal advice, and educate themselves more fully to the society in which they live."—*New York Times*.

French Teachers Ask Jailing of Bankers

Union of 80,000 Makes Demands at Congress That Are Close to Communism

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

Paris, Aug. 3.—The powerful Teachers Syndicate, which has 80,000 members throughout France, opened a three-day meeting today with bitter denunciations of the government's deflationary program and appeals for a revolutionary program very close to communism.

The Teachers Syndicate, which not only plays an important role in the General Confederation of Labor but also is powerfully represented in the Radical Socialist party, has always been radical, but never so violent or threatening as today.

Andre Delmas, the secretary general, sounded the keynote when he demanded that a threefold program be adopted: to seize the banks and imprison the directors, seize the press and imprison the publishers and "purify the administration of the army."

While such a program has not the slightest chance of adoption in present-day France, the importance of the Teachers Syndicate is such that their attitude is bound to have an effect on French politics this autumn.

A. F. of L. 1935 Convention

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has notified the affiliated unions that the fifty-fifth annual convention of the Federation will open in Westminster Hall, Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., at 10 o'clock Monday morning, October 7, and continue in session until the business of the convention is completed. The Council said,

The importance of the convention of the American Federation of Labor must be fully appreciated by working men and women throughout the United States and Canada. Questions affecting the economic, social, and industrial welfare of all classes of workers are always considered and acted upon at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. There are many reasons why the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor will command public interest and public attention.

The report of the Executive Council, which will contain reference to the activities of the American Federation of Labor in all its organizing work, its legislative policies, its attitude toward economic and social questions of great public interest, and future policies of the American Federation of Labor will be carefully considered and acted upon by the officers and delegates who are in attendance.

I.L.G.W.U. Builds Body and Brain

A nation-wide and expanded program of mass education, study groups, institutes for training in union service, scholarships at schools, radio talks, and special publications, proposed by its recently appointed educational director, Mark Starr, has been sanctioned by the Educational Committee of the I.L.G.W.U., with the personal supervision of the Union president, David Lubinsky.

Already in Greater New York over 80 groups and classes meet regularly. The vocal and instrumental music groups and a big mixed choir are actively preparing for a monster May Day demonstration. Needle pushers (once narrow-chested, stooping, anemic, pasty-faced victims of the sweatshop) now under the auspices of the Union, which has won leisure and high wages by trade union team work, crowd the gym classes, make their biceps bulge with the punch ball, rowing machines, and hotly contested basketball, soccer, and other games. Local 10 (the Cutters) hires the extensive gym facilities of the Hotel Lismore for its members on

Saturday morning. Other groups meet in schools. Numerous inter-local basketball games have been arranged for February and already New York City (Local 10) has met Philadelphia and Passaic in hotly contested matches. And an inter-local union basketball league is being formed.

For the less strenuous, the I.L.G.W.U. runs visits to places of interest in New York City under skilled guides. Locals are provided with lecturers at their meetings. They visit each other to present the union plays and sing the "I.L.G.W.U. Anthem," and "The Victory Song of the Dressmakers." Out-of-town locals have been assisted to see such plays as "Sailors of Catarrro" and "Crime and Punishment."

One of the first four pamphlets issued to introduce the new member to his union has been translated into Spanish. The *New Republic* cited the I.L.G.W.U. pamphlets as a praiseworthy example to other unions. Outlines on social insurance, anti-fascism, the 30-hour week, and organization methods are being supplied to teachers and study groups. *Justice* now devotes two pages with appropriate pictures to educational matters.

Two-Unit Plan at Mount Holyoke College

Mount Holyoke College has announced a plan under which a special group of not more than twenty students will be admitted this fall on a new, Two-Unit Plan of study. Young women with a special bent or ambition, who give evidence of maturity of interest, will not be required to follow the regular course, but will arrange their college work in a unified program, related to two main subjects only. Students entering under this Two-Unit Plan will live at the Sycamores, an old New England house near the college. They will have the aid of an adviser especially assigned to the group, and weekly conferences with their instructors.

The Two-Unit Plan is a natural development of Mt. Holyoke's long tradition of emphasis upon individualized work. At present students in the first two years choose their work with certain requirements from three fields of study, languages and literature, natural sciences and mathematics, and social studies, with intensive work in one subject

in the last two years. The new plan will offer gifted students from the beginning of their course an opportunity to work out for themselves a closely related plan of study, the range of which may easily be as great as in the old liberal arts courses, or it may provide as much concentration as the more recent honor work.

Two-Unit students will also make definite plans for at least a part of their leisure time, choosing some art or skill in which to specialize. Choral work, dramatics, play-writing, or some form of athletics, for example, may be chosen. Students working in special projects will have easy access when they need special material to the libraries and museums of Boston and New York City, as well as to collections near at hand.

The first object of the Two-Unit Plan is to free the student from the distraction that often comes from studying several unrelated subjects at the same time. The student will supplement her chosen two subjects with work in other fields as she discovers the connection of such work with her main interest. For instance, a student whose subject is a particular period of English literature may find some immediate need of history, art, archaeology, sociology, or political history, and acquire naturally a thorough knowledge of the whole life of her period. She will thus build up a program, unified and logical, but not narrowly specialized. Such an educational process, changed as needs dictate, should serve to give an education sufficiently deep to secure power and sufficiently wide to secure general culture. The second purpose is to offer gifted students the opportunity to cultivate initiative and independence, to develop skill in acquiring knowledge, as well as pleasure in study. Recreation is to be related to the study program, as far as possible, as a large factor in the education of a well-rounded personality.

Some students already registered for admission to Mt. Holyoke as freshmen, in the fall may be allowed on application to transfer to the Two-Unit Plan; others should apply to the Board of Admissions for information.

The Union Label assures the purchaser that he is putting his money into the best investment on earth—Trade Unionism.

Items of Interest

Lawyers Strike

Five thousand attorneys, comprising practically the entire Bucharest Bar Association, went on strike at Bucharest, Roumania, against a recent order of the government increasing court fees. Pickets were selected to picket the various courts!

British Doctors Join Labor Congress

The Medical Practitioners' Union, the equivalent in England of the American Medical Society, has affiliated with the British Trade Union Congress, the equivalent in England of the American Federation of Labor. Many are engaged in salaried public work, but doctors belong to the union whether they work for fees or for salary. Many of the normal union conditions prevail, although strikes in time of sickness are barred.

Green Defends Strikes in Labor Controversies

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., in an address at Racine, Wisconsin, urged American working men and women to guard the strike as their most effective weapon against exploitation. He characterized the opponents of the aims of the striking union members in San Francisco as "people determined to exploit labor." "Where men are denied the privilege of exercising their right," he added, "they must strike. May labor never become so complacent as to refuse to strike." He declared that unorganized labor with its lack of power to combat oppressive conditions, is the real menace to industrial peace.

I cannot say that I consider our radio reception at all a success during the last year. The industry seems to be so commercialized and in control of business interests that it is of very little value in the classroom.—A California high-school principal.

Our experience with commercial stations in broadcasting educational programs has been that they will throw out our programs if they get a chance to sell the time.—Dean C. J. Anderson, school of education, University of Wisconsin.

Labor Day 1935

William Green

An achievement of the past years constitutes a fundamental gain that gives to wage earners the key to self progress. For decades society has recognized that the union was the wage earner's method of increasing his income and raising his standards of living, but never until Section 7 (a) of the National Recovery Act was made law did society put this right into legal form. When employers refused to conform to law, Labor asked that the government be authorized to assume responsibility for preventing employers from interfering with Labor's right to organize in unions and bargaining collectively through representatives of their own choosing. This was written into the National Labor Relations Act.

Although judges may do their best to restrict the number of workers to whom this law will apply, the federal government has made this important declaration of policy for whatever area of labor relations the federal courts may permit to come under its jurisdiction.

It is now a generally accepted policy that government shall protect rights growing out of ownership of property. This was a more obvious obligation necessary to basic order in society. The time is now overdue for government to assume responsibility for assuring to men and women rights as human beings so that their welfare may have at least equal consideration with wealth and the products of their labor. There is involved in this issue which Labor has raised, the key to the future of our nation. It proposes that society offer even-handed opportunity for those who invest creative labor with those who invest capital. The progress and the enduring development of our nation depend upon the acceptance by our government of its responsibility for human welfare. An avowed purpose of our government is to promote the general welfare and Congress is given power to lay and collect taxes to provide for the general welfare. This together with its power to regulate commerce between the states is the basis for Labor's belief that the federal government has legal power to legislate for social welfare. We know that the moral and economic need for such legislation puts still further obligation upon Congress. Industries now organized upon a national basis, buying their crude materials from any supply center in the nation and selling in a world market, are in no sense local institutions. They can escape any regulation not national in scope. Unless regulated, cut throat competition brings sweat shop labor conditions. The welfare of our 49 million persons gainfully employed by business enterprises depends on whether society places a restraining hand on business struggle for profits for the few and forces more equitable division of returns from joint work.

Our Supreme Court has recently rebuked Congress and the Administration for their attempts to build up national regulation of work conditions and trade practices. They interpreted the Constitution so as to limit sharply the scope of interstate commerce and virtually to deny Congress the power to legislate for social welfare. But, as the Chief Justice has truly declared, "The Constitution is what the courts say it is"—until the Sovereign Nation speaks.

Once before when the Supreme Court blocked the path of human welfare by the Dred Scott decision, the

Nation wiped out that decision. It cost human blood and life and for years has blighted the economic progress of our southern states. We hope to solve our present constitutional problem by less costly methods. Greater familiarity with labor and industrial problems will teach judges the need for federal action for regulation of industry for social purposes. The Sovereign Nation must also establish its method of overruling any governmental authority that blocks social progress.

This is the problem which presses for Labor's solution equally with that of organizing all wage and salaried workers in strong labor unions. Organized power is the first fundamental in progress for the welfare of all who work.

Labor Day, 1935, finds progress in both the political and union organization fields. There are problems, but none that cannot be solved by courage and the will to find a solution. Wage earners must first rally together in unions to fight against unfair wages and hours and to set up the machinery through which they may have representation and voice in deciding issues that effect their interests.

The year ahead presents the challenge of great opportunities.

Frank Morrison

National holidays in America call attention to exceptional instances in history. Labor Day is an exception to the rule.

The first Monday in September is not intended to remind us of one particular advance by wage workers but rather to attract us to their problems, their triumphs, and their wrongs.

The wider acceptance of Trade Union viewpoint on social and industrial questions is noted on this Labor Day.

The new public attitude toward labor displacing machinery is also significant. Workers were formerly assured they could find other employment and the new industries and wants automatically care for those who have been displaced by machinery and scientific processes.

The new Industrial Revolution, however, operates in new industries as well as established industries. Low wage jobs, such as employment at gas filling stations and mass production industries, is no solution for unemployment of highly skilled workers and well-paid creative labor who have been displaced by automatic processes that are yet in their infancy.

The imagination and courage of inventors and scientists must be guided into the field of distribution and labor's demands of shorter hours and still higher and higher wages be supported.

Society, for its own well-being, must be conscious of the need of the distribution of the wealth that has been created by machinery and scientific processes.

Labor is not a trust. By its nature this is impossible. One of its greatest expenses is organizing, and educating non-union workers to the benefits of trade unionism. A trust consists of a comparatively few who control solely for purpose of profit. The union is not organized for profit.

BOOKS

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

—Emily Dickinson.

THE AMERICAN YEAR BOOK, The American Year Book Corporation, The New York Times, New York; 1933 Edition, 1,018 pp.; 1934 Edition, 1,003 pp.; \$7.50 each. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

The American Year Book not only presents annually a record of events, personalities and tendencies of each successive year in the United States, but it endows the record with the contemporary interpretation of upward of two hundred authoritative contributors in the fields of government, science, art, religion, education, literature, and commercial enterprise. The book is the fruit of the labors of a supervisory board composed of outstanding men representing forty-five learned societies which spread their activities over the entire country, and it has the advantage of the implemented sponsorship of the *New York Times*.

These remarks are part of a statement on the jacket of *The American Year Book* and I must say that, after the most circumspect examination of both volumes; not a word is exaggerated. The over 200 contributors to each of the 1933 and 1934 editions of *The American Year Book* have done their best to make these editions the most comprehensive and historical records of two momentous years in American history. Every phase of the Roosevelt Administration, of the National Recovery Program, of the N.R.A.; every field of American industry, politics, commerce, science, culture, social life, foreign relations, etc., is adequately analyzed, what progress made during the years 1933 and 1934 recorded in hundreds of articles, most of which are buttressed by the latest statistics, charts and figures largely taken from official sources. From year to year, the *American Year Book* is improved in contents, enlarged in scope, and continues to serve as one of the most graphic reflectors of the panorama of our nation's economic and social life. *The American Year Book* is indispensable to every teacher and student of American history.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK, 1933 and 1934 Editions. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. 856 pp. & 761 pp. \$6.25 each. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

The New International Year Book is the ablest, most authoritative, and exhaustive compendium of the world's progress from year to year published in the English language, and I defy anyone to contradict this statement. The 1933 and 1934 editions of this *Year Book* contain hundreds of articles, written by the most outstanding and competent men and women in

their respective fields of endeavor, and cover every conceivable phase of human activity, both in the United States and throughout the world. The articles in the *International Year Book* follow in alphabetical order and nearly all of them are fully documented with graphs, charts, and statistical tables taken from the most recent available official sources. The *International Year Book* is filled with beautiful illustrations, many graphic and up-to-the-minute maps, and photographs of men and women who have distinguished themselves in some fields of human activity during the years 1933 and 1934 throughout the world. It portrays ably and truthfully, from year to year, the physical, social and even cosmic changes of this planet, and as such should find an esteemed place in every library, private or public.

THE NEW STANDARD YEAR BOOK, 1933 and 1934 Editions. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. 544 pp. & 544 pp. \$1.00 each. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

The New Standard Year Book is under the same editorial supervision as the *New International Year Book*, namely, that of Dr. Frank H. Vize. Its articles are written by the same writers who contribute to the *New International*, though not as comprehensive and documented as the articles in the latter work. The *New Standard Year Book* contains numerous illustrations, maps, charts and statistical tables up to the minute, and as such constitutes an important compendium of the world's events from year to year. Furthermore, it is put out in a format that conveniently fits into a man's coat pocket and a woman's shopping purse and at a moderate price within the reach of all employed men and women. The *New Standard Year Book* should prove an invaluable source book throughout the year to the busy worker in all walks of life.

ADVENTURING IN PALESTINE. Marion Rubinstein. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York City. 163 pp. Thirty pictures. Reviewed by Marjorie MacCreary.

Three little girls from Germany visit their cousins in modern Palestine. Ample illustrated by excellent photographs taken by the author. The book will appeal strongly to old and young alike. This might be called a travelogue for young people, for so sugar coated is the geography that the young reader finds himself following with great delight the adventures of the little girls in the commune life, at a wedding, in the temples and mosques, swimming in the Dead Sea, arrested and even held up by bandits. Highly recommended.

SOCIALIZING OUR DEMOCRACY. Harry W. Laidler. Harper and Brothers, New York. 330 pp. \$3.00. Reviewed by Joel Seidman.

In his most recent volume, Dr. Laidler writes sanely and convincingly of the evils that plague society today, and the possibilities of achieving a cooperative commonwealth without the catastrophe that communists envisage. Dr. Laidler brings to his task a wealth of information, and a sound, logical approach.

The program of action that American socialists would adopt if they gained power through the ballot, Laidler observes, would depend upon the economic situation and the psychology of the people. A state of emergency might be declared in order to assure bread to all and jobs to the unemployed. The basic industries, including banking, transportation, and natural resources, would be socialized at once. If the situation was less acute, the process might last longer, with one industry or a group of industries socialized at a time. Compensation would be paid, not as a matter of principle, but in an effort to prevent destructive conflict and civil war.

The author has no use for dictatorship. He believes that, with powerful organization of the forces making for a better society, and with the application of an intelligent socializing technique, violence and dictatorship can be avoided in the United States. He desires more democracy, not less, and indicts the present order on the score of its autocracy in the economic sphere and its limited democracy in politics.

Dr. Laidler emphasizes the existence of non-profit incentives in the world today. In the case of scientists and inventors, the joy of creative work and the love of humanity have proved potent spurs to activity. Even in the case of business men, profits are often sought because of the power that money gives, or because money is a symbol of success. With the management of large corporations increasingly in the hands of salaried executives, the profit motive is no longer so directly operative. Such executives might function just as efficiently for the community as for absentee owners. The success of non-profit motives has been amply demonstrated in Russia.

The reader will find in Laidler's volume a compilation of valuable information relating to present-day society, and a well-reasoned argument in favor of non-violent socialization. The student of socialist problems, though he may find little that is new to him, will be impressed by the author's scholarly competence in gathering and organizing so much material bearing upon the problems of socialization.

REDIRECTING EDUCATION, Vol. II, Europe and Canada. Edited by Rexford G. Tugwell and Leon H. Keyserling. New York. Columbia University Press. 1935. 285 pp. \$3.00. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

Eight fully informed men write on the educational developments in Germany, England, France, Italy, Denmark, and Canada. They give a sketch of the framework of the educational systems and supplement that with an interpretation of observed educational trends in the several countries. There is no hesitancy in presenting opinions as to the success and validity of the systems reviewed, but the expression of judgments is in restrained language and is supported by the facts adduced.

The attention of publicists and students of current history should be drawn to this volume. It is fair to believe that a more penetrating insight into the present and future drift in these nations may be gained through an examination of these educational tendencies than through a vast amount of statistical research. Here we can watch the stream of popular living as it is being shaped by the educators of the land.

Each nation is making a success of its program despite the fact that a critic may find serious weaknesses in it. For this reason educators can borrow many good living ideas that have been allowed to wither on American soil. These men all write as educational statesmen; they are judicious interpreters to the teachers of our nation who know far too little of life beyond our doorsteps.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN NATURE. John Morris Dorsey. New York, Longmans Green and Company. 1935. 488 pp. \$2.80. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

This psychiatrist has the command of many experiences in the hospital, a wide familiarity with the literature of his subject, and a brilliant style. This "study of the person" consequently is outside the class of ordinary volumes on personality.

The principal themes of the book are the structure underlying the formation of personality disorders, the biological background, race and family stock, constitutional pattern of the person, external and internal orientation, character formation, and educational objectives.

The editor of the series thinks that this volume will not make light reading; however, it is shot through with clear, pointed, and valuable aphorisms that alone will repay the reader. Particular attention is called to the summary of each chapter composed of perhaps twenty brief sentences, each one representing a portion of the author's message. It is a book of wisdom and we hope for it a very wide circulation among educators.

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. James Bart Stroud. New York, Macmillan Company, 1935. \$2.50. 490 pp. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

These sixteen chapters treat the topics long since proposed as the principal field of educational psychology. The material is drawn largely from recent experimental studies, but the author's critical judgment interprets the findings in a very agreeable and helpful manner.

The subject of instinct, for example, is disposed of by rehearsing the theories proposed by modern writers followed by the author's rejection of the instinct hypothesis and his reasons therefor. On the subject of learning the views of H. A. Carr, Margaret W. Curti, H. E. Garrett, A. I. Gates, R. S. Woodworth, H. Cason, E. L. Thorndike, C. L. Hull, and others are cited and critically evaluated. Two chapters on personality are a welcome addition to the more traditional list of themes. The author affirms that the problems of personality cannot be wisely ignored by any teacher.

Each chapter of the book is supplied with questions and exercises and with selected references for further reading. We have here a typical textbook of considerable merit and no obvious deficiencies. Without undue exertion on the reader's part it will yield a very satisfactory understanding of the best thought on the psychological aspects of education.

GUIDANCE IN THE LARGE HIGH SCHOOL. Elsa G. Becker. Reprint from High Points in the High Schools of New York City. June 1933. 14 pp. Reviewed by Florence E. Clark.

This little pamphlet is of great interest for several reasons. In the first place, Miss Becker answers the question raised by the reviewer, when describing the contents of her first annual report of the Guidance Department of the Samuel J. Tilden High School.* This question was, Where did the teachers get their free time to do guidance work? Were they allotted free time in the administrative set-up, or did other teachers in the school carry their teaching loads?

Miss Becker quotes her principal, John M. Loughran, who established the Guidance Department in the school at a time when educational facilities were being curtailed. He says,

The withdrawal of a teacher from classroom work necessarily increases the load of the remaining teachers. In the face of prevailing larger class units than permit of proper individualization of instruction and socialization of recitation many of us are loath to introduce anything into the school that will necessitate still larger classes. The question resolves itself, perhaps, into one of relative values. From my point of view the returns of a guidance service in terms of benefit to students amply compensate for the relatively slight increase in class

size. Also, the hundreds of adjustments that have been effected and the motivation of school work thus provided, with consequent improvement of classroom activity, more than offset the quantitative consideration. . . .

With respect to the increased pupil load of teachers because of the withdrawal of some for guidance work, the statement may be made that, the larger the school, the smaller the effect upon class size.

Then follows a table worked out by Mr. Loughran to show how great is the increase in teaching load in various sized high schools when the number of teachers released varies from one to five.

Besides showing how a principal has faced the question of increasing the size of classes and weighing its disadvantages against the advantages of improved service to the students, the pamphlet has additional interest. Miss Becker stresses two points which usually are not recognized when a plan of guidance is worked out from within a school system. She emphasizes the fact that a well-rounded program of guidance is needed in the high school, not merely a "purple patch." She further recognizes that if teachers are to be selected to do the work, ones with the necessary qualifications must be chosen and must be given additional specialized training in the field of guidance.

*American Teacher, vol. XVIII, No. 4, April 1934, p. 25.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ACTION. John A. Fitch. Published for The American Association of Social Workers, by Columbia University Press, 1935. 294 pp. \$2.75. Reviewed by Florence E. Clark

This study gives a definite picture of what the counselor does from day to day, whether she or he is located in the school, meeting individuals or groups, or in the placement office trying to place the individual in his first job or helping him to adjust to his vocational life. Some educators will question the classification of the counselor as a social worker instead of a special kind of worker in the education field. But none will question the facts presented, as they are based on two kinds of research—field visits by the author himself to many cities doing guidance, and questionnaires sent to superintendents of schools, counselors themselves, and to offices doing junior placement work in public schools, federal and state employment offices, and YWCA and YMCA organizations.

Planned as one of a series of studies by the American Association of Social Workers to tell what social workers do, the study does not attempt to evaluate the work or set up standards. In this respect it is more limited in its scope than the volume on Vocational Guidance of the White House Conference on Child Health

and Protection, which at many points sets up standards in the way of recommendations.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I discusses what vocational guidance is and the organization of vocational guidance. In this section the author defends his position of classifying vocational guidance as social work. Part II treats of counseling, the duties of counselors, methods of counseling, the gathering and dissemination of occupational information, qualification of counselors who are at work, and the conditions of their work. Part III is devoted to placement—the activities and problems of the placement office, the methods of registering and interviewing applicants, of referral and follow-up, the qualifications of the placement worker and the condition of work. One chapter is devoted to the placing of the handicapped.

With this volume on vocational guidance, the fifth in the series of job analyses of various kinds of social work, the American Association of Social Workers is abandoning its project. Other volumes in the series are *The Social Worker in Family, Medical, and Psychiatric Social Work*, by Louise C. Odencrantz; *The Social Worker in Group Work*, *The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection*, *The Social Worker in the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency* by Margaretta Williamson. While the studies were planned for another public, they will be of vital interest to the public school teacher, who is dealing in the classroom with the same child that the social worker is treating in another relationship.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE. Richard B. Gregg. J. P. Lippincott Company. \$2.50. Of special interest to members of the League for Independent Political Action.

Here is a new kind of book in which there is both realism and idealism—a fine blend of *what is* and *what ought to be*.

The author gives a definite answer to "What are you going to do about it?" question which is the final note of many recent books on the villainy of another world war. This vigorous volume touches everyone who has been angry or afraid, resentful, revengeful or bitter; everyone who has taken part in a fight, mob-violence, or war; everyone who has been the object of anger, hatred, exploitation, or oppression; all who are troubled lest the great economic, political, and social questions which are pressing upon all nations will issue in appalling violence and increased insecurity for mankind.

"*The Power of Non-Violence* is a careful dialectic statement of the practical case for non-resistance

which for its very thoroughness and precision, must supersede all its predecessors and remain for years to come the authoritative textbook of the movement," declares John Haynes Holmes in the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

Millions of converts will be made by this work, which is the most potent instrument of persuasion ever placed within the reach of organizations and their leaders who are devoting untiring energy in preventing for all time, wars, race riots, and bloody strikes.

BRITANNICA JUNIOR. 12 Volumes. Blue Cloth Binding. 1934 Edition. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., New York and Chicago. \$59.75; also terms. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

The publishers of the Encyclopaedia Britannica have for many years entertained an idea to put out an encyclopedia for children which "would do for them what the Britannica itself does for adults," but it is a fortuitous occasion that induced them to proceed with their plan in earnest.

Several years ago they were informed that the "Weedon's Modern Encyclopedia," regarded by many authorities as the best children's encyclopedia at one time, was offered for sale. They promptly communicated with the publishers of the "Weedon's," bought all the rights to and plates of the "Weedon's Modern Encyclopedia," and with that work as a foundation the publishers of the Encyclopaedia Britannica proceeded in materializing their ambitious plan. The editors of the American edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Franklin H. Hooper and Walter Yust, were put to the task of modernizing, expanding, revising, and improving the "Weedon's Modern Encyclopedia," and the result was the *Britannica Junior* with 12 massive volumes in the place of the 8 volumes in the old "Weedon's Modern Encyclopedia."

The *Britannica Junior* is an entirely revised work. Every article in the old "Weedon's" was carefully examined, hundreds of them were entirely revised and rewritten to conform to the geographical, political, and cultural transformations in the post-War world, and, above all, to harmonize with "the ideals and plans of the present Editors." In addition, dozens of new articles, written by outstanding authorities in their fields, were added. In putting the *Britannica Junior* into shape, the editors have employed the same care, accuracy and authoritative ability as was applied in producing the new edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and we are pleased to say, with considerable success.

The *Britannica Junior* is composed of 12 volumes, an average of 300 pages to a volume. The articles are

set in an unusually simple and interesting style and are accurately written, though many of them necessarily are brief. Many absorbing stories to clarify some of the major articles, such as China, etc., are inserted for the benefit of the younger readers. The *Britannica Junior* is profusely illustrated with beautiful maps, pictures of persons and things, diagrams, plans of buildings, etc. According to the editors, "no work of this kind is more beautifully or more fully aided by pictures than *Britannica Junior*."

The *Britannica Junior* is distinguished by two features which, in the opinion of its publishers and editors, are unique in the publishing of encyclopedias, both for young and old. One feature is the first volume, called the "Ready Reference" volume, a book of 482 pages. In this volume are listed in alphabetical order all the items that one finds in regular encyclopedias, for which only the essential facts are briefly given. This volume was prepared on the assumption that most of the searchers for knowledge who consult encyclopedias desire only the essential facts about an object or a person, such as name, birth, location, area, etc., and are little interested in exhaustive, descriptive matter. As such it is a distinct reference work in itself. The other feature is found in the final volume, called the "Study Guide." This volume is filled with "directions for making things" and with numerous aids to teachers in arranging study courses and play activities for their wards. For example, the chapter, "How to Use a Library" takes the young reader through all the complex processes of a library, such as the classification, indexing, and carding of books, the use of reference works, in a simplicity of style that is as amazing as it is instructive, both to young and adults. A section is devoted to making various things at home, still another to making things at school, each chapter of which is accompanied by a timely and useful bibliography for further instructive reading. Particularly valuable to teachers should prove the rich presentation of outlines of studies for various languages and sciences and of plans for the arrangement of interesting games and plays for the children. The final section of this volume is filled with many valuable documents and tables of facts, such as the Constitution of the United States, the latest census population figures, the presidents and vice-presidents of the United States, the national parks and monuments, the rulers of foreign countries, the stories of operas, modern inventions, etc., etc.

While we are pleased with the *Britannica Junior* in general as a reference work for children and for busy adults as well, we cannot refrain from pointing out a major de-

fect in its work, a defect which, by the way, seems to be shared by all children's encyclopedias. Voicing as we do the sentiments of the organized body of 5,000,000 trade unionists in the United States, who in turn, directly or indirectly, influence from 20,000,000 to 25,000,000 Americans and have families with many children; and particularly voicing as we do the sentiments of the professional sectors such as the organized teachers in our Union, we regret the omission of articles on many social problems in the *Britannica Junior*. At one time 17,000,000 men and women have walked the streets in a forlorn search for work, from 11,000,000 to 12,000,000 are still engaged in this hopeless task; it is estimated that at least one-third of our nation is dependent on relief in one form or another, and yet neither unemployment nor relief receive the attention of separate articles, except a few lines in the article on the United States. The American Federation of Labor, the National Recovery Act, the wave of strikes that reverberated throughout the world, and kindred subjects are entirely ignored. We believe that a reference work that is designed to appeal to the youth of the modern world should not overlook the social problems that distress and transform the modern world from day to day, and in which youth is taking an increasingly important part. May we hope that the editors will endeavor to overcome this deficiency in the next edition. Barring this defect, the *Britannica Junior* may be recommended as one of the best and most inexpensive children's encyclopedias on the American market today and as a highly instructive reference work to busy adults as well.

ATLAS OF CURRENT AFFAIRS. J. F. Horrabin. Alfred A. Knopf. \$1.25. Reviewed by Mark Starr.

To teachers desiring to read their newspapers intelligently this book is as indispensable as to those teaching modern history and current events. The usual reference atlas and the bigger maps have too much detail. Mr. Horrabin is master in "the art of leaving out." Each map lights up some particular key fact in world geography. For example the map and the short explanatory note on the Treaty of Versailles illumines in a flash the basis of the outraged nationalism which Hitler has exploited. Other maps deal with the Ruhr, the Saar, and the Polish Corridor. The tangle of the Balkans, the precarious position of Austria, separatist movements in Spain, and the nationalist struggles in Belgium are among the topics treated in the first section dealing with Europe. Other main sections deal with Mediterranean and the Near East. Japan and the Far East, Russia, India and the

Indian Ocean, Africa and America. An index facilitates reference to the 74 maps, all of which are drawn with that bold clear line which made Horrabin's "Outline of Economic Geography" and his diagrams and maps in Wells' "Outline of World History" so distinctive. When published in England the *Atlas of Current Affairs* won praise from both the Communist Daily Worker and the Tory Morning Post. It is a definite contribution to the understanding of world problems.

Reading for Fun

Reading for Fun is to be the theme of the 1935 Book Week, November 17th to 23rd. It is to be a seven day festival devoted to the enchantment of reading, with children who have already discovered books that absorb and delight them sharing their joy in reading with others who have not yet found out how much sheer fun it is to read. While some boys and girls enjoy reading for information and authors and publishers in recent years have provided very delightful books of this type for young people, the chief emphasis during the 1935 Book Week will be on the broad field of imaginative literature, the classics and modern tales of character, of far places, of humor and fantasy.

In *Roads to Childhood*, Anne Carroll Moore says,

Dreams, fancies, humor, are the natural heritage of childhood and are at the foundation of what is beautiful and poetical in literature, art, and human experience. Never in our history has there been greater need for men and women of vision and power to persuade. These qualities may, and assuredly do, take form and clarity from the facts of science, but they live only in literature and in the aspirations of the human heart.

This statement of Miss Moore's seems to sum up very happily the theme of Book Week this year.

A new poster and leaflet of suggestions for Book Week exhibits and programs will be ready in September. Schools are requested to send the usual fee of 25 cents to the National Association of Book Publishers, 347 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Libraries and the Unemployed

Comparatively few of the unemployed workers seem to realize how garet an agency for social betterment the public library is. Many more unemployed than ever in the past are now using the libraries, but comparatively few seem to be getting the full benefit of its considerable store of literature in the social, economic, and political fields. The reading rooms are always full, but most of the patrons go there to read the newspapers and fiction. The book departments are used more than ever before, but most of this increase is in the use of fiction and other light reading.

If the serious minds among the un-

employed knew of the great store of socially useful information that is seldom removed from the library shelves, they would be amazed. This condition exists because comparatively few know of the notable revolutionary writings that are at their command for the asking. The list of radical authors whose works are on the shelves sounds like a whole galaxy of the famous figures in the field of social reform: Sherwood Anderson, Harry Elmer Barnes, August Bebel, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Roger N. Baldwin, Max Beer, Edward Bellamy, Edward Bernstein, Louis Blanc, Louis M. Boudin, Arthur W. Calhoun, Lewis Corey, V. F. Calverton, G. D. H. Cole, Eugene V. Debs, Max Eastman, Frederick Engels, John T. Flynn, Fourier, Anatole France, Joseph Freeman, Henry George, Emma Goldman, Maxim Gorky, Arturo Giovannitti, Bill Haywood, Joseph Jastrow, Karl Kautsky, Harold J. Laski, Lenin, Robert M. Lovett, Jack London, Karl Liebknecht, Karl Marx, William Morris, Scott Nearing, James Oneal, Bertrand Russell, G. B. Shaw, Upton Sinclair, Samuel D. Schmalhausen, John Strachey, Leon Trotsky, Thorstein Veblen, Voltaire, the Webbs, Oscar Wilde. . . . These are but a few of those prominent writers that are available at the public libraries of the nation (their presence often being studiously unheralded and often concealed).

Can the workers afford not to avail themselves of these priceless opportunities for the advancement of their cause? No more can they afford to see the libraries of the country crippled by a lack of operating funds. These funds come from taxation. It is the workers' duty to themselves and to others to use all their influence in the political field to prevent crippling that institution which aids them all most directly—the public library.

JAY F. OTIS.

The Making of a Teacher

"Select a young and pleasing personality; trim off all mannerisms of voice, dress, or deportment; pour over it a mixture of equal parts of the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of young David, the strength of Samson, and the patience of Job, season with the salt of experience, the pepper of animation, the oil of sympathy, and a dash of humor; stew for about four years in a hot classroom, testing occasionally with the fork of criticism thrust in by a principal or a superintendent. When done to a turn, garnish with a small salary and serve hot to the community."

On Taxation

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following letter was sent by Hiram B. Loomis, former principal of the Hyde Park High School, Chicago, to W. B. Satterthwaite as comment upon a statement on taxation made in the article "Must Free Education Disappear?" in the May-June AMERICAN TEACHER.

Mr. Loomis's remarks are so pertinent and valuable that permission has been asked and given to reproduce them here. My dear Mr. Satterthwaite:

I read your article in the May-June number of the AMERICAN TEACHER with interest.

There is one and only one sentence in your article that I do not like. I dislike that very much. It is, "Lower tax rates on real estate and exemptions to home owners and farmers have come to stay, and properly."

The greatest danger that I see for the near future is the movement to lower taxes on real estate, because a lowered rate on real estate, as it is advocated, means not only a lower rate on improvements but a lower rate on land. A low rate on land means land speculation; and the lower the rate, the greater the speculation.

When I find my friends among the teaching profession approving the lowering of taxes on real estate and talking about a broad basis of taxation, I lose all hope that another depression will not come and come hard. That experience may be a necessity. I am, however, doing my best to call the attention of a few people who are likely to live into the next financial crash to the part land speculation will play in producing it.

There will come another time when the Brisbanes will be saying "Don't sell America short." The values they will be counting on will be the land values of America. When I talk of this, people refer me to Henry Ford. My reply is that Henry Ford knew enough to protect himself so far as land values were concerned. When I visited his plant near Detroit, the first thing that caught my eye was a large lake vessel at dock right in the plant. Henry Ford had looked after water transportation. His plant is not in the middle of a prairie. I have also heard the story that when the steel kings wanted to raise their price, Henry practically said to them, "I have a small iron mine and produce part of my steel. Shall I enlarge my facilities and produce all of it?" Henry Ford is primarily an entrepreneur; but he has not neglected to protect himself against land monopoly.

Let me also refer to real estate bonds, based on speculative land values. I own some of them myself. I believe that those that I own were issued honestly on what was considered a conservative estimate of value.

Notice what a tax on land value means. I am going to give my own home as an illustration. When I bought my home, I paid \$1,000.00 for the vacant lot next south of the house. At that time the tax on the lot was about \$20.00 a year. If money was worth 5%, I was really paying \$70.00 a year for the lot, \$50.00 in interest on the investment and \$20.00 in taxes. If the tax had been \$10.00 instead of \$20.00, and if I had still been willing to pay \$70.00 a year for the lot, the selling value would have been \$1,200.00. The following table gives an

idea of the effect taxes on land have on its selling value:

Tax	Selling Value
0	\$1,400
10	1,200
20	1,000
30	800
50	400
60	200
65	100

There would be no speculation in land values if the tax came anywhere near the selling value of the land. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that rights to use the streets for rails, pipes, or wires are land values, that railroad rights of way are land values, including Henry Ford's great plant.

In addition to my home I own what I call a farm. The improvements constitute but a small part of its value. I built the building with my own hands. In my opinion it would be better for my children and for my grandchildren if all land were taxed so heavily as to diminish its selling value by 90%. I bought it for speculation, and could today sell it for more than I paid for it. I am not selling it at present. I think it will bring a higher price. Moreover, the lower the taxes, the more I will be able to get for it. But my children and my grandchildren would be better off though they got less when I die, if they could only avoid the consequences that will follow another period of not selling America short.

This may be simply the cry of a male Cassandra; but remember the prophecies of Cassandra came to pass.

HIRAM B. LOOMIS.

6119 South Rockwell Street
Chicago, Illinois
May 17, 1935

Erratum

Editor AMERICAN TEACHER:

I desire to correct an error in my column in your May issue entitled "Suggestions for Textbooks or School Charts." An omission was made of two lines which made no sense of the figures as to the number slain in the War of 1812, the Mexican, Spanish and World Wars. There were fewer than 2,000 slain in each of the first two, though over 10,000 died of disease in the Mexican war. In the war with Spain fewer than 1,000 were killed but over 5,000 died of disease. Less than 52,000 were killed in battle in the World War. I may add that our traffic disasters in three years far exceed the total number killed in battle in all our foreign wars combined.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Even though stealing from children, the aged, the helpless, has traditionally been the basest form of crime, it is common enough in local politics. School funds in numerous cities have been corruptly expended by local politicians. In Chicago for a generation public school control has been the prize of politics. Every other essential public service has also been squeezed. The scandals of the Sanitary District have been worse than even Chicago could stomach.

—Collier's.

New Locals

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes into membership and its crusade for school protection and social betterment 24 new locals since the last previous issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Watauga, Tenn., Teachers Federation, Local 405.

Escanaba, Mich., Teachers Club, Local 406.

Gladstone, Mich., Federation of Teachers, Local 407.

Crystal Falls, Mich., Federation of Teachers, Local 408.

East Detroit, Mich., Teachers Club, Local 409.

Saginaw Valley, Mich., Federation of Teachers, Local 410.

Newark and Licking County, Ohio, Federation of Teachers, Local 411.

N. Franklin County, Ark., Federation of Teachers, Local 412.

Magazine, Ark., Federation of Teachers, Local 413.

West Allis, Wis., Federation of Vocational Teachers, Local 414.

Johnson County, Ark., Federation of Teachers, Local 415.

Van Buren County, Ark., Federation of Teachers, Local 416.

Pontiac, Mich., Federation of Teachers, Local 417.

Federated Teachers of Oklahoma City, Local 418.

Bay City, Mich., Federation of Teachers, Local 419.

Teachers Union of St. Louis and St. Louis County, Local 420.

Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Teachers Federation, Local 421.

Richmond County, Ga., Chapter, Local 422.

Syracuse, N. Y., Teachers Federation, Local 423.

New Era, Ark., Teachers Federation, Local 424.

Tex.-Ark. Federation of Teachers, Local 425.

Summers County, W. Va., Union, Local 426.

N. District, Ohio, Federation of Teachers, Local 427.

Mountain City, Tenn., Teachers Assn., Local 428.

President Green Sounds Warning Against War

President William Green has sounded a sharp warning against war talk and all war.

Especially interesting paragraphs of his statement on the subject included the following:

"Workers of the world must unite solidly to prevent what seems to be an approaching war!

"We believe that the purpose and spirit of the workers of the world is to see that war will never occur again.

"We cannot allow those with a mad lust for power to have their way. They must not be allowed to command masses of people to march out on the battlefield and destroy each other.

"The interest of the common people is to preserve peace, for we abhor war in any form."

The New York Situation

George Davis

The "Commincement"

DELEGATES to the recent convention probably will read no further than the title, but since so many inquiries are coming to the office and since the New York local factional differences have become a national issue, this statement of the issues involved and actions taken has been prepared for the information of members.

Early in the spring of 1935 a committee composed of President Lowry, Secretary Hanson, and Legislative Representative Borchardt went to New York on the invitation of the officers of Local 5 to investigate alleged subversive activities within the local.

New York to Cleveland

At a National Executive Council meeting held in Cleveland during the convention, two plans for dealing with the local's factionalism were presented: one by Mrs. Hanson and Mr. Lowry proposed a committee made up of one New York labor man acceptable to Local 5 and two A. F. T. members to cooperate with the officers of the local for a period of three months to clear up the situation by expulsions of trouble makers, compromise, disbanding of minority groups, or whatever method seemed wise after thorough investigation; the other by the officers of Local 5 and concurred in by Miss Borchardt asked immediate revocation of the local's charter and the issuance of a new charter to the officers and their supporters.

Twenty-five Hours

An extended hearing followed at which Dr. Linville presented the administration's point of view and three members from opposition groups, who had come to the convention on their own responsibility, appeared to oppose revocation of the charter.

Just what the hearing brought out is doubtful, but the lines were clearly drawn; the Council had to go on record for or against revocation since the administration flatly refused any compromise plan recognizing the opposition. (It should be mentioned that several factions exist—the administration group, the progressives, the rank and file, etc., the opposition groups working together under the name, the "United Committee to Save the Union.") A motion to recommend revocation was lost on a tie vote of the twelve Council members present followed by a motion to accept the Hanson-Lowry plan passing 8 to 4.

Mr. Green's Telegram

Between adjournment of the Council and the next convening of the delegates a telegram arrived from Mr. Green asking revocation of Local 5's charter on the grounds of Communistic domination of the New York Union. Members of the Council who could be reached were hastily summoned and voted revocation by a majority present. At the next session of the convention the Executive Council presented its decision and on roll call voted 10 to 2 for revocation. Following presentations by the disputants and lengthy debate the delegates voted 100 to 79 to reject the Executive Council's recommendation, with a number of delegates either absent or not answering the roll call.

On the last day of the convention the New York delegates, followed by a number of delegates from ten other locals, walked out in protest.

Under New Management

The incoming Executive Council, following the final adjournment of the convention, sent the following communication to President Green:

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

The nineteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers acknowledges receipt of your

August 30, 1935.

telegram of August 28 and now wishes to inform you that by a regular vote of the convention we have refused to revoke the charter of the New York Local. This letter will confirm a telegram to that effect which we have sent to you today.

The subject of the internal situation in the New York Local has not been neglected by our Executive Council during the past year, nor has it been neglected by this convention.

We cannot avoid the impression that you have been misinformed on that situation when you state that Local 5 is controlled and dominated by communists. We regret that you acted so definitely in sending your telegram before giving this convention an opportunity to consider and act on this situation. We are interested in knowing the source of the information which you seem to have on that situation and which we do not have and we would appreciate having that information laid before our Executive Council.

Our Executive Council had evolved a plan by which a sub-committee consisting of one labor man not a teacher and two members of our organization was to be offered to the New York Local to assist in solving their internal problem. The Administration Group in that Local flatly refused to cooperate in this plan.

We wish to emphasize that our action in refusing to revoke this local charter constitutes in no way an endorsement of the tactics of either the Opposition or the Administration Groups in the local. We have faith in the ability of the membership of the local to solve its internal problems, and we have faith in the ability of our Executive Council to see that that aim is accomplished in full harmony with the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
Raymond F. Lowry, President.

A letter was sent to Dr. Linville at the same time offering the services of the Council in any capacity in which it might serve to solve the New York situation.

Aftermath

Dr. Linville branded the offer as insulting, suggesting that we communicate with the left-wing groups. Mr. Green has not replied at date of this writing.

During the past few days many stories, a few of which are reprinted, have appeared in New York papers pointing definitely to the intention of the Linville-Lefkowitz group to resign from Local 5, to seek the revocation of the A. F. of T. charter by the A. F. of L., and to have themselves designated to form a new national teachers' labor organization.

Personal Evaluation

The foregoing account is as nearly an impersonal record of events as I can make it. Too many words have already been spent on this affair, and I shall take neither time nor space defending a position approved by the convention. I was not elected to this office to engage in "bush-whacking."

If the officers of Local 5 resign, the National Office in cooperation with the membership of that Local is prepared to handle the situation. If charges are brought against us at the A. F. of L. Convention, our charter will be defended. Let us hope that some time and energy will be left for constructive work.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT PROPOSED

A committee consisting of Bernice Rogers, chairman, Henry R. Linville and F. G. Stecker, was asked by the National Office to study a procedure for handling cases of difficulties in locals such as the New York case and others similar, which had arisen during the year, and to suggest a constitutional amendment to be presented to the Cleveland Convention.

The report of the committee is as follows:

In making a study of the best method of amending the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers to provide machinery by which the National Organization can render aid to locals which are split by internal dissension of whatever nature, the committee sent letters to ten of the Internationals asking both for copies of their constitutions and advice based on their experience in such matters. Five of the ten responded with copies of their constitutions, but offered no advice or suggestions, either having none to offer or feeling that their constitutions spoke for themselves.

The responding Internationals were as follows:

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America
International Federation of Technical Engineers
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
International Association of Machinists
International Typographical Union

In general, the procedure of these Internationals is the same. The International President has the right at any time to take over control of a local, to direct the affairs of said local either himself or through a representative or committee appointed by himself for whatever length of time seems necessary to him, and even to revoke or suspend the charter of the local. A careful study and consideration of the matter brought the committee to the conclusion that, though this method may be efficacious and satisfactory to other organizations, it is too rigid, perhaps too autocratic, for an organization, the motto of which is "Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy." Furthermore, as one member of the committee expressed it,—"The Internationals would seem to handle matters for the locals, and by that token the locals cease to have responsibilities, and can throw the blame for not handling the situation on the Internationals."

On the other hand, when a local has proved itself incapable of directing its own affairs, and finds itself in a condition which is actually detrimental to the progress of the National Organization, some method must be adopted which shall give the Executive Council authority to deal with the matter in a time of emergency, without waiting for the national convention.

In order to avoid an autocratic method of procedure, and to preserve the ideals of democracy and maintain the autonomy of the local, the committee feels that it might be wise to make the provisions covered by the following resolution:—

The committee recommends the adoption of this report and of the following amendment of the constitution as provided for in Article X.

A. F. T. CONSTITUTION ARTICLE X Amendments

Section 1. Proposed amendments to the constitution shall be submitted to the annual convention either by request of the Executive Council, or by request of a local.

Section 2. Proposed amendments shall be submitted to a referendum vote to be taken at meetings of the locals either by request of the Executive Council, or by request of five locals.

WHEREAS, the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, as it now stands, makes only a superficial or inadequate provision for handling such matters in an emergency; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers be amended as follows:

1. That in Article IV—Charters—Section 5 be amended as follows by adding "upon an appeal"
2. That in Article IX—Executive Council—a new section shall be added as follows:

Section 9. (1) Upon the appeal of the officers and executive board of a local or of 30% or more of the membership thereof for assistance in settling internal disputes, the president shall appoint a committee of three from the Executive Council, based upon the regional organization division of the American Federation of Teachers, to conduct an investigation, and, in case an unanimous decision is reached by the investigating committee, to prescribe to the local a course of action. If an unanimous decision is not reached, the investigating committee shall make a full report to the Executive Council whose decision shall be final. A protest against the unanimous decision of the investigating committee may be filed with the Executive Council which shall then have the authority to act. An appeal to the next national convention from the decision of the Executive Council shall be based only on sustaining or not sustaining the decision of the council.

The cost of such an investigating committee shall be borne two-thirds by the initiating party, one-third by the national.

(2) The Executive Council may by an unanimous vote of the Council investigate a local whose conduct is not in harmony with the principles of the American Federation of Teachers and tends to bring the A. F. of T. into disrepute. The action of the Council, in such cases shall be final unless an appeal is made against the decision to the next National Convention. The cost of such an investigation shall be borne by the national.

Section 4. If the proposed amendment is to be submitted to a referendum vote it must be sent to the locals by the Secretary of the Federation within two weeks of its receipt by him. The votes for and against must be mailed to him within a further period of two months.

Section 5. The Constitution shall be amended by a majority of the votes cast.

Will each local please consider this amendment at its next meeting and submit the result in actual votes cast by November 15? Article X, Sec. 4, "The votes for and against must be mailed to him (secretary) within a further period of two months."

NEW YORK POST—SEPTEMBER 5

Linville Balked Union Peace Plan, Says Dr. Neibuhr

"Uncompromising Attitude" Is Blamed for Failure of
Formula He Drew Up

PROFESSOR MINIMIZES TALK OF "RED" CONTROL

By Alexander Ostrow

Staff Correspondent New York Post

SHARON, Conn., Sept. 5.—Professor Reinhold Neibuhr of the Union Theological Seminary tried early this summer to restore peace in the Teachers Union.

He failed.

Reached here today, where he is vacationing until the re-opening of Columbia University, he blamed that failure on the "uncompromising attitude" of Dr. Henry R. Linville, president, and the administration forces of the union.

At the same time, he minimized all talk of "Red" control of the local.

Formula Drawn Up

Dr. Neibuhr said Professors George S. Counts, John Dewey and himself were asked by certain "independent union forces" to draw up a formula this summer by which all factors in the union might be reconciled.

The liberal groups, he said, cooperated fully, presenting a detailed list of proposals by which they agreed to grant certain concessions to the administration in return for greater protection of their minority rights.

Those proposals, Dr. Neibuhr asserted, might have been the basis for a virtual rapprochement between the warring factions.

But he said the plan was rejected by Dr. Linville.

Quotes Dr. Linville

"Such things," he quoted Dr. Linville as saying, "have been tried before, and they haven't worked."

The union president went ahead with his own plan to have the union's charter revoked by the American Federation of Teachers, with the idea of reorganizing later, barring "radical" elements. That effort failed last week.

"The left wing," Dr. Neibuhr declared, "doesn't now, and never did, constitute a majority of the Teachers Union."

The accusation by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, that the union is dominated by Communists, Dr. Neibuhr dismissed as "bunk."

He acclaimed the refusal by the American Federation of Teachers to revoke the local's charter.

Must Represent All

"It is impossible to suppress or exclude minorities or to deny freedom of opposition in an organization such as the Teachers Union," he said.

"All shades of opinion and every manner of belief are represented in New York's vast teaching staff, and if one group tries to exclude another, it will just weaken the union and lead to its eventual dissolution."

He does not believe the resignation of Dr. Linville and other officers of the organization would turn the union over to "radicals."

"Most of the members of the union belong neither to the right nor to the left," he said. "Most of them remember that not so long ago the Communists were out to wreck the union."

Feeling Still Rankles

Communists have given up that idea, he said, but the remembrance of "broken up meetings and constant interruptions which made it impossible to conduct any business" still "rankle."

The majority of union members, he declared, have no taste for such demonstrations, and would not elevate the perpetrators to leadership.

He expressed the hope that the union factions might adjust their differences and continue the union as "a truly representative group, representing all teachers, and not just one small faction."

PROPOSALS DRAWN UP BY DR. NEIBUHR

The proposals drawn up by Dr. Neibuhr's committee to bring peace in the Teachers Union were reported here today to provide the following:

That all groups recognize the principle of democratic functioning in the union.

That all agree not to attack each other in the press.

That the existence of different groups be recognized as legitimate trade union tendencies.

That a one-third vote be required to place items on the agenda.

That before December 1 the questions of admission of substitutes, dues for substitutes and unemployed and of reorganization of the Joint Committee be placed on the agenda.

That the books of the union closed last June when 150 applications for membership were waiting to be acted upon, be reopened, and new members admitted.

That a committee be appointed to suggest clarification and amendment of the constitution.

NEW YORK POST—SEPTEMBER 6

Union Officials Keep Membership Despite "Red" Row

See Hope of Action by A. F. L. on Move to Reorganize
National Unit

LOCAL THEN PROPOSES TO REMOVE RADICALS

See Today's Editorial: "Fouling Their Own Nest"

The Teachers Union administration has not yet lost its fight to oust the opposition forces.

The resignations of its officers, when they occur this month, will not constitute a simple "throwing up of hands."

This much was frankly conceded today by Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, one of the retiring officers and co-leader with Dr. Henry R. Linville, president, of the move to bar "disruptive elements" from the union.

Although he made no statement that the administration would carry a direct appeal to the A. F. of L. convention in Atlantic City next month, he confirmed reports published on the Post School Page yesterday that the future of the resigning officers rests largely with the labor organization.

The officers are remaining in the union, hopeful that the A. F. of L. will revoke the charter of the American Federation of Teachers, its national affiliate, thus opening the way for reorganization, not only of the Federation, but of the Teachers Union as well.

Machinery Described

The machinery for this move was described by Dr. Lefkowitz.

Simply stated, it involves revocation of the charters of both the national and local organizations.

Only the A. F. of L. convention can revoke the charter of the national organization. On the other hand, only the national organization can revoke the charter of the local. Both revocations entail reorganizations.

Because its officers want to reorganize, barring Communists from membership, the New York local asked the national organization to revoke its charter last week. Although William Green, president of the A. F. of L., requested the national to take such action, it refused.

Retaliate by Quitting

In retaliation, the local officers said yesterday they would resign their posts.

"We will retain membership in the union, however, pending action by the A. F. of L.," Dr. Lefkowitz said.

"If it revokes the charter of the teachers' national, we shall remain in the organization."

"Such revocation would mean the appointment by Mr. Green of some one to reorganize the national. It is to be expected that this reorganizer will revoke the Teachers Union charter and give us the opportunity to reorganize ourselves."

The reorganization of the Teachers Union would be relatively simple, Dr. Lefkowitz said.

The local's constitution would be rewritten, providing that no teacher be admitted to membership who "advocates the overthrow of the United States Government by force."

Dr. Lefkowitz envisions one other possibility for settlement of the dispute, apart from action by the A. F. of L.

That is revocation of the local's charter by the executive council of the teachers' federation. While other quarters said they would be inclined to challenge the constitutionality of such a move by the council without authorization from the entire federation, Dr. Lefkowitz said it would be possible for the council to reconsider the question and revoke the charter.

If neither the A. F. of L. nor the teachers' federation acts, however, Dr. Lefkowitz said the retiring officers would then place the entire issue before the Teachers Union.

"We shall let the membership decide which way they want to go," he declared.

OPPOSITION FORCES SEE NO DANGER

Opposition forces of the Teachers Union see no danger of the union's collapse as a result of factional strife which this month will bring the resignation of present union officers.

Meeting last night as the "United Committee to Save the Union," these forces, representing three distinct groups in the union, affirmed their confidence in the organization's ability to "weather the storm."

There was no mention of political issues involved in the controversy. But a passing observation on the American Federation of Teachers was construed as indicating recognition of the threat to the national organization.

"The Teachers Union and the American Federation of Teachers have lived through many crises and have grown stronger," the statement said.

"The courage and intellectual vigor of the membership will undoubtedly enable them to weather this storm and continue their growth."

The committee expressed confidence "that the union membership will remain loyal to the union, and will continue their splendid work of building up the Teachers Union movement."

NEW YORK POST—SEPTEMBER 6

Editorial

FOULING THEIR OWN NEST

Julius Caesar was a wise old bird. When he marched his Legions into Gaul, he didn't take on all his enemies at once.

He used the Roman formula "divide et impera—" that is, divide and rule. As long as he could, he played one tribe off against another, conquering one at a time. When the Gallic tribes finally woke up to his strategy, it was too late to stop him.

There is a lesson here for Mr. William Green and Mr. Matthew Woll and the other leaders of the American Federation of Labor. The reactionaries who hate collective bargaining and unionization are using Caesar's strategy.

First they use the Red bogey to split the workers. But when they finish off "the Reds," they will proceed to clean up Mr. Green and Mr. Woll and the conservatives. Hitler used the same tactics in Germany and Mussolini in Italy.

The situation in the Teachers Union in this city and the part being played in that situation by Mr. Green illustrate the danger.

Dr. Henry Linville, president of the union, has given it many years of devotion. Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, its legislative representative, has been one of the most progressive leaders in the A. F. of L.

Unfortunately, they are stooping to methods unworthy of them to maintain themselves in office. They are afraid that they cannot be reelected. So they asked the American Federation of Teachers to revoke the charter of their union and to give them a charter for a new union they can control.

Their excuse is "disruptive activities" within the union. They did not drag in the Red herring, for they know that the number of Communists in the Teachers Union is very small. They did not, as is often done, seek to label the progressives "Reds."

But Mr. Green did. He demanded that the Federation of Teachers revoke the charter on the grounds that the New York local is in the control of Communists. Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz would deny this. The convention voted against revocation.

The real situation seems to be that trouble began with a few stupidly obstreperous Communists. Unfortunately the officials ignored the advice of John Dewey on how to handle the problem. Instead they turned to dictatorial methods, increasing their own power at the expense of the democratic rights of members.

These moves, plus disagreement over a number of union issues, increased dissatisfaction and opposition to the Linville-Lefkowitz régime. If they can't be reelected, they will have to take their medicine.

Instead, they are talking of getting the Federation of Teachers' charter revoked and reorganizing the whole Federation in order to keep their power in New York. Mr. Green has supplied the reactionaries with headlines that give the impression that New York's teachers are largely Communist. The fight against unionism and against academic freedom is strengthened.

More than that, serious questions are raised by Mr. Green's actions, questions that affect the whole American labor movement:

Are charters to be revoked whenever incumbent officers cannot be reelected?

Is the A. F. of L. to continue to play into the hands of labor's enemies by labeling progressives as "Reds"?

And how much longer is Mr. Green to fight these "Reds" while refusing to lift a finger against racketeer leaders?

CONVENTION SUMMARY

Because of the rush in considering committee reports at the end of the convention, and because much of the convention's business was referred to the Executive Council, this

summary of the hurried actions of the convention during its last hours and subsequent actions of the Executive Council which delegates had no opportunity to hear, is presented as a supplement to delegates' reports to locals.

Resolutions having to do with the financial support of schools urge the following: Reduction of military expenditures to the pre-war level and diverting of the money to schools; increase income, inheritance, and corporation taxes; a more liberal policy of state support of school districts; adoption of uniform state tax systems initiates through conference of governors called by president.

Restorations in salaries have not kept pace with the increased cost of living. Locals are urged to call this to the attention of the public and boards of education in their communities. Reductions of annuities to teachers already retired in some states having retirement provisions and cutting down the expectancy of teachers looking toward retirement have been made, and call for an effort to restore these annuities.

Encroachments

Union teachers are urged to be on the alert for evasions and repeal of tenure laws in states where such laws exist and to work for tenure laws where there are none.

Loyalty Oaths have been imposed on teachers in many states. We must oppose the passage of such laws and work for the repeal of those now in force. (The National Office has copies of an excellent study of this question available at cost. We hope locals will use them.)

Civil rights of teachers have been denied in many communities. Let us insist on our rights to engage in civic affairs, politics if we choose.

Fascist tendencies such as Hearst's "Declaration of Independence" are straws which indicate the current. They must be vigorously opposed.

Improve Conditions

Through cooperation with central labor bodies encourage labor men to run for boards of education and help elect them. Promote workers education projects in your communities. Insist that class sizes be kept down to 35 or less in large cities, 30 or less in smaller cities, and not more than 15 in special classes.

While improving our own working conditions we should work for the reduction of crime through encouraging special educational work among the underprivileged and mal-adjusted, insist on sound social and educational programs in our C.C.C. camps, and give some thought to unemployed and W.P.A. teachers. Under the present set-up a teacher must first be on the relief roll before being employed by W. P. A. These teachers, who must work in the adult education field, have little opportunity for training, are paid niggardly wages, and are denied the right to collective bargaining.

Legislation

We favor a constitutional amendment to permit necessary social legislation. We believe Representative Marcantonio should be supported in his Workers' Rights program. Agricultural workers, particularly share-croppers, need legal protection of their rights. All industrial hazards should be covered by law, and we stand ready to support such bills.

The original Wagner-Costigan bill on lynching should be passed to further guarantee due process of law and discourage mob rule.

Activities

We should be solidly behind the *Chest for the Liberation of the Workers of Europe*. We approve of the anti-war activities of students in our schools and colleges. We believe in taking part in demonstrations against Fascism, Imperialistic aggression, and suppression of its citizens by the state.

Finally, we are ready to join in the formation of a *Labor Party* made up of industrial, agricultural, and professional workers determined to go forward on a program of adequate social legislation, the repeal of anti-labor laws, and the outlawing of war.

* * *

The report is sketchy. It must necessarily be to cover so many subjects in so short a space. If it has suggested some lines of thought and possible activities for your local, the page has served its purpose. Published proceedings of the convention will be available in a short time so that our full program may be studied. The secretary is now offering his apology for the omissions which must have occurred in a hasty examination of an incomplete reporter's transcript.