

A Statement of Convention Issues . . . George Davis

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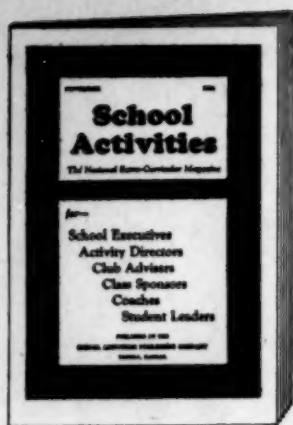
May-June, 1936

Teachers Unions in the Headlines

*Politicians Wreck Memphis Union—St. Louis Local Fights
anti-Union Rule—Discrimination in Wisconsin Rapids—
A Victory in Cleveland*

John Brophy on Industrial Unionism . . . Sara T. Walsh
"Unprofessional Conduct" . . . Victor R. Jewett
The National Youth Act . . Representative Thomas R. Amlie
Taxation for Schools . . . Harold M. Groves
Security in the Professions . . Albion A. Hartwell
Resolving a Dual Situation . . John H. Walker
Armaments vs. Social Security . . Warren D. Mullin

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TOPEKA - - KANSAS

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

Mankato Federation of Teachers No. 450, Mankato, Minnesota.
San Jose Local No. 451, San Jose, California.
Modesto Federation of Teachers No. 452, Modesto, California.
W.P.A. Teachers of New York City No. 453, New York, N. Y.
Marion County Federation of Teachers No. 454, Jasper, Tennessee.
Santa Monica Federation of Teachers No. 455, Los Angeles, California.
Long Beach Federation of Teachers No. 456, Long Beach, California.
Monterey County Federation of Teachers No. 457, Monterey, California.
Pierce County Federal Teachers Association No. 458, Tacoma, Washington.
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Investigation of the A.F.T.

An A.F.L. committee set up in accordance with the resolution to investigate the A.F.T. for "anti-labor policies" introduced at the last A.F.L. convention by Miss Selma Borchardt, met in Washington on April 27 and 28. Such an investigation of the internal affairs of an international is contrary to the tradition of autonomy which exists in the A.F.L. However, our delegates accepted the resolution because they felt that we had nothing to hide. The New York local, which was the main target of the investigation, has made tremendous strides since last October. Its membership has increased from 1500 to 4200. Its relations with the State Federation of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York are very friendly. Our national organization has made great advances in organizing new locals and in making itself felt as an effective national organization. In all parts of the country it enjoys the cordial cooperation of organized labor. To continue and broaden this effective work, unity is imperative. In Memphis, St. Louis, and Wisconsin Rapids our locals are struggling for the very right to exist. The attack on our locals in these cities is an undis-

guised attack on the right of teachers to organize in trade unions. We must face outward to meet our common problems as a united organization.

Teachers Unions vs. Company Unions

A number of articles in this issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER indicate that some members of Boards of Education, legislators, and Superintendents, representing the forces which stand for economy, retrenchment, and lack of freedom in the school system, do not like Teachers Unions. The methods used to keep teachers from organizing effectively vary. In Memphis, Tennessee, for example, the teachers have been ordered outright to give up their membership in the American Federation of Teachers if they wish to get contracts for the coming school year. In St. Louis, there is a Board of Education by-law forbidding teachers to belong to a Union. In Wisconsin Rapids, the formation of a local has been attended by the charge that members of the Teachers Union create disharmony, coerce fellow-teachers into joining, etc. Thirteen members of the local have not received contracts for next year. In some instances the attack is indirect. The school authorities do not dare to attack the Union as such, and resort to punishing teachers for trumped up charges of "inefficiency," "conduct unbecoming a teacher," etc. Representative Andrews, chairman of the legislative committee in Pennsylvania, referred to the Union as a "nuisance organization." The most widespread and insidious method of keeping teachers from organizing is the encouragement of a type of teachers' organization closely akin to company unions in industry. Every state has its state teachers' association, which it is often obligatory to join. These are generally dominated by supervisors and unconcerned with the needs or wishes of the classroom teacher. Teachers are told that as professionals they should join these "professional organizations." The California State Teachers Association actually attacked the teachers who were fighting for tenure. Effective organization and activity on the part of the American Federation of Teachers will make the teachers of this country recognize the difference between company unions and genuine trade union organizations.

Program and Membership If the American Federation of Teachers is to play a leading role in preserving an adequately supported system of free public education, in achieving democratically controlled and academically free schools, and in promoting social democracy, its membership in existing locals and the number of

locals must be increased. We need 100,000 members in 500 locals to be really effective. . . . In "A Statement of Convention Issues" appearing elsewhere in this magazine, is outlined an area plan for organization which if adopted will do much to promote the unionization of unorganized teachers. But that is not enough. Our locals themselves must champion programs attractive not only to socially minded teachers imbued with something of a missionary spirit, but to the mass of teachers not particularly interested in social change. . . . What has happened to the teacher during our contracting economy? Outright salary cuts, shortened school years, and losses of increments have lowered his standard of living. Restrictions of sick leave and sabbaticals; increased pupil-teacher ratio; withholding of contracts—all these and many more "economy" measures have made for poor working conditions and increased the teacher's feeling of insecurity. To a lesser extent, loyalty oath laws, professional patriot attacks on citizenship rights, and unjust dismissals have added to the employed teacher's discomfiture. These are the things which get under the average teacher's skin, and are issues on which he is willing to put up a fight. . . . This recital of grievances in no way minimizes the importance of a broad social program. Tom Mooney should not be behind bars; the Scottsboro Boys had an unfair trial; an adequate program of social legislation should be supported. But teachers can not be unionized on those issues primarily. They will line up with an organization if it puts up a fight for their standard of living, working conditions, and tenure of position. . . . If the above observations are correct, our unions must be built around a program well balanced between immediate teacher and educational needs and a broader social program,—with emphasis on immediate needs.

Revision of A.F.T. Constitution

Changing conditions necessarily call for changes in organization. The years of depression have created a situation in which a large percentage of the teachers of the country consists of substitutes, W.P.A. workers, and unemployed teachers. Our constitution makes no provision for these categories. Substitutes who have passed examinations and are engaged in regular teaching at substitutes' salaries are generally admitted to our locals. In Chicago and New York there are separate W.P.A. locals, but no provisions for unemployed teachers. The constitution should recognize the existence of these groups and it should provide a uniform procedure to deal with them. . . . The great increase in the number of new, small locals has made some of our members dissatisfied with our method of apportioning delegates. It has seemed to them that our small locals are given a number of delegates out of proportion to their membership. The proposed change in voting procedure was printed in the last number of THE AMERICAN TEACHER and is now before the membership in the form of a referendum. . . . In addition, greater definiteness and clarity seem necessary in certain sections of the constitution.

It seemed clear, at the A.F.L. investigation of our Federation, that much of the disagreement arose as a result of differences in interpretation of loosely-worded sections. . . . There was general acceptance of the suggestion that the constitution be revised in the interest of definiteness and clarity and to suit the needs of a growing organization. This will insure smoother functioning in the future and will safeguard our officers from the criticism which may result when several interpretations are possible.

Education Comes First Education seems to be the retarded child in the widely publicized rapid progress group racing toward recovery. While the National City Bank reports that nearly 1500 large industrial corporations show a net profit increase of 49.7 per cent over 1934, the statistics on school conditions show no such remarkable gains. The number of public school teachers employed in 1934 represented a decrease of 42,000; in 1935, that decrease was still 40,000. In 1934 nearly 2000 rural schools in 18 states were closed for lack of funds. In 1935, with 2400 schools closed in 18 states, the situation by states had improved somewhat, but the number of closings had increased. Alabama, in particular, is evidently determined to be non-educable. By March of 1933, public schools in 50 counties of that state had closed. A similar condition existed in March, 1936, when 40 counties

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closed their schools, and when school funds were exhausted in 53 of the state's 67 counties. In other states certain politically ambitious pupils of the Liberty League were able to exhibit records of efficiency for the commendation of their sponsors. Recently Governor Hoffman of New Jersey checked in with a special report showing a decrease of 20 per cent in school costs in three years. New Jersey teachers bore the brunt of the reduction, while the school system itself is accumulating a large liability in the form of deferred maintenance of school plants. In Kansas, Alf Landon, another of the bright hopes of the Liberty League, gets answers from Sam Simeon while he does his budget balancing homework on the back porch. In that state 444 rural schools have, as the Secretary of the Kansas Teachers Association elegantly phrases it, "found it more practical to temporarily close and send the children to near-by districts." Kansas, has, by virtue of the same budget

balancing, dropped from fifteenth to twenty-seventh place in state rankings for school expenditures . . . 31,672 school districts in 24 states have shortened the school year. 200,000 teachers are earning less than \$750 per year. . . . However, one of the hopeful signs is the mounting recognition of the necessity for Federal aid for schools. Most of the 8000 educators present at the N. E. A. Convention of Superintendents favored continuance of Federal aid to education. In Washington this recognition has taken positive form. Congressman Ernest Lundeen has introduced a bill (H. R. 6360) to provide Federal aid to impoverished school districts to the extent of 25 dollars per pupil. Unfortunately the bill has little chance of passing at this session. Preparatory to the next session, however, the bill deserves study and wide publicity. The obvious lack of progress in improvement of school conditions indicates that the passage of such a bill at the next session will be essential.

Declarations of Confidence

A Communication to All Locals

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

As you probably already know, the committee appointed by President Green to investigate the American Federation of Teachers, held hearings in Washington on April twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth. One of the only two specific charges mentioned in the resolution passed at the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor was that the American Federation of Teachers "is now controlled by those openly hostile to the principles of the American Federation of Labor."

The undersigned, of the American Federation of Teachers, in order to help the committee to get a clear picture of the attitude of the members of the American Federation of Teachers and the local bodies of labor to which they are affiliated, have agreed upon the following steps:

1. To present at a meeting of their local the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, under the administration of the present Executive Council, has made great progress in the past year both in establishing new locals by increasing membership and by adding to its prestige,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this local endorse the present Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers and its policies.

2. To introduce into its local central labor body and State Federation of Labor the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers local or locals affiliated with this body have indicated their wholehearted cooperation with the American Federation of Labor,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this body endorse the American Federation of Teachers local or locals affiliated with it as loyal to the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

3. To urge that each local in the United States present these resolutions as indicated and send the results to the National Office of the American Federation of Teachers, 506 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Fraternally yours,

Central Labor Union of Philadelphia

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor

American Federation of Teachers, Philadelphia Local 192.

The Teachers Union of New York, Local 5.

BSTAU
18049

The Washington Hearing

Office of Sec.-Treas.
May 6, 1936.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

To: *Members of the Executive Council:*

This informal report of the April 27-28 hearing under the resolution introduced at the last A.F.L. convention by Selma Borchardt is for your information.

(1) The investigating committee made up of G. M. Bugniazet, of the A.F.L. Executive Council, John P. Frey, Metal Trades Council, and Thomas E. Burke, Plumbers and Steam Fitters, conducted the hearing in a very agreeable manner. With personal feeling so evident in some quarters the hearing might conceivably have been an unpleasant affair.

(2) The charges were (a) Irregularity in the seating of delegates and voting procedure at conventions and (b) Factionalism in the New York Teachers Union Local 5.

(3) Supporting these charges were representatives from Locals 3, 8, 27 and 28 representing 1386 members of the A.F.T. In addition, communications were received from representatives of Local 111 with 40 members and Local 246 with 523 members. Henry R. Linville and Max Kline of the New York Teachers Guild also made representations at the hearing.

Answering the charges were the President, Secretary-Treasurer, former Secretary-Treasurer, and Legislative Representative from the National, and three representatives from the New York Teachers Union.

(4) To the charges and specific examples cited of irregular seating of delegates, the National officers took the position that while delegates whose credentials were open to question were seated at both the 1934 and 1935 conventions the number of allegedly illegally seated delegates had been exaggerated, that no deliberate attempt to stack the convention was proved, and that measures are being taken to tighten the machinery for the 1936 convention.

(5) The charge of illegal voting procedure hinged on ballots cast by delegates not entitled to vote and therefore was not separated from (4).

(6) The factionalism charge against the New York Teachers Union was practically a repetition of the hearings at our 1935 convention. Henry R. Linville and Max Kline made the same speeches using the same material used last summer to show Communistic control of Local 5. Local 5's representatives admitted that various groups worked as units inside the union, citing the Organized Union Majority led by the Linville-Lefkowitz faction, late of that local, as one of the groups, but denied that any of these groups were Communist controlled. The activities and publications of Local 5 since its reorganization in October were presented as evidence of its compliance with labor practice.

(7) While not intended as official in any sense and presented solely as personal observations, these conclusions are presented for what they may be worth.

(A) Most of our difficulties on convention representation and voting procedure have resulted from the vagueness of our laws. Our constitution needs clarifying—perhaps the whole should be rewritten for definiteness.

(B) The New York factional situation is an open question. Labor men to whom I have talked universally agree that a group working as a unit within a local is not for the best interests of that local. Factions have existed in the New York Union for many years. It is too much to expect them to disappear within a few months after reorganization, but evidence points to a less sharp cleavage between the groups and it is my opinion that the democratizing of the conduct of business is doing away with the incentive for factions and in time will eliminate them.

Because of the progress New York is making in membership and legitimate unified activity it seems little short of criminal to me to subject those people to quarterly inquisitions as has been done this year.

(C) No detailed account of the five session hearing will be attempted.

(D) The Committee conducting the hearing will make its report either to the Executive Council of the A.F.L. or to the A.F.L. Convention in November. You will be sent the Committee's findings as soon as I have them.

Fraternally yours,

GEORGE DAVIS.

Teachers Unions in the Headlines

Important Gains Consolidated; Several Boards Go on Union-Busting Rampage

Politicians Wreck Memphis Union through Board

TAKING ONLY nine minutes to pass a resolution that involved problems of economics, civil rights, personal liberty, and pedagogy that many others have found baffling after years of study, the Memphis Board of Education recently decreed that it would not renew the contracts of those who remain in the Teachers Union.

While the Board's attitude had never been over-friendly, its action was as sudden as it was drastic. Many teachers were at a loss to understand it, though many others explain it on political grounds. It is significant that the only opposition within the Board came from Mr. Simpson, a man of labor sympathies.

The Mayor of the city has not deigned to conceal his hatred of labor organizations. At one time he warned truck-drivers, "There will be no labor unions serving this city." On January 31, city officials fired fifteen city firemen for organizing a union. Said the Mayor at that time, "We won't have anything connected with the city government . . . which may result in strikes and walk-outs." Yet the *Firemen's Union* had a clause in its Constitution forbidding strikes or walk-outs. The fifteen firemen have not been reinstated. The small City Building Custodians Union also was banned.

Mayor Overton was questioned about the Board's ruling. "I certainly approve the action of the School Board in regard to the School Teachers Union," he said. "There is no more place for a School Teachers Union than there is for a union of policemen, firemen, or American soldiers."

Claude Williams came to Memphis to aid the local in its fight. From Chicago, Mr. George Davis stated: "The Memphis School Board ruling clearly abrogates civil rights guaranteed under the First Amendment to the Constitution. Public opinion in any enlightened community will not support a Board of Education in using this method of intimi-

dating its employees in this un-American suppression of their right to free assembly."

At a Board hearing held on April 13, a 2200 word plea was presented, requesting the Board to reconsider their action. Within 15 seconds they voted *No*. The Teachers Union had carried on its fight on a clean, high level at all times. A conciliator, Mr. Richardson, sent by the United States Department of Labor, at the request of Mr. George Davis, made an investigation but nothing came of it.

The Memphis Teachers Union, having recently added to its ranks a number of younger teachers, includes over 50 per cent of the city's teachers. The Memphis local resisted this discriminatory ruling with all the forces at its command. Because of the expense and time involved in court procedure, the teachers concerned are at a distinct disadvantage.

Memphis has one of the best labor movements in the South. It is small but militant. Organized labor is the one institution in Memphis that has dared to challenge the



It's Been Tried Before

In 1915 the Chicago Board of Education passed a law forbidding teachers to join trade unions. An injunction stopped the board from this action. The teachers at that time worked under one year contracts, and the board dismissed 40 active union leaders at the end of the year. These teachers later regained their positions.

In 1928 the Seattle Board of Education presented the teachers with a yellow dog contract containing the clause: *I hereby*

declare that I am not a member of the American Federation of Teachers, nor any local thereof, and will not become a member during the term of this contract. Teachers, on advice of lawyers, signed the contracts. Only members of the staff of the University of Washington remained in the local. The case was lost in the local court and in the State Supreme Court. However, the State Court was divided in its opinion, and while a further appeal was pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, in January 1931, the Board changed its stand.

political machine. When the administration strikes at jobs, it strikes at liberty.

At its meeting on May 19, 1936, the local voted to return its charter to the A.F.T. It is understood that the group will continue to function as a teachers' association, since certain interests, such as insurance, credit union, etc., must be protected.

The evidence to date indicates that the Memphis local is a victim of political chicanery of the most abominable sort. Not content with dominating ordinary public offices, the Memphis political machine had previously kept its fingers in the labor movement. When the Central Trade and Labor Council of Memphis rejected the politically-controlled candidate for president and elected as its choice Mr. McCann, a fighter and a man not politically controlled, the political machine, through the Board of Education, cracked down upon the Teachers' Union, because it thought that the delegates of that union had supported Mr. McCann.

Teachers' organizations, and particularly teachers unions, as well as public-minded groups, see in this discrimination an attack upon the basic right of labor to organize and can fight back by communicating to the Memphis Board of Education a protest in no uncertain terms against its union-wrecking tactics.

Discrimination in Wisconsin Rapids

But Teachers Union Seeks Recall of Board

IONA GILES

AFTER newspapers had reported that a five per cent salary increase was planned for teachers in Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin, contracts were issued with no raises for the ensuing year. This was in April 1935. In a feeble attempt at adjustment, representatives

of the Wisconsin Teachers Association interviewed Superintendent Julius Winden and the Board of Education. They received no satisfaction whatsoever.

The need for an effective teachers' organization became obvious. Shortly after this a few teachers met with former secretary Florence Hanson and Henry Ohl, President of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, both of whom advised the group that it was not too small to organize. Since that time one teacher after another has attached himself to the Federation until now a majority of the faculty is in the Union.

After determining what the policy should be as to our local difficulties (salary, type of contract, and sick leave, etc.) we formulated a fair salary schedule, one based upon experience and training, to take the place of the unfair policy then in effect. Furthermore, in order to relieve those in the lower salary brackets we made an attempt to put the minimum of our schedule (\$1400) into effect in January. With the aid of the Central Labor Union, we succeeded in having an amount appropriated by the City Council for that purpose, only to be forestalled by the school administration, which presented the teachers with a palliative bonus, distributed with no more rhyme or reason than the existing salary schedule.

While our committee was working on the salary schedule we made various attempts to have a hearing with Superintendent Winden and the Board of Education but no satisfaction was granted us until E. G. Gilbertson, local organizer of the A.F.L. intervened, and an indifferent promise was made that we might present our case at a board meeting. In the meantime Superintendent Winden sent a letter to the Board of Education telling its members that, although he had planned to resign, he was again presenting himself as a candidate for reelection, in order to restore "harmony" in the school system. He also recommended removal of those who had caused "the lack of harmony," meaning, of course, those in the Teachers Federation. His letter was published in the local paper.

As to our attendance at the board meeting, which we had been promised—nothing came of it, for we were pur-

posely not informed as to the time of the meeting. Further demands by the Central Labor Union finally opened the door to our committee. At a rather stormy session it was voted that a representative group of teachers as well as a delegation from the C.L.U. be present at a subsequent meeting of the Board of Education. At this time, too, we asked for the establishment of a salary schedule and received a promise that it would be considered. Nevertheless, at subsequent meetings the teachers were assailed by the Superintendent. The committee's questions were met with only evasions, denials, and accusations. The "restorer of harmony" did not function. So far as we know, the Superintendent did nothing toward arranging a salary schedule; at least he had nothing to present at meetings, as he was scheduled to do.

Our only hope lay in the coming spring election at which we hoped to elect two labor candidates to the Board of Education, and in the attitude of the citizens, who, whether they were in favor of the Teachers Union or not, largely agreed on one point—that the present administration must be changed for a more constructive one.



At the election on April 7, one of the two school board candidates supported by the Central Labor Body was elected; the other failed to poll the necessary votes. These new members do not take office until July 1; therefore, they could not affect the current situation, which finally culminated in a definite issue.

On Friday, April 10, contracts were mailed to all teachers *except eighteen*—seventeen union members and one non-union teacher. On Monday morning, April 13, at a special meeting, Superintendent Winden tendered his resignation and left the city, reportedly the victim of a nervous breakdown. On the evening of the same day, before an audience of about 125 citizens, the Board of Education, at its regular open meeting, stated that in the absence of Superintendent Winden, it was unprepared to explain why these teachers did not receive contracts. It was further asserted that the eighteen had not been definitely dismissed. During the course of the meeting, upon close questioning by a

member of the Central Labor Body, a Board member was forced to admit that the Board had never before issued contracts to a certain group of teachers before it considered the cases of the others. George Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, was present and suggested that a definite time be set for an open hearing, at which time Superintendent Winden could make public his charges against any teacher, so that the teacher would have an opportunity to reply. The suggestion, however, was not acted upon.

At a subsequent meeting of union teachers, a resolution was adopted asking that charges against each teacher not receiving a contract be made in writing at least three days before he was to come before the Board for a hearing.

The public hearing suggested, however, was denied. The Board's next move, to make an appointment with each individual to consider his case separately, was opposed by the teachers, who planned to send to the Board a committee of citizens to intervene in their behalf. In the event this failed, the teachers planned as a group, with counsel, to present their case before the Superintendent and the School Board.

The Board of Education, however, had its way, and interviewed separately each teacher with his counsel to present Superintendent Winden's charges. The latter did not appear at these interviews to substantiate his accusations, the excuse being that he was physically unable to be present. The charges, many of which were ridiculous in the extreme, were for the most part trumped up and dug out of the past; misdemeanors, if they could be considered such at all, that should have been cited against the teacher four or five years ago, if at all. In short, the hearing disclosed a negligence on the part of supervisors in their duties (some teachers had not been visited for years), and a definite, *though not yet admitted*, prejudice toward the Teachers Federation.

Though most of the instructors concerned were previously rated highly, such trivial charges as the following were given as reasons for dismissal: "too timid," "too forward," "misspelled words occasionally," "weak in discipline," "too strict," "strong bent of mind," "argumentative," "nervous after union meetings."

Some of these poor qualities were attributed to teachers who are especially known for their excellence in that particular characteristic. One accusation of "weak discipline" was particularly amusing, for the term was applied to a teacher of the first rank in that line. These teachers have been in the system from three to fourteen years. The majority of the Union's Executive Committee was found to be "disloyal, discourteous, abusive, and coercive."

Undoubtedly only "Yes" men are wanted in this system.

Several days after the meeting five of the eighteen teachers were given contracts, no one knowing on just what basis they were rehired. The members of the Executive Committee were offered their positions on the basis of merit alone if they would promise to give up their union activities. And still the Board at that time denied that this was a union issue!

The Central Labor Body had been of utmost assistance to the teachers. It guaranteed a necessary \$1000 bond, and passed a motion to honor all bills in connection with the teachers' fight. *It took away the union card of William Schroeder, member of another labor union, because as a Board of Education member he had voted the wrong way.*

The thirteen ousted teachers and their fellow union members continued the determined fight for their positions in a bitter controversy. With the leadership of the Central Labor Body, a well-planned mass meeting was scheduled for the evening of Monday, May 11. The same organization was instrumental in having recall petitions circulated and is finding no difficulty in securing the necessary number of signatures.

Advised by the Milwaukee law firm employed by the State Federation of Teachers, the Central Labor Body's Educational Committee requested Mayor W. T. Nobles to *suspend the School Board*, thus saving the city the expense of a recall. However, he refused to take such action, but granted a public hearing for May 12 and ordered the Board to cease hiring teachers to fill the positions of those dismissed. Preceding the Mayor's decision, nevertheless, the Board of Education had hastily issued contracts to at least nine new teachers, some of them, it is understood, persons without the two years' experience hitherto required in this school system.

These despicable actions were aired on Tuesday, May 12, at the hearing before the City Council. The attorney for the Board of Education *admitted on the part of the Board discrimination against the Union, but claimed that the Board had acted within its rights.* Furthermore, seeking to discredit the local, this attorney charged the national organization with Communism!

The Union has decided that to press for the dismissal of the Board is undesirable, since the Mayor might appoint in its stead a Board equally unfavorable. The decision is, rather, to drop the charges against the Board and bring the issue to a recall election.

As this is being written, the thirteen teachers are still without contracts. A fighting campaign is under way, with the vigorous support of the Central Labor Union. All citizens are being urged to register immediately and to take part in this recall election. It is believed that recognition of the Union will be the outcome of this controversy.

St. Louis Local Fights anti-Union Rule

PAUL W. PREISLER

"NO PERSON shall be employed hereafter, in any capacity in the Instruction Department, who is a member of a trade or labor union or of any organization affiliated with a trade or labor union; and any person employed in the Instruction Department who becomes a member of such organization shall be subject to immediate dismissal from the service."

So reads the anti-union rule passed by the Board of Education of the city of St. Louis nearly fifteen years ago by a vote of 11 to 1. At that time there was considerable sentiment in the existing teachers' organizations throughout the country to affiliate with the then recently formed American Federation of Teachers, and school executives were trying every means to prevent the alignment of teachers with the labor movement.

This rule naturally served to dampen the enthusiasm for organizing a union, until early in 1935 when a group of labor-sympathetic university, public school, and FERA teachers decided to form a local of the A.F.T. A representative of the union appeared before the Board's Subcommittee on Instruction in April, and inquired regarding the exact status of the rule. In committee, he was told that the rule was unconstitutional, had never been enforced, and was carried in the printed forms only because of the expense of changing the plates. Later, when he asked for a statement to the press, he was told that the committee's minutes were not open to the public.

After a charter was issued to the group by the A.F.T. and Local 420, in August, affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, the Chairman of the Board and another prominent member, as individuals, gave statements to the press along the same lines as the above statements of the committee.

Immediate steps were taken by Local 420 to have labor unions request the rescinding of the rule. Protests to the Board from about twenty-five organizations finally resulted in a motion being made, at the November meeting, to rescind the rule. The by-laws provide that such motions must wait for thirty days, but sixty days were allowed to pass before it was again discussed, to give parties opposed to the rule a chance to present their case. Finding no opponents of rescinding presenting themselves, the committee on instruction proceeded to go out to get some; it consulted the heads of the existing teachers' organizations (company union type) regarding the feeling of their

membership. Needless to say, it was claimed that these officials stated that the majority of their groups were opposed to any change of the rules. So the Board passed over the question again at their January and February meetings by referring to committee for further investigation, although the unions and Local 420 had asked for a decision in February.

During February, labor organizations continued to send in requests for rescinding and by March about seventy-five requests for rescinding had reached the Board and only one from an organization, the Association of Bonded Contractors, against the rescinding of the rule.

Throughout the last months of the controversy, the Board tried to side-step the responsibility of handing down a decision on the rule, by trying to induce the union to take the matter to the courts for a ruling. This the local refused to do, contending that the Board had taken the same oaths of office as the judges of the courts to uphold the federal and state constitutions and was equally responsible for removing or declaring invalid an unconstitutional rule.

On March 10, 1936, the Board passed the following motion by a vote of 11 to 1, "The Committee has carefully considered the reference to it of the resolution to repeal the third paragraph of Sub-section (1) of Section I of Rule 44. In view of the factors involved, the Committee has reached the conclusion that the Board of Education should confine itself to the suggestion that those who regard the rule as illegal resort to the Courts for determination of the Board's authority in the premises."

The one member who voted against the motion explained his vote, "I vote no, because I believe that the resolution which I handed in (for rescinding) was the only type of resolution which could be fairly handed in to do justice to the citizens of this community. I believe we have no right to deprive anyone who wishes to enjoy the privileges of any organization, and as a labor union is generally approved, I think this resolution (for rescinding) should be passed and I therefore vote no to this change in the recommendation made in my resolution (for rescinding)."

In this manner the Board of Education of St. Louis, after nearly a year, tried to escape from making a deci-

sion on the question regarding the rights of teachers to belong to a labor union. Local 420, at this time, refuses to take the matter to court, taking the stand that "A Board of Education has passed this rule; let a Board of Education remove it."

The local is asking all organizations sympathetic to labor in the country to pass resolutions calling on the Board of Education to rescind this infamous rule and to permit teachers to belong to a labor union and to send copies of the resolution to The Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, and to inform Local 420 of their action by addressing Paul W. Preisler, Pres., 4274 Shenandoah Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. By showing the Board that their anti-union rule is bringing the school system of St. Louis into criticism and disrepute throughout the country, they may be brought around to the view that they themselves must accept responsibility for removing the rule.

Bloomington Teachers Organize 100%

PORTIA ALEXANDER

LOCAL 276 of the American Federation of Teachers, which has organized the teachers of Bloomington, Illinois, 100%, was formed only recently, in January, 1934, following an address by W. B. Satterthwaite, organizer from the national organization. This meeting was sponsored by the local Trades and Labor Assembly, and the teachers of the city were invited to attend by a member of the Board of Education who is also active in the labor movement in the city. Two members of the Board of Education are members of the trade unions and gave help and encouragement to the new Teachers Federation. Before the organization was formed, other members of the board were contacted by leaders in the movement and plans and purposes of the union discussed with them and with the superintendent. As a result, there has been no opposition from the board, and suggestions and requests of the teachers have met with respect and cooperation.

Some of the most important work of the federation from the beginning has been its support of the legislative program of the Illinois State Teachers Association. This has consisted of petitions and personal letters to legislators asking their support for school bills, questionnaires sent to candidates to state offices to determine their attitude toward school legislation, and a report on each candidate compiled from these answers and the record of those run-



ning for re-election, copies of which were distributed among teachers in the country.

Locally, the federation has furnished the unit of organization for group accident and health insurance, a project of great value to the members. Members played an inconspicuous but effective part in the campaign to increase the tax rate for educational purposes in this school district. A committee worked with the board in revising the rules and regulations of the Board of Education, and a standing committee acts as a medium of communication by which teachers' problems, requests, and suggestions are presented to the board.

At the anniversary banquet this year, guests were invited from several other cities to hear the speaker from the national organization and learn of the work of the federation. As a result, the federation has been asked to send a representative to speak on this type of teacher organization at the City Superintendents Association in Springfield in November. We believe that one or more new locals may be organized in the state as a result of these activities.

A Victory in Cleveland

Thwarts Chamber of Commerce Control of Schools

H. R. HAZEL

THE CLEVELAND LOCAL has recently been engaged in two campaigns which have resulted in important gains for the schools. The failure of the taxpayer to meet his delinquent tax obligation was a factor in the severe salary cuts suffered by Cleveland teachers. A group of Union members undertook an educational tour of the city, visiting delinquent taxpayers, with excellent results to the city treasury. It was then that the teachers and the residents of Cleveland first realized the need and value of concerted action for the welfare of their schools.

Many of Cleveland's wealthier citizens, like those of many other cities, had moved beyond the city limits so as to live in more pleasant surroundings and have schools more worthy of the task of educating children of so exclusive a group. This withdrawal of so much wealth from the city's tax duplicate was serious enough, but that was not all. The Chamber of Commerce, whose membership is made up almost entirely of suburbanites, exerted an in-

fluence in purely city matters, such, for instance, as the conduct of the schools, entirely out of proportion to their numbers.

Until last fall's school board election, they had exercised effective control over school finances. During the last five years, the indebtedness of the schools had been decreased ten million dollars, and teachers' salaries have been cut nearly nine millions. The net effect of such policies was to keep taxes low and the big taxpayers happy. They gave small thought to the fact that the schools were being scuttled.

Though teachers realized that they could not escape the general misfortune of the depression, they did feel that a fair method of adjustment could be found. Their plan was to return all teachers to their respective places upon the salary schedule and then to institute a uniform percentage cut from that point for everyone. This request, until the last day of March of this year, had been consistently disregarded. The effect of increments withheld, arbitrary minima established, cuts instituted, and a few attempts at inequitable partial restoration, had worked great injustice, with losses in salary ranging from 16 to 33 per cent.

The former president of the Board of Education, now State Director of Commerce and still a board member, appointed as his manager of properties the man whom many hold largely responsible for the defeat of a two-mill school levy a year ago last fall. *This member and another were accused by the county treasurer of not having paid their city taxes.* At the school board election of last fall, a "Citizens' Slate," selected by these same "best" people of the community, ran on a platform of continuing the "business-like policies" which were then in operation.

However, the Cleveland Federation of Labor and the Teachers Union were not asleep. They worked assiduously to rally round the cause of the schools those citizens of Cleveland who had previously shown their interest by cooperating with Local 279 in its campaign for the collection of delinquent taxes. A "Labor Slate" of candidates for the school board was prepared and vigorously supported, *and, with the aid of the school-conscious citizens, elected.* A real victory for labor and the schools!

A significant product of the election was the tie created between our local and the Cleveland Federation of Labor. Organized labor was most helpful and cooperative, and the results should assure facility of contact between teachers and other labor groups.

Another important by-product of this election was the resignation of the clerk-treasurer, who had been the dominating influence in financial affairs of the board for the past fourteen years. It had been at his insistence that the board refused to take any of the numerous legal steps which would have aided the schools.

The board authorized a return to the salary schedule. This action, even though a severe cut of 15 per cent was thought necessary to bring payroll expenditures within the limits of probable tax receipts, was a source of satisfaction to Local 279, since the union had advocated such a plan from the beginning. Mention must be made here of the valuable assistance rendered by George Davis, National Secretary of the American Federation of Teachers, in bringing about the present settlement of the vexing salary problem.

It is to be noted that the percentage of the operating dollar which goes for teachers' salaries is still too small.

Reference to the Cincinnati school survey disclosed these startling facts: last year, among the cities listed, Cleveland stood fifth in cost of operation of the plant; sixth in maintenance; fourth in general control; and fifteenth in the cost of classroom instruction.

Toward a fairer division of the school operating dollar, as well as for the general improvement of the school situation, the Cleveland Teachers Union is determined to continue the fight, urged on by the conviction that labor and the citizens of Cleveland are *actively* interested in better schools.

A Statement of Convention Issues

GEORGE DAVIS

IT IS HOPED by the National Officers that at the coming convention delegates will express themselves on many internal problems confronting our organization and on policies to be pursued in labor and public relations. In store for action are the following:

Organization

More than anything else the American Federation of Teachers needs 100,000 members, representing as many communities throughout the country as are organizable. The August convention should put the regional organization plan recommended by President Lowry into effect. This plan calls for division of the whole country into ten to fifteen areas. One vice-president should be elected to the Executive Council from each designated area on the basis of that vice-president's willingness to devote some effort to organizing the teachers in the area for which he is chosen. Enabling vice-presidents to carry on this work would possibly necessitate reducing full time national organizers from two to one and appropriating national funds thus saved for supplementing the work of vice-presidents in poorly organized and financially weak areas. Such a plan definitely worked out will be presented to the convention as the procedure most likely to give us the greatest returns on our organization dollars.

College Teachers

With the increased membership and growth of locals in colleges and universities, it is time that we create a national college section with representation on the Executive Council and machinery for extending the advantages of unionization on a national scale to teachers of college rank.

Laws

At the April 27 and 28 hearing conducted by A.F.L. representatives, it was clearly brought out that sections of our constitution dealing with eligibility for membership, seating of delegates, convention representation, and authority to be exercised by officers are either vague or out-moded. As one member of the investigating committee put it, we need laws that can be interpreted and authority delegated to somebody to interpret them.

Broadening the Base of the A.F.T.

A member of the Executive Council in a recent letter called attention to the fact that the A.F.T. was founded by and for regularly employed public school teachers and invites us to "look at the darned thing now." A recent inquiry from a local asks if college graduates not certificated and not employed but regarding themselves as potential teachers are eligible for membership. Just how far we can and ought to "spread" ourselves must be determined and laws should be written to define our membership.

Frequency of Convention

Attention has been directed to the tendency in older unions to encourage more active and frequently meeting executive councils, with general conventions held less frequently—alternate years as a rule. Along with that, the "inside man," generally the Secretary-Treasurer, has been made directly responsible to the executive council. Whether such tendencies should be followed by the A.F.T. in the interest of efficiency merits consideration.

The American Teacher

The present Secretary-Treasurer asked that a temporary

editorial board be set up. New York and Philadelphia have generously assumed responsibility for the two final issues. The machinery is not entirely satisfactory and consideration of a permanent editorial arrangement is in order.

Headquarters

At the past nineteen conventions, the re-location of the National Office has been discussed either publicly or privately. It is felt in some quarters that moving headquarters to Washington, D. C., would have advantages in contacts and in legislative work. To move or not to move—let's decide.

Cleavage

The division in ranks, which started in New York, all but disrupted our 1935 convention, and now permeates the National, is in need of "ironing out." Members of the A.F.L. investigating committee indicated as their personal opinions that many of the issues presented to them were problems for our own organization to solve. A new plan of proportional representation may be the meeting ground

on which the majority and minority grouped locals can get together. The feeling on neither side has improved since our 1935 convention. An intensifying of that feeling can but lead ultimately to smashing tactics. Let's hope it does not happen.

A.F.L.

The A.F.L. Education Committee welcomes material from us for inclusion in its educational program. Our convention should present constructive material on educational policies to that body.

Resolutions which condemn officers of the A.F.L. and which are critical of A.F.L. policies without being constructive do not help our relations with labor. This in no way limits us in supporting such progressive measures as industrial unionism and independent political action, but they can be urged without creating the impression that we are trying to dictate to organized labor. The point is that we should emphasize what we believe labor can and should do for education and the teachers union.

Security in the Professions

ALBION A. HARTWELL

THE SOCIAL and economic wellbeing of workers in the teaching profession is of foremost concern to a society such as ours which is committed to universal education. It must be clearly realized that the duties which devolve upon teachers in training youth for work and living in our society command an important stake in the broad social service which must be made available to all who are in need.

Workers in all the professions must be particularly concerned with the problems involved in preserving adequate living standards for teachers. It is clear that teaching is the "basic industry" in the professions. The special training which is the source of the particular skills, attributes, and functions of any single profession is basically acquired through the efforts of teachers, beginning with those in the elementary schools and continuing up through highly specialized university training. Since, in the broadest sense, professional work makes social services available and fosters technical and cultural development, society must provide safeguards for the welfare of those who play a basic role in training the "technicians" of social, cultural, and technical services. For this fundamental reason, the social and

economic security of teachers is the problem of our whole society.

Many factors tend to lower the living standards of teachers in addition to that of unemployment. Increased enrollments, school budget reductions, lack of tenure, inequitable salary standards, and inordinate teaching schedules are some of the many factors which teachers faced even before the last seven years of economic depression. All of these factors have been accentuated as the crisis deepened. Even though today a widely heralded "return to prosperity" may be noted in the earnings of large corporations, if we follow the newspaper accounts, and even though some cities may have restored parts of pay cuts which were instituted during the last three or four years, by and large the teaching profession has received little or no benefits. A cursory examination of some of the facts which have been gathered by various agencies during the past four or five years gives a broad picture of the conditions that teachers have faced.

Although no accurate figures on unemployment among workers in the teaching profession on a nationwide basis are available as of the present date, rough estimates have

been made. One or two states such as Massachusetts have taken unemployment censuses, but on the whole we must rely on general estimates. In 1933 the United States Office of Education issued figures showing estimates of unemployment in eighteen states totaling roughly 85,000 teachers. The Office of Education has estimated that there are between 150,000 and 200,000 certified teachers unemployed in the country at the present time. As early as 1933, the National Education Association estimate placed the number of unemployed at approximately the same figure. During the period of the last five or six years, if we recognize 1931 as the year when the present depression began to affect the educational system most severely, normal schools, technical schools, and universities have continued to turn out graduates, many of whom have qualified for licenses and have been seeking positions in the teaching profession. The number of such persons, which has never been ascertained, must be added to any general estimate of unemployment among teachers.

In the specific case of college and university teachers, apparently similar conditions prevail. Reductions in the size of faculties began in 1931-32 and while wholesale reductions, such as have occurred in the staffs of elementary and secondary schools, have not occurred in colleges and universities, substantial numbers have been laid off. The American Association of University Professors has estimated that the total reduction has averaged about 10 per cent throughout the country.

It has been the younger university and college teachers who have borne the brunt of reduction, but other practices have been instituted by colleges and universities which work additional hardships ultimately upon younger faculty members. Some colleges have adopted the practice of one year appointments only. Some colleges, instead of making promotions to assistant and associate professorships, have devised new names for teaching posts such as "fellows," "research assistants," or they have merely kept persons eligible to higher appointments within the category of "instructor". Furthermore the current practice of many colleges of denying advancement to their faculty personnel, unless they have published books or written articles extensively, has been increasingly used as a reason for lack of promotion. The American Association of University Professors reported that during the year 1933-34, out of 96 institutions investigated, 25 failed to reappoint instructors; 41 did not fill vacancies above the category of instructor; and 47 of the 96 gave one year appointments only, regardless of rank.

Examination of the salary scale of teachers in the United States is a hard blow to the popular opinion that workers in the professions are highly paid. A study entitled *Major Trends In Public Education* published by the Joint Committee on the Emergency in Education in Washington, D. C., October 1934, pointed out that one-third of the teachers

in the United States receive less than \$750 a year. The report said, "About 250,000 teachers to whom is entrusted the education of some 7,000,000 children receive annual wages below the minimum for factory hands under the blanket code (of the NRA)." While teachers have been able to secure better salaries in some of our city school systems through organization and raising demands for higher standards, the vast majority of our teachers work in rural or semi-urban communities where they have not as yet organized sufficiently to demand a living wage. When it is realized that more than half of all the approximately one million school teachers in the United States who constitute about one-third of all workers in the professions are located in rural school systems, the magnitude of the problem becomes strikingly apparent.

Non-payment of teachers' salaries is another phase of the problem. In 1933 the National Education Association reported that teachers' salaries in some of the school systems of fourteen states went unpaid. The situation in Chicago, for example, is too well known to deserve more than mention here. The American Association of University Professors estimates that the median flat reduction of salaries in colleges and universities was approximately 15 per cent in the period between 1932 and 1934. Some colleges have experienced a much more severe reduction.

During this period, while general school budgets were reduced, there has been a constant increase in enrolment figures. The size of enrolments has been broadened because of the depression itself. During this period the youth have not found opportunities for work and in some cases have continued their schooling in the hope of future opportunity. The closing of schools has contributed to the burdens of teachers in other schools in the same vicinity. The reduction of the length of the school year by two months (or six months in some cases) in rural areas, has meant a greater burden on teachers during the period when the schools are open. These and many other factors of similar nature place the worker in the teaching profession in a position which is practically the same as that of the worker in industry under the "speedup" or "stretchout." The effect of speedup in education not only exerts physical hardships on teachers but demoralizes the individual and detracts from the best service which he or she has to give.

In the face of the factors which have been only briefly touched upon here, the need of teachers for social legislation is most obvious. Social insurance for teachers is necessary to guarantee continuity of income in times of unemployment, temporary disability, permanent injury, periods of maternity, and in fact all of the hazards of our present day economic life, which contrary to prevalent opinion are not confined to workers in industry and agriculture, but are suffered likewise by all workers in the professions. Social insurance is not enough; teachers must

demand tenure laws, compensation benefits, reduction in hours, in the size of classes, better school facilities. But social insurance must be available in order to offer a safeguard while these special protections are not available.

In 1935, the present administration passed the "Social Security Act." At the time of the passage of this act, it was widely heralded as a step forward in giving security to the people, but to teachers it offered nothing, and "security legislation" remains for them something to be achieved in the future. Not only does this act deny benefits to all of those who are at present unemployed, but it is specifically not applicable to charitable, religious, educational, or scientific institutions, nor is it applicable to employees of the federal or of any state, county, or local government, thus specifically excluding teachers. For teachers, this appears to be a double disbarment.

While the Administration's measure was in process of formulation and passage, a different type of social insurance plan was presented to the Congress in the form of the Workers Social Insurance Bill introduced by Congressman Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota in 1934, and more recently introduced into the Senate by Senator Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota. This bill has been supported by wide groups including trade unions, parent teachers associations, fraternal societies, political groups of all shades, professional associations. It received the active endorsement of at least five million American citizens. The reasons for such broad endorsement are readily apparent.

The Workers Bill is all-inclusive instead of exclusive. It specifically includes workers in the professions, the self-employed, farmers, those at present unemployed. It provides benefits during the entire period of unemployment due to whatever causes, including old age, industrial disability, and other hazards. It would furnish benefits to working mothers, including teachers, during periods of childbirth. Above all, it would make the costs of the insurance system directly available out of the national treasury through higher income taxes and through other means, thus serving to redistribute the surplus accumulations of the product of our national economy, which according to recent studies of the Brookings Institute is a vital necessity for a more even functioning of our economic system. Whereas, at the same time that it denies them benefits, the present "Social Security Act" will force teachers as consumers to bear a share of the cost through higher prices, since payroll taxes are considered production costs and thus raise the prices of commodities.

No one today can suppose that even a beginning toward genuinely protecting the vast masses of the American people has been made in the "Social Security Act." The question remains before us as vitally today as it did in 1935 when the present act was passed. For teachers this means

vigilance in watching future legislation and in being assured that they will benefit under it. It further means that teachers must be concerned with broadening the present act to include them within its provisions. At the same time, teachers must give careful study to the Workers Bill in mapping their demands concerning future legislation, because there they will find the principles which they must insist upon.

Social security for teachers, or for any other group in our economy, cannot be assured even with the passing of legislation in their behalf. Such legislation is necessary and always provides one more step toward achieving security, but no one or even all of the steps along the way can be looked upon as having achieved security. Teachers in America under the leadership of the American Federation of Teachers have made progress in the understanding of the fact that our economic life today is highly organized. This complex organization demands that particular groups within it with similar or identical interests must themselves organize, in order better to map out their own economic stake in the total product of our economy, and to play a part in developing the social basis for the practice of their particular work. Just as doctors must give leadership in determining health standards for the community and how best to put them in practice, and architects must play an important role in developing housing programs, so teachers must become active in determining the standards and development of our educational systems. They cannot do this effectively without organization. As teachers develop increasing consciousness of the problems involved in attaining social security and of their part in developing the whole process of education, they will more and more seek affiliation with the broad masses of organized workers in industry, agriculture, and the professions through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

[NOTE: For more comprehensive treatment of the present status of teachers in the United States consult the testimony on the Workers Social Insurance Bill, S. 3475, of Professor Ralph J. Bunche of Howard University, member of the National Council of the Inter-Professional Association and of the American Federation of Teachers, before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Washington, D. C., Senator David I. Walsh, Chairman.]

Industrialists Please Note

"First things must be put first if second things in importance are to be put anywhere in the future. For, what shall it benefit us to perfect our educational system so that youth leaves our institutions of learning, prepared to the hilt to do something fine in the world, if the great mass of these trained young people can find nothing to do, and are finally sent to fertilize the battlefields of a new war?"—J. W. STUDEBAKER, U. S. Commissioner of Education.

"Unprofessional Conduct"

VICTOR R. JEWETT

CALIFORNIA LAW does not define unprofessional conduct. Although the term is much used in connection with education, other professions also have codes of ethics to which respect is paid in words, if not always in actions.

Take journalism, for example. Is it not "unprofessional conduct" for a newspaper to cast aspersion upon a citizen, even a teacher, yet refuse to publish any answers offered by the person attacked?

Various professions are represented on Boards of Education. Is it unprofessional for a Board, without explanation, to transfer a teacher, after five years of teaching social studies, to mathematics? Certainly it is against the best interests of the pupils. Is it unprofessional to cut one teacher's salary 20%, illegally and without justification; to suspend him and withhold his salary without a complaint required by law; to require fellow teachers to give false testimony against him?

Consider the legal profession. An attorney, in need of an issue in his campaign for political office, slanders this teacher while pretending to oppose un-American teaching; secures publication of false charges, but avoids the responsibility of signing and filing them himself; induces pupils to sign affidavits including distorted descriptions of classroom activities. Are such acts permitted by his code of ethics?

Is it unprofessional for deputy district attorneys representing the Board of Education, to prosecute such unverified, hearsay charges; to coach pupils to misinterpret a teacher's words; to offer prejudicial testimony unrelated to the specific charges or obviously manufactured; to present evidence which could be secured only by vigilante raids or similar lawless means?

If a judge rules out without justification a cross-complaint listing numerous illegal acts of the complainant Board of Education; refuses evidence of such official law-breaking; upholds prosecution objections and overrules defense objections with equal uniformity; disregards specific provisions of the tenure law; and signs a judgment containing an assertion by the Board which its own letters proved untrue, and listing testimony entirely irrelevant to the charges supposedly on trial—what becomes of his oath to administer the law impartially and to observe the ethics of the bar?

As the teacher involved in this case, I expressed, both in school and out, my frank opposition to war. I disapproved of blind nationalism expressed in perfunctory flag salutes.

Hearst's "Buy American" campaign I condemned as economically unsound and his militarism as anti-social. School library pamphlets and the *Nation*, *New Republic*, and *Living Age* magazines were used for reference in my classes. My social studies pupils were helped to understand present social relations. Although minor, my role in a local lumber strike was sympathetic to the workers.

Charges against me were labeled "unprofessional conduct" and the Superior Court upheld my dismissal as a permanent teacher. The findings list "utterances outside of classroom" that I never uttered anywhere, and declare that defendant "was seen in the picket line maintained by said Union and made derogatory remarks to one of his former pupils who was employed by one of the lumber companies affected by said strike." Although I was not an official picket, but a friendly observer of the picketing, I did not call "scab" or anything else at any of the "loyal employees." That testimony was purely fabricated.

What attitude should professional education organizations take toward this situation? Throughout my professional career I have been a member of the California Teachers Association, the all-inclusive administrator-controlled, company union type of organization. It was largely responsible for the present tenure law and might be expected to show keen interest in strict enforcement. It could publicize the details of the case in its magazine with 35,000 circulation, provide competent counsel, raise funds for defense. Instead, calumny against me has been spread by officials of that association. The fact that my colleagues were too intimidated to protest openly against the actions of their own Board of Education is made an excuse for refusing even to answer several requests for aid.

Conversely, members of the American Federation of Teachers promptly organized a defense committee, collected funds, and provided an attorney. A.F.L. Unions are contributing a major part of the cost of carrying the adverse decision to the appellate court. The Association of California Classroom Teachers has given full publicity in its progressive magazine and repeatedly donated generously to the defense fund.

When the interests of education conflict with their own, newspapers, administrators, and other influential persons often resort to all manner of "unprofessional" conduct. Such spokesmen for the status quo frequently warn teachers that independent classroom teacher or union organizations are "unprofessional." Actually, the most dependable supporters of teachers' rights and of professional standards in education are the classroom teachers and organized labor.

The American Youth Bill

REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS R. AMLIE

WHEN conditions completely beyond their control decree idleness for between 5,000,000 and 8,000,000 young people in this country—the people upon whom the future progress of the country depends—it is time to take steps to correct the conditions.

We have the authority of Mr. Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, for the figures on unemployment among young people. We have Mr. Williams' authority also for the statement that nearly 3,000,000 young people are obliged to live on relief.

Such conditions have had many socially bad results. During the year 1932 the marriage rate in the United States fell 34 per cent, reflecting an unwillingness on the part of a large section of the young people to assume the responsibilities of marriage under existing economic conditions. It should be pointed out, incidentally, that those who refuse to marry are generally those with the greatest sense of responsibility.

Another result is that the talents and abilities of young people are being wasted, if not permanently destroyed, by disuse. It is said that 500 college-trained young men are driving taxicabs in the city of Washington; that not five per cent of the architects graduating from Columbia University are able to get jobs; that in almost every direction the doors of opportunity are closed to those who are at the beginning of their careers.

Still another result is an increase in crime among young people who are not criminal types by any of the old standards. Church workers, social workers, police officials tell us that the average age of criminal offenders is steadily growing lower, and that the depression has produced an entirely new type of offender, having none of the characteristics of the old-time criminal—a type, presumably, which would develop into a useful and law-abiding member of society, but for the conditions which have been imposed upon him by the depression.

Among the most striking and challenging facts brought out at the hearing on the American Youth Act before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, was the effect of conditions such as have prevailed for the past six years in driving young people into lives of crime. According to Howard W. Oxley, educational director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the

nation's crime bill for persons in the age group covered by the proposed legislation is \$3,500,000,000 annually. This is the estimated total cost of the proposed bill.

Another witness, Franklin Harbach, director of a community center in New York, testified that crime among young people is growing, and that it is closely related to the economic conditions affecting them. His own organization, he told the committee, had been brought face to face with this problem. In 1928 his community center had 10 court cases among its charges. In 1932 it had 161. M. B. Schnapper, former statistician for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, testified that 27 per cent of all arrests are of persons under 25 years of age.

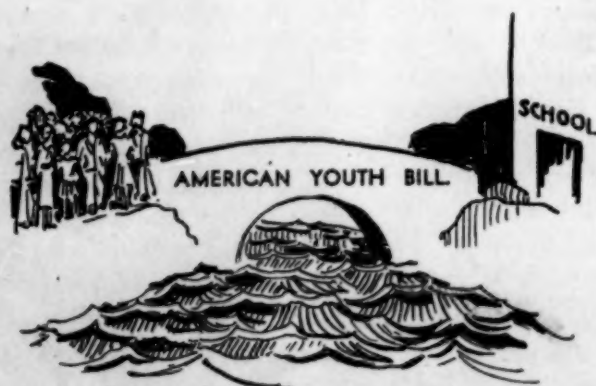
Hays Beall, director of boys' education of the Methodist Episcopal church, appearing in favor of the measure, made it clear that this increase in crime is not limited to settlement house districts, nor to young people cast adrift from home connections, and he cited records of actual cases in which he had been interested, to show the relationship of economic conditions among youth to crime. A large proportion of the so-called "transient youth," he told the committee, are church people. According to another witness, the largest amount of all criminal activity is to be found in the group 19 years of age.

These are some of the problems which the American Youth bill seeks to deal with by giving young people opportunities for socially useful activity and providing a substitute for the opportunities which were taken away by the depression. In brief, the measure provides the following:

First: The Act authorizes and directs the Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of vocational training and employment on public enterprises for the purpose of providing regular wages for youth between the ages of

16 and 25. These regular wages shall be equal to the prevailing rate of wages for the work performed as established by the recognized organizations of labor in each community; in no case shall wages be less than \$15 per week, plus \$3 for each dependent.

Second: The Act provides for the payment of fees plus the



average weekly living expense of needy students in high schools and vocational schools, providing that such compensation exclusive of fees shall not be less than \$15 a month.

Third: The Act provides for employment on college projects for needy under-graduate and graduate students in colleges. These projects shall be of academic nature in accordance with the educational purposes of the institution of higher learning in question, and the wages shall be equal to the prevailing rate of wages for the work performed and not less than \$25 a month.

These modest proposals represent what the young people themselves have asked for, through their various student,

church, and social organizations. They are, it seems to me, reasonable in every particular; and they deserve the support of every citizen who is concerned about the future of our country.

The greatest wastes incident to the depression cannot be measured in terms of money. They are the waste of human resources, of talent, energy, ability, waiting to be put to useful employment, but unable to find any place to function.

The Youth bill recognizes that this is a social waste which we cannot afford to continue, and that society, through the national government, has a responsibility to stop this waste.

Resolving a Dual Situation

JOHN H. WALKER

IN 1931 it began to appear that the Chicago Board of Education was by way of being insolvent. Salary payments to its employees became irregular and cash payments ceased. An occasional payment was made in tax anticipation warrants. The employees were obliged to accept these if at all, at face value, but if sold for cash, they were discounted from five to fifteen per cent. Thus preyed upon by the investment houses and banks and being in distress from need of ready money, an increasing number of teachers were gradually driven into a state of ever greater irritation. Then a new Board of Education, in July of 1933, at one fell stroke, separated some 1300 teachers from the payrolls by the simple expedient of abolishing their jobs. This was accomplished by abolishing manual training and household arts from the elementary schools, by greatly reducing kindergartens, and by abolishing the junior college and the junior high schools. At the same time this Board cut one month off the school year and made a flat cut of fifteen per cent in the face values of all salary checks. These circumstances drove a considerable number of teachers from irritation into desperation.

Meanwhile, what was the teacher organization situation? In spite of the fact that there were among the Chicago teachers nearly a dozen welfare organizations, six of them being unions directly affiliated with labor, destructive things were done to the schools. One of these organizations was the Men Teachers Union, Local No. 2 of the American Federation of Teachers. A considerable number of its members who were elementary and junior high school teachers were victims of the Board of Education's retrenchment program—and the union had been unable to save them. Some of us knew then, as most of us know now, that no organi-

zation then existing could have prevented what happened, because the trouble was not merely local, but national. Nevertheless, there arose among the men teachers a movement based on an entirely different theory from that of *bona fide* unionism. It may be described thus:

There were among the men teachers a few men with political contacts and whose notions of how to get help from powerful politicians were wholly realistic. These men let the idea spread among the teachers that, since the ordinary type of organization had obviously failed to save them, a different and more realistic technique was indicated. Of course, no specific procedures were mentioned. It was only proposed to form a new and vigorous organization of men teachers. The movement was taken in hand by two or three men of skill and determination in organizing and was pushed with vigor and success, notwithstanding the fact that the Men Teachers Union was open to all of these men. Its yearly dues, however, were much higher than those asked by the new organization, which called itself *The Subscribers*.

It was early apparent that the new organization desired affiliation with Labor, but it could not get a union charter, because the Men Teachers Union, to membership in which all of the school men were eligible, already had the field. Hence it was that, over a period of two years, representatives of the Subscribers repeatedly approached the officers of the Men Teachers Union with the proposal that the two organizations amalgamate. The Union had meanwhile passed a rule that no Union member should be also a member of a non-union rival organization. At these conferences the Union officers replied that membership in the Union was open to every man who would abandon mem-

bership in the rival organizations. The Subscriber representatives always countered with the proposal that their membership be taken into the Union as a *body*. Thus matters stood until the late fall of 1935. While the Union officers recognized that these men who had joined the Subscribers were high-intentioned and were more or less catching at straws at that time, they also felt that the situation should continue long enough to convince a majority of them that a single strong union of all the men teachers was the only hope of protection. We wished also to wait until the feelings of bitterness at the failure to protect them had largely subsided. Last November, we decided that that time had come.

Our procedure was first to sponsor a meeting open to all the school men, making a special effort to get Subscribers there. This meeting was a pronounced success. It was formally addressed by Brother George S. Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of American Federation of Teachers, Brother Reuben G. Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and a member of the Illinois legislature, and Brother John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor. We followed this meeting a few weeks later with a joint dinner-meeting of the Building Representatives of the Union and those of the Subscribers. This was primarily a good-will meeting, but general outlines of ways and means of uniting were discussed. The final formal step was taken by both organizations at their regular February meetings, which were held on the same night. At its meeting, the Men Teachers Union passed unanimously a short series of resolutions, providing speci-

fied concessions for a specified period of time, which period was later extended to the end of the present school year. Those concessions were:

First, the regular ten dollar reinstatement fee for former members of the Union would be waived.

Second, application cards need be signed by the applicant only. (The regular requirement specifies also the signature of the Building Representative or of two other Union members.)

Third, the Union would furnish the Subscribers with Union application cards and would vote into the Union at one time all of the applicants whose cards, together with one-half year's dues, were in the hands of the Financial Secretary of the Union at any meeting of the Union.

These resolutions were at once taken by the Business Representative of the Union to the Subscriber meeting and there presented. They were enthusiastically accepted by that body. The Union immediately took the necessary steps to comply with the conditions proposed and these conditions are now in effect. Under the active and skilful push of a large Membership Committee, composed of former Subscribers and Union members working together, the Subscribers as an organization have now disappeared. Enthusiasm and determination are spreading among the men to make membership in the Union approach and remain 100%.

There have been about 250 new members taken in by the Men Teachers Union during the last six weeks. About 100 of those had no previous connections with the Subscribers. These were reinstatements of old members of the Men Teachers Union and new members who had never been affiliated with any union prior to this time.

Progress in Cooperation

The A. F. T. and the A. A. U. P.

ARNOLD SHUKUTOFF

AS FAR BACK AS 1919, members of the American Association of University Professors felt the need for supplementing their membership in the A.A.U.P. by membership in the American Federation of Teachers. The question became so important at the time that Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, President of the Association, devoted his annual message in 1919 to the subject of "Professional Trade Unionism." In his speech, he indicated that the A.F.T. was gaining rapidly in college members as a result of the "deplorable situation of not a few of

the younger teachers," and that some members of the A.A.U.P. had written to the national office inquiring about the propriety of joining the A.F.L. President Lovejoy's response to these suggestions that college teachers ought to link themselves with other teachers and with the labor movement was twofold. First, he feared entangling alliances which might bias the professor's thinking: the professor, he felt, should "refrain from identifying himself with powerful bodies representing organized special interests, whether of capital or labor." Secondly, he suggested that

college teachers did not need unions, as laborers did, for college teachers were not employed by institutions conducting business for private profit.

Since 1919, and particularly during the last five years, events have demonstrably refuted President Lovejoy's objections to professorial trade unionism. His fear of entangling alliances has been answered by the many attempts of chambers of commerce to regiment teaching, and particularly by the appearance of Big Business-inspired Loyalty Oath Laws for teachers in the legislatures of 22 states. These laws suggest that, if college teaching is to avoid, not merely being biased, but actually being shackled, the college teacher must ally himself with a force capable of opposing the passage of such laws. Organized labor has already raised its voice against these laws and is patently such a force. As to President Lovejoy's distinction between college teaching and private employment, the college teacher has discovered that, while he may be handled with more courtesy, he suffers the same economic hardships as employees in private industry. The A.A.U.P. itself indicated at its annual meeting on January 2, 1936, that college professors had received salary cuts as high as 50% in recent years and that the average slash throughout the country had been 15%, and the United States Office of Education has shown in its latest survey that median salaries in 76 private colleges dropped as follows between 1929-30 and 1934-35:

For Presidents:	from \$5469 to \$2708: or 32.2 %
For Deans:	from 3375 to 2500: or 25.9 %
For Professors:	from 3030 to 2336: or 22.9 %
For Assoc. Prof:	from 2646 to 2156: or 18.5 %
For Asst. Prof:	from 2235 to 1864: or 16.6 %
For Instructors:	from 1775 to 1559: or 12.2 %

Recent events have thus forced the college teacher to the conclusion that he must ally himself with labor in order to avoid having his thinking limited and his living standards lowered by capital.

President Lovejoy concluded his address by suggesting that the A.A.U.P. lower its membership requirements in order to attract the younger teachers to it. Accordingly, two years later in 1921, the A.A.U.P. reduced its teaching experience requirement from ten years to three years. At the time, however, the A.A.U.P. did not alter its aims or procedures. Nor has it done so since. Founded originally in 1915 as an organization of specialists in the college teaching field comparable to the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association in medicine and the law, the A.A.U.P. has never regarded itself as a protective association, or union. This fact is readily noticed in numerous committee and presidential reports. In December 1933, for example, the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure stated:

"The Association considers a knowledge of these conditions (i.e., on the conditions of tenure prevailing at an institution under investigation) to be of far greater importance to its membership than the facts underlying the threatened dismissal of Professor X. In fact, as explained many times before, the Association is not a 'Professors Union' where the object is to protect the professor against the administration. . . ."

The A.A.U.P. has thus devoted itself mainly to investigational work, and has produced what are undoubtedly some of the most accurate and competent studies of conditions prevailing in American colleges.

No one can minimize the importance of this work. Neither, on the other hand, can one disregard its limitations in the present situation when the interests seeking to shackle education and to curtail it are so active. To combat these interests, college teachers like the men who found the A.A.U.P. inadequate in 1919, today require an organization of a more active type. They need an organization that will recognize in the attack upon any one teacher the portents of a wider attack, and that will therefore actively defend every teacher's economic and academic rights. They need an organization that will work to secure favorable and to combat unfavorable legislation. They need an organization that will seek to win public opinion to their side on every vital issue, and that will be affiliated with the organized labor movement of the country in order to do this effectively.

One may feel that the A.F.T. is today indispensable for college teachers and recognize equally well the need for cooperation between the A.A.U.P. and the A.F.T. Both organizations are, after all, very much concerned with the problem of academic freedom. In the light of the increasing introduction of Loyalty Oath Laws in the various legislatures, academic freedom looms as a major problem. Both organizations are very much concerned with the question of tenure, with the encouragement of research, with the economic condition of the profession, and with the place and function of faculties in university and college government. If the A.A.U.P. tends to be interested mainly in investigating these problems, and the A.F.T. in studying and acting on them, there is good ground for cooperation. Furthermore, cooperation between these two organizations means bringing together elementary, high school, and college teachers, in other words, bringing the concentrated energy of the entire teaching profession to bear on the solution of mutual problems. The value to be gained is patent. Toward the achievement of such cooperation, the seventeen college locals of the A.F.T. can do much. Cooperation between these two organizations on a local scale will undoubtedly do much to stimulate and prepare the ground for cooperation on a national scale. Exchange of delegates at annual conventions ought to be helpful in developing mutual understanding. Today, more than ever, such understanding and cooperation are vital to the teaching profession as a whole.

John Brophy On Industrial Unionism

SARA T. WALSH

JOHN BROPHY looks like the old time British trade unionist that I see in the weavers' hall close to my home in Philadelphia. His intonation is not definitely English, Irish, or Scotch, but vaguely British. This little, restrained man seemed incongruous as the right hand of the dynamic Lewis and as the director of the newest force in the trade union field today, a force essentially youthful and vigorous; yet before long we realized that the case for industrial unionism is under capable and far sighted direction. We left the outer office in which the most conspicuous object was a table piled with stacks of the pamphlets issued by the Committee for Industrial Organization, and sat down in the plain chairs facing his desk. He leaned forward.

"What do the teachers want to know about industrial unionism?" There was no annoying waggishness about the lack of ability to tell teachers anything.

"Let's begin with you," I replied. "Why do you believe that industrial unionism is the necessary form of organization?"

He spoke quietly and slowly. "Industry has undergone a change in the last quarter of a century. There has been a constant change in processes and employment conditions, and with it a great concentration of capital represented in the great industrial establishments. Our primary need today is a form of organization to deal with large aggregations of capital. To parallel this concentration and to combat it effectively, the workers must organize on the same basis—industrially. These combinations of capital have such tremendous power that they are almost 100 per cent effective in obstructing labor when it organizes under the old method."



He paused, and I made a mental note of the reason why John Brophy does not hesitate to assume the role of instructor. This is familiar material to him, his stock in trade, but he treats it well. He speaks thoughtfully, not glibly. He folded his hands and continued.

"With such a set-up, I can't conceive of a score of different groups of workers bargaining separately with one employer. It never has worked out. What have been the results? There is disintegration within the labor movement itself. In 1934 there was a gain of approximately 350 federal labor unions; in 1935, 110 of these were either disbanded or suspended. This is inevitable when the workers find that their form of organization is ineffective. But there is something more significant. Disintegration within the ranks of organized labor prevents that which is fundamental—the organization of the unorganized."

He paused to give his words greater weight. "What raises the issue of industrial unionism is the necessity for organizing the unorganized." He pointed to the paper on which I was taking notes. "You can repeat that ten times in your article," he said, and continued emphatically. "The chief problem before the labor movement today is the organization of the unorganized. I am not being dogmatic. We are forced to face a situation that has grown out of the failure of the A.F.L. to take any decisive action in organizing these workers."

I was about to ask him the extent of this failure, but he anticipated me.

"There are approximately 39 million organizable workers in this country. The A.F.L. has a constant record of unbroken failure in organizing these workers, the majority of whom are in mass production industries. What have we accomplished? Out of these 39 million we have within the ranks of organized labor only 3½ million. The craft unions have not only consistently failed to gain any foothold in the mass production industries where the potentially organizable are, but have stood aside while anti-union management, which is not so slow, has fostered intensively the formation of company unions."

At this point, one of the typists entered from the outer office.

"Those steel men have come and are waiting," she announced.

I glanced outside. These were not the executives the term usually implies, but workers a little uncomfortable

in their best suits. I thought of the impending convention of steel workers in Pennsylvania, and guessed at the nature and importance of this conference. "Here goes the interview," I thought, and looked doubtful. Brophy noticed it.

"I'll finish this," he said and told the girl to send the men into the adjoining office.

"Take these men in steel," he continued. "Like the men in the newer mass production industries, radio, metal, and rubber, these men think in terms of plant unity. Craft distinctions have died out for them. Organization by crafts is antagonistic both to the nature of their work and to the outlook that modern production methods have developed in them."

"How great is the demand for industrial organization on the part of these men?" I asked.

He smiled. "The last A.F.L. convention gave a clear indication of that. The industrial unionism resolution received a vote representing forty per cent of the membership of the international unions. The vote of the federal and local trade unions shows a proportion of 20 to 1 in favor of industrial unionism. You can get further evidence of the demand by the steel workers in the results of a house to house canvass which the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* conducted recently in Allegheny County. Sixty-eight per cent of those polled favored industrial unions. The results by districts show an industrial unionism vote running from 80 to 94 per cent in the sections where most of the mass production workers live."

"What is your attitude toward craft unions in general?" I asked.

"We do not want to invade certain protected crafts, nor those like the building trades or transportation which are relatively established. The question of amalgamation is something that the workers in the outfit must take their own time in solving. However, the men in steel and in the newer large scale production industries have recognized their problem. They want a policy which flows out of the needs of the industry. They want a policy which will enable them to add to and integrate their forces against the increasing opposition on the part of capital to the expansion of the labor movement."

His voice took on a warning note. "Don't forget that the organization of these industries is of deep significance to the future of the labor movement and the country in general. Steel can be the center of reactionary government as it affects the right of self-organization and self-determination on the part of the workers. The problems in steel, in turn, create problems for related industries, for the seamen in the Lake service, for the men in the captive mines owned by the great steel companies."

I was interested in the implications of this statement. Lewis and the United Mine Workers had given Roosevelt enthusiastic endorsement not so long ago. Would Brophy like to move off the Roosevelt reservation? "You imply that the question of industrial unionism goes beyond the bounds of mere trade unionism, that it is a matter of great political importance. What is your attitude toward the formation of a Labor Party?"

He was not hesitant as I had expected him to be. "The great issue before the country is unemployment, and neither of the two major parties has touched it. We have had palliatives, but no real attempt at solution. At the same time, the fascist-minded outfits like the Liberty League are becoming bolder in their opposition to the interests of labor and in their renewed open shop drive. Unquestionably, labor needs a party of its own. The need for industrial unionism and a Labor Party has the same basis. By industrial unionism, the influence of workers' organizations will be strengthened immeasurably and will flow over into the political field."

I wanted to know how the C.I.O. had been functioning, and he said that they acted as a clearing house for publicity, with the permanent policy of securing industrial union charters.

"Our aim is to propagandize and educate in favor of the industrial unionism resolution. We act in an advisory capacity," nodding to the next room where the steel delegation waited. "During the rubber strike we sent field workers into Akron, where the morale was at a low point. We saw to it that the position of the strikers was clearly stated. We used a local radio station to answer charges against the strikers. The fact that the C.I.O. was back of the strike gave the strikers prestige before the public, and solidified industrial unionism sentiment within the ranks of the workers. Our field representatives emphasized our message of plant unity. The success of that strike shows



again that plant unity must be achieved, before there can be any progress in organization or action."

I wondered if he applied to schools this idea of the necessity for plant unity. "Do you believe that the modern school is a fitting place for industrial organization?" I asked.

"You can question whether this form of organization suits. Not being a teacher, I don't know your specific problems. It is obvious, however, that the school is one institution from the teaching staff to the maintenance de-

partment, with one employer, the state. The main issue, once again, is organizing the unorganized. This is not an academic question. Where the craft form has succeeded, it should be continued. The form doesn't matter. What is important is that the form of organization should be the one that provides the maximum organization within your industry. You should make that your chief consideration in the solution of your problem."

(The drawings printed with this article are taken, with permission, from *The Case for Industrial Organization*, published by The Committee for Industrial Organization, Washington, D. C.)

Taxation for Schools

HAROLD M. GROVES

MEMBERS of the American Federation of Teachers are accustomed to think of themselves as citizens of a profession as well as of a state and nation. As citizens of their profession, they are deeply concerned with how that profession is financed.

Central versus Local Support for Schools

First of all, teachers are concerned to know what proportion of school costs are borne by local units of government (school district, town, village, or city and county) and what proportion is borne by central units (state and federal government). Extensive facts concerning this matter have recently been published by the Research Division of the National Education Association. They show a range of state and federal support from 2% in Kansas (.3% federal and 1.7% state) and 2.3% in Iowa (.4% federal and 1.9% state) and 4.5% in Illinois (.3% federal and 4.2% state) to 90% in Delaware (.5% federal and 89.5% state) and 69% in North Carolina (3% federal and 66% state) and 63.7% in California (.2% federal and 63.5% state). In only six states does central support amount to one half; in eleven states it amounts to less than 10%. These figures illustrate the wide range of practice in financing education; they also indicate that the support for education is still very preponderantly local.

Advantages of Central Support

Undoubtedly the trend is toward more central support for education and very properly so. It need hardly be argued now that education is a matter of state and national interest. It may not be of as much concern to New York as it is to Arkansas, that the children of the latter state have a proper educational opportunity, but it is of great concern to both states. The United States is an economic and political unit, and no part of the unit can get very far ahead or behind the other parts. Inter-

course between states is of increasing proportions. What holds between states is, of course, more true and more important between the districts within a state. It has been demonstrated many times that there is an enormous range between districts in their ability to support education. We cannot hope for anything remotely resembling a national minimum standard for education, unless the state and national governments are willing to underwrite a substantial part of the program.

The issue of central versus local support is tied up closely, of course, with the question of what taxes should be used to finance the schools. Local support of schools means their support by the property tax. It is the only tax which is tolerably well adapted to local administration. Income taxes and sales taxes are far better adapted to state than local administration and many favor turning these sources of revenue over to the federal government. Most students of public finance are of the opinion that the property tax, as a source of support for public education and otherwise, has been substantially overworked. If this is true, it affords another strong argument for central support.

It is not to be supposed that central support does not bring with it difficult problems of its own. There are problems of division (formulas of state aid) to contend with, and there are problems of division of control to insure taxpayers that when their money is spent for education in a foreign school district, it will not be wasted. Space will not permit more than calling attention to these problems.

An alternative to the increased central support for education is the enlargement of the school district or the unit which directly supports the school. This program would have the effect of equalizing to some extent the ratios of ability to need, in the local areas of school support. Whether or not we are to favor a program of consolidation of school districts, there can be no doubt that many of our school

districts in many states are a matter of historical accident rather than planning, and cannot be defended as to size and shape on any rational grounds whatever.

If, in the future, we are to rely less on the property tax as the bulwark of school support, what alternative source shall take its place? Undoubtedly, the alternative which has made greatest advances during the depression is the sales tax. It is a way of heavily taxing relatively poor people without their knowing it, and, as a result, it has been the road of least resistance in many states. Most students of public finance take exception to the sales tax, on the ground that it bears with far greater relative weight on the poor than on the rich; also on the ground that it undermines the consumer's purchasing power, which badly needs support.

It is contended, to be sure, that the sales tax, as one element in a tax system, is far more defensible than a sales tax as the sole source of support. The sales tax can be coupled with an income tax, it is said, and the two more or less offset each other. There is some truth in this contention, but it ignores the fact that the consumer already pays a very large tax bill through the tariff and the special sales taxes on such objects as tobacco, liquor, and so forth.

Students of public finance, as a rule, would much prefer to see the income tax more heavily relied upon as a source of school support. It has strong support on equitable and economic grounds, and as a personal tax, it appears well adapted to use for educational purposes. On the other hand, the income tax is not the easiest tax from which to raise large revenues particularly during depressions. It is a direct tax, and, as such, makes the taxpayer very tax conscious. It requires a high degree of discipline to levy and collect large amounts of revenue in this way. Moreover, the income tax requires high-grade administration.

Its machinery is most complicated and it is one of the easiest taxes "to beat." Finally, many states have tied themselves up in knots with state constitutions and the income tax cannot be inaugurated in these states without the arduous task of amending these constitutions.

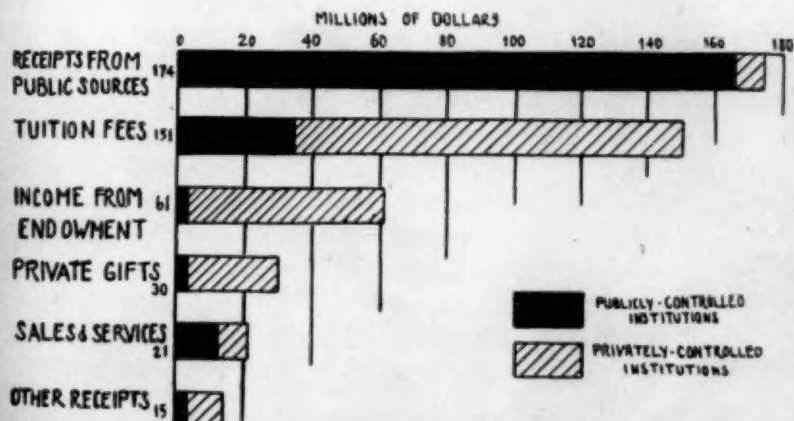
With all of the limitations and difficulties which lie in the way of income tax revenues for schools, it can be accepted that this is the most socially desirable alternative to the property taxes. Socially-minded citizens of the teaching profession and the community need to be constantly at work, clearing away the obstacles to income tax development.

Indeed, the general sales tax is so objectionable, as an alternative to the property tax, that its substitution for the property tax might well bring more evils and hardship than it would relieve. The property tax bears very heavily upon small owners of property, especially those in debt. The sales tax bears upon those who are even lower in the economic scale—those who own no property at all.

Moreover, there are property taxes and property taxes. There are property taxes which are so badly collected that large and able property-owners pay interest and salaries and dividends, while they put off the government tax collector or circumvent him altogether. There are property taxes so badly administered that one half of the community is heavily robbed for the benefit of the other half. On the other hand there are very efficiently collected property taxes and there are efficiently administered ones too—provided an impossible load is not put upon the shoulders of the local assessor, and the law is written with some regard for possible administration. An alert and well informed citizenry can do much to make the property tax a far more equitable and efficient instrument for raising revenue than it has usually been.

Most of what has been written concerning the financ-

SOURCES OF INCOME
OF INSTITUTIONS* OF HIGHER LEARNING** IN U.S.: 1931-1932



* 1930 REPORTING

** BIENNIAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION - 1930-1932, p. 32

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOURCES OF INCOME
OF INSTITUTIONS* OF HIGHER LEARNING** IN U.S.: 1930-1931



* 1930 REPORTING

** BIENNIAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION 1930-1932

ing of education concerns elementary and secondary education only. There are also important problems in financing higher education. Few people realize that less than half of the total cost of higher education comes from public taxes of any sort. The accompanying charts present the figures on sources of higher education support. The history of education has been one of evolution from religious and other private support, voluntarily contributed, to public support through taxes. It is apparent that our higher education still lags considerably in this development. Moreover, the student still contributes very heavily to higher education, not only in time and living expenses, but also in the cost of the education itself.

Education and educators have not infrequently been criticized because they accept too uncritically the existing social and economic order. If the criticism is justified, and I think it is, much explanation can be found in the accompanying charts. As long as higher education has to pass the tin cup to secure such a large part of its support, it can never be expected to criticize very aggressively the economic institutions which are popular with its donors and the source of their donations.

Harvard University is reported to have an endowment

of \$126,126,368 and an annual income from this endowment of \$5,294,823 which constitutes over half of its total current annual income of \$10,355,812. When this annual income is compared with the \$7,109,090 provided mainly by public sources for the University of Minnesota (one of the better supported state universities) it can be seen that Harvard can well afford a few educational luxuries. On the other hand, an institution thus financed must live in great and constant fear of inflation. Incidentally, it would be difficult for a Harvard economist to take an objective view of this important economic institution.

Teachers more than anyone else, perhaps, should be well-informed on the subject of taxation. Taxes are the source of their livelihood; they are an important factor in the effectiveness of their profession; they are an important aspect of modern economic life, upon which the schools must condition the future citizen; they affect the standard of living and with it the home environment of their pupils. Perhaps a good course in public finance should be a required part in a teacher's training. Better still, if all teachers belonged to a wide-awake union and it made them properly tax-conscious, they could and would learn much about taxation for themselves.

Pennsylvania "Investigates" Its Schools

TO REPRESENTATIVE Hiram G. Andrews, Chairman of the Legislative Committee investigating school costs, the American Federation of Teachers is "uncooperative" and a "nuisance group."

The genesis of both this outburst and the Andrews Committee itself is worthy of note. Schools in Pennsylvania are supported solely by taxes on real estate. This has led to a persistent campaign on the part of Real Estate Boards for a reduction in school taxes, and an equally steady pressure on the part of educators for the passage of a graded income tax bill for school purposes. The supporters of schools seemed to have won the first victory at the last legislative session, where a bill was passed providing a graded income tax for school purposes. The Mellon-Grundy Republican machine, core of reaction in Pennsylvania, retained its composure. They awaited the decision of the State Supreme Court imperturbably and, meanwhile, watched with the satisfaction of the far-sighted the appointment of a legislative committee to investigate school costs.

Their assurance was justified. The graded income tax bill was declared unconstitutional. That these advocates

of so-called "economy" indulged in no wasted satisfaction was obvious when the Andrews Committee set to work. Having the entire field of unbiased experts in costs of education from which to choose, the Andrews Committee nevertheless selected as its impartial fact-finding body the representatives of the National Economy League.

With the appointment of the committee, the Philadelphia Local, ready to assist any worthwhile inquiry in the field of education, wrote to Representative Andrews offering cooperation. The letter remained unanswered. At the subsequent announcement of the identity of the fact-finding body, the Philadelphia Local again addressed the committee. The National Economy League has continually agitated for reduction in governmental expenditures, including those for education. Such an organization could scarcely be considered impartial in a study of school expenditures. The local, therefore, registered a protest with the committee, and requested all other Pennsylvania locals to do likewise.

When the Andrews Committee held hearings in Philadelphia, Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, in testifying, emphatically re-affirmed the opposition of the Teachers Union

to the employment of the National Economy League as investigators. However, Mr. Andrews retained the services of this group, and has maintained an unbroken silence as to his reasons for doing so. In preparation for the next legislative session, the Pennsylvania locals proceeded to establish a State Federation of Teachers. At the preliminary conference of this body in Harrisburg, the delegates learned that the Andrews Committee was on that day holding hearings on tenure in the Capitol. The delegates decided to attend the afternoon session, and their entrance apparently disturbed the placid course of the meeting.

During the session, Mr. Andrews announced the appointment of a teacher advisory council to assist his committee. Pennsylvania has only three teacher organizations. The other two were designated by him; the *American Federation of Teachers* was ignored.

Mrs. Grossman was permitted to testify. She presented the position of the Union on tenure and, at the expiration of the *two minutes* allotted to her, asked why the A.F.T. had been excluded from the advisory council.

At this point, Senator Brownfield, a member of the Andrews Committee and Chairman of the Senate Education Committee, became aroused. His questions drew from Mr. Andrews the statement that the advisory council had been appointed only that morning and had been appointed on the sole authority of Mr. Andrews.

Senator Brownfield turned to Mrs. Grossman and emphatically disclaimed previous knowledge of the existence of the council and any responsibility for its appointment. Thereupon Chairman Andrews turned belligerently to Mrs. Grossman.

"I'll tell you why your organization has not been included. Protests have been coming from everywhere in the state concerning the work of this committee. Your outfit has prejudged the work of this committee, has been uncooperative, and is nothing other than a nuisance group."

There was a momentary hush, after this outburst. Then the entire Union delegation rose and left the committee room.

The meeting within broke up in disorder, while the A.F.T. delegation gathered outside. Immediately, the committee room doors flew open, and members of the Andrews Committee hurried forth to make personal denials of responsibility, and to assure the delegation that an investigation of the matter would be made at once.

Representative Andrews, however, remained intransigent. In addition, on the following day, through the columns of his newspaper in Johnstown, he attempted to salve labor organizations by affirming his faith in the A.F.L. and at the same time to smear the Teachers Union with denunciations verging upon vilification.

The protests of the members of the Education Committee were, to a certain degree, effective. The A.F.T. was, the next week, unofficially invited to attend a preliminary tenure conference of the advisory council. A representative was sent, and the position of the A.F.T. on tenure received attention and thorough discussion. In the meantime, the Philadelphia Local was vigorous in the enlistment of reserves in its campaign for official inclusion of Labor in the advisory council, and for the dismissal of the Economy League as investigator. The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia sent an immediate protest. The State Federation of Labor in convention voted censure of the Andrews Committee for its slur upon organized labor and demanded the inclusion of the A.F.T. on the council.

These expressions of resentment caused Mr. Andrews to indulge in further efforts at justification. His response to the communication of the Philadelphia Central Labor Union ran to two typed pages and afforded that body its lightest note in months. The first page exuded praise for the A.F.L. in all its phases. The second page indicated a somewhat restrained admiration for the Teachers Union, and ended on a note of inexpressible gallantry. The Teachers Union, it seemed, was very emphatic in its statements. It would, in addition, if it were appointed to the advisory council, send as its representative, a Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, who was "a very combative woman." This placed Mr. Andrews in a very anomalous position, for he preferred to do his fighting with men! Outbursts of laughter interrupted the reading of the communication, with the comment that the teachers apparently knew how to take care of themselves.

The teachers intend to continue to do so. Can a fair investigation be conducted if Mr. Andrews is to select the National Economy League as fact-finders, and if he is to hand-pick his teacher advisers? The actions of the Andrews Committee in these respects can only serve to create distrust toward the whole investigation. The teachers are determined that, not the high-handed Mr. Andrews, but the interests of education shall prevail.



Armaments vs. Social Security

WARREN D. MULLIN

While the war budget mounts, the needs of the people are not met.

A quarter of a million babies die annually in the United States through lack of proper medical attention.

There are 4,283,753 illiterates in continental United States among our population above 10 years of age.

There were 42,000 fewer teachers in the school year 1933-34, but the ones that were employed were instructing 114,000 more public school children.

The average cost per child per year in United States public schools dropped 9%, from \$73.25 in 1933 to \$66 in 1934.

It is estimated that from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25 are wholly unoccupied. They are neither working nor attending school. Almost 3,000,000 young people are on relief.

In the face of these facts, our national defense budget increases year by year at an alarming pace. Huge sums are spent for more military defense while the people are left unprotected against immediate dangers of sickness, illiteracy and idleness.

We can never have social security without peace.

The present plans of the War Department call for an expenditure of 10 billion dollars a year if the United States should become involved in another major war, stated Colonel Charles T. Harris, director of the planning board of the War Department.

This 10 billion dollars a year which will be spent if the United States goes to war, in addition to the funds appropriated each year for our national defense is paid for by taxation upon the people of the United States.

The tax burden to pay for our billion dollar budget last year mounted to \$8.00 for every man, woman and child in the United States.

Voters must utilize the power they hold in electing men and women to Congress who will support peace-making policies, the curtailment of our war budget and a program which will mean social security for the American people.

Remember: Mere renunciation of war is not enough. Organized political action against war must be the first

step in our efforts to keep America at peace with the world and to attain social security.

Write to your Congressman, Senators, and the President that the prevention of war is necessary to social security—that huge amounts for our war machine never have and never will prevent war—that the sums now spent for weapons of war are needed for the welfare of the people.

Compare the expenditures for Social Security with the expenditures for weapons of war:

Expenditures for Fiscal Year 1937

(Estimates from the Budget)

Women's Bureau	\$ 175,000	
Chemical Warfare Service.....		\$ 1,400,000
Maternal & Child Welfare.....	316,000	
Seacoast Defenses		1,750,000
Services for Crippled Children....	2,500,000	
Forage for Army Horses, etc...		3,158,900
Maternal & Child Health Service.	3,000,000	
Reserve Officers' Training Corps		4,008,900
U. S. Employment Service.....	4,120,000	
Organized Reserves		6,500,000
Children's Bureau	7,714,000	
National Guard Bureau.....		34,000,000
Office of Education.....	4,611,000	
Marine Corps		24,970,000
Public Health Service.....	21,417,000	
Army Air Corps.....		61,250,000
Department of Labor.....	24,319,000	
Replacement of Naval Vessels..		230,500,000
Navy Department appropriation..		609,097,400
War Department appropriation...		374,769,566
TOTAL FOR U. S. ARMY AND		
NAVY (1937)		\$983,866,966

—WARREN D. MULLIN.

Time Table

Time table under which the enormous 1936 \$531,000,000 peacetime naval appropriation bill was pushed through without a record vote:

- April 29—Naval bill printed.
- April 30—Bill presented to House.
- May 1—Bill rushed through House.
- May 4—Bill sent to Senate.
- May 5—Senate sub-committee on appropriations ended hearings after refusing to hear the opposition.
- May 6—Bill reported to the Senate in recess
- May 8—Bill rushed through Senate.

—FREDERICK J. LINBY.

The National Legislative Front

"WASHINGTON RELAY"

A series of legislative fliers bearing this title is being issued by the American Federation of Teachers. The *Relays* appear frequently and contain important national legislative news classified under the following group headings: Federal Aid, Civil Liberties, War, Youth, and Social Legislation. A copy of each *Relay* is sent to each local for posting and additional copies are available on order at nominal cost. At the foot of each Washington *Relay* are boxed instructions for action to be taken by the members of the various locals. They include letters and petitions to Representatives, Senators, Committee Chairmen, and the President; post-card campaigns; enlistment of support by Central Labor bodies, civic organizations, parents' associations, and teachers' organizations.

Federal Aid

NUMEROUS bills were introduced in the Spring of 1935 calling for Federal Aid to education. The proposed appropriations ranged from \$1,000,000 to \$100,000,000. Most of them called for emergency appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 1935; one or two for the fiscal year ending June 1936. Two or three called for annual appropriations to continue indefinitely. *H.R. 6360*, introduced by Representative Lundeen in August 1935, provides for an annual appropriation to impoverished school districts of \$25 per pupil. It is at present in the Committee on Education. To date, no hearings have been held on the bill; no consideration at all has been given it. Another bill, *H.R. 10795*, introduced by Mr. Ayers, provides that money allotted to school districts for "the construction, etc., of public school buildings" should be considered an outright grant by repealing the section relating to recoupment by the government. Thus, local funds would be liberated for the expansion of local school systems. Both bills received approval in the *Relays*.

War and Civil Liberties

S. 3309 (Mr. Nye). This bill makes enrolment in ROTC units elective in all State supported institutions, and removes the compulsory feature now existing in certain such institutions.

Tydings-McCormick Disaffection Bill. This bill has been finally shelved as a result of pressure by liberal forces. The

forces of reaction are now concentrating their entire support behind the

Kramer Sedition Bill, still under consideration. A very dangerous bill, it should be fought particularly because of its potentialities as a powerful weapon against organized labor. A handful of progressive Congressmen have thus far prevented a vote on this bill.

H.R. 10662, introduced by Representative MacSwain, Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, would create under the War Department an Air Reserve Training Corps for those between 17 and 24. Such a bill extends military training for youth, already established in the ROTC and the C.C.C.; it creates a large reserve army for war purposes; it provides in effect a huge supplement to the present National Guard for use in "national emergencies," which principally, of course, means strikes.

H.R. 11035 has passed the House, and provides for the National Guard \$1,513,004 more than the President's budget recommendation and \$9,929,525 more than the 1935 appropriation. Documents from the War Department show that of the 84 times the National Guard was called out between July 1, 1934, and June 30, 1935, they were used 36 times on strike duty.

Youth and Social Legislation

The Social Insurance Bill, S. 3475, introduced by Senator Frazier of North Dakota, is an elaboration of the principles embodied in *H.R. 2827*, introduced by Representative Lundeen and known as the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. The bills provide for insurance for present unemployment and for professionals, both of which groups were specifically omitted from the Social Security Act passed by Congress last summer. This bill had a public hearing in the Senate on April 13-14.

Hearings on the *American Youth Act* were held on March 19, 20, and 21 by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. This bill, introduced by Senator Elmer A. Benson and Representative Thomas R. Amlie, has the endorsement of the American Youth Congress. It establishes a permanent program to provide opportunities for employment and education for young people between 16 and 25. The bill has the endorsement of many labor leaders, and is in the Senate Committee on Education.

Controversy in San Diego

On February 21, our president, Mr. Lowry, received the following telegram from William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor:

Joseph Casey, the duly accredited and official representative of the American Federation of Labor, has been authorized to reorganize the San Diego, California, Central Trades Council and place it upon a sound American Federation of Labor basis. Your local union of teachers at San Diego has manifested opposition and refused to cooperate. I call upon you to instruct the officers of your local union to cooperate fully with Organizer Casey in his efforts to place San Diego Central Trades Council upon a sound American Federation of Labor basis.

There are 40 labor unions in San Diego. Our local is one of 33 which finds itself in difficulties with Organizer Casey. There should be a full investigation of the situation by the American Federation of Labor and a democratic settlement which will meet the wishes of the vast majority of the labor movement in San Diego. Mr. Lowry wrote to Mr. Satterthwaite, who was in California, asking him for information. We print Mr. Satterthwaite's letter in full because it gives a clear view of a difficult situation.

Long Beach, California
March 7, 1936.

Mr. Raymond Lowry, President
American Federation of Teachers
506 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Lowry:

Your letter of February 25 reached me, after having been forwarded, upon my arrival in Long Beach last Monday. As I was only a hundred miles from San Diego at the time and had a pressing invitation to visit our local there, I thought best to visit the scene of the controversy, make an investigation, and then reply. I was unable to get to San Diego until Thursday of this week due to previous engagements in Long Beach and Los Angeles.

I had very little knowledge of the San Diego situation except what I had read in the newspapers of California. I was inclined to believe that we had a very small local in San Diego which was probably so progressive or "radical" that the majority of the teachers in California would fear to the extent that further growth would be impossible.

A brief report of the situation as I found it follows:

In connection with the situation, I interviewed first Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, last Friday in San Francisco, Dr. Harry Steinmetz, President of our Local in San Diego and other members of the local, business agents and other leaders in the San Diego labor movement, and Mr. Joseph Casey, representative of President Green, in San Diego. The above include both sides of the controversy.

First, the facts that I believe are agreed upon as facts by all concerned:

Dr. Steinmetz, President of our San Diego Local, was elected president of the Central Labor Council of San Diego last summer. In January of this year, Joseph Casey, representing the A. F. L. appeared before a meeting of the Central Labor Council and told it that it was illegally organized in that it provided more delegates from local unions than the Constitution of the A. F. L.

permitted. Each local union was requested to elect the proper number of delegates and reorganize the council. In the meantime the officers of the council were removed and temporary ones were appointed by Brother Casey.

The local unions elected the legal number of delegates, for the most part electing those who had been serving. Several of the officers of the council were later told by Mr. Casey that they would not be eligible to serve as council officers again, including Dr. Steinmetz.

The council has not met for a number of weeks, except for one brief meeting when the officers selected by Brother Casey were installed by him.

Organizer Casey has declared that four of the former council officers would not be accepted even as delegates to the Central Labor Council. These officers include Dr. Steinmetz and Daisy Worcester of our local.

Thirty-three of the forty local unions affiliated with the San Diego Central Labor Council have protested the actions of Mr. Casey. They have appealed to President Green for an investigation independent of Casey, and have brought injunction actions in the local courts endeavoring to restrain Casey from removing officers of the Labor Council, from taking over the funds of the council, etc. Action is still pending.

The rest of the story is controversial and I shall endeavor to quote authority for each succeeding statement.

Steinmetz and other former officers of the council claim that Casey made no real investigation of the situation when he came to San Diego; that he did not consult any of the officers before taking action; that the real reason for what they call the attack on the San Diego Council was the fact that at the convention of the State Federation of Labor last fall, Secretary Rogers of the San Diego Central Labor Council was nominated for the office of Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, an office long held by Paul Scharrenberg of San Francisco (he was nominated by Steinmetz); that the accusations made by Scharrenberg and others against the San Diego delegates to the State Convention that they were "red" and Communists because Rogers was supported by Bridges, a radical San Francisco labor leader, are false; that Bridges probably would have supported anyone opposing Scharrenberg as he and Bridges have been bitter opponents in the labor movement of the State.

Steinmetz and the leaders of the thirty-three unions opposed to the actions of Brother Casey insist that they wish to obey all the laws and the constitution of the A. F. L., but that Casey is acting in contravention of that constitution; that court action was resorted to only after appeals to Casey and to President Green failed; that the "caucus" of delegates which they claim was only organized for the purpose of protest is not in any sense an attempt to organize a "dual" council.

Brother Casey claims that he believes the caucus does constitute an attempt to set up dual union action, that the court action is a violation of the constitution of the A. F. L. in ignoring the proper appeal to authorities in case of local dispute, which is the Executive Council of the A. F. L.; that he believes Brother Steinmetz and Brother Rogers are guilty of conduct unbecoming officers in attempting to organize such a caucus or dual organization.

Casey also accuses the deposed officers of the council of at least being the recipients of radical or communistic support in the controversy now waging as evidenced by anonymous publications praising Steinmetz et al of their actions. Casey insists that court action should be dismissed and that the deposed officers should not

be admitted even as delegates to the Central Labor Council if elected by their locals.

I shall not tire you too much with endless details but summarize briefly in giving you my opinion of the whole situation.

The San Diego Local of the A. F. T. is about a year old. It has more than sixty members and is growing steadily. It does not have the reputation among the teachers of San Diego of being a dangerously radical organization. It has among its members officers of the large professional improvement organization of the city teachers.

Dr. Harry Steinmetz, the President of the Local, is a member of the faculty of the San Diego State Teachers College and has been a resident of the city and a teacher in the College for six years. Until last spring, he had not been active in the labor movement of the city. His "radical" political activities have consisted of activities in organizations advocating municipal ownership and the "EPIC" movement headed by Upton Sinclair during the past two or three years.

I consider Dr. Steinmetz one of the ablest men connected with the labor movement I have ever met. I believe him to be not only able and courageous but level-headed and diplomatic. He possesses qualities very much needed in the labor movement and particularly in our own part of it. Ability such as he possesses is most rare among our group and it would be a major calamity, if anything should happen to deprive us of his continued affiliation.

I believe the accusations made against him as a "subversive" influence, etc., etc., to be without foundation. I know from experience that anyone who has opposed the power monopoly by activity in municipal or any public ownership agitation has stirred up a hornet's nest for criticism. And Dr. Steinmetz was the candidate for Mayor of San Diego last year of a municipal ownership organization, and while not elected made (to the power trust) a dangerous showing.

It is regrettable that his opponents in the labor movement have used against him and his associates these damnable whisperings of red activities begun by the power people.

The best proof, to my mind, of the fundamental conservatism (in the best sense) of Dr. Steinmetz and his associates is the solid support given them by the thirty-three unions of San Diego. Among those are all the building trades, certainly not listed as radical groups. Many of the leaders of these unions have been active leaders for thirty or forty years. All expressed confidence in Steinmetz leadership. These unions represent 85% to 90% of the membership in San Diego unions. No one can ever make me believe that 85% of the members of organized labor in any city (particularly in *Southern California*) would follow communistic or radical leaders.

The question of craft or industrial unionism is not an issue. With one possible exception all the craft unions are behind Steinmetz and his associates.

Several of the veteran building trades leaders, when questioned as to why they stuck to Steinmetz and their officers as against a representative of the A. F. L., answered substantially the same. There is resentment against undue interference with a local situation by the higher authorities. There is resentment against the actions of a local representative they believe to be acting unfairly and unconstitutionally. Then there is tremendous loyalty to officers whom they believe to have given their organization an active and unselfish service.

Dr. Steinmetz has been investigated as to his fitness to continue teaching in the College as a result of charges made by a local "patriotic" organization. He has been approved by the State Board of Education. Incidentally the bringing of the charges has caused strife in the organization bringing them.

Steinmetz is extremely well thought of in the community, a local newspaper (not a labor paper but one having the largest circulation in San Diego) having supported him fully, in the matter of charges brought against him before the State Board.

I attended the annual dinner of the large teachers' organization in San Diego. Most of the members of our local belong to the organization and are popular with the membership. As a matter of

fact, I talked to several non-members who assured me they intended to join and believed that due to the activities of Steinmetz and others in the Federation of which the teachers generally approved, that practically all of the teachers of San Diego would eventually become members.

I am not a constitutional lawyer on the constitution of the A. F. L. I express no opinion as to the constitutionality of the controversial points. I know that there are controversial issues in nearly all labor groups, even in the A. F. T., and yes, in the A. F. L. I believe individuals, local unions, central labor unions, and international unions have a right to express their opinions on these issues. I believe that the members in any given locality understand their own situations better than any one else, and short of disloyalty to the labor movement itself (not any faction or any group of officers) or violation of the fundamental law of the A. F. L., I believe the local groups should have freedom in working out their own problems. I believe that any possible pressure exerted by the A. F. T. upon our San Diego local at this time would do what you wish to avoid, put us definitely on one side of a controversial issue in the labor movement.

I find no reason why our local should be reprimanded or instructed by the Executive Council of the A. F. T., but many reasons for commending it for constructive, aggressive, and intelligent organizational progress in a part of the United States well known for its organizational backwardness, Southern California.

In replying to President Green, I should say that our San Diego Local is willing and anxious to cooperate with the A. F. L. in any way, but that, in common with 90% of the labor movement of that city, it says that it cannot cooperate with Organizer Casey. I should suggest a full investigation of the situation by the A. F. L.

Thanking you for your letter and wishing you success in every way, I am

Fraternally,
(Signed) W. B. SATTERTHWAITE.

The following letter was received shortly before we went to press:

May 7, 1936.

Mr. Raymond F. Lowry, President
American Federation of Teachers
2018 23 St., Parkersburg, W. Va.

Dear Ray:

I have just had word from Roberts that Steinmetz and the progressives in San Diego have been returned to their positions in the labor movement there, so no further action on Mr. Green's communication will be necessary.

Fraternally yours,
GEORGE DAVIS, Sec.-Treas.
American Federation of Teachers

Nine Ways to Kill an Organization

1. Don't come to any of the meetings.
2. But if you do, come late.
3. If the weather doesn't suit you, don't think of coming.
4. If you do attend a meeting, find fault with the work of the officers and the members.
5. Never accept an office; it is easier to criticize than to do things.
6. Nevertheless, get sore if you are not appointed on a committee; but if you are, do not attend the meetings.
7. If asked during the meeting to give your opinion on some important matter, have nothing to say. After the meeting tell everyone how things should be done.
8. Hold back your dues as long as possible, or don't pay them at all.
9. Don't bother about getting new members. Let George do it.

It's Happening Now

Interment Requested—and Granted

"CHILD labor is an abuse which no longer exists," said Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler at Albany during a recent hearing on the child labor amendment. "Let it lie in the graveyard where public opinion buried it many years ago." That the corpse so glibly interred by Dr. Butler has been regenerated and is stalking the land is revealed by a recent report of the United States Children's Bureau. A complete survey of 6 states and figures from 102 cities in 23 other states show that, in the seven months following the NRA, 58 per cent more children secured work permits to leave school for jobs than during the entire preceding year. . . . The New York State Legislature, after the stated hearing, refused again to ratify the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

Scratched

IN the days when Herbert Hoover was wont to speak of "the American system" as a race where the success of the runners was limited only by their ability, 16-year-old Walter Huston of Seattle was picked by a group of leading industrialists as "America's brightest boy" and sent, with much publicity, to the nation's most prominent technical college. He was graduated in 1933 with high honors and more publicity. However, industry was firing, not hiring. Walter Huston found none of the numerous corporations to which he applied willing to take on a chemist of unusual brilliance. The nation's "brightest boy" is today working in his home town as a laborer, and is quoted as saying that he "was glad to get that."

Nationalist Mania

FURTHER symptoms of the new industrial disease afflicting the law makers who absorb the yellow particles of Hearst propaganda directed at the legislatures appear in a bill introduced in the New York Legislature. This provides that school buses shall be patriotically painted red, white and blue. An amendment should certainly be in order to have the buses stop only at red, white and blue traffic signs. . . . The Assembly has voted that the American flag must be displayed at all meetings of more than 15 persons.

Vagabond Trade Unionist

RUDY Vallee wouldn't pose with a picket in the recent strike of elevator operators in New York because he was "neutral" about such matters. However, after a "labor dispute" with his own boss, George White, Brother Vallee remembered he is a trade unionist himself and rushed off

for settlement to Actors' Equity. Mr. Vallee apparently forgot that Actors' Equity today enjoys the closed shop that the elevator operators demanded, only because of a highly militant battle with the theater managers.

Subsidy to Union Busters

INDICATIONS that the National Guard has made its mark in its role of governmental strike-breaking agency are contained in the recently adopted Army Budget for 1936-37. This branch of the service, which was used 36 times last year for strike-breaking purposes, is now to have its personnel increased by 5,000 at a cost of \$500,000 and its equipment modernized at a cost of over a million. The Sheppard Bill, recently passed by the Senate, dips into relief funds to the extent of \$80,000,000 to provide for the building of armories.

Fifty Percent Off for Propaganda

THE Institute of Business Research reports that the actual number of unemployed in Germany increased by nearly 50 per cent more than the officially registered unemployment figures indicate. The number of jobless increased by 1,240,000 from August to February. The report states that while total industrial production is now only 9 per cent below the volume of 1929, the production of consumption goods is still 21 per cent below the 1929 level. Germany's so called "recovery" is not a matter of recovery in retail trade, but is due to the rearmament program and government financing.

Happiness in Every Bomb

LEAFLETS dropped by Italian airmen over Ethiopian native villages near the front, end as follows: "None but the Italians are capable of caring for your welfare and happiness. Have faith in them and fear nothing."

S. Baldwin, Inc.—Destruction Prepaid

IN March, Stanley Baldwin emphatically rejected a proposal in the House of Commons to legislate for immediate conscription of private wealth in the event of war. Having thus insured the existence of future war profits, Mr. Baldwin prepared to get down to brass tacks. In April, came the announcement of the new budget, the revenues of which are to be used for armaments. Sur-taxes in the upper level remain the same, about as high as those in the United States. The new budget strikes hard at the middle class, the \$1,100 to \$5,000-a-year group, by increasing the basic tax rate to 23¾ per cent, over five times the United States rate. By ending the so-

called "education trusts," the arms budget delivers a second blow at 250,000 middle class parents. Becoming democratically comprehensive in the lower limits, the announced budget levies a contribution on the poorest by hoisting the tax on tea to 12 cents a pound, thereby doubling the present tax on the most popular item in the market basket of the poor.

Miners' Children Strike

PUPILS of Hazle Township, Pa., forced the retention of the athletic instructor of Sheppton High School after a four day walkout. Striking students assisted by a "wash boiler" band of sympathetic mothers closed ten other schools in this mining area in an effort to secure contract renewals for 12 teachers slated for dismissal at the close of the term.

Remember That Mass Buying Power?

NET profits of automobile manufacturers in 1935 increased 148 per cent over the previous year. Workers' wages increased 32 per cent.

Massachusetts Saved

THE three "baby pacifists" of Belchertown, Mass., have been ordered committed to reform school for refusing to violate their religious principles by saluting the flag in school. The children remain in the custody of their father, a member of the sect known as "Jehovah's Witnesses," pending his appeal of the order. While the Massachusetts state law does not set a punishment for children who refuse to salute the flag, the Attorney General has ruled that local school committees have the right to impose disciplinary measures. . . . Danger from the other end of the age scale was averted when Miss Cora Foster, 58, who has taught for forty years in Lynn, Mass., was discharged for the same refusal to salute the flag because of religious scruples.

Not Much On the Record

THE American Federation of Labor stated in April that the country will still have 7,000,000 unemployed when business reaches its 1929 level. The total figure for unemployment was placed at 12,184,000. The net gain in twelve months has been less than two per cent.

Americanism vs. Hearst

H. B. CHAILLAUX, the "Americanism" expert of the American Legion, objects to the pamphlet issued by the New York County branch of his organization, on this alarming topic, chiefly on the grounds that the pamphlet recommends free speech. The author of the pamphlet announced that he derived most of the material "from a man named Washington," but that carried no weight with

Mr. Chaillaux, nor with A. Cloyd Gill, leading red-hound for Hearst's *New York American*. Reporter Gill, who warned the committee to "withdraw the pamphlet or else—," is the Hearst hireling who admitted last year that he had misquoted statements of New York college professors in order to raise a red rumpus and Hearst circulation.

No Nazis

WILLIAMS College, of Williamstown, Massachusetts, has terminated its system of exchange scholarships with Germany. This decision is a result of the announcement that the Reich Ministry of Education will give special training to all young men going abroad to aid them in spreading the ideology of National Socialism.

Alabama's Knight

SCHOOL funds are exhausted in 53 of Alabama's 67 counties. Forty counties were forced to close schools in March, according to the state superintendent of instruction. A bill designed to put the schools on an equal footing with other departments of the state government in sharing revenues was beaten in April, chiefly due to Lieutenant-Governor Knight, who used his power as presiding officer of the Senate to delay action until it was too late for concurrence by the House. "I did it deliberately, and I have no apologies to make," Knight told reporters.

Eyes on the South

AN investigator sent to Arkansas by John L. Lewis reports in the *United Mine Workers Journal* that yellow dog contracts, wholesale evictions, and threats to stage another "Elaine massacre" are being used by landlords to break the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The *United States News* reports that an undisclosed reason for AAA officials' objection to publication of individual check payments to farmers is due to a belief that it would stir up strife between tenant and landlord.

Sailor's Friend

SECRETARY Perkins, who intervened unasked to persuade striking seamen on the S.S. *California* to take the ship to New York, promised that she would use her good offices to get them a square deal and that there would be no discrimination. Upon arrival in New York, sixty-four of the men were immediately logged and many of them blacklisted.

Familiar Crack

"THE main issue with the workman is not his ridiculous wage-pennies but the dignity of his position. It is ridiculous for people to begin to haggle about such little things." —Dr. Robert Ley, head of the German Labor Front, Nazi governmental "company union".

Labor Notes

LABOR SPIES

An investigation of the strike-breaking and espionage systems of the large corporations is being conducted in Washington at the present time by the LaFollette Subcommittee on Education and Labor of the Senate. Although the surface has barely been scratched, it has already been brought out that many of the country's large corporations have been storing up veritable arsenals of munitions and arms, and have been organizing a private army and industrial spy corps that exceeds the 100,000 mark. All of these preparations for "war" mean, of course, attacks against the trade unions, and against attempts to organize in the hitherto unorganized mass production industries. The investigation should be continued until every branch of this net-work of potential violence is exposed.

AKRON BLAZES A TRAIL

The 14,000 workers of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company at Akron have recently achieved a victory which is of significance to the entire American labor movement. Supported by organized labor in Akron and throughout the nation, they struck the Goodyear plants 100% and maintained this complete walkout for five weeks. This was no sudden move; unrest had been widespread among the underpaid rubber workers for many months. Many inside or "sitdown" strikes and departmental stoppages had taken place in the plants of the various rubber companies located in Akron. It was when the Goodyear Company countered such a departmental strike with wholesale discharges that the general walkout developed. In answer to threats on the part of employer interests of Akron to reopen the Goodyear plants by force (a "law and order" league was organized by the former mayor) the Central Labor Union set up a Committee with full authority "to call on all organized labor in Akron to come to the defense of Goodyear Local 2 by a general strike, should any move be made to use force to break the Goodyear local union's peaceful picket line and reopen the plant by force." Thousands of workers employed by other companies came down to the Goodyear picket lines and added their strength to that of the strikers. Nor was this support limited to local unions. The Committee for Industrial Organization took an active interest in the strike, and supplied the United Rubber Workers Union with organizers and financial assistance. . . . In the face of the determination of the strikers, and the solidarity of support evinced by the labor movement throughout the country, the company was forced to capitulate. While not all of the demands of the strikers were granted, they returned to work with full protection against discrimination, and with several other concessions dealing with hours of work, seniority rights, and collective

bargaining. The question of wages, on the other hand, was left for future adjustment. The union demand for the withdrawal of all company aid to the company union was not realized. No written agreement was secured. Yet, the demands won constituted a sufficient advance to justify hailing the settlement as a victory. . . . Several important points must be noted in connection with this successful strike. First, this represented a trail-blazing effort in organization in a mass production industry. Here we see demonstrated the power of the industrial union form. The United Rubber Workers is an industrial union; *3,000 of the strikers were personnel and office workers.* Second, it was the militancy of the strikers, and their refusal to return to work until certain gains had been achieved, that made it impossible for this strike to be turned into another "lost strike." Last, it was complete support of organized labor in Akron and throughout the United States, with the threat of a general strike always in the foreground, that finally forced the company to yield.

THE TAMPA CASES

This might be a page out of the *Brown Book of Hitler Terror*; it might be a sample of Mussolini's culture. But it actually happened here, in the state of sunshine and the Ku Klux Klan. Joseph Shoemaker, E. F. Poulnot, and Dr. Samuel D. Rogers, of Tampa, who were planning a new political party ("Modern Democrats") were arrested at a meeting in a private home and taken to police headquarters. The men were actively interested in the unemployed in Tampa. They were released after questioning and were kidnapped directly in front of the police station by parties of lynchers. The three were taken out into the country, where they were flogged with chains, straps, and clubs, and then tarred and feathered. Shoemaker died as a result of his injuries; Poulnot and Rogers recovered. An attempt was made to conceal the entire affair, but the crime was too crying and the public too aroused for such obfuscation. Ten men were indicted, including the Chief of Police, who has since been removed from office. Three men are now on trial, charged specifically with the kidnapping of Poulnot. The trial was forced by pressure from labor groups all over the country. The influence of the Klan can be discerned throughout the proceedings. Point after point has been conceded to the defense because of this influence. Only continued pressure from organized labor and other groups from all over the country can force the conviction of these forerunners of American Fascism.

WHOSE COURTS?

On March 24, Federal Judge John P. Barnes declared the National Labor Relations Act unconstitutional. This opinion was handed down in connection with injunction proceedings instituted by the Bendix Products Corporation

(Indiana) against the National Labor Relations Board. The company was seeking an order to enjoin the Board from conducting an election among the Bendix workers which was to determine whether Local 1, International Automobile Workers, or the Bendix Employees Association, a company union, would represent the employees in collective bargaining. The injunction order was granted. . . . According to Judge Barnes, the employer's constitutional rights are infringed upon by the Act because under it the employer "must eventually enter into a closed shop agreement." To the employees' constitutional rights to organize not a thought is given. But "if the act be construed as to interfere with the control of the corporation's relations with its production employees, it is in violation of the Tenth Amendment as an invasion of control over

purely local affairs." It is clear that in the opinion of this jurist not all constitutional rights are to be considered as of equal value. That the constitutionality of this Act, which was approved less than a year ago, should be so soon challenged is not surprising; the ambiguity with which much of it is phrased involved it at once in court suits, and sooner or later a decision declaring against its constitutionality was to have been expected. What must be noted, however, is that this decision of Judge Barnes is definitely anti-labor in character, and must be condemned as one more attempt, in a rising series of such efforts, to smother the constitutionality guaranteed rights of the American worker to belong to a union which is not under the domination of his employer. What will the Supreme Court do?

Code of Ethics or Statement of Objectives?

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON

THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL on Educational Freedom includes official representatives from six teachers organizations of national scope, including the A.F.T. To this council has been submitted a draft of a proposed Code of Ethics for Teachers. The Code of Ethics would have the teachers agree to assume certain responsibilities toward the children and the community and to insist on certain rights and a definite status. That is as it should be, but the very promulgation of a Code of Ethics not only has a certain wrong approach on the matter of responsibilities but is predicated on a wrong premise. It creates the impression that teachers do not have a proper attitude toward Education and children; that they should agree upon a Code of Ethics that shall act as a determinant of their conduct and action in that regard.

In the very first section of the "Framework for a Code of Ethics for Teachers" dealing with employment, the problem is placed incorrectly. The formulation is such that it would seem it is a matter of the interests of teachers as against the interests of Society, consideration for the teachers as against consideration for the child. In actuality the problem is not that. It is rather the interests of the children against those of the bankers, real estate interests, public utilities, and those who place property values above human values.

The great mass of teachers in the country take their work and profession seriously and are vitally interested in the welfare and education of the children. The responsibility for the ills, shortcomings, and failures of education in our country does not lie primarily on the teachers, but rather on the Boards of Education and the Boards of Trustees, and the powers that stand behind and above them.

What is required, therefore, is not a Code of Ethics to serve as a mechanical disciplinary form for teachers on a matter which is at present essentially beyond their control but rather a determination on their part so to organize their forces as to be able to exert sufficient and effective pressure. The teachers must take their place vigorously on the side of the children against the retrenchment, "economy" advocates and their policies.

Teachers should insist upon appointments based on a fair examination system; adequate training and educational requirements for the right to enter examinations that should be open to all without discrimination; definite tenure after a limited probationary period; adequate compensation; a regime where teachers will not work on the basis of fear but on the basis of interest in the children and love for their work; educational freedom; a method of work where teachers will have a voice in determining educational policies and practices, where their initiative will be drawn upon and encouraged; and a very much enlarged appropriation for education that will enable problems to be taken up in real earnest and for progressive policies to be introduced. Definite provisions must be made for the protection of the probationary teacher.

A Statement of Objectives is needed, rather than a Code of Ethics which would have it appear that the fault lies with teachers and not elsewhere.

Weeding out incompetent teachers is not the problem. See to it that competent people are attracted to the profession rather than that it should be necessary to figure out ways and means of getting rid of incompetents. Let there be adequate requirements for the profession; have training and

educational methods of teachers improved; let conditions be such as to attract capable individuals; have regimes that will draw out and encourage the best that is in teachers, let it be realized that alertness cannot be compelled but can be stimulated.

It is extremely important to protect teachers against trumped-up charges of inefficiency. Teachers should have the right to open trial, with the right of counsel, with the right to records and minutes, and with the right to know charges in advance. Teachers should have the right to appeal to a jury of their peers. We cannot consider Boards of Trustees, Boards of Superintendents and Boards of Education as made up of abstract, idealized, and perfect educators. Such groups too often have certain connections; too often are answerable to vested and powerful interests, political or religious; have insufficient background for the facing of educational questions. To depend upon these as judges of whether teachers are efficient or inefficient would be not to solve problems but rather to create new ones. We must not forget that the automobile corporations of this country insisted upon their right to discharge workers on the ground of merit, and then used this as an excuse to get rid of workers who raised questions, were critical, or insisted upon the right of organization.

Needed now in the Statement of Objectives are planks to raise the working, living, and professional standards of the teachers; a Bill of Rights that will enable teachers to function as teachers and citizens; a procedure that will enable teachers to express their opinions and influence policy affecting the children, teachers, and education; the right of teachers to organize, and have their organization recognized and dealt with; the application of the Bill of Rights as embodied in the first ten amendments of the U. S. Constitution; a greater recognition of the importance of Education and social services in the budgets of the federal, state, and city governments; the election of Boards of Education by the people of the community with representation for educators, parents, labor, and teachers. What is needed is control of education by the people, more consideration and appropriations for education, no discrimination in education, education for social ends and to help solve major social problems of the times, educational freedom for those engaged in teaching and learning, with ample protection for minority views so as to guarantee democratic and critical discussion of problems and permit fresh and new views to be presented. The aim must be to apply the general approach outlined above in the various localities in a manner that will be practicable and yet raise educational levels and teaching conditions in such communities without lowering in any way standards attained in others. Too great centralization in education is dangerous; the idea of the totalitarian state symptomatic of Fascism must be resisted.

The idea of a Code of Ethics for teachers has very definite dangers. Once the idea is accepted, certain forces in the educational world (and in the economic and political

world) and certain sections even of the teaching profession might demand the insertion, in the code, of points that would emphasize conformity and reactionary ideas, and might be powerful enough to get their views adopted. Methods contrary to educational freedom might be insisted upon. A code without general support would have no validity. A code applicable to the general mass of teachers would have to be acceptable to them and hence would reflect, possibly, a quite conservative tone not necessarily tolerant of progressive and liberal minorities among teachers. Such a code would become not an instrument for educational freedom, but rather one against educational freedom.

Furthermore the code might in time serve as a quasi-legal instrument with consequences and effects not realized at present. Teachers may be victimized because they have come into conflict with a certain provision of the code. This will become a danger as the code idea, once accepted, becomes institutionalized and takes on greater validity and force. Under such conditions, even a liberal code, which many organizations affiliated with the National Advisory Council on Educational Freedom would tend to support, might become an instrument for victimization and against educational freedom.

We must recognize the fact that the brunt of pressure and persecution usually falls upon those who defend the rights of teachers or others who do not conform with prevailing economic, political, social or educational views. This is bound to be more so in view of the times we are living in, where so much is in a state of flux and undergoing rapid change. Children must be educated (if education is to have real significance) for living in a changing society and for effective participation in such a changing society. Hence the importance of insisting upon educational freedom for the non-conformists as well as for the conformists. In this regard Sections III and V of the proposed Framework for a Code of Ethics, dealing with Social Relations and Obligations, and Professional Relations and Obligations fall short, for they may lend themselves to such an interpretation and application that would result in the victimization of those holding minority views and the placing of obstacles in the way of the presentation of such views.

There are many fine ideas in the draft proposed to the National Advisory Council on Educational Freedom. These could very well be included in a Statement of Objectives which I believe the National Advisory Council or its various affiliated organizations should or might adopt, if they have not already done so.

The coordination of efforts on behalf of educational freedom on the part of the various organizations affiliated with the National Advisory Council on Educational Freedom has tremendous significance. The reinforcement of this with a Statement of Objectives, that would make clear the conditions under which educational freedom would more effectively obtain, would be very valuable.

The Teachers Union in Action

NATIONAL NEWS

Referendum

To date, a few more than thirty locals have voted on the referendum to change membership representation at conventions. Thus far, a majority of the votes favor the change, but it is too early to make any predictions.

Organization

California has set up a state organization with fourteen locals participating; Minnesota and Pennsylvania have done likewise. Mr. Lowry is now in West Virginia; he spent the winter in Minnesota and Wisconsin. Mr. Satterthwaite is in Washington, following extensive work in California. Compliments go to Claude Williams of Arkansas, Arthur Elder of Michigan, and Local 192 for organizing work in their areas.

Finances and Dues

Have you noticed the latest reports on finances and on locals in good standing? Your officers have them.

Convention Plans

Complete arrangements have now been made for the national convention of the A.F.T. to be held at the Hotel Sylvania in Philadelphia, on August 16 to 22, 1936. The tentative program of the Convention appears elsewhere in this issue.

Matters Treated Elsewhere

Many of the questions which have been facing your national officers since the last issue of the magazine were of sufficient importance to merit separate articles in this issue rather than cursory treatment here.

NEWS from LOCALS

Local 3 Exposes Chicago Salary Backwardness.—A study published by the Federation of Women High School Teachers (A.F.T. Local 3) shows that of the fourteen largest cities of the United States, only three (Chicago, Buffalo, and Los Angeles) have failed to restore teachers' salaries even partially. Chicago is the largest of the three and presented its teachers with the heaviest cut. The report points out further that other public employees in Chicago received half-restoration in July 1935, and goes on to demolish various "reasons" advanced for the present situation. . . .

The gloom of this picture is further increased by a decision lately handed down by the Superior Court of Cook County, sustaining a law introduced into the Illinois Legislature last June by the Chicago Board of Education, and railroaded through by political pressure from Chicago. This law reduces the retirement age of Chicago teachers from seventy to sixty-five years, and cuts their annuity pension from a possible \$1500 to a flat \$500 annually. Teachers between the age of 65 and 70 were summarily dismissed without warning, and teachers already retired also came under the provision of the act. The retired teachers, whose income was cut drastically, filed suit in the Superior Court to restrain the Board from applying the law to them. The Court ruled in favor of the Board. The case will be appealed.

Teachers "Ordered" to Campaign.—The Federation of Women Teachers of St. Paul No. 28, has sent a resolution and a letter of protest to the Commissioner of Education, Irving C. Pearce, in which they charge him with coercing teachers to campaign for his election to the Council. Teachers were "invited" to report at a meeting sponsored by the "Pearce for Council Volunteer Committee" and were assigned residential blocks to canvass for certain data. The record of the information was to be signed by the canvassing teacher.

Teachers Investigating Library Conditions in New Orleans.—A committee has been appointed by the New Orleans Teachers Federation Local 353, to investigate salaries and working conditions in the public libraries. A number of women's organizations are likewise interested in this question, and have passed resolutions urging a number of improvements in salaries and working conditions.

Local 246 Active in State Field.—Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers Federation, Local 246, is enjoying the most rapid growth, the greatest internal harmony, and the greatest outward effectiveness of its existence. Sixty new members have been taken in this year, making a total of eight hundred members out of a teaching force of approximately one thousand. More are paid up and in good standing than ever before. . . . In the last session of the state legislature, the local succeeded in having excellent tenure and salary schedule bills passed for Chattanooga and Hamilton County. The tenure bill has already saved several good teachers who would have been dismissed for political reasons. The city and county administrations chose to ignore the salary law in this year's budgets. However, the local has launched mandamus proceedings and has been upheld in chancery court. Prospects seem bright for a like decision in the State Supreme Court. Such a victory would mean that the salaries of many lower paid teachers would be increased by fifty per cent. . . . The local is furthering teacher

organization in the state through its organizing committee. It has already been instrumental in establishing locals at Elizabethtown and Jasper, and has made excellent contacts with union-minded teachers at Knoxville and Nashville. Strong support is being given the Memphis local which is under fire from a labor-hating city administration. . . . The local is taking an active and outstanding role in the labor movement of this section. President Stanton E. Smith is a trustee of the *Labor World*, organ of the Central Labor Union. Virginia Munsey is recording secretary of the Central Labor Union and secretary of the Chattanooga Label League. A step toward a Labor Party, known as Labor's Political Conference, has been formed by local unions. In this organization, C. C. Burgner is treasurer and Stanton E. Smith a member of the all-important Committee of Seven. Other prominent positions held by members of Local 246 are: vice-president of the Chattanooga Label League, Mrs. Ruth McCafferty, and chairman of the legislative committee of the Central Labor Union, C. C. Burgner. . . . Last spring, C. C. Burgner was chairman of a Labor Institute on Social Security which brought such speakers as Spencer Miller, Edward F. McGrady and Abraham Epstein to Chattanooga. . . . Immediate plans of the local include a drive for a state-wide tenure law (the aforementioned tenure law applies only to Chattanooga and Hamilton County) with the assistance of the Tennessee Federation of Labor Convention. This should be of invaluable aid in organizing the teachers of the state.

Toledo Local Wins Public Support.—When the Toledo Local 250 was first organized, it laid the teachers' troubles frankly before the voters and received their warm backing. Last November, again, the people of Toledo elected the members of the Board of Education who were recommended by the Union. They also passed the five-year two-mill levy for which the Union had campaigned. One of the newspapers said: "The success of the public school levy while the others were failing was ascribed to the active campaign made in its behalf by members of the teaching profession."

Two New State Federations of Teachers.—Two additional states, Minnesota and Pennsylvania, have taken steps toward setting up state organizations of the A.F.T. The Minnesota convention was held in St. Paul on April 7 and 8, with representatives present from a number of locals. Seven officers were elected, who will serve as the executive council. The convention went on record against loyalty oaths, for a state teachers' tenure law, against the Youngquist Amendment providing for elimination of the state property tax levy (this would result in a loss of \$9,000,000 in state aid to schools), against sales tax legislation. . . . Pennsylvania held its conference in Harrisburg on April 18 with representatives from all locals but two. The formation of a State Federation of Teachers was unanimously endorsed. A provisional committee was formed to draw up plans and a program of recommendations to be acted upon at the next

state convention, and proceed with a legislative program for presentation to the special session of the legislature. The legislative planks include a Milk Bill to provide funds for supplying milk to undernourished children; the continuation of all WPA projects and the educational projects specifically; a salary bill; sabbatical leave and tenure bills. . . . A comprehensive plan for state-wide organization was adopted, whereby each present local will act as a center in a radial organizational drive. A subsequent conference is planned for the first week in June.

Trenton Teachers Protest Cuts.—Local 437, the Mercer County Teachers Union, called a mass meeting of the teachers of Trenton, N. J., to protest against cuts in the school budget for the coming year. The new City Manager and Council are allied with the State Taxpayers Association, which is out to "economize".

Philadelphia Teachers Seek Full Restoration.—On May 8, hundreds of teachers appeared at an open meeting of the Finance Committee of the Board of Education, to hear the spokesman for the teachers United Committee urge complete salary restoration. Although the time of meeting had finally been set, at the Union's repeated request, at a time when teachers could come, the Finance Committee refused to meet in a room large enough to accommodate the assembled teachers. About thirty witnessed the proceedings, while hundreds of others were forced to stand in corridor and courtyard. Figures were presented by the United Committee, to which the Union belongs, pointing out immediate sources of revenue to finance restoration, and a strong plea was made by Dr. Holmes, president of Philadelphia Local 192. Later that same day, 1000 people, including members, non-members, and friends, met at the annual Union dinner. A contagious spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the huge dining room, and a magnificent address by Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union drew prolonged applause. Two resolutions were unanimously approved: one urging complete salary restoration, and the other strongly protesting the refusal of the Finance Committee to meet in a larger room. . . . The Philadelphia Union is at present in the thick of convention preparations and intensive organizational activities throughout the state.

Trades Assembly Quizzes School Board Candidates.—Candidates for election to the Galesburg, Ill., School Board unanimously answered "Yes" to two questions recently submitted to them by the Education Committee of the Trades and Labor Assembly. *First Question:* "Do you favor the Board of Education immediately starting in motion a legal movement, whereby the admitted flaws in the legal status of the Board of Education will be corrected, especially the matter of the Board's right to issue bonds?" *Second Question:* "If you are elected as a school director will you stand for and protect the right of the teachers and janitors to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech,

free assemblage, and to discuss their rights and privileges as American citizens, regardless of who should attempt to interfere with these rights?" Charges had been made that janitors and teachers were not free to assert their rights as American citizens without fear of persecution.

California Is Humming.—The California State Federation of Teachers has been reborn and is now living an active career. 25% of the state dues are allocated to a defense fund for aiding individual members under fire. . . . The Palo Alto local conducted a most intensely interesting symposium after the Superintendent of Schools advised his teachers not to join labor's ranks. . . . Dr. Steinmetz has been reinstated as head of the San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council after an amicable settlement of a protracted struggle. . . . The Instructors Initiative Tenure Amendment will be on the ballot in the fall, and if passed will nail Tenure to the Constitution, where a hostile legislature will find it hard to pry loose. California locals are shouldering the task of getting this passed and all the nation's teachers are waiting as this constitutional route is being charted.

New York Local Forges Ahead.—In October 1935, Local 5 emerged from an investigation and a split. The Linville-Lefkowitz group left the Union with about 700 members, and organized a rival association. In addition the "red scare" had been raised by the investigation. However, Local 5 reorganized quickly and set to work. It has been active in the salary restoration campaign, in rallying many labor and civic organizations against loyalty oaths, in seeking smaller classes and an adequate number of appointments, and in the pension election. . . . Local 5 has taken up the defense of teachers threatened with the loss of position because of union or other worth while activity. The position of Mrs. Blanche Horowitz was saved through the efforts of Local 5. Mr. Morris U. Schappes of City College, active in union and anti-war work, is being actively defended. The Union has rallied other organizations to his defense, and the chances for his re-instatement are very good. Many other cases of teacher victimization have been dealt with. A general campaign for changes in the rating system, and for the right of accused teachers to open hearings with counsel has arisen out of these individual cases.

A series of well attended open meetings with prominent speakers has been held, covering most of the issues mentioned. A weekly mimeographed bulletin is distributed free to about 12,000 union and non-union teachers. At first 5,000 were printed weekly, but the demand for them increases steadily. An excellent monthly magazine, the *New York Teacher*, reaches about 7,000 teachers. Leaflets on salaries, pensions, and teacher victimization, and an organizational folder, "Why Join the Teachers Union," have been widely distributed. As a result of the activity of the Local in defending teachers' interests; and the loyal coopera-

tion of the members in bringing the Union program into the schools, *the membership has increased from 1500 in October to 4200 in May.* This is almost twice as large a membership as Local 5 ever attained in its twenty years of existence. . . . To meet the needs of the large number of W.P.A. teachers in the city, a separate W.P.A. local was organized. This local has a membership of 2500.

Correspondence

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

Explanation

To the Editors:

In the March issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* a letter from Secretary Davis was published in which he states that records in the national office show that the Treasurer of Local 3 stated on a number of reports that the report on per capita payments had been made under orders and were not in accordance with her judgment. The comment of Secretary Davis was that this was "unpleasant."

Local 3 desires to clear itself of the seeming implication that it was using dishonest methods of avoiding full payment of per capita.

The disagreement in judgment between the Executive Board of Local 3 and the Treasurer was the result of the extreme difficulty in estimating the amount of per capita due the National during a period when the salaries of Chicago teachers varied from month to month due to the loss of salary for holidays. The Executive Board ruled that the per capita should be estimated on the basis of the deduction in the year's salary. As the January and February reports had been accepted by the National office, the Treasurer objected to making the revision for these months.

The financial secretary calculated the per capita payments for the whole year on the basis of the per cent of reduction for the year and found the difference between that and the amounts paid for the months to which the treasurer had objected amounted to \$24.30, which was paid October 10, 1932.

The correspondence regarding per capita payments during the disputed period was shown to Secretary-Treasurer Davis on April 24, and this statement was given to him and to the editorial committee of the American Federation of Teachers on April 28, with the request that it be printed in the May-June issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*.

MARY HERRICK, *President*
LUCIE ALLEN, *Financial Secretary*

Letters on the Controversy

May 7, 1936.

To the Editors:

Western Massachusetts Teachers Federation, Local 230 of the A. F. T., wishes to comment upon the communications published in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* for March-April, 1936, pp. 10-14, including the letter of Mr. Stanton E. Smith of Chattanooga Local 246, and the replies of Mr. F. R. Kennell, Local 293, Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Mr. George Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of the A. F. T.

At the time of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City, members of Local 230 went on record

as expressing our confidence in the national officers elected at the last convention of the A. F. T. and our unanimous approval of the action taken by the last convention of the A. F. T. in refusing to revoke the charter of Local 5, New York. We communicated our action to President Raymond V. Lowry by telegram.

In view of the fact that these same issues have been raised again in the communication of Mr. Stanton E. Smith, we wish once more to go on record expressing confidence in our national officers and in the action of the last convention.

We also wish to take this occasion to voice our view on the general question dealt with in Mr. Smith's communication under Part II, "Differences of Opinion as to the Function of the A. F. T." Involved in this point, we believe, is a basic principle which vitally concerns the labor movement today.

Mr. Smith declares that an issue confronts the A. F. T. as to whether it is to be characterized by what he terms a "radical policy vs. a functioning liberal policy." Mr. Smith makes this assertion despite his own statement in the same letter, "It is true, of course, that no such program as suggested above (under his point A. 'Radical Policy') was actually before the convention." Then Mr. Smith goes on, "But it follows as a reasonable assumption from our knowledge of the leaders of the group in power, etc. . . ."

Whatever Mr. Smith's intentions, the net result is that he labels as "radical" the "group now in power," namely, our national officers and executive committee. Does Mr. Smith hope thereby to increase confidence in our duly elected national officers and to build up the union? He cannot, knowing as he must that many union members and potential members would be prejudiced by his statement, and with absolutely no cause. Experience has shown that "raising the red scare" in this manner is always disruptive in its effects.

In our view, it is a mistake of the gravest kind for any trade union member to be guilty of "raising the red scare." The attacks now being made upon the teaching profession and upon the whole labor movement by reactionary forces in America are too serious an indication fascist tendencies are at work among us. Teachers' loyalty oaths are a prime case in point. We believe that members of the A. F. T. should be careful lest they lend aid and comfort to these reactionary forces. They do this when they directly or indirectly join in the attacks on the radical sections of the labor movement. We have but to see what has happened in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany to know that while the radicals farthest to the left—Communists and leftwing Socialists—were the first to be attacked, it was not long before the entire trade union movement was attacked and suppressed.

In our opinion the political affiliations of our national officers is their own affair. Officers and members of the A. F. T., national and local, should be judged upon their merits, not upon the social views they may or may not hold. We believe, from the actions of our national officers and executive committee, that they have the interests of the American Federation of Teachers at heart, and are making successful efforts democratically to forward the principles for which the A. F. T. stands. So long as they continue to do that, we believe that they should be given the loyal support of every local.

HULDA REES, *Sec.-Treas.*

Western Massachusetts Teachers Federation 230
54 Green Street, Northampton, Mass.

April 20, 1936.

To the Editors:

Enclosed please find copy of a report of a committee appointed by Local 360. This report was accepted by the local on April 12.

"Your committee has given careful perusal to the letter of the Chattanooga Local 246 repropounded constitutional changes and embodying severe strictures on the conduct of the national office and recent conventions of the A. F. T. We have also given careful consideration to replies to this communication writ-

ten by Frank Kennell and George Davis which are published in the March-April issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

"We recommend that Local 360 go on record as endorsing the sentiments expressed in both of these replies.

"We further recommend that copies of this report be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the A. F. T., to the Chattanooga Local 246, and to the Board of Editors of THE AMERICAN TEACHER for publication."

RUTH SHAPIRO, *Sec.-Treas.*

Wisconsin Workers Education Local 360
Public Library, Milwaukee, Wis.

Reactions to Changed Magazine

April 10, 1936.

To the Editors:

The current March-April issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER marks a significant advance. . . . The contributions of Representative Lundeen, Jerome Davis, and Henry Harap seemed to me to be outstanding.

Would it not be possible to include in every issue one brief article by a leader of American thought, to be written in popular style and calculated to appeal to teachers outside the trade union movement, as well as those within, not yet developed and activated? . . .

There is a tendency in the editorials and news to write for inter-union circles. In an expanding movement such as ours, must we not be communicating with all honest teachers, and not alone with those who have been actively participating in the work? . . .

The format is good, although somewhat limited by brevity of the material.

HOLLAND D. ROBERTS.

School of Education, Stanford University.

April 8, 1936.

To the Editors:

Your March-April issue is attractive and excellent. Did you issue a January-February number? I did not receive it. If you have one, please send it to me.

M. B. ROVNER.

295 Ashland Avenue, Buffalo, New York.

(The January-February issue was omitted to release additional funds for organizational work.—EDITORS.)

April 6, 1936.

GEORGE DAVIS

PLEASE SEND FIFTY COPIES OF MARCH APRIL EDITION OF AMERICAN TEACHER AND A LIKE NUMBER OF ANY NEW ORGANIZATION PAMPHLETS WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN ISSUED THIS YEAR STOP AM PLANNING AN ORGANIZATION TRIP TO NASHVILLE THURSDAY STOP CONGRATULATIONS ON EXCELLENCE OF NEW AMERICAN TEACHER SETUP.

NANCY LEA SMITH

CHAIRMAN ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
CHATTANOOGA LOCAL 246

April 17, 1936.

To the Editors:

We had considerable difficulty in complying with all the requests for this issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER. We were 1200 short on the original mailing list. Three thousand more copies were printed than of any previous issue and they are all going to be used up. . . .

GEORGE DAVIS.

Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Teachers.

Among the New Books

The "Book of the Year" for Teachers

EDUCATION AND ORGANIZED INTERESTS IN AMERICA.
BRUCE RAUP. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936. 238 pages.
\$2.50.

RAUP recognizes the inevitability of pressures from organized interests. He endeavors to enlighten his professional colleagues regarding the meaning of particular groups in American society. Very objectively and fairly he treats the public utilities and the schools and the mutual interests that they have in each other's worlds. His treatment of nationalistic societies and of organized religious sects in their relation to the schools is similarly restrained and fair. He shows how important are the pervasive assumptions of what is right and fitting which may be quite unconsciously held, not only by zealots but even by liberals; assumptions which so condition them emotionally that they are impatient with dissidents whose views conflict with the stereotypes of the pressure group.

In the chapter entitled "The Public Questions the Support of 'Free' Education", Raup presents the arguments of those citizens who maintain that there is decreased need for advanced specialized education; that the majority of youths are unfit to profit from extended schooling; that tax-supported "luxuries"—swimming pools, tap dancing, orchestras, and the like—are not justified; that wealthy persons and communities should not be taxed to equalize educational opportunities; that educational services have no "prior" claim over other public services; and that the schools must not "meddle" with such public matters as taxation and political platforms.

Chapters VI to IX expand and document the last of the six pressures named above. The first two deal with the elements of crisis in American culture pertaining to war, government, economic relations, social change, world outlook, and education. Chapter VIII presents and explains a most interesting chart showing in the cases of forty-six social-civic organizations their conformity to or deviation from the consensus of opinion on twenty-six issues. Most consistently deviatory is the American Federation of Teachers. Chapter IX sets forth the results of an effort to try out individual civic opinions of members of various religious, occupational, and organizational groups widely distributed geographically and by sizes of communities.

Raup's concluding chapter deserves careful and reflective reading by every positive-minded teacher. He reviews the state of public opinions and attitudes in favor of amelioration and reform; those in opposition to direct action and the use of violence; the faith in competitive individualism as opposed to class divisions; and the belief that radicalism is nonsense. In view of these confused mental states, he asks: What is the process by which a people's mind is remade for its own larger good? We may formulate an absolute basic position and refuse to compromise in any way; we may take an equally absolute position, but cooperate with other groups; we may hold only indefinite final goals, but plan and act vigorously for immediate objectives; or we may exalt intelligence above the method of force. After stating the alternatives—absolutism, cooperation, and compromise—he concludes: "Only through reason can we keep acts properly sensitive to values they promote or jeopardize. Education fails in its chiefest role if it fails at this point. The only alternative to such education is the spirit of hate and revenge and these are poor measures, even when provoked by the exploitation of the masses."

PHILIP W. L. COX.

Our Undemocratic Society

RULERS OF AMERICA. A Study of Finance Capital. ANNA ROCHESTER. International Publishers. \$3.50.

MISS ROCHESTER has done the American people an inestimable service in writing for the first time this study of those who rule the American nation. Based upon painstaking original research, this arsenal of *economic* facts is devastating in its description of America's development.

You are told here that Americans have never been really "free" from the control of our financial overlords. These billionaires' interests are so interlocked that they circumscribe our every activity, our legislators, our courts, our schools, our Presidents, and the War Department. As Miss Rochester describes the structure and pattern of this financial control, no other conclusion could be had.

Here you will see described the development of finance capital and its accumulation, "which is characteristic of monopoly capital in the imperialist era", the tightening of class lines after 1890, the "vanishing of the frontier," the late entrance of America into the arena of world imperialism, and the creation of large corporations. This is nothing else than the story of the rule of the Houses of Morgan, Rockefeller, and Mellon, and their lieutenants.

Miss Rochester doesn't moralize. She writes of this "rule" convincingly. We are led behind the scenes where we watch the methods used by the "robber barons." We see how it is that the House of Morgan alone controls American banking, railroads, utilities, telephones, steel, and electrical manufacturing.

One thesis that is presented with unanswerable clarity is the omnipresence of the basic inner contradictions of capitalist monopoly and American imperialism. Big industry, beset by anarchy, cannot plan. Imperialist powers have a chronic disease, war. Excess capitalization, huge stocks of unsold goods, a permanent army of unemployed, the drive for profits, these are only a few of the contradictions that lead to sharper conflicts between the rulers themselves and between the rulers and the working class. We cannot escape from this "essential instability and chaos of monopoly capitalism."

Rulers of America is the case against finance dictatorship. These rulers are ruthless in their drive for profits. They sometimes battle among themselves. But they are more often engaged in driving farmers from the land and crushing out of existence the small trader, thus increasing the ranks of the propertyless. "Their historic function has been completed. But the financial oligarchy is still enthroned."

EUGENE C. HORNES

A Doctor Discusses our "Poverty in Plenty"

WHY KEEP THEM ALIVE? PAUL DE KRUIF. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1936. 293 pages. \$3.00.

WHAT is the picture of this fourth decade in the twentieth century of our American civilization which de Kruif portrays? It is a glorious story of material abundance in a land rich in minerals and growth of every kind needed for life, a land abounding in brawn and brain and every scientific resource. The other side of the picture is want and the degradation of poverty, underfeeding and starvation, hands forcibly idle, impotent science, and rampant disease.

What we could have is the happy life of universal abundance; it is there in the womb of this earth, in the soil of this land. But it is like the pure water of a great river to which only a few of the thirsty are admitted, while the rest are held off. What we could have is the happiness of a full life free from pain. Yet the ravages of disease go on, and premature death reaps its daily toll. The life that could be is no more than a tantalizing vision.

De Kruif unrolls before our eyes a sombre panorama of suffering and early, unnecessary death. Children, men, and women dying in the excruciating agony of burns, children choking in the throes of diphtheria, their lives blown out in the final spasm of a rheumatic heart, sapped by scarlet fever, children and adults withered and carried off by consumption. Not because humanity is helpless against disease. We have men of science who are heroically and triumphantly fighting death-giving microbes, conquering suffering. The advances of medical science are nothing short of glorious. Selfless scientific workers, lovers of knowledge and humanity, have learned the causes, have perfected methods of prevention and cure. But that is only half the story. The new life, without pain and early death, is not for all. Science is a thing for sale. Ezra Pound had pointed it out: There is a man-made cause of death far more murderous than disease itself—Poverty. Death grows where there are no dollars.

This, then, is the aim of this deeply moving book: to sound a human outcry against suffering and death due to the lack of the fundamental necessities of life, "to tell about these things in the strongest and truest words to as many millions of people as possible, to foment, stir up, to fan more and more mass anger; and what could make the human mass more angry than this: that they were being made to suffer and die in the midst of a world where the chance for life was limitless."

De Kruif condemns the system that tolerates and fosters such conditions; an economic leadership whose guiding principle is "controlled abundance": plowing under of crops, turning pigs into fertilizer, reducing the milk-output—while there is huge underconsumption, want and destitution. He indicts the "slide-rule science without humanity" whose idiotic mathematics leads to no better plan for the distribution of our superabundance than the wanton destruction of their "controlled abundance." Organized charity, bureaucratic welfare institutions, organized medicine, stuffed-shirt, bloodless science, pseudo-biology—these are the incompetent, blundering, hostile forces responsible for the unspeakable misery of our generation.

The earnest tone and purpose of the book and its unquestionable sincerity preclude the consideration of certain of its shortcomings as a trivial task. One must be deeply stirred by its dramatic simplicity, its unadorned realism, the audible beating in it of a heart responsive to the weal and woe of humanity. *Why Keep Them Alive?* reads much like a personal confession, for it is in a sense the author's spiritual Canossa. To employ, perhaps somewhat incongruously, a religious analogy, de Kruif has with self-searching zeal scrutinized his social conscience and found himself guilty of the sin of indifference and scientific aloofness; in contrition, he shakes off selfish complacency and cries out against our still callous civilization. He fails of complete redemption, because he stops with the mere recognition of the evil, mere condemnation, mere morandancy; his emotional upheaval has not as yet crystallized into a solid plan for a solution. It is not sufficient to cry out how shameful conditions are, how possible to change them, how happy the world would be were they changed, but how sad it is that the world will not change them. Thus, obviously, the syllogism is not concluded. The first step is to recognize that a system does not function; the next step should be planning one that will. Although de Kruif comes close to such a view, he does not actually draw the necessary political inference to which his reasoning should lead. Though he sincerely deplores the plight of the farmer, the unemployed, the semi-starved worker, the great masses of the underprivileged, yet nowhere does he suggest that their salvation may lie in their political organization in a Farmer-Labor Party. However, *Why Keep Them Alive?* has great potency for good. It has the dynamic moving force of emotional values.

M. J. FRUCHTER.

A Valuable Book of Reference

HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, 1896-1932, Volume 3, WORKING CONDITIONS, by DON D. LESCOPIER, and LABOR LEGISLATION, by ELIZABETH BRANDEIS, 741 pages. Volume 4, LABOR MOVEMENTS, by SELIG PERLMAN and PHILIP TAFT, 661 pages. The MacMillan Company, New York, 1935. \$10.00.

FOR many years, students of labor have used the outstanding study of the American labor movement compiled by John R. Commons and his associates. In fact, the men and women who worked with Professor Commons have become writers and specialists in labor problems in their own right as a result of their work with him. There have just been issued these two concluding volumes carrying the history of American labor up to date.

The significant feature of both these volumes is that they carry on the technique and institutional approach which John R. Commons made historical. Aware of the fact that America cannot boast of a unified labor movement just as it has been difficult for it to boast of a homogeneous working class, the authors gather minute evidence which weaves into a "strain of development," so that the reader is overwhelmed with the minutiae of evidence which these indefatigable students of labor have compiled. When all is said and done these minutiae point to a definite development of experience, and one might almost say, pattern which the American labor movement has assumed. The authors build up material which indicates first that the American workers are late in developing that homogeneity "ethnically, linguistically, religiously, and culturally" which is important to a class conscious labor movement. They point out that the process of osmosis between one economic class and another has been responsible for a history of American unionism which can only be studied in terms of the individual unions. They also point out certain interesting phases of the early ideology of American labor which have not been carried over into the present trends:

First, the workers' desire, so strong in the early days of American labor, to escape from the uncertainties of the wage system into self-employment under producers' cooperation, has never been revived. The American worker achieves job consciousness with a definite philosophy of securing wage and job control, but in opposition to any program of cooperation.

Second, the workers' alliances with farmers in the "anti-monopoly" movements of the 80's and 90's have never been repeated on a national scale, though the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1924 and more recently the movement on the part of the Communists and militant Socialists have emphasized the importance of uniting with farmers. Labor unions as such have not assumed that responsibility.

Third, the authors have come to the conclusion that the American workers have rejected revolutionary activity because they were concerned with a program of collective job control in a community "saturated with individualism."

Fourth, American labor early acquired a profound scepticism of protective legislation, which scepticism they have changed but slowly within the last few years.

Fifth, the non-partisan political policy of Gompers still officially stands unchallenged.

Sixth, the role of the intellectual in the labor movement has not increased in importance although trade unions are more willing to use statisticians, research workers, and lawyers.

Seventh, the abhorrence of dualism in trade union organization still remains.

There are many other outstanding developments which the authors trace. The significant contribution of these two volumes is that nowhere has there been gathered together such a wealth of detailed information pertaining to the habits, experiences, and policies of the American trade unions. Every intelligent teacher should have the four volumes of *The History of Labor in the United States*. It is the only guarantee to active and intelligent participation in their trade union—the Teachers Union.

THERESA WOLFSON.

Contributors' Column

PORTIA ALEXANDER is secretary of the Bloomington (Illinois) Federation of Teachers, No. 276.

THOMAS R. AMLIE is a Representative to the United States Congress from Wisconsin, and is sponsor of the National Youth Act.

BENJAMIN DAVIDSON is chairman of the A. F. T. Committee on Academic Freedom, and executive council member of New York Local 5.

IONA GILES is a member of Wisconsin Rapids Teachers' Federation, No. 421 (Wisconsin).

HAROLD M. GROVES is a Professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Wisconsin, and is chairman of the A. F. T. Committee on School Finance.

ALBION A. HARTWELL is executive secretary of the Interprofessional Association, New York. He has written for the *New Republic*.

H. R. HAZEL is chairman of the salary committee of Cleveland Local 279.

VICTOR R. JEWETT is a member of the Bay Counties Federation of Teachers, Local 349 (California).

WARREN D. MULLIN is Labor Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

PAUL W. PREISLER is a member of the St. Louis local and a member of the faculty of Washington University (St. Louis).

ARNOLD SHUKUTOFF is secretary of the college section of New York Local 5.

JOHN H. WALKER is Business and Legislative Representative of the Men Teachers Union of Chicago, Local 2.



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WEBSTER'S
NEW INTERNATIONAL
DICTIONARY Second Edition

Talks to Trade Unionists on Health Topics

10. Constipation:

Failure to clear the waste material from the body produces constipation. Bodily activity is slowed up as the poisons clog the system. Poor health and bad temper result.

Defeat constipation with habit, diet and exercise.

The body should be trained to daily regularity, even to the same hour of the day. Laxatives should not be encouraged since they do not overcome constipation but train the body instead to depend upon the drug.

Proper diet including liberal use of water is very helpful. Fruits and leafy vegetables are of value. A glass or two of water upon rising and between meals will prove helpful.

Sometimes the exclusion of spices, tea, coffee or tobacco will prove beneficial.

Exercise, especially of the abdominal muscles, is of value.

If the constitution does not respond to the above measures, consult your physician to ascertain whether some abdominal condition or obstruction may be present.

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Tentative Program

Twentieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

August 16-22, 1936

Hotel Sylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Theme

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND EDUCATION

Sunday, August 16—10 a. m. and 2 p. m.

Executive Council Meeting

Monday, August 17—10:30 a. m.

Addresses of Welcome

JESSE H. HOLMES, President, Philadelphia Local 192

ADOLPH HIRSHBERG, President, Central Labor Union

DR. EDWARD MARTIN, Vice-President, Philadelphia Board of Education

HON. S. DAVIS WILSON, Mayor of Philadelphia

President's Address

RAYMOND F. LOWRY

2:30 p. m.

Adoption of Rules

Appointment of Convention Committees

Report of Committee on Credentials

4:00 p. m.

Organization of Convention Committees

8:00 p. m.

Reception and Concert

Moving Picture: *Overcoming Limitations to Learning*

Tuesday, August 18—10:00 a. m.

Address—Civil Liberties in Education

Address—JOHN A. PHILLIPS, President, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor

Executive Council's Report

GEORGE DAVIS

Legislative Representative's Report

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN

Reports on Organization

RAYMOND F. LOWRY

W. B. SATTERTHWAITE

12:30 p. m.

Get-Together Luncheon

Sectional Reports

ALLIE B. MANN, Atlanta

R. J. AHLSTROM, Minneapolis

ANNA M. DART, California

CLAUDE WILLIAMS, Arkansas

WALTER G. BERGMAN, Detroit

COLIN G. WELLES, Wisconsin

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN, Philadelphia

CHARLES J. HENDLEY, New York

C. R. WEINBERGER, Huntington, W. Va.

2:45 p. m.

Convention Committee Meetings

8:30 p. m.

Skit presented by NEW THEATRE STUDIOS of Philadelphia

Wednesday, August 19—10:00 a. m.

Address—The College Teacher's Place in the Union

JEROME DAVIS, Yale University

Addresses by WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labor and JOHN L. LEWIS, President, United Mine Workers of America

Report of Permanent Committees

Report of Committee on Nominations

2:00 p. m.

Convention Committee Meetings

4:00 p. m.

College Section Meeting (College Delegates Only)

JEROME DAVIS, Chairman

7:00 p. m.

Banquet

Address

GOVERNOR EARLE

Thursday, August 20—10:00 a. m.

Union Label Trades Department, A. F. L.

I. M. ORNBURN

Chest for Liberation of Workers in Europe

Convention Committee Reports

2:00 p. m.

Convention Committee Reports

4:00 p. m.

Election of Officers

7:00 p. m.

Outing—"Historic Philadelphia" and picnic supper on the beautiful Wissahickon

Friday, August 21—10:00 a. m.

Convention Committee Reports

Adjournment

2:00 p. m.

Executive Council Meeting

