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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ISSUE || A. F. of T. Proportional Representation Amendment Proposed; Organizing the College Teachers

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AMERICAN TEACHER

March-April, 1936

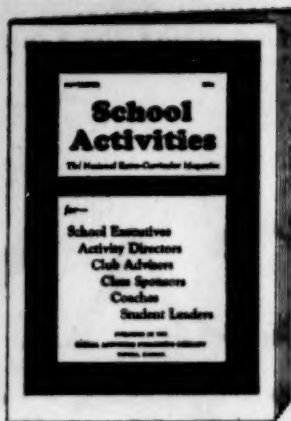
- Loyalty Oaths at Harvard - - - - - Editorial
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"The 3 R's of Economized Education" - - - Ernest Lundeen
The American Newspaper Guild - - - - - David Scheyer

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The AMERICAN TEACHER

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Rising Opposition to Loyalty Oaths

Professor Kirtley F. Mather's dramatic opposition to the Massachusetts Loyalty Oath Law (described in this issue) is a hopeful indication. There is a growing awareness that behind the simple and apparently innocuous wording of these laws is a desire to stifle free inquiry, to gag expression of opinion, to interfere with civil rights. The list of the opponents of loyalty oaths for teachers includes such eminent names as: James Conant, President of Harvard; William A. Wilson, President of Smith College; Mary Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke; Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of Chicago University; Felix Frankfurter; Alexander Meikeljohn; Charles A. Beard; Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College. A meeting of college heads declared that "such compulsory oaths of loyalty are copied from Fascism." Among the sponsors of such legislation are the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Hearst press, and the Chambers of Commerce. It is clear to everybody that the patriotism of Hearst and of the Chambers of Commerce is not entirely disinterested. Teachers intimidated by oaths of loyalty are less likely to have the courage to organize in defense of their economic interests. Academic freedom, tenure, salaries, are all directly or indirectly threatened by

the type of legislation which Dr. Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins, has characterized as "an assault on freedom." But such legislation cannot be killed by individual opposition. Members of the American Federation of Teachers can rally teachers, workers, and all the progressive forces of the community to fight against loyalty oaths. We can prevent their passage where they do not yet exist. In the 22 states where loyalty oath laws are now on the statute books we must return to the attack year after year until they are repealed.

Democracy in the A. F. T.

In this issue we print a communication from several A. F. T. members, and the replies written by Mr. Frank R. Kennell, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, and by Mr. George Davis. These documents should and do speak for themselves. Since they were written, however, certain actions have been taken which have an important bearing on the situation. Mr. Smith states that the method of voting in convention has been inequitable. The Executive Council in its December, 1935, meeting appointed a Committee on Voting Procedure to look into the matter, and we publish in this issue its official report and recommendation for early action. . . . The Executive Council, at the same meeting, also placed a restriction upon proxy voting to minimize the use of this indirect form of representation. The proposed Equalization Fund would give small remote locals some financial assistance in the matter of sending their own delegates to conventions . . . With these facts in mind, open discussion of this matter should result in a program which will benefit the A. F. T. as a whole.

Sentiment for Industrial Unionism Crystallizes

The American Federation of Teachers is not one of the eight A. F. of L. international unions represented in the Committee on Industrial Organization. Nor are many other organizations which, like our own, voted with the Industrial Union Bloc at the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor. But these organizations endorse the stand that in the basic mass production industries the industrial union is the only effective form in which it is possible to organize and unify the workers in their struggle for union principles against a powerful, concentrated ownership of industry. The international officers who set up the Committee on Industrial Organization have continually stressed, as they did at the Convention, that they are not seeking the abolition of craft or amalgamated craft

unions where these have been effective in protecting the workers in an industry or occupation. However, they take the position that the persistence of the craft unions in draining off skilled workers, who had not previously been organized, from the newly formed industrial unions in the basic industries made effective organization in them impossible. They have also stressed time and again that they are seeking to organize the workers in these basic industries within the American Federation of Labor. Finally, they stand on the right of constituent bodies within the American Federation of Labor to agitate for their program in a democratic way. The recent stirring Convention of the United Mine Workers endorsed the stand of its president, John M. Lewis, in the formation of the Committee and in serving as its president. The miners' dramatic threat to permit their officers to withhold from the A. F. of L. their per capita dues, together with the Convention's failure to respond favorably to the stand taken by President Green (formerly Secretary-Treasurer of the miners' union) by no means indicates that the miners have seceded from the A. F. of L. Nor can they be expelled without action by a majority at the next Convention. Opinions may differ as to the wisdom of the use or potential use of so drastic a weapon, publicly announced. Two decades ago, when the question of an industrial charter to the metal miners was being disputed by the Executive Council, the coal miners' organization threatened to withdraw—and the charter was granted. Now the struggle has become more serious because of the die-hard attitude of some of the craft union officials. But the sentiment of the miners, as of the needle trades unions which are in the Committee for Industrial Organization, is decidedly against a split. These eight international unions, including a craft international—the International Typographers' Union—represent a membership of almost a million workers. The vote at the last convention represented 40% of the total membership. It is unthinkable that, in the final test, the American Federation of Labor will wish to lose so large and powerful a section of the organized labor movement, even though it may utter dire warnings about the "dual" character of the Committee.

Broadening the Teachers' Union Perhaps the final test of a belief in industrial unionism comes in the application of that principle to one's own organization. The test is a difficult one in the case of professional workers' organizations. Carried to its logical extreme in the Teachers' Union, it would involve the inclusion of every employee in the school system and perhaps the renaming of the organization as the American Federation of Educational Employees. At the last meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. T. it was resolved that the Council "urges all locals seriously to consider the problems of the W. P. A. and substitute teachers and to make every effort to organize them within the ranks of the A. F. T." The question of the form of inclusion is one which can be

solved along the general lines of industrial unionism, with flexibility for varied situations. This flexibility is exemplified in the needle trades. In cities where each craft or branch of the industry is small, a single local is created; in the large cities where this is impossible, a Joint Council or Joint Board represents and unifies groups and branches formed on occupational or other bases. The Executive Council of the A. F. T. leaves to the existing locals the decision as to whether W. P. A., substitute, and other teachers are to join existing locals or form separate locals. In New York City, where large groups of W. P. A. teachers are involved, it has been decided that they should form a separate local. Thus far, private school and college teachers are part of Local 5. Should the private school or college teachers' groups acquire a large membership, similar recommendations might be made for them. But unity of action is provided in the decision that all teachers' locals should be part of a Joint Council in the city.

A Source of Power Reports from locals throughout the country show the value of intimate contact between teachers' organizations and the Labor movement. Of particular importance is the evidence of support given to teacher locals by the central trades bodies.

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These bodies, representing as they do all of the organized workers of a locality, are of strategic importance in any campaign where pressure must be directed against the local board of education. A number of teachers' union enterprises reported in this issue were terminated successfully only because of the weight carried by the support of the central labor unions. The single salary schedule in Butte, Montana, was effected after an eight-month campaign in which the central labor union cooperated fully. The local in Wisconsin Rapids, only one year old, but fully cognizant of its Labor connection, won from its board of education a salary adjustment hearing and a promise of future cooperation when it fortified its case before the board by the presence of central labor union members. From Duluth, Atlanta, and Mercer County, New Jersey, come reports of the support of the central labor unions in salary restoration campaigns. The Philadelphia local entered upon a state-wide organizational campaign by first calling upon these bodies for assistance in the sponsorship of organizational meetings. Central labor union officials in Camden, New Jersey, played an important part in the formation of a local in that city by their response to a call to present the case for salary restoration to the board. Organized teachers know that the central labor bodies constitute an able and impressive reserve support for

many teacher projects. We have felt unity's strength.

"American Teacher" Plans

The present "National Executive Council Issue" of THE AMERICAN TEACHER is built around the deliberations and decisions which marked the recent sessions of the Council during Christmas week. The forthcoming number will be the "Convention Issue." These two issues of the magazine are being edited by a joint board chosen from the Philadelphia and New York locals, under the temporary plan decided by the National Executive Council. . . . We of the Board of Editors are in many respects new to the task. For this reason, and also because we are to present at the Convention recommendations for next season's AMERICAN TEACHER, we ask that locals and individual members give us the benefit of their advice with regard to content, form, or any other matter relating to the magazine. Criticisms and suggestions should be sent to THE AMERICAN TEACHER, in care of The Teachers' Union, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York. . . . The January-February issue of the magazine was omitted to release additional funds for organizational work. . . . The changes in the physical appearance of the magazine were dictated by considerations of readability and vigor.

"Eleven Crimes Against Youth"

REPRESENTATIVE LUNDEEN SPEAKS FOR EDUCATION

Speaking upon THE THREE R'S OF ECONOMIZED EDUCATION—RETRENCHMENT, RETROGRESSION, AND RUIN, Representative Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota at the close of the last session of Congress performed for education a valued service. Charging the captains of industry and finance with "a vicious, organized campaign of destruction" against the schools, he brought to the attention of Congress the motives, extent, and deplorable results of the activities of these groups. Mr. Lundeen cited the eleven points of the Chamber of Commerce program directly involving children, and vigorously characterized them as "eleven crimes against youth." We print from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following excerpts from this speech, the full content of which is worthy of the attention of every teacher:

Over 3,000,000 American children in 25 states (in the past year) either had no school at all or had their school terms shortened from one to eight months. . . . Fourteen thousand more schools in 21 states would have been forced to close during the 1934-1935 school term if teachers' salaries were required to be paid in cash. There are today 200,000 certified teachers unemployed. Yet the size of each class per teacher is increased, education curtailed and qualified teachers thrown in the bread line. . . . A total of 600,000 pupils are improperly housed during their school hours. Eight per cent of our school buildings date back to the Civil War period, and 34 per cent were built between 1870 and 1899. . . . Enrollments in public schools have in-

creased about 200,000 children per year. Yet the cost per enrolled child declined from \$90.22 in 1930 to \$68.47 in 1934. At this rate it will take 25 years for our schools to climb back to the position they held 5 years ago. . . . Today the average salary of teachers is less than \$100 a month and this includes principals and superintendents. . . . About 250,000 teachers, teaching 700,000 children, receive less than the minimum wage for factory hands under the blanket N. R. A. code.

This is the situation facing America's most cherished institution, the school. What are the great civic and patriotic organizations doing to save the schools? I know of no great mass meetings by the chambers of commerce to halt retrenchment. I see no organized campaign of the public press to obtain Federal aid for schools, while billions are appropriated for armies and navies to meddle and muddle on continents across the sea.

In contrast with this big business campaign to foster ignorance, Mr. Lundeen presented the historic role of organized labor in securing free public education and in fighting for educational improvement and expansion. He noted the American Federation of Teachers, specifically, as "a militant, progressive body to which friends of education everywhere owe a debt of gratitude for its unceasing efforts on behalf of legislation." We recommend that members of this organization secure this speech for their own information and note particularly the list of bills affecting education appended at the conclusion.

Loyalty Oaths at Harvard University

(The material used below is taken from letters, speeches and articles compiled by Professor Kirtley F. Mather of Harvard University.—EDITORS.)

In June, 1935, a loyalty oath law was enacted by the Massachusetts Legislature. All professors, instructors and teachers at any college, university, teachers' college, or public or private school were required to take the following oath:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the position of (insert name of position) according to the best of my ability.

On October 2, 1935, Professor Kirtley F. Mather of Harvard University speaking at the Boston Center for adult education, delivered his now famous broadside against loyalty oaths. The following is an excerpt from his address:

"The real danger which democracy faces in America today is a result of the increase of undemocratic tactics in the guise of loyalty to democratic ideals. Take as a contemporary illustration the oath of loyalty which has lately been imposed upon all teachers in both public and private schools in Massachusetts. As an editorial appearing in the *Boston Herald* stated, this measure is 'aimed directly at freedom of thought.' Freedom of thought and of speech are the very essence of our constitutional democracy. Without both a free press and a free scholarship, democracy is doomed. No wonder I have entitled this address 'The Twilight of Democracy'; fourteen states now have laws requiring loyalty oaths from their teachers. There is much reason for suspecting that such statutes constitute the entering wedge in America for additional legislation which would eventually regiment all schools, churches, and cultural institutions in obedience to the orders of whatever state officials happened to be in power. Education would then become the crassest of propaganda and the fascist spirit would dominate a land from which liberty had been banished.

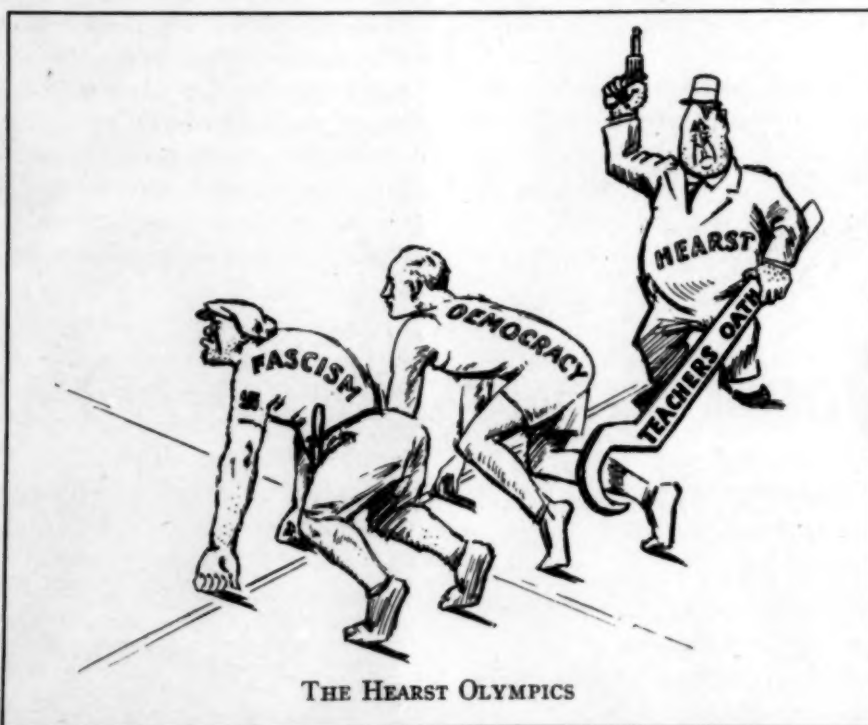
"You will pardon me, therefore, if I become frankly per-

sonal and tell you that I do not see how I can possibly conform to a law which I believe violates my constitutional rights as a citizen and teacher."

At the conclusion of Professor Mather's address Representative Dorgan stood up in the back of the hall.

"I am the originator of the Teachers' Oath Bill," Representative Dorgan dramatically declared, "and I want to say that I admire your courage."

At this announcement the crowd, much surprised at the presence of the sponsor of the bill at the hostile meeting, burst into applause. As they craned their necks to look at Dorgan, he revealed his identity.



THE HEARST OLYMPICS

"Why should you object to a bill that is in accordance with the Constitution?" Representative Dorgan demanded of Dr. Mather.

As Dr. Mather was phrasing his answer, Dorgan shot another question at him without waiting.

"Is the teachers' oath repugnant to the American Constitution?" Dorgan asked.

"That is a question for the Supreme Court to decide," replied Professor Mather. "As for my

personal opinion, yes, I think it is."

"What's the matter with the Constitution?" Representative Dorgan heatedly interrogated.

"There's nothing the matter with the Constitution," Professor Mather answered. "That isn't the question. The question is, why should I take any oath as a Professor of Geology at Harvard University?"

The crowd applauded this answer.

"Answer me this," Dorgan boldly ordered. "Aren't you a member of the American Association for Cultural Relations with Soviet Russia? I think you are. Your name was among those given me."

At this veiled inference that the distinguished educator's Americanism was not all that it might be, the crowd became angry at Dorgan and began hooting and jeering at him.

"Yes," said Dr. Mather, "I am a member of the American Association for Cultural Relations with Soviet Russia."

"That's all I want to know," Representative Dorgan shouted back at him, and with that remark, he and his companion, George McCarthy of the Quincy Democratic City Committee, gathered up their coats and started for the side door.

On October 4, 1935, President James Conant of Harvard University issued the following press release:

The Act appears to make it mandatory for the institutions concerned not to permit any citizen to teach who fails to carry out the provisions of this Act, and Harvard University has so assumed since the Act was passed. It is out of the question for Harvard University as an institution to consider not obeying the law.

—James B. Conant.

Professor Mather made his statement the same day:

"If it is indeed true that the Act makes it mandatory for the educational institutions to enforce the measure, I shall of course comply with the law, because I do not wish to involve Harvard University in a legal battle. I had supposed that enforcement of the measure, so far as it applies to teachers in service on October 1, would rest solely in the hands of the state. In that case my refusal to take the oath would be a personal issue between me and state officials. I would be glad to carry that issue to the courts. My future course of action depends therefore upon the decision as to whether or not the University is charged with the responsibility of enforcing this particular statute."

On October 8, 1935, President Conant sent copies of the oath to teachers at Harvard University. He expressed his personal disapproval of the law.

However, Dr. Mather decided that he would not involve the University in a legal battle. This did not mean that he had given up the fight against loyalty oaths. An article by him published in the ALUMNI BULLETIN of November 1 indicates that he was considering what would be the most effective method of opposing loyalty oaths. He finally submitted an oath of allegiance with additions and reservations:

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the position of Professor of Geology in Harvard University according to the best of my ability.

I further solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Declaration of Independence and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact.

In view of the statements recently made by the legislator who introduced in the State Legislature the statute requiring a teachers' oath, I consider it my duty to state in this connection that, as one method of supporting the Constitution and the

Kellogg-Briand Pact, I intend to continue to serve as a Member of the Advisory Board of the New England Branch of the American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union.

I further wish to state that in promising "that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the position of Professor of Geology in Harvard University" I do not thereby acknowledge that the responsibility for determining whether or not I keep that promise is in any way transferred from the administration of Harvard University to the administrative officers of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

(Signed) Kirtley F. Mather.

This compromise oath was followed on November 21 by an explanatory statement which made it very clear that Professor Mather's objections to the law had not abated. We quote a few excerpts below.

"Most significant of all is the fact that the Teachers' Oath includes the promise to discharge faithfully 'the duties of the position'. If such a promise is made to the administrative officials of the state, it carries with it the implication that the teacher is subservient to such officials. The teacher thus becomes in effect a state official, whose conduct is peculiarly subject to the scrutiny and censorship of politicians.

"Despite the serious issues involved in compliance with this statute, there is still much humor in the situation. Having taken this oath twice, once as a Harvard professor and once as a Radcliffe professor, I was congratulating myself that I was twice as patriotic as the majority of my colleagues in the teaching profession, until I learned that one of my friends had sworn allegiance four times since October first, inasmuch as he teaches in four different institutions in the state. I am chagrined by the thought that he is twice as patriotic as I!"

The compromise oath was not acceptable to the authorities, and Professor Mather finally sent in the regular oath together with the longer statement which had been rejected.

Professor Mather's dramatic fight has encouraged those who are engaged in the campaign against oaths and other repressive measures. The fact that he took the oath in the end is not to be looked upon as a defeat. The fight against repression must be carried on by the organized teachers, by the labor movement, by all the progressive forces in the community. It is not the fight of one individual. Around this issue, raised so sharply by Professor Mather, a local of the A. F. of T. was formed at Harvard. It has enrolled 225 members in three months. The fight against loyalty oaths will go on.

Case History of a New Local

Citizens of Camden, New Jersey, became labor-conscious last year during the successful and remarkably well conducted shipyard strike. Teachers of Camden became labor-conscious this year as a result of an equally successful and well conducted union organization campaign. Since 1931

these teachers have received salary cuts totaling thirty per cent, and increments have been eliminated. During this time protest meetings of a spontaneous nature were held with but one result. Active participants in these meetings were brought up sharply by the discrimination check rein. Certain of these leaders were demoted from senior high to elementary positions at the lower salary. The Camden Teachers' Association (the local company union) functioned

solely as a mute witness to these activities.

At this point, informed of another scheduled protest meeting, the Organization Committee of Philadelphia Local 192 sent two observers who arranged for a few of the Camden teachers to attend a typical salary meeting of the Philadelphia Local the next week.

During an informal discussion after the Philadelphia meeting, the visiting teachers presented their own situation in its apparent hopelessness and noted the assurance with which the Philadelphians were conducting their own salary campaign. The Camden teachers reached very readily the conclusion that the source of this assurance was the fact that the Philadelphia teachers worked in an organized manner, that their leadership derived not from the administration but from themselves, and that their strength of purpose came from the knowledge that they were not in an isolated position but, by their integration with organized labor, had additional powerful support. The corollary to this was the realization that, as a necessary preliminary to solving their problem, they themselves must organize. Three considerations loomed. Camden participants must be protected from further discrimination; the citizens must be informed of the school situation; and all of the teachers must be made aware of the existence and value of Labor as an ally.

To achieve these objectives it was decided to call upon prominent Camden labor leaders (among them John Green, widely known leader of the shipyard strike) to speak for the teachers before the Board of Education. The Camden group showed considerable skepticism. Would John Green respond to a call to help the teachers? He certainly would—because the shipyard workers and the teachers were identical—they were both Labor.

To protect the Camden teachers, the Philadelphia Organization Committee did the necessary research, prepared the briefs for speakers and the publicity for the press.

At the next Camden Board meeting, Green of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, Harmer of the R.C.A. Radio Workers' Union, and Hollopeter of the Central Labor Union appeared, unannounced. They demanded to know why the teachers' salaries were unrestored; why teacher leaders were being discriminated against. Labor spoke for teachers in the press. The Camden teacher situation became front page news and remained so for two weeks.

At the expiration of these two weeks a mass meeting was called for all Camden teachers. **One half of the 700 teachers in the city appeared.** Prominent labor leaders offered the support of their organizations. Representatives from Philadelphia discussed the Camden situation, described the history of the Philadelphia Local and its various campaigns, presented the case for unionization as the solution of the Camden problem. **Twenty per cent of the teachers present joined at the meeting; the membership has doubled since then.** Camden teachers have been launched on what promises to be a vigorous trade union career.

Butte Local Secures Single Salary Schedule

MARGARET LOWNEY

In securing the adoption of a single salary schedule for the teachers of Butte, Montana, Local 332 of that city has achieved an enviable record of progressiveness and tenacity of purpose. Organized in April, 1934, this local immediately undertook to obtain a readjustment of salaries. Since 1926, provisions of the established salary plan, which gave a measure of equitability, had slowly atrophied from disuse. Consequently the existing situation was such that teachers who had achieved their maximum retained that amount, while incoming teachers remained at the minimum. When, in addition, cuts were effected, the salaries of the newer teachers were in danger of becoming as vestigial as the provisions to guarantee salary justice. Teachers at the minimum were reduced to \$94.00 a month; those on part time were reduced to \$70.00 a month. By September of 1934, through the efforts of the Teachers' Union, a partial adjustment of this situation was accomplished.

Of greater significance during this same period was the development of a new salary outlook within the local. The research upon the salary situation in Butte and other cities, which the readjustment campaign had necessitated, had forced the Union to the conclusion that salary equity in fact could be obtained only through a single salary schedule. Such a schedule provides that teachers with equal training and experience, whether in elementary or high school, shall receive equal compensation.

After much consideration, the Union, therefore, drafted a workable schedule and, with the support of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, presented it to the School Board in March, 1935. The School Board adopted the measure and the teachers of Butte were apparently secure with a just salary scale.

Their security was rudely shattered, however, with the advent of a new School Board. This Board, while approving the single salary schedule in principle, rescinded this particular schedule on the grounds that it would raise taxes, that School Boards alone have the right to fix teachers salaries, and that certain non-union teachers favored the old scale. Then followed an eight month period of negotiation, again with the support of the local Labor Council. The Local stressed the fundamental principle of the right of a union to collective bargaining, proved that the schedule involved no tax increase, and, further, secured re-allocation of budgeted funds to permit the scale to be placed in operation. These negotiations culminated in the adoption of the Single Salary Scale by the new Board in December, 1935. Local 332 is to be congratulated upon the successful completion of a work which gives Butte teachers basic salary justice, and which will undoubtedly stimulate in many locals further interest in the single salary schedule.

A Proposed Proportional Representation Plan for the A. F. of T.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON VOTING PROCEDURE

Since the American Federation of Teachers is organized upon the fundamental principle of "Education in Democracy and Democracy in Education," it is of paramount importance that all procedures within the Federation be maintained on a democratic basis. Recently some of the criticisms which in past years have been levelled against other groups in the educational field have been turned inward. Special attention has been called to the failure of the Federation to establish representation to the national convention on a proportional basis.

The Executive Council of the Federation, at its December meeting, appointed a committee to study this situation and to make recommendations. This committee, after a careful study of the facts, prepared an amendment to the constitution to be submitted to the locals for consideration. Through this amendment, it is believed, a higher degree of democracy may be realized in the internal procedures of the organization.

When the American Federation of Teachers was organized, the groups which united in the organization were approximately equal in size. However, with the growth of the Federation, the picture has changed considerably. Today, of the 131 locals whose membership is listed in the report of the Secretary for January 27, 1936, 84 have less than 50 members. These locals have a total of 1693 members. The other 10,802 members of the organization are distributed in 47 locals, each having a membership of 50 or more. Yet according to the present constitution of the Federation, which allows two delegates for each local with an additional delegate for each 100 members or each major fraction thereof, the 84 smaller locals have practically the same representation in a national convention as the 47 large ones. That is, 13% of the membership controls about 50% of the voting power of the convention.

A change in the system of representation implies no criticism of the small local, since it is clearly recognized that the size of the group is a result of many and varied factors. In some communities, locals are small merely because there are few teachers in the area. In others, the large mass of

teachers is as yet unconvinced of the desirability of joining an organization affiliated with labor. When, on the other hand, the organized labor movement has a strong hold on the community, the response of the teachers to organization is encouraged. Neither is the size of the group itself an indication of the unenrolled teaching group from which the local recruited its strength. The last report of the Secretary illustrates this fact clearly. It reports, side by side, the membership of two locals in the same area, one being twice the size of the other. But whereas the smaller local

includes about 90% of the teachers in its area, the larger local has enrolled only 2% of its available material. The committee, therefore, wishes to emphasize its recognition that size itself is no final criterion of the strength of any local.

The unequal representation which allots undue power to the small local does, however, present a denial of the democracy upon which the Federation is predicated. A number of plans for proportional representation within the American Federation of Teachers have therefore been prepared and have been studied by the members of the committee.

The following seems the most desirable.

This plan recommends that one delegate be allowed each local for every twenty-five members up to five hundred; that for every fifty members between 500 and 1000 and for every 100 members over 1000, an additional delegate be allotted. This distribution allows to each local, whatever its size, at least one representative to the national convention.

The total number of delegates elected under the plan would be 428, or 96 more than the present representation. Instead of delegating 87% of the voting strength to the 84 small locals and 13% to the 47 larger groups, the proportion would be 58-42. That is, 50% of the voting strength would be given to the locals whose membership is above 300. This group includes 7,233 members. The remaining 50% would be in the hands of the 5,262 members enrolled in locals of less than 300. Such a division of responsibility for the conduct of Federation affairs would follow the principle

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE VII, SECTION I.

One delegate to the annual convention may be elected by each affiliated local having a membership of twenty-five or less.

For each additional twenty-five members up to five hundred, one additional delegate may be elected. Beyond five hundred members and up to one thousand members, for each additional fifty members, one additional delegate may be elected. Beyond one thousand members, for each additional one hundred members, an additional delegate may be elected.

When a total of five hundred possible delegates is exceeded under the above arrangement, the increments for representation shall be increased in the same proportion by units of five so that the total will not exceed five hundred.

of democracy in internal management, and would make membership numbers rather than local organization the basis for representation. It would protect the interests of the smaller local without denying to the larger groups a strength proportional to their membership. Without increasing the convention roll beyond the limits of efficiency, it would provide a fair representation to all groups within the Federation.

Realizing that a too large convention membership is unwieldy, the committee recommends that when, under the arrangement outlined above, the total of possible convention delegates exceeds five hundred, the increments for representation be increased in the same proportion as above, by units of five, so that the total will not exceed five hundred. In other words, the next change would probably be as follows. Each local with up to thirty members would send one delegate. Locals with membership from thirty to six hundred might send one delegate for every thirty mem-

bers. Locals with memberships beyond six hundred, but below twelve hundred, might send one delegate for every thirty members up to six hundred, and one delegate for every sixty members beyond six hundred. Locals with memberships beyond twelve hundred might send one vote for every thirty members up to six hundred, one vote for every sixty members from six hundred to twelve hundred, and one vote for every one hundred twenty members beyond twelve hundred. Further changes could be made as necessary.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council make every effort to get a referendum vote on this matter before the next convention.

Respectfully submitted,

WALTER BERGMAN,
MARY HERRICK,
COLIN WELLES.

The Labor Movement in the Curriculum

HENRY HARAP

Since the early decades of the nineteenth century, workers in the United States have been organizing themselves to improve their standards of life and work. For a century organized labor has been a force in the economic life of the country. Although the movement has never attracted more than about ten per cent of the potentially organizable workmen, it has always represented the interests of the great mass of the nation's gainfully employed persons. In the recurring conflicts of interests among economic groups, the representatives of the organized labor movement have often spoken with a certain amount of official sanction. In the capitals of state and nation the representatives of the labor unions play an important role in public life.

The American public school is a great forum in which the future citizen is initiated into the public life of the nation. It would be interesting to ascertain what the millions of children who come from the homes of workers learn about organized labor. It is a widely accepted theory that government and the schools reflect the wishes of the dominant economic group. A study of the treatment of organized labor in the schools might be a good test of this assumption. With such questions in mind, the Education Committee of the American Federation of Teachers undertook a study of what the schools teach about the labor movement. If we had any preconceived notions we dismissed them and approached our inquiry with complete objectivity of mind. For the answer to our question we went to representative courses of study and to actual outlines of courses as they were taught in the classroom. To supplement these sources of information we made an analysis of the personal attitudes of about

250 teachers of social studies in various localities.

We analyzed eighty courses in the social studies for the junior and senior high schools from all parts of the United States. Our data revealed an astounding neglect of organized labor. Out of 82 courses, 73 did not devote a single line to organized labor. We examined about 4000 pages and could discover only nine pages which dealt with this theme. In other words, about two pages in every thousand contained some treatment of organized labor. The topics which were studied most frequently were: the history of the labor movement, strikes, the American Federation of Labor, wages, working conditions, the craft union, arbitration, the boycott, and the lockout.

To supplement our study of the printed courses we secured the outlines of twenty courses in current problems as they were actually taught in the classroom. Despite the fact that this material represented the work of the more progressive teachers, we found only two major topics and three minor topics devoted to organized labor. We made some effort to discover whether the subject of organized labor was fairly treated in the classroom, but, unfortunately, the outlines were too colorless to reveal any particular bias.

If the course outlines revealed no particular partiality, the same cannot be said of the attitudes of the teachers of the social studies. This we learned from a carefully refined analysis. To secure our data we designed a check sheet containing fifteen strong and significant statements from the speeches and writings of laborites and anti-laborites. An effort was made to select propositions on which there would

be a sharp cleavage of opinion. A pro-labor pattern of thought was ascertained by selecting only those statements on which known laborites and anti-laborites, to whom the check sheet had been previously submitted, held opposing views. The final check sheet was sent to 500 teachers of social studies, a national cross-section of this group. Of this number, 239 check sheets were returned.

Whatever basis of measurement we applied yielded the same conclusion: an overwhelmingly anti-labor point of view. Our data showed that 3% of the teachers were completely in agreement with labor while 23% were in complete disagreement with labor. If we use 60% acceptance of the labor viewpoint as a measure, we find only one-seventh of the teachers within this limit. On this basis, also, the instructors are anti-labor minded on seven of the nine items. Using 60% disagreement as a basis of comparison, we find three-quarters of the teachers within this range. The median teacher, that is, the one in the middle of the whole range, showed a 27% agreement with the labor point of view. In other words, the average teacher is prepared to go about one-quarter of the way with labor.

Our analysis of the reactions to each of the items in the check sheet gave us a more detailed picture of the teachers' attitude toward the principles and practices of organized labor. Three out of four of the teachers believe that sympathetic strikes are not justifiable. Eighty-two per cent of the teachers think that it is the prerogative of the employer to refuse to employ workers who disagree with the policy of the management. Despite their lack of sympathy with the policies of organized labor, four out of five teachers admit that labor has been a much more staunch supporter of public education than private industry. The Chambers of Commerce and Taxpayers' Leagues have alienated the affections of teachers to a degree that surpassed our expectations.

The use of the injunction as a means of protecting business during a strike is approved by 64% of the teachers. Apparently this extraordinary legal expedient has come to be thought of as a commonplace procedure in combatting strikes. Three out of four teachers frown upon picketing when it involves interference with workers who do not wish to strike. Such interference is undoubtedly interpreted as violence to which the teacher objects when invoked by employer as well; for three out of four teachers disapproved the use of armed strike-breakers. Thirty-eight per cent of the teachers consider a picket line a public nuisance which the police are justified in attacking. Eighty-five per cent of the instructors believe that all industries should be operated on an "open shop" basis, which is not an encouraging indication of the teachers' realistic understanding of industrial conditions.

On the basis of our data we concluded that the organized labor movement does not get a hearing in the schools comparable with its social significance. Moreover, if organized labor were studied at the present time, the chances are

against an objective treatment of workers' problems in the schools.

Why does the school avoid the subject of organized labor? Is this one of the highly controversial areas which one avoids like a deserted street on a dark night? Organized labor has attained a certain political respectability in the community. In spite of the emphasis on vandalism in the daily press, the idea of a labor union is not associated with certain common unmentionables. Apparently, the teacher is more timorous than the average adult. He handles working class themes gingerly until they attain complete acceptability. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of source material on organized labor in the literature that comes to the attention of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. The treatises on this subject have been confined to workers' education and to college courses in labor problems. In comparison with the owning and selling interests, the labor union has been a very poor pamphleteer.

We have yet to account for the anti-labor attitude of teachers. About a third of the group studied appear to be Tories who approve industrial espionage and any other ruthless means of suppressing the worker's efforts to improve his lot. From this sector very little tolerance can be expected. The remaining groups mirror the thought patterns of the dominant economic group formed by the college, the school, the press, and the other agencies of mass communication. The development of a fair attitude toward labor on the part of teachers depends partly upon enlightened educational leadership in the trade union movement and upon the opening of vast new channels of information.

This record of indifference and antagonism toward the working man's struggle for a decent living brings into question the competency of these men and women to teach the workers' children. This is an issue in which the organized labor movement should take a greater interest.

Six Enemies of Peace

1. The one who says "I don't want war but what can I do about it?"
2. The one who says "I don't want war but we must be 'prepared'."
3. The one who says "I don't want war but there always will be war; it is man's nature to fight."
4. The one who says "I don't want war but I can't join any more peace groups."
5. The one who says "I was asked to write to my Senators but I am not going to. That sort of thing does not do any good."
6. The one who says "I don't want war, but I don't think Military Training in the schools does any harm. It is just 'good exercise'."

(Adopted from bulletin of the Webster Groves, Mo., Peace Council by WORLD EVENTS.)

A Communication to Local Unions of the A. F. of T.

(The following communication, sponsored by Stanton E. Smith of Chattanooga Local 246, was sent to all locals of The American Federation of Teachers by the Locals and officers whose names appear at the conclusion of the communication.—EDITORS)

There has arisen in the American Federation of Teachers a sharp difference of opinion, the fundamental basis of which is unrecognized by a large group of its members. There are two sources of conflict; but only one of these has received consideration, either in the 1935 convention at Cleveland or in official statements in the AMERICAN TEACHER. The other source of conflict, however, is the major difficulty, of which the present differences are only an illustration. In the interests of breaking down misunderstandings now congealing into prejudices which will remain for years, the following analysis of our difficulties is presented for your consideration.

Sources of Conflict in the A. F. T.

I. Undemocratic Procedure

Many locals understand that the major basis of conflict lies in the fundamentally undemocratic methods of procedure within the national organization. Other locals, particularly newer ones, do not see that this is the issue. To them is due a careful statement of the objective, demonstrable facts.

A. Voting Methods

The method of voting in convention is inequitable. Since every active local has two votes for the first hundred members and one for every additional hundred or major fraction thereof, any local of seven members has two votes, while a local of 249 has only three votes. One local, therefore, has 1 vote per $3\frac{1}{2}$ members, and the other has 1 vote per 83 members. By no stretch of the imagination can this voting method be considered democratic. In fact, by actual count of the present membership of the national, *15 per cent of the membership can outvote the remaining 86 per cent* in any convention proceeding.

It is most unfortunate that at the Cleveland convention all attempts to call up an amendment aimed to democratize the method of convention voting failed, and that this amendment with five others, essential convention business, received no attention at all at the convention.

The proposed amendment would leave the number of convention delegates to which a local is entitled as at present, but would change the number of votes given each local to one for each 10 members or major fraction.

Further consideration of this problem indicates that it would be wise to alter this slightly, so as not to throw the pendulum too far the other way. This could be accomplished by giving one vote for each 10 members or major fraction up to 500 members, and one vote for each 20 members or major fraction in excess of 500 members. We stand ready to propose such an amendment if other locals indicate that it is desirable.

B. Minority Control Inevitable

Under a voting system where 15 per cent of the membership may outvote the remaining 85 per cent, any active minority has little difficulty in getting control of the national organization. It is obviously difficult, moreover, under such a system for the will of the actual majority to make itself counted, if the machinery of the organization is in the hands of a minority.

In the early days of the organization, no groups were as large as the largest are now, and the proportion of tiny groups to the total number of locals was much less than at present. Growth in either direction is a wholesome thing, but these changes have made the twenty-year-old constitution of the national organization obsolete.

In the 1935 convention, a minority group outvoted the majority group. The American Federation of Teachers is an autonomous body which has the right to make its own decisions. But a *minority* of its members has no right to make decisions for a *majority* of its members over their outspoken protest. On the vote on the revocation of the charter of the New York local, 79 votes were cast for revocation and 100 votes were cast against. The 79 votes represented approximately 5900 members and the 100 votes represented approximately 3700 members.

The eleven locals which withdrew from the last day's session of the 1935 convention had in their membership 5012 members, out of a total membership represented by convention delegates of 9683. Their membership was 51 per cent of the total, but their voting power only 27 per cent.

Efforts to make this plain factual issue clear have been sidetracked by charges of "red baiting." Those of us who believe in Democracy have every right to fight attacks from *left or right* when these attacks are harmful to basic principles which we hold to be important. One of these principles is that policies shall be determined by the majority. That the attack in this instance is on the left is beside the point

and charges of "red baiting" become a smoke screen to hide the true issue.

C. Irregular Election Practices

In the 1934 convention, delegates from 20 locals were seated which had not paid the minimum of two months per capita required by the constitution to the national organization and which were therefore not eligible to convention representation. Together with the proxies held by two non-teacher delegates, the delegates from these locals controlled almost one-third of all votes cast at the convention of 1934. Ten of these locals disappeared within a few months after of the convention.

Since the status of per capita payments is known only to the national office, until the monthly financial statements are issued, no question could be raised at the convention as to the eligibility of these 40 votes. A question was raised as to the two non-teachers holding several proxies apiece, and they were then not allowed to vote at the election of officers, although they had voted on all matters up to the fourth day of the convention.

At the 1935 convention, delegates from five locals which were delinquent in per capita payments, or had never paid any at all, were seated. A vice-president who is not a teacher was elected from one of these locals.

These statements are made on the basis of analyses of the monthly reports sent to every local. Consult your own report for September 21, 1935, and compare it with your list of convention delegates.

II. Difference in Opinion as to the Function of the A. F. T.

Honest differences are the sign of growth and strength, and are not to be deplored. They must be settled on the basis of the will of the majority and the policies agreed on carried out with good will. The American Federation of Teachers has a right to adopt its own policies by a majority vote of its members. If policies are decided by a minority, however, the majority have a right to claim that no solution to the differences has been rightfully arrived at.

A vital difference of opinion was clear in the 1935 convention, as to the program with which the American Federation of Teachers could be of the greatest usefulness. This was the second major issue of the convention.

We believe this issue to be one of policy for the national organization described, perhaps, by the expression *radical policy vs. functioning liberal policy*.

A. *Radical Policy* in our opinion implies turning the A. F. of T. into a definitely radical movement whose function will be to serve as a ferment in the social order. Such a policy must contend with the practical situation

in which we find ourselves. It is evident to all familiar with the American Federation of Teachers that we have not been able to organize any impressive proportion of the teachers of America simply because they are antagonistic to, or fearful of, an ordinary *trade union* affiliated with the mild and moderate American Federation of Labor.

To adopt the Radical Policy, then, in our judgment, is to relegate the A. F. of T. to the position of a helplessly small minority, perhaps without labor affiliation, and certainly without strength to make real any improvements or reforms in the school world. Whether or not the quantity of ferment which such a group could supply would be of significance is open to question.

It is true, of course, that no such program as suggested above was actually before the convention; but it follows as a reasonable assumption from our knowledge of the philosophy and political affiliations of the leaders of the group now in power, as well as from the character of many of the resolutions, the general tenor of debate on such issues as were discussed on the floor of the convention, and the expressions of opinions and attitudes in the corridors.

B. As an alternative to the above we propose a *Functioning Liberal Policy* which shall be based on a moderate program involving the traditional position of the American Federation of Teachers on social, economic, political, and educational problems, such program subject, of course, to normal and natural growth as dictated by changing conditions.

This very program has been considered radical in the past, and perhaps it was so at that stage of development in the social thinking of teachers. It seems ridiculous that we should desert this position just as general conditions are driving an increasing number of teachers to this position and make possible, for the first time in our history, the organization of a considerable number of teachers under the banner of the A. F. of T.

A further point in support of this position is that it assures the continuation of our labor affiliation with all that that affiliation means to us. The fact that many of us, as individuals and collectively as a national organization, may disagree with many of the policies and actions of the A. F. of L. is no justification for assuming a position which may sever contact, thus preventing any leadership that we may have from being effective, as an activating agent, in the only group (A. F. of L.) where such motivation will be meaningful as related to the social situation.

It is this problem of policy which we must decide and toward a solution of which our energies should be directed. It is essential that this decision be democratic-

ally arrived at and that it represent the will of the majority.

**Statement of Facts Given Above Sent to the
Executive Council of the American
Federation of Labor**

In view of the unnecessary heat and personal feeling which has been allowed to grow up around the present conflict in the American Federation of Teachers, it seemed extremely likely that some discussion concerning the matter would arise during the session of the American Federation of Labor Convention. Therefore, a complete statement of irregular practices supported by data was sent to the council of the American Federation of Labor, asking that the facts alleged be substantiated or disproved. It is hoped that any discussion which ensues will be upon the real issues, democratic procedure, general policy and majority control, and not upon extraneous ones.

(Actually several resolutions of a "red-baiting" character in connection with the A. F. of T. were introduced at the convention. These were successfully sidetracked because of the request for an investigation of irregular practices as mentioned above.)

Future of the American Federation of Teachers

The undersigned have faith that the American Federation of Teachers can become an important force in the thought of America. They feel that the present conflict is only one of many which will come as the schools and teachers of the nation adjust themselves to the changing plan of the world. They feel that such conflicts of honest opinion are the sign of growth.

In the words of the philosopher politician, T. V. Smith, "To settle peacefully conflicts of interest that might be fought to the death is civilization; to do it gracefully on the basis of equality is democracy; to do it with good humor and with mutual regard is magnanimity."

It is because they are certain that the members of the American Federation of Teachers can differ honestly, can settle their differences democratically and can work together with magnanimity of spirit that the undersigned submit this statement.

Signed:

Local 3, Chicago Women; Mary Herrick, President.
Local 8, Washington, D. C.; Mary C. Dent, President.
Local 43, St. Paul (Men), Minn.; E. H. Sitzer, President.
Local 246, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Stanton E. Smith, President.
Local 263, New Bedford, Mass.; John D. Connors, President.
Local 280, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Mary S. Brady, Ch. Legislative Committee.
Local 322, Kalamazoo, Mich.; Archie P. Nevins, President.
Local 336, Bremerton, Wash.; Kathryn E. Hoffman, Secretary.

Mary McGough, Convention Delegate; St. Paul Women, Local 28.
Ebba Ahlstrom, Convention Delegate; St. Paul Women, Local 28.

Ethel M. Carter, Convention Delegate; St. Paul Women, Local 28.
Helen Conway, Convention Delegate; St. Paul Women, Local 28.
Nellie Dunivon, Convention Delegate; St. Paul Women, Local 28.
Florence Rood, Convention Delegate; St. Paul Women, Local 28.
Mary Mason Jones, President; Washington, D. C., Local 27.
Herbert Drane, President; Memphis, Tenn., Local 52.
Genevieve Oakley, Convention Delegate; Memphis, Tenn., Local 52.
May Darling, Convention Delegate; Portland, Oregon, Local 111.

Reply by Frank R. Kennell

(The Executive Committee of Local 393, Bridgeport, Conn., voted unanimously to endorse the contents of the following letter from Frank R. Kennell to Mr. Stanton M. Smith.)

219 Pacific Street,
Bridgeport, Connecticut,
January 8, 1936.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Your communication concerning changes in the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers will be circulated among our members as you request. In the meantime may I make a few comments upon it from my own personal viewpoint? I shall take in order the issues raised.

I. A. It seems to me that your proposal to increase the number of delegates to the convention would make the cost of full representation prohibitive for all except the locals in the immediate vicinity of the convention city. This would have the effect of putting control into the hands of these locals.

B. I doubt if the situation is quite as black as you paint it. You assume that the eleven locals which withdrew represented the opinion of 100% of 5012 members. In an issue as controversial as that of Local 5, New York City, they certainly misrepresented many of their members. If the stand of the delegates from the New York local itself is a criterion, they may have represented a minority, for here was a flagrant case of delegates representing a minority of their local trying to force their viewpoint upon the convention.

You have not disposed of the issue of red-baiting by claiming that it is being used as a smoke screen. The real substance of your complaint is that you were not successful in defeating the will of the majority of the members of Local 5. It was the enemies of democracy who raised this issue at the convention. Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz asked for the revocation of the charter of their local because they no longer enjoyed the confidence and support of the members of that local. With them it was rule or ruin. Unsuccessful at our convention, they carried the case, with your support, to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, where it did not even reach first base. Your fear that organized labor

will not support the stand of our convention was answered at Atlantic City.

II. You have not, in my opinion, stated the issue at stake at the 1935 convention quite fairly. Your insinuation that Mr. Lowry, Mrs. Hanson, and Mr. Davis are Communists and crooks is foolish and unfair. I am sure you know better. The real issue at the convention was between democracy, which was vigorously defended by our national officers, and a scandalous and reckless attack upon the elementary American rights of our members to their own private opinions, an attack which evoked unfavorable comment in the New York City press. Personally, I have the utmost confidence in our national officers and I am sure that this confidence is shared by the members of Local 393, Bridgeport. We voted unanimously to support them against your attacks at Atlantic City.

I hope you will give some further thought to the words of the philosopher politician, T. V. Smith, whom you quote in your letter. Why not drop this whole business as an un-

fortunate incident that were far better forgotten? The position you held was lost at Cleveland and at Atlantic City. In keeping the issue alive to embitter and disrupt our organization, are you practicing those ideals of civilization, democracy, and magnanimity which you preach?

Please believe, Mr. Smith, that I have written as I have with the friendliest purpose. In a matter of this sort, I am sure you prefer plain speaking to insincere blarney. You are obviously prompted by a desire to preserve the Federation from harmful tendencies. My whole point has been that your goal and especially the methods your group has used to attain it will wreck the Federation and destroy its influence. Let us differ if we must, fairly and in friendship, as brothers with a common fundamental aim. If I may follow your excellent example with a quotation, it will be

"MORE LIGHT—LESS HEAT."

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) FRANK R. KENNEL.

Reply by George Davis

506 S. Wabash Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois,
November 18, 1935.

Mr. Stanton E. Smith,
749 Oak Street,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Dear Mr. Smith:

As far as I am concerned there is no objection to the publication of your article in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. I am sending it to the Executive Council for a decision.

May I call your attention to a few points?

In "Undemocratic Procedure" you object to the present membership representation, set up to protect small locals, on the ground that it permits minority control, and you propose a re-allocation. Under your plan let's hold four "conventions": two locals of 500 and one of 1000; three of 500 and two of 1000; four of 500 and one of 1000; five of 500 and three of 1000. Line up the 500's against the 1000's in each case and calculate results on the basis of membership representation. Do you get the same results I get? There is only one answer to your problem—a bicameral convention with a supreme court on the side.

I have heard that a good general usually spends so much time going over the last campaign that the next one catches him unprepared. Charges of irregularity in the seating of delegates at the 1934 and 1935 conventions reflect carelessness on the part of complaining delegates for not having lodged protests at the time those delegates were seated. All credentials were passed on in the usual way and delegates seated in the usual manner.

Have you read Section 4, Article VII of the constitution?

"Locals entitled to two delegates may not credential more than one who is a full time paid official either of the local or of the Federation." Neither Dr. Linville nor Dr. Lefkowitz has taught a class since our high school days*; yet no objection was made to their being seated as delegates in conventions and holding office in the national. On the other hand, somebody raised so much hell about the request of Local 2 for the seating of its paid official that he went home in disgust.

It is true that we lost a number of locals in Arkansas during the past year; in fact Arkansas has all but lost its whole school system. I wonder how long any of our locals would last, if members' salaries were cut to \$20.00 and \$30.00 per month. Do you know that 586 out of 1804 labor unions organized by the A. F. of L. during the past two years have gone out of existence? Comparison does not show us up in a bad light.

Your inference of dishonesty in the National Office will have to be answered by the Secretary-Treasurer at the time of the alleged "fudging". I am of the opinion that she has the answer.

I'll have to admit that your "Functioning Liberal Policy" has me stopped. If the A. F. of T. has been turned into a "radical" organization, you are wrong about its relegating us to the position of a helplessly small minority because five new locals have come in recently without benefit of an organizer. Since we are growing, we are either not radical or we are growing in spite of it. By the way, one of the new

* (Editor's note: Mr. Davis is partly in error, as Dr. Lefkowitz does teach.)

applications is from your own state. Can you explain to me how it is that one of your "Functioning Liberals" who was accusing us of being *Red* was refused an appointment by a state senate because of her radicalism and that the position is held by one of our *Reds* with the sanction of that same state senate?

"Actually several resolutions of a 'red-baiting' character in connection with the A. F. of T. were introduced at the convention", is an untrue statement. Two duck dinners on me at our next convention if you substantiate the statement. What actually happened was that Miss Borchardt, after failing to secure the endorsement of delegates from other internationals, herself signed and turned in the only resolution having to do with an A. F. of T. investigation just ten minutes before the dead line for acceptance. One "red-baiting" resolution had been written by Miss Borchardt but was not submitted, excepting to the press for advance copy. It was never used, but I was told about it by a reporter who had to wire in a correction, because the resolution submitted

was different from the advance copy which had been handed to him by Miss Borchardt.

So, you see, the argument is endless. If the A. F. of L. actually investigates irregularities in the National Office, the first thing found will be a series of reports from Local 3 with a notation, "I am making this report according to the directions of the president and not according to my judgment" on each one and signed by the treasurer of the local. I should prefer to let things like that alone. They are past. The national administration is all new and making an effort to build the A. F. of T. You are at liberty to propose any resolutions you like at the 1936 convention for changes.

But, if you insist on digging it up, everything, much of it as unpleasant as the one instance cited, is coming out.

Do you still insist?

Fraternally,

(Signed) GEORGE DAVIS
Sec.-Treas.,
AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF TEACHERS.

The Rating System: an anti-Union Weapon

MATTHEW BESDINE

The Teachers' Union of New York City has grown phenomenally. In the short period of five months, during which Local 5 has been under new leadership, about 2400 new members have joined. As in other unions this rapid growth in membership and activity has been met with increased attempts at intimidation on the part of some supervisors.

New York City is a strong union center with 800,000 workers organized in the Central Trades and Labor Council. Recently the Electric Workers' Union waged a successful strike against the Board of Education for union conditions in the building of new schools. Anti-Union supervisors dare not openly punish teachers for belonging to a union. They therefore use the familiar technique of attempting to punish and dismiss active Union members on the grounds of inefficiency.

The problem of defending Union members and establishing the right of the teachers to join the organization of their choice is not new. Back in 1916 at the inception of the American Federation of Teachers, the Chicago Board of Education passed a resolution demanding that teachers resign from the Union or face dismissal. The Board then proceeded to make good its threat by dismissing thirty-eight Union members in June. In the resulting struggle for justice and reinstatement of these teachers, the Union established its right to exist, to organize the teachers and to defend the interests of the school and the profession.

Dr. Frederick Oswald, principal of the Eastern District High School, where Union membership increased five-fold within a year, has abused his rating power by attempting to punish three probationary teachers who are active Union members.

Mrs. Blanche Horowitz, Union secretary at the school, and school Union delegate, was rated "unsatisfactory" on six grounds by Dr. Oswald and her dismissal was recommended. Mrs. Horowitz had served as a substitute teacher for three and a half years in three schools and had always been rated satisfactory. For eight months after her appointment to the Eastern District High School, her ratings were uniformly good. On November 1, 1935, the head of her department criticized her plan book. On November 7th and 8th she was visited by her principal. On November 16th she received a sharp letter from him. On November 26th she was rated "unsatisfactory" and recommended for dismissal. The principal had not conferred with her, nor had he given her any help or any opportunity for improvement. A teacher with years of satisfactory service was to be dismissed on the basis of letters, and visits crowded into twenty-six days.

Miss Millicent Milchman teaches at the Greenpoint Annex of the Eastern District High School. In a study conducted by the TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD on May, 1933, the map indicating the progress of children throughout the city, reveals that Greenpoint is in the group second from the lowest. Only Harlem and the Red Hook section are

lower. In a Welfare Council study of the rate of delinquency among Brooklyn boys, Greenpoint has the second highest rate, lower only than Red Hook. It was under such conditions, where discipline problems were especially difficult, that Miss Milchman formerly rendered satisfactory service. She is now being rated weak in "class control."

Dr. Oswald, communicating to Miss Milchman in defense of his present adverse rating of "weak in class control" said the following of his pupils: "You claim to know these pupils since you lived in Williamsburg, and that they must be led gently. You have never once mentioned one real problem, that of racial antagonisms. I have a considerable knowledge of these boys and girls. I lived thirty-five years of my life in Greenpoint. The majority are Italian and Polish; they cling to their kind; they cannot distinguish freedom from license; they obey only when they must; they consider leniency a sign of weakness . . ." Obviously he has social attitudes which are extremely unhealthy. This concept of discipline which requires the use of the mailed fist toward the pupils of certain racial groups disqualifies Dr. Oswald as a judge of satisfactory discipline.

Miss Etta Miller was found "weak in questioning" by Dr. Oswald. Strangely enough, this was the very item singled out by her chairman who had commended her for "thought-provoking questions" and had stated that "such questions help to achieve the aims of social science teaching . . . an awareness of the life about us."

One searches in vain through the records to find any evidence of that friendly sympathetic criticism which constitutes the basis of good supervision. At no time was helpful guidance or suggestion for improvement given by Dr. Oswald to any of these probationary teachers. One is forced to the conclusion that the ratings and supervision were used not to improve teaching, but to punish and intimidate Union teachers.

This is not surprising when one considers that on several occasions Dr. Oswald has revealed his anti-union bias. Dr. Oswald has said:

That the Union did not support him in his candidacy for principalship.

That he would not "play ball" with the Teachers Union.

That one of the teachers involved could not take criticism because she is a Union member.

That teachers join the Union to cover their own inefficiency as teachers.

That promotion and Union membership do not go together.

Dr. Oswald refused Mrs. Horowitz permission to post a Union circular on the bulletin board, although circulars of other organizations were posted.

Two outstanding Union members, Adolph Stone and Meyer Case were informed by their head of department

that hostile rumors were circulating about them.

The issues in the case are clear. Are the teachers to be permitted to organize in trade unions without intimidation or punishment? Is the Union to be granted the equal use of school facilities, a room in which to meet, the use of the bulletin board for notices, and equal right to distribute its literature in teachers' letter boxes? Are teachers to be permitted to use modern methods of education? Shall supervisors continue to abuse their power to rate by punishing Union teachers?

The Teachers' Union of New York is meeting the issues squarely. Arthur Garfield Hays, Union Counsel, is defending the Eastern District teachers. The case has been appealed, and a brief has been filed with the Board of Superintendents. A pamphlet has been issued on the case, focusing the spotlight of publicity upon the injustice involved. A mass meeting was held on February 14th, as a demonstration of solidarity with the teachers involved, and as a protest against the attempt to intimidate Union teachers. Committees have been set in motion to secure for these teachers the support of all progressive educators. The problem is being presented to the Labor movement.

The teachers of New York are determined to build a strong organization, which will establish the right of teachers to organize in defense of their interests, and which will put an end to the abuse of the rating system and to all attempts to intimidate teachers.

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes to membership the following locals, whose charters were issued since the last issue of the magazine.

Mercer County Teachers' Union No. 437, Mercer County, N. J.

Ohio State University Federation of Teachers No. 438, Columbus, Ohio.

Lynn Federation of Teachers No. 439, Lynn, Mass.

Howard Teachers' Union No. 440, Washington, D. C.

Boston Federation of Teachers No. 441, Boston, Mass.

Palo Alto Teachers' Union No. 442, Palo Alto, Calif.

Indiana County Federation of Teachers No. 443, Indiana Co., Pa.

Minnesota University Federation No. 444, Twin Cities, Minn.

Chico Federation of Teachers No. 445, Chico, Calif.

Freeborn County Federation of Teachers No. 446, Freeborn Co., Minn.

Indianapolis Teachers' Union No. 447, Indianapolis, Ind.

Federal Teachers' Local No. 448, Cleveland, Ohio.

Camden, N. J. No. 449

The Teachers' Union in Action

NATIONAL NEWS

Executive Council Meets

The Executive Council of the A. F. T. convened at the national office for four sessions on December 28 and 29, 1935. Thirteen were present; four were absent. In the following paragraphs, an account will be given of the more important problems considered and proposals adopted.

Convention Arrangements Made

The annual convention will take place in Philadelphia, August 17-22. Convention program details have been left to the National Officers and the Philadelphia local. The necessary tasks are already under way, nationally and in Philadelphia. The next ("Convention") issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* (out late in May) will contain more detailed convention plans. One difficult problem was met when the Executive Council decided to limit the number of outside speakers to five, and the speeches to thirty minutes each. Such an arrangement may seem arbitrary, but past experience indicates its advisability.

Proxy Voting Restricted

Another difficult problem was met when the Executive Council decided, after full consideration, that (1) no delegate to the convention may carry proxy votes except from locals within the state in which his membership is held, and (2) delegates carrying such proxy votes must exhibit written authority from the local involved.

Equalization Fund Proposed

Small locals, located far from the convention city, have been financially at a disadvantage in the matter of sending delegates to the convention. This is in most cases the reason for the recourse to proxy voting, a solution generally recognized to be less than perfect. The limitation upon proxy voting is therefore accompanied by a proposal to establish an equalization fund to assist small, remote locals to send delegates without going into bankruptcy. This proposal was referred for recommendations to the Convention Representation Committee, consisting of Mr. Bergman, Miss Herrick, and Mr. Welles.

Proportional Representation at the Convention

The problem of proper membership representation at conventions of the A. F. T. is still in part a problem that requires attention. The Convention Representation Committee (names listed above) has been asked to investigate this

problem and formulate a report covering its findings and recommendations. This report may lead to constitutional change by referendum before the convention, or to convention action.

National Legislative Representative Chosen

Our new Legislative Representative at Washington will be Mary Foley Grossman, of the Philadelphia local. Mrs. Grossman has done extensive work in the Pennsylvania legislative field.

Who May Be an A. F. T. Member?

At the present time, three groups of teachers have a limited organizational status within the A. F. T. W. P. A. teachers, substitute teachers, and unemployed teachers, are admitted or barred, in accordance with rules which vary widely from local to local. The Executive Council, in response to the growing need for greater inclusiveness within the A. F. T., has taken the several steps subsequently described.

W. P. A. Admission Regulations

The Executive Council decided that Section I Article IV of the constitution would be interpreted as follows, whenever there were applications for charters from W. P. A. teachers: (1) If there is an A. F. T. local in the area, that local must give its consent, and (2) Not fewer than seven of the applicants for charter must be regularly qualified teachers. (At this writing, Local 346, Chicago, made up largely of W. P. A. members, is functioning effectively. An application from New York City W. P. A. teachers has resulted in the granting of a charter. Local 5 aided in this and a joint board has been established.)

Executive Council Urges Acceptance of W. P. A. and Substitute Teachers

Resolution, "The Executive Council urges all locals seriously to consider the problems of the W. P. A. and substitute teachers and to make every effort to organize them within the ranks of the A. F. T." Carried. This means, of course, taking them into the existing local or asking them to form separate locals. Jurisdiction must be left with existing locals. Distinction should be made between regularly qualified teachers on W. P. A. who have chosen teaching as a life work, and those who are on W. P. A. as a means of living until times are better—(when and if).

The Unemployed Teacher

The Executive Council passed a motion asking locals to make consideration of the admittance of unemployed teach-

ers into the A. F. T. an order of business at a future meeting and to report findings and experience to the National Office. PLEASE NOTE.

Financial Data

A budget for the period January 1 to June 30, 1936, was approved on a basis of nine for the National Office and eight for organization out of an estimated seventeen thousand dollar income for the period, with income above the estimate to be used for organizational purposes.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER was reduced from three to two issues for the rest of the academic year to permit additional funds for organizational work.

Defense Arrangements Completed in Academic Freedom Cases

The Executive Council set up the Committee on Academic Freedom, consisting of: Mr. Davidson, chairman, Mrs. Dart, Mr. Krueger, Mr. McCoy, Mr. Welles, Miss Nelson, and Mr. Barker. The functions of the committee shall be (1) to study and fight cases of Academic Freedom violation, and (2) to make necessary reports.

Two specific cases are now before the A. F. T. Mr. Satterthwaite was sent to help in the Jewett case (California). Action was taken to get the support of the A. F. of L. in the Taylor case (West Virginia).

To assist in these and all other legal matters pertaining to the A. F. T., the Secretary-Treasurer has been authorized to investigate the possibility of retaining an A. F. T. attorney.

Organizational Work Shows Progress

The last year has witnessed a sound growth in our numbers and strength. (The list of new locals is printed elsewhere in this issue.) As an aid to organizational work, the Executive Council has set up regional organization committees under the chairmanship of the vice-presidents.

The organizational drive is meeting with unprecedented success in the colleges. The effectiveness of this work is enhanced by (1) establishing contacts through members-at-large, (2) working through labor board members, (3) meetings where academic associations convene, and (4) contacting summer school students.

In answer to a request from the Arkansas Federation of Labor, a sum of money has been appropriated to organize Arkansas teachers. The drive will be conducted in cooperation with the United Mine Workers and the State Federation of Labor.

Relations with Other Organizations

The fight against war has led to the formation of trade union conferences against war. Such conferences have grown up in Philadelphia, Paterson, and New York. The Executive Council sent to the A. F. of L. a resolution asking official endorsement of these conferences.

An unofficial observer was sent to the Congress of the American League against War and Fascism.

A letter was sent to President William Green commending his stand against the attacks upon Florida labor organizers. The letter asked that the A. F. of L. change the place of its 1936 convention unless satisfactory action had been taken against offenders.

The American Civil Liberties Union has sent to the Executive Council a resolution opposing the "Incitement to Disaffection" Bill and the Kramer Sedition Bill as bills which strike at American freedom of speech and press. Copies of these resolutions have been sent to all locals for consideration.

A. F. T. Endorses W. P. A.-C. C. C. Request

A resolution asking the President and Congress to liberalize W. P. A. and C. C. C. regulations was sent to all locals with the endorsement of the Executive Council. The degrees of liberalization asked for would enable every high school graduate between the ages of 21 and 25 to be employed upon W. P. A. for not less than 6 months per year at the regular wage, with such employment to be in line with the chosen life work; such employment shall be so rated that private employers will accept it as job experience. The C. C. C. regulations and W. P. A. regulations should both be liberalized so that the acceptance of the individual shall not be affected by whether or not the family is on relief.

Was the Executive Council Meeting Worth While?

The meeting which has been described in the preceding paragraphs was the first of its kind and was worth while as an aid in bridging the gap between annual conventions, thus enhancing the effectiveness of the A. F. T. The Secretary-Treasurer expects to recommend to the 1936 convention that an annual mid-year Council meeting be authorized and financed by the A. F. T. as a regular part of its annual business.

NEWS from LOCALS

Chicago Teachers Fight for Restoration of School Year.

—Part of the 23½ per cent pay cut of Chicago teachers is made up of a one month reduction of the school term. The loss falls on the pupil (in curtailed education) and on the teacher (in pay). The Joint Board of Teachers has commenced a drive for restoration of the month to the school calendar. . . . The bankers are expected to fight this proposal, as they have in the past.

Bridgeport Local Scores Niggardly Educational Budget.

—At the public hearing on budget requisitions held by the Tax Board on February 4, Frank McKee, President of the Teachers' Union charged that the appropriations made for education were niggardly and that the city was

giving inadequate support to its schools in the matter both of salaries and of supplies. During the past four years the teachers of Bridgeport have voluntarily waived 20 per cent of their salaries in order to ease the relief burden for taxpayers. They have sustained an additional cut of 6 per cent during the last two years. The annual salary increments have likewise been withheld. The representatives of the Union asked for a smaller waiver and a larger appropriation. The President of the Board of Education joined the teachers in a plea for increased salaries; on the other hand the President of the Bridgeport Teachers' Association (the local company union) praised the Mayor for effecting a 1.8 mill cut in the tax rate.

Cleveland Local Acts, Non-Union Federation "Studies."

—Local 279 is still fighting the State certification law insofar as it concerns teacher tenure. Protests are being mailed by trade union organizations from all over the State to the Ohio Department of Education. . . . It is amusing to record that the Cleveland Teachers' Federation, the old-line non-union organization, has announced that it is "studying" the measure and "does not intend to act hastily." The measure in question contains five lines.

Repeal of Rule Sought by St. Louis Local.—The St. Louis Local has tried for some seven months to secure the repeal of an old rule of the Board of Education to the effect that teachers are not to belong to a labor union. Although the Instruction Committee of the Board has had the question before it for two months, it asked for additional information before final decision. . . . The ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH of January 7, 1936, says "Several letters from teachers and others, opposing repeal of the rule, were presented to the committee. Superintendent of Instruction Gerling told the committee that the eight *existing professional* organizations of teachers and principals had indicated in various ways, through representatives, that they *were not interested in abolition of the rule*. Heads of these organizations, he added, have asserted that their members were not seeking the privilege of joining a union." (Italics ours.)

Atlanta Local Grows.—There remain but 200 teachers in the Atlanta schools who have not joined A. F. T. Local 89. The membership has grown to 998, and includes 38 schools with 100% membership. The January issue of THE ATLANTA TEACHER contains a call to other districts in Georgia to organize for betterment of the educational facilities in the state. . . . The Atlanta Federation of Trades adopted unanimously a resolution in favor of immediate restoration of a 25 per cent pay cut, imposed in September, 1932, affecting Fulton County Teachers and other employees of the school system.

Duluth Federation Completes Its First Year.—The Duluth Federation (organized March 18, 1935) spent its first six months in organizing activities. During the sum-

mer the Emergency Committee functioned and through its work favorable contact was established with the Board. . . . Teachers with lower salaries had received a 32% cut while higher salaried teachers received only a 27% cut. In asking the correction of this inequity and restoration to the salary schedule, the Federation solicited and received assistance from the central labor body. . . . The Taxpayers' League had drawn up a survey, unfavorable to the schools, and in the local newspapers was answered by only the Duluth Local. . . . Among the proposed 1936 objectives are the fight for the repeal of the 21 mill limitation and the fight for the maintenance of the single salary schedule.

Ohio Federation Aids in Saving Foundation Program.

—The Ohio State Federation convened in Toledo on February 8. Mr. Kiker reported that friends of the Federation were most active in defeating the amendment which would have upset the financial provisions of the Foundation Program. . . . The Teacher Retirement Board does not now adequately reflect the teacher viewpoint and it was therefore decided to support a classroom teacher for the election. . . . Cleveland and Toledo delegates reported that central labor bodies were especially helpful in securing the passage of special levies outside the 10 mill limitation.

Over-crowding vs. Health in Detroit.—The Detroit Federation of Teachers in a delegation to Mayor Couzens pointed out that "due to congestion, inadequate ventilation caused by over-crowding, and other facts, the health of teachers and pupils is being severely affected. There has been a 20% increase in illness among Detroit teachers." The Assistant Superintendent agreed with the health argument. The Board has asked for 324 additional teachers next year, but at least 511 should be engaged to restore conditions to the 1930 level. Asked why the Detroit Federation of Teachers had been launched, Miss Frances Comfort, President of the Local, replied that the existing Detroit Teachers' Association "proved itself an ineffectual body largely because its members were obliged to enroll in it and because it is dominated by school administrative officers."

Independence of Thought.—The teachers of San Mateo, California, have recently been subjected to subtle pressure from the Superintendent. A demagogic leaflet entitled THE TEACHER AND PARTISAN ORGANIZATIONS was sent to all teachers of that city. In it the Superintendent counsels "not as an executive but as a teacher" against joining any organization other than a "professional" organization, since as teachers "we must be free from prejudice and must retain our independence of thought." Many teachers of San Mateo demonstrated their independence of thought by joining the American Federation of Teachers.

Philadelphia Local Fights for Complete Restoration of Salaries.—Pennsylvania teachers have achieved salary restoration to the level of the state minimum requirements.

However, 3287 Philadelphia teachers are still receiving salaries that are less than those called for by the 1933 Philadelphia schedule.

During 1934 and 1935, School Boards in almost every community, including Philadelphia, took advantage of the state law permitting salary cuts. Pressure from teachers, largely articulated through Philadelphia Local 192, caused the state legislature to refuse to extend the permissive salary cut law. The Philadelphia Board of Education, accordingly, was required to restore salaries as of January 1, 1936. However, the 3287 teachers, who had been receiving, 1933 and earlier, slightly more than the state minimum were denied complete restoration. Of these, 2692 are elementary teachers, who because of lower bracketed salaries can least afford the loss.

The Philadelphia Teachers' Union has been pressing for complete restoration, and has won many members and

friends on this issue. The additional amount needed for complete restoration is about \$900,000 and the Board of Education has a 1935 surplus of \$875,282. Though individual members of the Board have stated that the surplus should be devoted to complete restoration, no official action (except postponement) has been taken.

The Teachers' Union in Philadelphia, however, does not by any means consider this a closed matter. It has circulated petitions and arranged several successful open meetings upon the subject. Upon seeking to appear before the Board of Education to speak on this question, the Union has lately met with refusals. In spite of this fact, teachers are pressing for a successful conclusion of this issue.

Locals are requested to submit brief reports for publication in this department.—EDITORS.

Why College Teachers Should Join the A. F. of T.

JEROME DAVIS

We happen to be living in a social order which is grossly defective. This fact stands clearly revealed when we fully sense the tragedy of the millions who are unemployed. Thousands of teachers in colleges are today unemployed; other thousands have had their salaries seriously impaired. The teachers of the United States should be organized therefore into a strong militant organization which is not content to see educational opportunities retrograde, but which insists that the public provide increasing, rather than diminishing, educational opportunities. This demands that both college professors and public school teachers should be united into one organization.

College teachers are in peculiar danger of becoming isolated from the great body of public school teachers. They need to participate in the problems of the public schools, not to withdraw behind the cloistered walls of higher education. Furthermore, college teachers themselves need collective support in the matter of salaries, pensions, promotion by merit, tenure and freedom. But to have courage in action necessitates group power. The larger the base of the group, provided it stands for the highest and best social values, the more the group power and the further it aids social progress. The American Federation of Teachers provides potential fellowship not only with *all* teachers, but with organized labor as well, because of its membership in the American Federation of Labor.

In a democracy, Education, if it is to move forward in our dynamic social life, must have the backing of the working masses. Education, in the last analysis, rests in large measure upon the economic support of the workers. It is of vital importance that the organized teachers should be affiliated with the organized workers. By this means we have a supporting fellowship of those looking and working in the same direction.

College teachers often need to bridge the gap between abstract theory and the realities of the concrete affairs of the world. To be affiliated with an organization that has in its membership the rank and file of the working class insures first hand contact with life. The problems of our day which come pressing in for solution do not permit of theoretical abstractions in a campus vacuum. Consequently, the college teacher who belongs to, and participates in, the American Federation of Teachers will inevitably acquire greater understanding of the social-economic problems of our age.

To some extent we are still living in a world of class and caste. There are sex, color, religious, political and economic barriers which powerfully affect our lives. Vested interests of the economic order, as well as of church and state, attempt to control education in their own interests. The American Federation of Teachers places the public interest

ahead of self-interest. It is always on guard against dangerous legislation affecting education, and on the watch to support laws which are needed for social justice and the public welfare.

In a day when loyalty oaths are becoming popular, when Fascism has already throttled freedom of education on a wide scale in Europe and has even dared to raise its head in the United States, surely it is no time for the college teacher to remain smug, contented and isolated. In a day when Hearst prostitutes his press for selfish purposes, to pillory devoted servants of the public weal because they do not conform to his stereotype, every college professor must join solidly with the other public school teachers of the country.

The strongest imperative to the college teacher to join the American Federation of Teachers is not only what it can do for him personally, but what he can do through it for the social progress of all. If America is to be kept free from the despotism of Fascism and from catastrophic world war, we must organize positively for social justice. The American Federation of Teachers seeks to protect and make real the liberty, equality and fraternity on which this nation was founded.

Already at Harvard, Yale and some thirty other colleges and universities, members of the teaching staff have joined the American Federation of Teachers, forming their own locals of varying sizes; and in some cases becoming members of the local teachers' union, comprising all groups of teachers.

Today the Yale local has enlarged its functions and is beginning to enroll others outside the university circles. Meetings are therefore held frequently and the topics of discussion broadened. The local has also gone into other communities in Connecticut and has organized other locals, so that little by little a stronger teachers' organization is being built in the state.

In the last analysis, in a democracy, organized group cooperation is the only way to secure public attention and respect and to make possible the forward march of educational progress.

(A. F. T. members in several universities were asked to state what they believed to be the best form of organization. We print below the two replies received to date.—EDITORS.)

NEW YORK LOCAL HAS COLLEGE SECTION.

For several years a group of college teachers in New York City has been searching for the right sort of organization through which to protect their economic interests and their freedom of research and expression. They made several efforts to set up an independent association, but these invariably failed. It was apparent that college teachers, unless faced by some immediate and flagrant outrage upon their profession, were wary of joining an organization weak in numbers, conspicuously isolated from the labor movement as a whole, and therefore impotent to aid them materially.

But only after the drastic reorganization of Local 5 of the A. F. T. in New York City was a practical step possible. In the fall of 1935 a College Section of this local was



"ALL HANDS TO THE PUMP!"

E. EGLISH

created. Now the New York college teacher finds that he can present his grievance and otherwise act through a union of teachers that at the last counting numbered 4,516 local members and that has an enviable record of efficient action in the teachers' interests. As a consequence, the college membership has grown from about 30 to 300 members within less than four months, and applications are being received at the average of ten weekly from more than a dozen institutions of higher learning, both municipal and private, in the New York City area.

The fact that college teachers have in some respects different problems from the teachers in a municipal school system made impractical their direct reception into the local. But the aim of the type of organization chosen was to create a united front of all teachers through the organizational consciousness that their fundamental problems are the same and that their methods of attacking them must be fundamentally the same. For this reason, the College Section is not an autonomous body. All legislation that it passes, all action that it would institute, must receive the sanction of the local as a whole, and can be carried out only through and in the name of Local 5. The Section acts independently only in certain matters of research and investigation, and in the issuance of resolutions to the press and to public officials, and other forms of protest where independent action will tend to strengthen rather than to weaken the influence of the local as a whole. It has its own committees, but these act, wherever feasible, in conjunction with similar committees of the entire local. The College Section believes that the organization of teachers of all categories, and in fact, of all educational workers, is essential to a successful teacher movement.

New York University. EDWIN BERRY BURGUM.

BALTIMORE LOCAL PLANS COLLEGE SECTION

The Baltimore Teachers' Union, Local 340, established in the fall of 1934, has grown slowly from a charter group of ten to a membership of sixty. Its activities thus far have been confined to problems of public school teachers, in particular the question of the resumption of the salary increments.

Primarily as a token of their sympathy with the labor movement, a dozen college teachers are now in the Union. These include members of the faculty of Goucher College, Morgan College, and the Johns Hopkins University. Our plan is to call them together shortly to form a semi-autonomous college section of the local, with adequate representation on the local executive board. We believe that it is unwise to organize a separate college local until the union becomes much stronger.

Our central problem, of course, is to make the college section an instrument of action for improving the conditions of college teachers. This will entail, among other things, clarifying the relationship between the Union and the

A. A. U. P., and demonstrating through practical activity that union organization does offer something to college teachers. The rapid growth of the New York college section, the Harvard local and others, proves that the problem can be solved.

Johns Hopkins University. ALBERT E. BLUMBERG.

Tenure in California

ANNA DART

In 1921, the California Legislature passed a tenure law extending tenure to all teachers, even in very small schools, and in isolated communities. The California State Federation of Teachers played a leading role in securing this excellent legislation. In the years from 1921 to 1927, salaries were high, tenure seemed secure, and there was a sort of deadly apathy regarding teachers' organizations. Membership dwindled in the Federation until only the Voorhis (at San Dumas in Southern California), the San Francisco, and the Sacramento locals remained.

Meanwhile a whispering campaign against tenure was being waged throughout the state. "Teachers feel they own their jobs for life." "Life diploma and tenure need revision. Four year diplomas renewed only after examinations instead of saddling a teacher on the community for life." So cleverly was this insidious propaganda dished out to the teachers that they paid for it as subscribers to SIERRA EDUCATIONAL NEWS (the organ of the California Teachers' Association, our company union). They paid for it again in their summer schools where the teachers were harangued, by superintendents turned professors, on the necessity of changing the California Tenure Law which allowed teachers a sinecure. Principals gave to the superintendents a not entirely disinterested support.

There sprang up then in Southern California an independent classroom teachers movement. "Save tenure!" was its battle cry. It distributed by the thousands its little magazine, THE CLASSROOM TEACHER, which exposed the propaganda of the company union and put up a valiant fight to maintain the good 1921 tenure law. Nearly all members of the American Federation of Teachers joined the new Association of California Classroom Teachers and worked harmoniously in both organizations. There were many teachers thoroughly disillusioned with the California Teachers' Association, who were ready to join a fighting organization, and who had not yet decided "to affiliate with Labor."

This association of Classroom Teachers joined with the Teachers' Union in an attempt to rouse the teachers to their impending fate. The axe fell in the form of a change in the Tenure Law by the 1927 Legislature, a change which swept tenure away from all districts having less than 850 A. D. A.*

*Average Daily Attendance.

One two-line clause guaranteed tenure in such districts to those already possessing it. Thus was worker divided against worker. In little country school districts, those whose tenure was not attacked did not fight on to save it for others in their districts. And when the city teacher sent to the country teacher expensive printed circulars urging financial support, and telegrams during the legislative fight, the answer was, "What have the city teachers ever done for us?"

Nor has our state department kept its hands entirely off. Assistant Superintendents have warned publicly that the California Classroom Teachers must be subsidized by public utilities. Lies have been told from one end of the state to the other by persons whose official capacity should make them have greater care to preserve their integrity.

Yet the fight has been carried on. Isolated cases have been fought and won for tenure in California. Our Instructors' Initiative Amendment on Tenure goes on the ballot this fall. How signatures were secured by teachers who remained in the cities during the general strike, how these teachers

were welcomed in meeting after meeting of strikers who signed en masse, and how our message of self-protection and guarding rights of workers' children was received by men on strike rations are proof of the source of our strength. The down-and-out, the unemployed, the Union sympathizers, the liberals, these are the people who understand why teachers must have tenure. On the other hand, paid officials of the California Teachers' Association have warned classroom teachers to stay away from the Legislature.

We are very hopeful of our situation in California. Some of us have clamored rather loudly for the State Federation of Teachers to get into action again. Our state convention was a success, and we now have in California eight locals. We have banded together in the tenure fight the bravest and most knowing school men and women in California, all of whom enjoy the "storm and stress" of fighting things to a finish. We know that academic freedom, organization, and tenure are all parts of the same struggle toward a better life for all workers.

The American Newspaper Guild

DAVID SCHEYER

Stanley Walker, in CITY EDITOR, drew from his experience the conclusion that reporters were an unorganizable breed, since every "leg-man" and "re-write man" had in his desk drawer the great American novel or the smash hit of Broadway that was to lift him from the ranks. Newspaper men in New York and throughout the country are disproving Walker's contention by building the American Newspaper Guild.

The Newspaper Guild came into being in 1933 in the tremendous wave of organization that rebuilt unionism in the United States. The specific call to organization was sounded by Heywood Broun in his WORLD-TELEGRAM column. The prestige of Broun in the newspaper world, and the love all newsmen have for this shambling and shabby iconoclast, have been powerful factors in building and guiding the Guild.

Many will remember the ranting in the holy name of "freedom of the press" when the Newspaper Code was proposed late in 1933. All this had its effect because, when the code was finally drafted, it was an even feebler chick than most of the brood of the Blue Eagle. The editorial staff of the newspaper got a forty hour week—applying only to large papers in large cities—and a fifteen dollar minimum which, in practice, often went as low as nine dollars, a provision applicable largely to copy-boys.

The Guild early had its baptism in NRA politics when Dean Jennings was fired from the SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER for union activities. Because the case was twice brought before the Labor Board and won, the Newspaper

Industrial Board, publisher-controlled code authority, demanded jurisdiction. As a result of these incidents, President Roosevelt, in February, 1934, wrote to Francis Biddle, chairman of the Labor Board, telling him to keep his hands off certain cases and certain code bodies. The guild was born but never sheltered under the wings of the Blue Eagle.

The Guild grew with an amazing rapidity that blasted the fiction that all newspapermen had incomes of seventy-five dollars a week, homes in the country, and cars. Nerve-racked men in Minneapolis and Columbus, in Lansing and San Francisco, in Newark and Sioux Falls had been looking for the Guild, looking for even the flimsiest screen to protect themselves from hours of unpaid overtime, from drastic pay cuts, from arbitrary hiring and firing in this most arbitrary of industries.

There are varying degrees of trade union consciousness among the five or six thousand members of the Guild. There has been, of course, a tremendous amount of narrow professionalism, an attitude of distaste for "unionism" reflected in the very name of the organization. But there are also elements, especially in the larger centers, which realize that the Guild, to live, must fight as a Union. The point of view, a minority opinion at first, has grown in two years, until affiliation with the American Federation of Labor received some 65% of the votes in a recent referendum, failing to carry the required two-thirds by the slimmest of margins.

"Professionalism" in the Guild received its strongest support from the publishers. These mighty molders of national thought tended at first to ignore the Guild, secure in their

belief that reporters couldn't organize. Then they tried to domesticate it. Marlen Pew, head of EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, generally hoped that the Guild would turn into a sound organization devoted to the advancement of better writing.

But the Guild gradually learned the lesson that all labor learns through organization. Cheated by the Newspaper Industrial Board, its mildly phrased requests to publishers rejected, its leaders fired or sent to the "doghouse" for union activities, the Guild developed teeth.

During its first year the Guild attempted to have big conferences with publishers to establish "collective agreements" for all the news workers in a given city. The publishers participated in these conferences quite cheerfully, finding them the best possible run-around. For the present, the Guild has abandoned this attempt and concentrated on individual papers.

The Guild is still far from attaining widespread formal recognition, but it has an impressive string of victories to its credit. In some dozens of cases it has obtained written contracts or verbal concessions covering a variety of sore points in newspaper employment—the five-day week, adequate dismissal notice, vacations, overtime pay. It has behind it two significant battles in the NEWARK LEDGER strike, which gave a tremendous impetus to the labor orientation of the Guild, and the strike on the AMSTERDAM NEWS, the leading Negro paper in New York. The latter fight, besides bringing a sweeping victory for the grossly exploited Negro reporters, marked the Guild as an outstandingly progressive union in its inter-racial relations.

Since the abolition of the NRA the Guild has been fighting against the publishers' sniping at the five-day week. Either by bulletin board mandate, or by a skilful juggling of shift assignments, many newspapers have been trying to

resuscitate the longer work week. This is especially true of the papers, news and photo services owned by Hearst.

Recently, publishers have chosen to strike at the Guild through the Associated Press. This astute move renders useless many of the weapons in the Guild's arsenal—reader boycott, advertising boycott, picketing, etc. The specific action of the A. P. was to fire Morris Watson, Vice-President of the Guild, for alleged "incompetency." The Guild has brought the matter to the National Labor Relations Board; the A. P., through its attorney, John W. Davis, outstanding Liberty Leaguer, has challenged the constitutionality of the Labor Board. At the moment it appears that the Watson case will go to the Supreme Court for decision—quite possibly the first Wagner Law case to get to the august tribunal.

The real-life newspaperman may not have the swashbuckling derring-do of his cinema counterpart. But he has plenty of fighting courage, exemplified just now in the strike against the sweatshop conditions of the Hearst-owned WISCONSIN NEWS of Milwaukee. These men of Milwaukee, paid \$15 and \$18 a week, dared to strike against America's most powerful chain-newspaper magnate, went out on the picket lines in sixteen below zero weather, and rallied the broadest support the Guild has as yet won. Not only have the trade unions of Milwaukee and Wisconsin endorsed the strike, but John L. Lewis, William Green, and dozens of other leaders and organizations have pledged aid.

Stormy days lie ahead for the Guild. The newspapermen of America are vitally interested in these fights—unfortunately, in most cases, as interested spectators. The Guild is an alert, growing, and militant organization. The hardening process of its short history has strengthened it, and has done much to supplement the "professionalism" of the newspapermen with a trade union consciousness.

Youth on Relief in Minneapolis

MARGARET M. THOMSON

In September of this school year, government relief came to the students of the high schools. First came rumors, then plans were announced, changed and re-changed; but at any rate it developed that students could obtain aid, either from federal funds or state funds, depending on the status of relief acceptance of the family. Relief could be in amount up to \$6.00 a month. The recommendation for the amount is made by the school; but whatever the sum, it is earned. In our school, Miller Vocational High School, we have always had a number of students receiving some aid in the form of car tokens or lunches, and we have had one or two on scholarship aids, part of a city wide project. Never before has a requirement been set up that the relief be earned. This was a problem thrust almost overnight

on the school. Jobs must be made. Teachers now had to become employers and as such keep accurate time card records. The employment had to be after school hours. If possible the job had to have some educational value. But this was a problem thrust on the school without adequate planning. Like most relief projects it has merely a temporary aspect and has not been fitted into the educational program as it should be.

At the present time Minneapolis, with a high school population of 14,000, has 1300 young people receiving federal and state aid. A few of those receiving the aid are in junior high school, so that the proportion is not exactly correct. One can say, however, that about 9% of the high school population is receiving this aid. But this so-

called "aid" reaches only those young people whose relief problem is so acute that their families have reached the community fund or the relief line. Recently, a father came to the office of our school and said that he was earning \$11.00 a week as a salesman in one of the department stores. This was his basic wage; he was given the privilege of earning a commission, but he often found this impossible. There must have been some miracle worker in the family. The problem of keeping his boy in school, however, was almost greater than he could solve. Does not our social system have some responsibility for the thousands of such cases?

The group which presents the most serious problem, is composed of young people from sixteen to twenty-five who are unemployed and are not in school. It is estimated that there are 5000 in this group in Minneapolis. The number in this group in Minneapolis who can be given aid under the National Youth Administration is 650. All those who are eligible must be certified by the Works Progress Administration offices. At the present writing 500 have been certified. These young people, ranging from sixteen to twenty-five years, include hundreds who have finished high school. A great many of them have never had the opportunity to work for a wage. The National Youth Administration allows them \$20.00 monthly for forty-six hours of work. Suitable jobs must be found by the National Youth Administration. The recreational department of the city uses them. A small municipality outside of the city limits but inside the country boundaries has, in its municipal projects, jobs which are not done by paid employees. None of the jobs provided are within the field of private industry. The young person whose training has been general is more easily taken care of than the young man with mechanical abilities, whose place, I was told, is really in private industry which is not employing him.

Miller Vocational High School has opened an entire new shift of classes for this group, meeting in the late afternoon. Two hundred young people have been enrolled. Thirty eight of these are certified for the \$20.00 a month under the National Youth Administration with the forty-six hour work requirement. The classes opened are in business subjects, beauty culture, power machine operating, printing and bookbinding, cooking for tea rooms or household employment, and waitress work. The Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association have also established classes. Seventeen hundred young men came to the Y. M. C. A. to enroll in a class the object of which is to visit and study industry. Only twelve hundred could be accommodated.

What is in the minds of these young people who never have had jobs? They come back to school with this query, "What can I do to get that \$20.00 a month?" They say to us, "I haven't anything to do but stay home, I might just as well put in my time." "Well, if this course is full,

I will take this other." The girls crowd into the business classes. Business is the only vocation for which the high schools have provided education. Plans for a way to earn their living are vague. A high school used to mean a better job. Statistics showing the money value of an education are now out of date. But it is more pleasant to be in school for some activity than to be at home sitting around. And some way they will be cared for, they think. This attitude of indifference and lassitude in these people is the most difficult problem to be met. They have ceased to expect to get a job.

If it were possible or desirable to go back to an apprentice system some of these young people might be put into industry. But a young person who goes into industry at a learner's wage is more than apt to be taking an adult's place. To replace the experienced worker with the young worker only intensifies the evils of industry. THE NATION in the article "Education as a Racket in Mississippi" by R. G. Swing reports the misuse of federal funds for so called "vocational training" in the South. Certain factories are receiving their labor and even their buildings free under a set-up of vocational education. Where Labor has any strength, an apprentice or a learner is prevented from breaking down wage scales. Vocational education either in school or factory is needed but it must be carried on with Labor's cooperation.

The American Federation of Labor at the Atlantic City Convention in October, 1935, recognized the problem of youth in the following statement: "It (the Convention) instructs the Executive Council to continue its efforts for relief and protection of youth and that it be further instructed to support such legislation as may be effected for this purpose in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor."

The American Federation of Teachers must also recognize its responsibility toward the youth in the sixteen to twenty-five year range. The federal government should be urged to continue and increase its help to students capable and desirous of a college education. The Federation must work toward the end that both federal and local governments give such support to the schools that they may provide for the education of the sixteen to eighteen year old group with that type of study which will best help the young person to use his abilities. The Federation must further insist that these young people be given aid so that they can stay in school and that this aid shall be earned by worthwhile jobs. The teacher's responsibility for planning and supervising these jobs must be made a part of teacher-load and not just another burden.

Even if we should be on the "road to recovery," the problem for this group is not solved, because all too quickly they may become a cheap labor force. Our efforts now should be directed toward the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. There can be no permanent policy toward this group until that is carried.

About a State Federation of Labor

JOHN A. PHILLIPS

Much of the activity of a State Federation of Labor centers around the seeking of social and labor legislation, obtaining proper enforcement of existing laws, and the daily performance of many other functions that serve to maintain a running contact with those in public legislative and administrative posts. Because of this, an erroneous impression prevails that a State Federation is an integral part of the political machinery of the State Government. This impression as to labor has, perhaps, its roots in the knowledge that governmental agencies do extend to the business side of industry many subsidies and services. The fact remains that labor is not such a recipient, and must, in fact, struggle for every gain or concession made.

However, there actually is something of an analogy between the structure of our government and that of the labor movement, for a State Federation of Labor bears about the same relationship to the American Federation of Labor as does the individual State to the government of the United States.

Chartered by the American Federation of Labor, there is a Federation in each State and in Porto Rico, the District of Columbia being combined with the State Federation of Maryland. In effect, these Federations are vertical organizations, designed to promote undertakings of common concern through the application of the combined influence of all labor groups within the boundaries of a given State. They are, however, without authority to interfere in the domestic affairs of constituent bodies.

Organized March 10, 1902, with 124 affiliations, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor now has 1262 member organizations, 492 of which are local unions of the United Mine Workers of America. Workers in all organized occupations have some measure of representation.

The Federation convenes annually and on special occasions when deemed expedient. Policies for the ensuing year are determined by these conventions and the Executive Council (composed of the President, Secretary and seven Vice-Presidents elected on the basis of geographical districts) is the governing body between conventions.

Local unions of International organizations and local Federal Labor Unions (chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor) are entitled to proportional representation. City Central Labor Unions (the municipal complement of the National and State bodies) and individual Trade Councils have single votes. (At American Federation of Labor conventions, the State Federations are each entitled to a single vote only, since their constituent

bodies are already represented proportionally to their membership.) Cooperating associations (unaffiliated) may be given representation without vote. Funds are derived from a per capita tax payment by local unions and a flat annual payment by central bodies.

State Federation activities fall largely within these categories:

Education. Cooperation with the Workers' Education Bureau of the American Federation of Labor and other educational movements in the field of labor, and assistance in the development of adult education classes under governmental auspices. Union Label propaganda is a sustained feature.

Organization. Acts as a clearing house for the dissemination of information relative to the organization of groups of wage-earners, and as a promotional link between International trade unions and newly formed local unions during the formative period; assisting Federal Labor Unions in the drafting of trade agreements and in their negotiations with employers; supplying speakers for mass meetings incidental to local organizing campaigns, and otherwise cooperating in the general organizational effort.

Legislation. Development of legislative programs for Federation approval through the conference method, among member unions and in collaboration with civic groups and welfare associations; the drafting of bills and their presentation to the General Assembly; advocacy of these bills before legislative committees and in public hearings; solicitation of support of legislators during sessions of the General Assembly, and the bringing of local pressure upon them from their own constituencies during week-end recesses.

Political Action. Compilation of the records of members of the General Assembly with respect to their attitude on labor bills that have come to a vote, similar recording of the action of members of legislative committees to which bills have been assigned and killed, and the transmission of the information so compiled to labor organizations and cooperating groups in the respective legislative districts for use in subsequent election campaigns, and active participation in campaigns against recalcitrants.

Although operating in a State which has a political and industrial history that is without parallel in its sordidness, the many salient achievements of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor have fully demonstrated the practical value of this type of organization in the never-ending struggle for human advancement.

It's Happening Now

Thorough Preparation for a Ual-Ual Incident

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN reports the discovery of a significant change in the Japanese war department's official maps. A year ago these maps were changed to include as Japanese territory the Lake Bor area, previously designated as part of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. Recently border "incidents" have occurred at this point with the Japanese claiming that their territory has been violated.

Fair in London

LEON C. STAPLES, school superintendent at Stamford, Connecticut, stated to the N.E.A. that the marriage of women teachers was unfair. A. F. of L. news service reports that by a vote of 76 to 37 the London County Council granted married women the right to be employed as teachers and doctors. The ban on women in these professions was decreed by the Council in 1923, when it was controlled by the Conservatives, who believed that the married woman's exclusive job was in the home. It required twelve years for women to over-ride this discriminatory rule and secure equal rights with married men.

Racket Exposed

HARRY L. HOPKINS, W.P.A. Administrator, ordered immediate cessation today of work on four vocational schools being built in Mississippi, upon finding truth in charges that in reality they were factories. It was charged that the municipalities which constructed them had already made contracts with textile firms for the use of the buildings, and in one case for its sale at less than one-third its cost. . . . These firms planned to hire workers under the guise of learners to produce saleable merchandise, discharging all but a few workers at the end of the training period and taking on new learners at no salary. The foremen and supervisors for the companies were to be listed as instructors. The exposures were made by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

The Unmentioned Fourth Leg

PROFESSIONAL optimist, Charles M. Schwab: "The steel industry is going to be developed by personal initiative. I like to compare it with a three legged stool—capital, labor and management—it won't stand if you take any leg away." . . . The U. S. Steel, after denying all these years that Charles Tuttle ever had a spy office in Pittsburgh, now announces that it is closed.

Good Treatment Pays Dividends

THE Office of Education reports that only about seven percent of the larger cities do not have some plan for granting sick leave. The percentage rises to 25 in cities of from 5,000 to 10,000 population. At least five cities grant unlimited sick leave at full salary, and in Bristol, R. I., where this plan of leave has been in effect for more than 10 years, there is the lowest average absence of teachers on account of illness of which the Office of Education has record. The average loss of time for 85 teachers was 1.17 days. . . . The granting of sabbatical leaves is rare, especially in cities of fewer than 100,000 population.

Supply Your Own Title

LOUIS POST, United States Department of Labor investigator, sent up to Vermont to look into the three-month-old strike of marble workers there, states in THE RUTLAND HERALD that he had seen bad industrial conditions elsewhere, but that this was the first time he had ever seen a weekly pay check of two cents. . . . Vermont marble workers, after a year's negotiation, walked out three months ago when a new pay cut faced them. They had been making \$13.30 a week at most. They wanted \$17. . . . Lined up against them is a marble monopoly with strong utility and political connections, aided by a vigilante group called "The Minute Men of Vermont." The name, curiously enough, is the same as that of the vigilante Fascist group in Sinclair Lewis' IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE. . . . For some reason, Mr. Post's report is still unpublished. . . . THE CLEVELAND PRESS reports the discovery, in Washington, of an organization calling itself "The American Union Men," lobbying for a bill on Congress to put all labor unions under a commission of high-ranking Army officers—an incredible proposal, but seriously broached by its Fascist-minded backers.

Pay and Pensions Increased

ABOUT one-third of the pay cut imposed upon teachers of Jersey City and Hudson County, New Jersey, will be restored next July 1. The state of Illinois passed a bill raising from \$1,000 to \$1,200 the maximum pensions for Chicago teachers.

Canny Scott

REPRESENTATIVE Blanton of Texas introduced to the Howard University appropriation bill a rider which would have caused the appropriation to cease if the University were found to be teaching communism. Shortly after-

ward, Representative Scott, of California, added to an Indian appropriation bill an amendment to prohibit the teaching to Indians of the legislative program of the American Liberty League. Ridicule defeated the Blanton amendment; the Scott amendment was then withdrawn.

Benefits Derived from Fascism

HERE'S what a young worker in Germany with a monthly wage of 160 reichsmarks, or about \$64, has to pay in taxes and mandatory contributions: Income tax, 10.62 marks; citizens tax, 3.50; winter relief fund, 1.10; insurance (employees share), 4.00; sick benefit, 4.50; unemployment insurance, 4.88; and labor front dues, 2.20; total 30.80 marks, or slightly less than one-fifth of his income.

Unprintable Epithet Department

MICROPHONES have been installed in Winnipeg's secondary schools. They are connected with a loud speaker in the office of school inspector Andrew Moore. With the press of a button he can listen in on any classroom. . . . Moore said the apparatus was designed to get first hand information on teaching methods.

Scranton Needs an A. F. T. Local

SCHOOL teachers of the Borough of Jessup, near Scranton, Pa., went on strike on March 1, asserting that the walkout will continue until 68 teachers have been paid back salaries totaling \$45,000.

On Our Way?

UNEMPLOYMENT increased more in January, 1936, than in any other January in the past five years, according to an A. F. of L. release dated March 1. The number of jobless persons jumped by 1,229,000 between December, 1935, and January, 1936. The increase places the number of unemployed for January at 12,626,000.

Twelve To Go

TWENTY-FOUR states have already ratified the child labor amendment, but twelve more must do so before the Amendment is incorporated in the Constitution. . . . The organization of a Catholic Committee for Ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment, headed by Frank P. Walsh, prominent New York lawyer and chairman of the Power Authority of the State of New York, has been announced. The Committee includes in its membership priests, lawyers, educators, industrialists, labor representatives, and civic leaders, and will seek to organize Catholic sentiment for the Child Labor Amendment in those states which have not yet ratified. . . . In New York City during the period from June 1 to December 1, 1935, the number of working

certificates issued to children under sixteen years totaled 16,485, as compared to only 1,685 during the same period of the previous year while the N.R.A. was in effect.

Sixty-two Teachers Were Too Much

THE Hearst newspaper of Seattle attacked four faculty members at Washington University for their participation in the sponsorship of a lecture by Dr. Harry F. Ward, chairman of the League against War and Fascism. The four teachers, members of A. F. T. Local 401, were strongly supported by the Washington faculty. THE SEATTLE STAR stated "The case at issue is that of Hearst against almost everybody." Fifty-eight teachers at the University signed a "declaration of independence" defending the right of their colleagues to freedom of speech and freedom from domination by the Hearst press.

Wall Street Points to a New Method of Strengthening Steel

THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, in commenting on the drive to unionize steel, reports that steel company officials are generally more concerned with the organization drive led by the Lewis faction than that sponsored by the A. F. of L. executive council. Confusion over the rôle that the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, existing A. F. of L. unit in the industry, may play in the rival campaigns of the two union factions may prove a handicap to union organizers.

Frugal Frill

FEW have criticized educational frills more rigorously than THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, states HIGH SCHOOL. There are certain extra-curricular activities which Mr. Lorimer of the Curtis Publishing Company does approve. A town in Pennsylvania reports the cordial cooperation of that organization in a subscription-selling contest held by the students in the high school. The campaign added 334 more to the circulation of THE SATURDAY EVENING POST. The winning team was presented with ten pounds of chocolates.

These Business Men Are Educators

BUSINESS men of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, recently paid for a full-page advertisement urging citizens to provide higher salaries for teachers, instead of the present average of \$396 a year for all teachers in the state.

Of All Things!

IN his latest blast at the President, Harper Sibley, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, is quoted in THE NEW YORK TIMES as saying:

"Government has usurped the taxing power. . . ."

A. F. of L. Education Committee Report

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

(The November-December AMERICAN TEACHER carried the first portion of this report as it appeared on pp. 467-477 of the printed Proceedings of the A. F. of L. convention of 1935. The paragraphs below summarize the remainder of the report.—EDITORS.)

Federal Funds Used to Prevent Labor Organization of Vocational Teachers

"... The committee wishes to point out again that it is indeed to be regretted that the U. S. Government, while urging labor organization for private industry, permits its own funds appropriated for education to be used to prevent organization."

With this preface, the Committee urges legislation that will withhold such funds from any state or political subdivision thereof "which denies to its employees the right to join any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor." The only insurance of the enactment of such proposals would be labor participation in the formulation of plans, and the committee therefore recommends the support of such a program by a permanent Committee on Education in each Central Labor Union.

Emergency Educational Projects

The committee warmly commended the promotion of Nursery Schools and urged that "Labor in each community should make sure that the community has its full share of funds for this purpose."

Educational Committees of Labor Bodies

The Executive Council urged Labor's active participation in the educational program of each community through the appointment of a standing trade union committee on education in every community with labor representation on boards of education and the directorates of public libraries. These local committees should in turn report to the standing Committee on Education during the year.

Textbook Study

It was suggested that the study on "who selects our textbooks," presenting data on the treatment and amount of space in school texts on the American Labor Movement, should be brought up to date.

Federal Emergency Workers' Education

In the two years of the emergency educational program, more than 25 millions of dollars has been expended, and 30,000 unemployed teachers employed last year. In the field of workers' education over a million dollars has already been expended and upwards of \$100,000 of private funds appropriated to assist the government in this phase of the program

which provided 5000 teachers with employment in the past two years.

"... Candor compels the conclusion that the results have been less than notable." Criticism is pointed at the direction of an educational program under a relief authority; of division of responsibility in local communities between educational and relief authorities. "The result has been inefficiency and inaction. This dualism has furthermore resulted in some local authorities' refusing any cooperation with the program." "... The change and modifications of relief aims, the shifts in administrative control have further impaired any long time gains from the program." The committee also stresses the demoralizing effect of insecurity and uncertainty. Finally, "while at times there has been a gesture at cooperation with the American Federation of Labor" in this part of the program which is "so intertwined with the labor movement" it has not been a permanent part of procedure. Supervisors have been appointed with little or no consultation with officials of the State Federation of Labor; "they have functioned with even less active collaboration." The program to "train teachers for this branch has been well conceived" but unfortunately less than half of the teachers recruited "have proved to possess the qualifications for such a workers' education program."

This has led to deficient quality of work even with a quantitative expansion. The outstanding exception has been on the Pacific Coast where the Emergency Educational Program has been integrated into an active workers' educational program, which for the past ten years has been worked out by cooperation between the state universities and the State Federation of Labor.

Workers' Education Bureau

In 1934-35 there has been great expansion of the work of this Bureau by means of labor institutes, especially in the automobile industry of Detroit and in the Pacific Coast projects. This, as well as the educational work on radio programs, was brought to the attention of the convention.

The entire report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Present "Safety" vs. Future Danger

"For various reasons it has been considered safer to keep youth busy with a study of the technical forms of government than with a study of the current problems which involve the social welfare.

"While this policy may be safer for school administrations which like to see things running smoothly with the least of controversy, the side-stepping of vital social and economic problems is decidedly dangerous to the welfare of American democracy."—J. W. STUDEBAKER, U. S. Commissioner of Education.

Correspondence

Letters dealing with issues of interest to Union teachers will be printed in these columns. Inclusion of a letter does not mean that the Editors endorse its sentiments.

Teachers, the Duponts, and Labor

(In *The Kansas Teacher* of January, 1936, there appeared an editorial which enumerated several objections to joining the Union. Appended herewith are the letters in full written by the officers of *The Kansas State Teachers' Association* and *The American Federation of Teachers*.—EDITORS.)

February 1, 1936.

Mr. Chester O. Wright, Assistant Editor,
The Kansas Teacher,
Topeka, Kansas.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Will you permit space in *THE KANSAS TEACHER* for a review of your January editorial "Does the Union offer the Best Way?"

1. Teachers render a "different" service.

Actors' Equity, the Musicians' Union, the Federal Employees' Union to which 1200 of the leading scientists of the country belong, the Civil Engineers' Union, the Firefighters' Union, and the Teachers' Union are all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. None of their members produce goods yet all of them function effectively as labor unions. Even the New York ministers have a Union.

2. Teachers are "professionals."

So are Walter Damrosch, Helen Hayes, George S. Counts, John A. Lapp, Harry A. Overstreet, Edward F. Keating and hundreds of others who belong to unions.

For generations public school teachers have salved their pride with this pitiful substitute for adequate remuneration and a position of influence in the community. They have refused to face the obvious fact that whereas doctors, lawyers, architects, and other professional men can control their hours, the conditions under which they work and the amount of their fees; teachers, as individuals, have almost no control over these matters so vital to their welfare. The results are that the vast majority of teachers receive a smaller annual wage than unskilled laborers, and exert far less influence in their calling and in the community than any other skilled workers.

3. We must educate communities into giving us support and not depend on labor organizations to force action.

I don't see how anyone knowing the history of the founding of free public education in America could make that comment. Do you know who paraded in Salem and Boston amid showers of sticks and stones to force the establishment of the first public school system? Labor Guilds! On whom must we depend to vote up our school levies in time of need? Let's let one of our professionals answer. Professor John Dewey says:

"Why is it that teachers who have not had to live by the labor of their hands, nor suffered the privations and difficulties of many of the members of the trade unions have found it necessary in time of need and extremity to turn for active support, not to manufacturers' associations, not to bankers' associations and lawyers' associations, and the so-called respectable elements of the community, but have had to turn to these bodies of organized labor? I think that it is cause for shame and humiliation on the part of the so-called respectable classes; but I think on the other hand it is a source of pride and self-respect for the members of these labor unions and is a reason why every teacher should feel proud to be affiliated with labor unions."

4. Teachers should not align themselves with either capital or labor.

Brother, the fact that you work for a living aligns you whether you admit it or not. May I respectfully refer you to that section of the

1929 report of the American Historical Society Report called "Status of Teachers."

5. Teachers should belong to professional groups (teachers' associations).

What Are the Essentials to a Profession?

Adequate compensation for services rendered. Tenure during efficiency. Participation in school administration. Determination of the standards that control teaching and teachers. Just as medicine and law were made professions chiefly because their own members fixed the standards of their callings, the standards of the teaching profession must be determined by ideals that find favor not merely in the eyes of those who control these positions, but in the eyes of those who do the actual work.

If it is not an imposition on your space may I ask and answer one question?

What Benefits Accrue to Teachers from Affiliating with Labor?

These labor affiliations make possible our strong and courageous positions on all matters which affect public education. The story of free education in America is the story of the constructive efforts of organized labor whose children comprise the great majority of the attendance in the American public schools. Whenever well considered, progressive, courageous proposals have been made for the improvement of public education, labor has supported them and fought to bring about their adoption. The outstanding benefit, therefore, which comes to teachers from affiliation with labor is the sense of security which the individual has who knows that in standing for public-spirited educational objectives he does not stand alone. The courage engendered by this support makes of the teacher a self-respecting American citizen, able to make constructive suggestions for the welfare of the schools, fit to train the future citizens of a democracy. This teacher has the ability and time to handle large issues, because he is unworried by small ones.

The teachers' unions associate themselves with their fellow workers because they recognize the necessity for understanding and working upon community problems with groups having interests other than teaching.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) GEORGE DAVIS,
Secretary-Treasurer,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS.

February 5, 1936.

Mr. George Davis, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Teachers,
506 South Wabash Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I am very much interested in your letter of February 1, and have been reading the national journal of your organization, *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, and the journal published by the Union in New York City. I have also been following the articles that have appeared in *THE SOCIAL FRONTIER*, *THE NEW REPUBLIC*, and *THE NATION*. I notice that you have a letter in the last issue of *THE NATION*.

It seems to me that there is a tendency among the leaders in your organization to align class room teachers against administrators and boards of education. In isolated instances some temporary improvements may be gained in teachers' salaries and tenure by this action, but it seems to me that in the long run the teachers will lose. As I view education, it is a cooperative endeavor, and no permanent good can come from developing class conflicts among those who are engaged in the work. Administrators and boards of education should be as interested in better teaching conditions as teachers, and I think that as a rule they are.

According to your words, I would conclude that you think there are two elements in society—capital and labor. I believe there is a third element more important than either of these, and that is the public. I think the teacher's interest must be centered in the public or, to state it more accurately, in the welfare of society.

Under point three in your letter you talk about the labor guilds in the earlier days supporting education. I should be the last one to say that labor unions should not support education, but at the same time I have no objections to the Du Ponts building magnificent high schools. I deplore the munition profits of these capitalists the same as I deplore the violence that is sometimes used by labor in strikes. Both of these menace the welfare of society. I should not have

teachers join either one of these groups and sell their academic souls. I think teachers must be free to protest against both the tyranny of labor and the tyranny of capital in the interests of society. As I have studied social problems, I must say that I have no more faith in a dictation by labor than I have in a dictation by capital. In other words, I think that labor can be as tyrannical when given dictatorial power as capital has ever been. I say this with some background as a member of the labor group, for I once worked in a shoe factory, and later for eight years I was a garage mechanic. In addition to all this, my father was a laboring man, and I have a working class background. I'm not and never have been a member of the capitalist class.

Under item four in your letter you state that "the fact that you work for a living aligns you whether you admit it or not." Of course, one could quibble quite a while on this subject, but I presume that an entrepreneur does some work whether he is an owner of stock or not. I don't know just where you would place a teacher, but perhaps he is more of an entrepreneur than either a laborer or a capitalist.

I note that you quote John Dewey and refer to George Counts. I admire both these gentlemen, but I am inclined to think that Mr. Dewey in his older years may have grown a little impatient with orderly progress and now wishes to take the "bull by the horns." I can't see that this is the way to solve our problems. Tolstoi probably offers the teachers a better cue.

In closing I wish to say that I feel that teachers should cooperate with labor and maintain a vision directed toward improvement of society from the point of view of all the people. I don't believe that teachers can be true to the ideals of the profession if they become narrow and partisan and engage in a class conflict such as joining a union implies.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) C. O. WRIGHT,
Assistant Secretary,
KANSAS STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

Labor Notes

A SUCCESSFUL GENERAL STRIKE

In the United States, public school teachers, like other government employees, have viewed the utilization of the strike with misgiving and in fact are often committed to a no-strike policy. On the whole, however, none of the public employee unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has denied the value of the strike weapon to those in private employment, in the struggle against unfair employers. A general strike in the community is regarded by organized labor itself with considerable doubt and questioning. When, therefore, local central labor bodies, as in Seattle in 1919, San Francisco in 1934, and now Pekin, Illinois, declare for such a general strike, it is safe to assume that the provocation is great, and that the cost of restraining from a general protest is more serious than engaging in it. In San Francisco, the cause was the united action of all employers' bodies and the aid given to them by government officials presumably committed to impartiality in the waterfront strike. In Pekin, the immediate cause was the unbridled brutality of the police chief in a strike of distillery workers against the discharge of a union member. In both San Francisco and Pekin the response of the organized labor movement was magnificent and the period of the general strike was one of organization among hitherto unorganized workers. The Pekin strike, planned for a definite short period as a demonstration, ended after 48 hours, with victory not only for the union and the worker involved in the original dispute, but for organized labor's protest against misuse of public office.

CAN TEACHERS LEARN FROM DRESSMAKERS?

The victorious settlement, without a strike, of the dispute involving 105,000 union dressmakers in the Metropolitan New York area assumes special significance for teachers. We have often been told that one of the obstacles to a strong teachers' organization is the large proportion of women teachers. Over 80% of the members in the Dressmakers' Union are women. Their effective organization is all the more remarkable when we consider that the membership includes Negro and Spanish speaking workers, side by side with Italian-speaking, Russian born, and native white workers. It is the Dressmakers' Union, a part of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which initiated workers' education under union auspices, workers' summer homes, labor art, and similar projects. The union is known as progressive and, as a union, ready always to help other groups of workers. In its dealings with the employers, the Joint Board of the Dressmakers' Union is an "industrial union." Since it would be impossible, however, for 105,000 workers to be members of a single local, the Joint Board is the unifying body for several craft, amalgamated craft and language locals for the Italian speaking members. These locals are, however, limited in their power. This form of organization might well meet the needs of teachers' unions in large cities where effective organization could include all workers in the educational field. The effects of an industrial form of organization are shown in the outcome of the settlement: although limitation of contractors and the method of settling prices were the basic points of dispute, the agreement provided for increases to the less skilled workers and prohibition of the employment of those under 18 years of age.

COMPANY UNIONS INTO REAL UNIONS

It has been interesting to note the growing use among teachers of the term "company unions" to describe those teachers' organizations which are dominated by administrative groups. The term originated in the practices of private industry, but trade union teachers are correct in seeing certain teachers' organizations as applications of the practice in the schools. In the correspondence column of this issue, we see both points of view expressed as clearly as ever they were in the field of private capital employment. It has long been a contention, however, of certain students of the labor movement, among them Dr. William L. Leiserson (formerly of Toledo University and Antioch College) that when the "honeymoon" period of inter-relations between employees and employers in this company union is over, and particularly under economic pressure in a depression, the employees will utilize the lesson of organization and transform themselves into *real*, independent unions, affiliated with the broad labor movement. This is occurring in the steel industry (which the employers claim is 85% company union dominated). Last year 2000 of 6000 company union rubber workers in a secret poll voted for a strike; in the independent rubber workers' union, the organization, confronted with

the traditional strike-breakers and deputized thug power of the monopolistic corporation, resorted to a new technique—a "sit-down" strike inside the plant, at the machines. The increasing power of banking interests in governmental budgets and their distribution, the drive against teachers' economic conditions and their civil rights, makes it not at all improbable that individuals and groups from "company union" and "strictly professional associations" among teachers will, in the not too distant future, join the ranks of the American Federation of Teachers.

MINE WORKERS MOVE FORWARD

Labor gains, commented on elsewhere, at a time when, according to the A. F. of L., 11,500,000 are still unemployed, show that the 1933-35 increase in the membership of organized labor is not of a temporary nature. Wide-awake unionists, such as were represented by the 1800 delegates to the convention of the United Mine Workers held in January in Washington, do not rest on their laurels. The organization voted to include workers in the industries engaged in coal processing, such as coke and gas plants. It reaffirmed the stand taken by its president on the question of industrial unionism. It voted for a constitutional amendment to make impossible action of the Supreme Court voiding social legislation. Fortunately the doubling of officials' salaries was refused by them in the knowledge that this would be used by foes of labor and of progressive unionism.

LABOR FOES ACTIVE

In addition to the usual anti-labor and anti-strike activities, new devices are being tried. It was recently discovered that New York hotel owners were requiring and charging for the fingerprinting of employees. The use of such a device in framing a blacklist is obvious. Less obvious but even more dangerous are proposals like the New York anti-crime

bills. Provisions for compulsory fingerprinting in charges of disorderly conduct will be used against pickets and strikers; the admission of the uncorroborated evidence of an "accomplice" would make possible frame-ups by labor spies of active union members and organizers. Several other provisions are potential anti-labor measures. To combat these, a union of all labor and pro-labor forces is necessary.

Contributors' Column

JEROME DAVIS is Professor of Religion at Yale University, and chairman of the A. F. T. Committee on Colleges.

ERNEST LUNDEEN, Farmer-Labor Congressman from Minnesota, introduced the Frazier-Lundeen Bill, a comprehensive unemployment and social insurance measure.

JOHN A. PHILLIPS is President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

MARGARET M. THOMSON is a teacher at the Miller Vocational High School in Minneapolis.

DAVID SCHEYER is a member of the Labor Press Unit of the New York branch of the Newspaper Guild, and has contributed articles to THE NATION.

ANNA DART is an A. F. T. Executive Council member. She has been active in the tenure fight, the Jewett case, and in organizing California teachers.

HENRY HARAP is Professor of Education at Western Reserve University. He was chairman of the Education Committee of the A. F. T. in 1935.

MATTHEW BESDINE, an executive board member of New York Local 5, has been active in the defense of the Eastern District High School teachers.

Among the New Books

A Realistic View of American Society

CAPITALISM AND ITS CULTURE. JEROME DAVIS.

Farrar and Rinehart, New York. 556 pages. \$3.00.

Professor Davis has written an account of our contemporary American society that is of particular interest to teachers. He has brought together into a single volume and into a well-rounded picture the salient details of dozens of separate researches. His bibliography reads like a list of those works the busy teacher is always planning to read but for which he can never find the time. The reports of President Hoover's committee on Recent Social Trends, the articles of John T. Flynn on the World of Finance, of Gifford Pinchot, Professor Counts, Professor Beard: from such sources, in addition to an extensive reading of contemporary periodicals, Professor Davis has drawn his conclusions. His book is a marshaling of the many intellectual forces of liberalism that are now compelling us to see our society as it actually functions.

The result is a startling, perhaps disconcerting, breakdown of our illusions. We can scarcely leave Professor Davis' book believing any longer that American society is democratically organized.

The desire for profits, which we have always accepted as the proper basis of economic life, is here shown as dominating and corrupting those interests which we have termed ideal and have falsely supposed to wield their own independent spiritual power. To the teacher, certainly, the most absorbing chapters of the book are those devoted to religion and education. At the time when the Teapot Dome scandal was rocking the Harding administration, Mr. Davis can find scarcely an allusion to it in the religious press. Only one paper, the CHRISTIAN CENTURY, consistently and vigorously supported the investigating committee. The remainder either ignored the issue or actually gave comfort to the grafting politicians. One religious paper saw fit to caution its readers that such investigations might become threats to the stability of the government. Another was shocked solely by the revelation in connection with the scandal that President Harding had attended a showing of a prize-fight film.

As for education, Professor Davis is not content to point out the absence of workers and union leaders and the presence of bankers, lawyers, and financiers on our school boards and university councils. He reveals the insidious methods by which the teachers' freedom of speech is curtailed. For every spectacular expulsion there are hundreds of neglected instances of quiet intimidation. A friendly warn-

ing from an immediate superior that some august presence upon the board of trustees has lisped a disapproval is often quite enough to paralyze an instructor. But there have been occasions also when spies or secret service men have attended the classes of suspected liberals. At the same time the utility corporations have repeatedly paid professors or established funds for the impartial investigation of the social aspects of lighting and power; and no case is on record where such research has resulted in an approval of government ownership.

So thorough an indictment would be depressing if it were not for the buoyancy of the author. Professor Davis cannot believe that we are going to sink much deeper into the mire. He is certain of our capacity to evolve some escape from the present organization of our lives which so flatly belies the intention of our democratic tradition. It is no gesture on his part apparently that he is Professor of Religion at Yale and chairman of the Committee on Colleges of the American Federation of Teachers.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

Great American Strikes

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES. SAMUEL YELLEN.

(Harcourt, Bruce & Co., New York, 1935, 398 pages. \$3.50.)

One of the surest signs of the great renaissance of interest in the labor movement is the increasing number of newly published books on labor problems. During the years 1926-1933, the number of such books was small and their sale poor. Especially significant are the new books on labor struggles. Edward Levinson's epoch-making story of the nature of strike-breaking agencies ("I BREAK STRIKES") is now followed by this book on ten major strikes chosen because of their significance in five major industries. The struggles described are: the railroad uprisings of 1877; the eight-hour day strikes of 1886-7 culminating in the Haymarket cases; the Homestead, Pa., lockout in steel in 1892; the Pullman strike led by Eugene V. Debs in 1894; the anthracite coal strike of 1902; the strike in textiles at Lawrence, Mass., in 1912; the struggle at Ludlow, Colorado, in coal in 1913; the great steel strike of 1919; the awakening of the southern cotton mill hands in the textile strikes of 1929; and the San Francisco general strike of 1934 arising out of the marine transport workers' strike. The high spots of the labor struggles of over fifty years in the basic industries are thus dealt with, and for the first time included in one comprehensive volume.

Oddly enough, the author of this book is not an economist, a labor historian, a labor leader, or a journalist, but instead, an instructor in English in a mid-western university. However, we are told he was raised in a family active in the Socialist party. His political sympathies are not easy to guess, because of his avowed desire to present the material objectively. What does emerge clearly from the book, however, is a sense of the great suffering and deprivation of the workers which gave rise to the struggles in these basic industries, the power and unscrupulousness of the employers in fighting the workers, and the sad rôle played by the press and by governmental agencies and authorities, with outstanding exceptions like Governor Altgeld of Illinois. The author also lists among his aims an indication of "the contribution left to the total current of the labor movement after the expiration of the struggle."

Thirty-five pages for each of these major struggles is but a scanty allowance, particularly when the bibliography shows that the author has attempted to exhaust all available documentary and secondary material on each of the conflicts. The book fails in that it does not carry out one of its author's aims: to give a clear picture of the contribution and eventual influence of these struggles. Eight of the ten struggles ended in apparent failure for the workers; the author seems to feel that the anthracite "victory" was also in reality a failure. This leaves only the Lawrence textile strike as a victory. Because he has selected individual struggles and has failed to relate them to the dominant trends in the general struggle between capital and labor, we get no clear idea that many of these defeats had, in fact, a salutary effect by calling to the attention of the public the plight of labor. Thus, for instance, it is hard to understand why, in 1935, the author did not follow up the 1929 textile strikes by the account of the greatest protest of all—the textile strike of 1934. In recounting the anthracite strike he fails to give a true picture of the wide sectors of the public which were in sympathy with the strike.

Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the book is a valuable contribution in its selection of struggles which show how sick is our society whose basic industries have an almost unrelieved record of injustice to workers.

ELSIE GLÜCK

An Indispensable Novel

"IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE." SINCLAIR LEWIS. *Double-day, Doran and Co., New York City, 1935.*

The Hollywood banning of a film version of "It Can't Happen Here" focuses our attention again on the ironical significance of the title of Sinclair Lewis' new book. Smothering anti-fascist opinion, of course, is but one of the weapons in the repertoire of fascism. What the others may be in America, Sinclair Lewis depicts in a horrifying yet convincing manner. Having chosen a small New England town as his scene and having taken characters of widely divergent economic position, social status, and political view, he shows how an American fascist movement takes over the life of a small community, how social disorder and individual tragedy inevitably follow, and how the counter forces are brought into action.

The teacher will be alarmed to discover that what happened to education in Germany under the Third Reich can be recapitulated here in rapid stages. The small town superintendent, who has never made a secret of his devotion to the interests of the "right" people, becomes a local fascist official. The college teacher who has maintained the traditional aloofness from everyday events is fired just because he believes in scholarly devotion to his subject. Some college presidents gladly become coordinated and help to organize Corpo youth formations. Higher education is absorbed into the Corpo bureaucracy by the elimination of all smaller colleges and by making the "state" universities the only instructional units. Secondary education falls into the hands of incompetents, the friends of the Corps and local "leaders." Fascism opens wide the gates of the educational system to corruption of school officials, to complete domination by favorites, and to the nation-wide introduction of military training as the first subject in any curriculum. In a word, the educational system is reduced to the role of a propaganda unit in the American Corporative State.

All this is terrible and plausible, for the novel cannot be dismissed as fantastic. Such things are happening. Sinclair Lewis' virtuosity in this subject matter may be set down to his understanding of the characteristics of German fascism and the fact that he is still a good student of life on Main Street. He knows where a fascist movement would find its backers and allies in a small town; he understands the masks American fascism would wear, the genuine appeal it would have for unthinking discontented people. Above all, he sees that even in our America the forces of reaction could bring about the degradation in intellectual and social life, the lowering of living standards, and the stifling of democratic rights, which the careless still believe can only happen "there."

GEORGE A. FINCH

Our Changing Social Frontier

AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW, 1935. Edited by WILLIAM H. CORDELL and KATHRYN COE CORDELL. *Double-day, Doran & Co. 461 pages. Text Edition, \$1.00.*

This is the second volume of what promises to be an annual series of the best magazine essays. The editors of fifteen magazines ranging from *HARPERS*, *THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY*, *THE YALE REVIEW* to weeklies like *THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE*, *THE NATION*, and *THE NEW MASSES* nominated 182 essays from their publications. These were submitted to three distinguished judges, Burton Rascoe, John Gould Fletcher, and Erskine Caldwell, who selected four prize essays and thirty-two others for inclusion in the 1935 volume.

While *AMERICAN POINTS OF VIEW* contains many names frequently found in collections of readings for college students (Henry Seidel Canby, Joseph Wood Krutch, Charles A. Beard, Newton D. Baker) there are also other names (Ernest Hemingway, Mary Van Kleeck, Earl Browder, Archibald MacLeish) whose present message cannot be ignored by those who believe that a liberal education should include a knowledge of the major issues and conflicts of the time.

The recent conference of school administrators of the N. E. A. at St. Louis showed that all ranks of people sincerely interested in education realize the necessity of defending more forcefully than ever before the spirit of free inquiry and free expression in our schools. This book is a stimulating collection of diverse opinions for the inquiring minds among our students and teachers.

For the busy teacher, particularly, it offers a short cut to a knowledge of the problems and points of view that dominate the American scene today.

BORIS GAMZUL