PERIODICAL ROOM
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICH.

FEB 25 1938

The AMERICAN TEACHER

In Two Parts — Part One

JANUARY - FEBRUARY 1938

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

By Elmer A. Benson
Governor of Minnesota

A NEW THREAT TO EDUCATION

An Editorial

BRAZIL IS A WARNING - - - - - *President's Page*

WHERE A LAW IS NOT A LAW - - *by Bernard Forer*

THE NEEDS OF YOUTH - - - - - - *A Symposium*

BRIGHT, NORMAL OR DULL - -
Professional Problems Committee, Local 192

EXPANDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES—
A Federal Adult Education Program
The Federal Arts Bill

OFFICIAL ORGAN of the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

U. S. Policy in Far East Aids Japan Destroys American Ideals

In a letter to President Roosevelt, Professor Jerome Davis, president of the American Federation of Teachers, today charged that scrap metal from the United States is being used against China and that the example our nation is setting has a destructive effect upon the moral training of school children.

The text of the letter follows:

Dear Mr. President:

Recent statistics show that scrap metal has been exported from the United States at a rate only slightly less than in the perilous days immediately preceding our entrance into the World War. It is an open secret that most of this metal goes to Japan. There it is turned into munitions of war. Those munitions are now killing men and women and children whose only "crime" is that they were born in China.

Mr. President, Americans have long been proud of the thousands of dollars we sent across the Pacific Ocean to build, equip, and staff schools and colleges for China. Now, we send to Japan the metal that is destroying that fine gift. With these same munitions they are destroying those human values we have been taught to hold dear.

True, the sale of scrap metal brings huge profits to a few of our citizens. But every cent of that profit adds to the power of those who would lose most when efforts are made to stop the iniquitous traffic. Experience has taught us that efforts to preserve the profits of war trade drag a nation into war. In short, every day that sees us profiting from the power-lust of Japan also makes it more improbable that we will be able to abstain from that profit until too late.

Let us turn to another aspect of this situation. What is it teaching our children? They read of widespread death and destruction, of exploding shells and bombs. They read that the leaders of our nation choose to see no war. They learn that deception is exalted.

They see an innocent people ruthlessly attacked. They read of agreements violated. They see this wrong stand uncondemned. They learn that might makes right.

All this, Mr. President, the members of the American Federation of Teachers view with consternation. Therefore, we respectfully urge that you take these facts into consideration when making the grave decisions which confront you in regard to Far Eastern affairs.

Respectfully yours,
JEROME DAVIS.

•

POSTAL TELEGRAPH & CABLE

EXTRA NANKING, CHINA
TO JEROME DAVIS, PRESIDENT
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
YOUR LETTER TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT CHARGING JAPANESE WITH USING AMERICAN SCRAP METALS TO DESTROY SCHOOLS COLLEGES IN CHINA DEEPLY APPRECIATED BY CHINESE EDUCATIONAL CIRCLES WHOSE HEARTY THANKFULNESS WE FEEL IT OUR DUTY TO CONVEY TO YOU

TSAI YUAN PEI
CHINA UNION OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES

The AMERICAN TEACHER

VOLUME XXII JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1938 NUMBER 3

IN THIS ISSUE:

A New Threat to Education—An Editorial 5
Education and Social Change—ELMER A. BENSON 6
The Needs of Youth—A Symposium 8
Where A Law is Not A Law—BERNARD FORER 11
Bright, Normal or Dull?—Professional Problems Committee, Local 192 13
Shall We Affiliate?—Continuing the AFL-CIO Forum 14
Expanding Educational Opportunities
A Federal Adult Education Program 16
The Federal Arts Bill 17
The Social Security Act and the Teacher—IRVIN R. KUENZLI 31
Drawings by ARLIS, STEPHEN HUNT, JOSEPH LEBOIT, M. PLIND, POUND.

DEPARTMENTS:

Editorial Paragraphs 3
The Contributors 30
President's Page—Brazil is a Warning 18
It's Happening Now 19
Labor Notes 26
The Teacher's Union in Action 21
Among the New Books 27
Correspondence 30

A Sound Body for a Sound Mind

A study just completed in New York City by the Board of Education has confirmed the correlation existing between the student's progress in school and the economic status of his parents. It was found that the children of higher income families made faster progress than those belonging to poorer families. The same study (begun in 1932, and embracing 785 children) shows a positive correlation between good health and intelligence, and thus disproves the common belief that the bright child is a frail, almost sickly individual who has developed mentally at the expense of his physique. The conclusion seems inescapable that pupil health is a prime problem of all education. Those who performed the study conclude, in part, that retardation is not so much a form of pupil maladjustment as it is a measure of the school's failure to provide fully for the varying needs of pupils, and that any attempt to organize an educational system on the basis of I. Q. is inadequate. We agree with Mr. James Marshall, who as vice-president of the Board of Education helped assemble the data, in his statement that additional attention must be paid to the physical and emotional problems of children, especially those problems caused by poor housing, undernourishment, and unsatisfactory social environment. Here is the answer to any who may still think that teachers unions should not concern themselves with social problems.

This Fight Must Be Won

The wages and hours bill was "killed" at the special session by an inglorious coalition of 133 Democrats and 83 Republicans, many of whom cast aside party programs and campaign pledges in an attempt to scuttle a much needed piece of progressive legislation. The A. F. of L. Executive Council members demanded extensive changes in the bill and when these were not made, opposed it. This strengthened the position of the reactionaries in Congress who are against every kind of wages and hour legislation and helped kill the bill. Commenting on the situation, the CIO *Union News* stated editorially that the enactment of "at least the principle of federal regulation and some minimum regulation against sweatshop standards" was of pressing importance. Amendments could have been made later to improve the bill, but as it now stands, the fight must be begun again. There are many evidences that the battle will be vigorously resumed in the regular session, this time with better chance of success. If any better sample of the devastating effect of disunity in labor ranks has recently come to light, we are unaware of it. Let labor men back the wages and hours bill.

Program of Reaction

If the policies outlined in numerous speeches at the Conference of the National Manufacturers Association are carried to their conclusion, the temporary defeat of the wages-hours bill is merely a prelude to the scrapping of the Wagner Labor Relations Act and all the gains won by the American people through the New Deal. The political sit-down strike of Big Business—as the present recession was characterized by Assistant Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson—is already menacing public education in many parts of the country and has thrown millions of workers out of employment.

The program of Big Business has, however, met with resistance on the part of the progressive forces in Congress and the Administration. In a stirring speech on Dec. 30, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes exposed the disastrous economic autocracy of America's "sixty families" and the grave danger from that source of "Big Business Fascism" in America. A few days later, on Jan. 3, President Roosevelt continued the attack in his message to Congress and proposed a counter-program against reaction: farm relief; federal housing; wages-hours legislation; continuation of work-relief; abolition of child labor. This firmness under attack is perhaps the best evidence of the united determination of the American people to resist reaction's program of poverty and suffering.

Labor Fights for Professor Keeney

Not often does the dismissal of a teacher follow nakedly the familiar formula of a union man's being fired for union activity. But out in Montana Professor Keeney, for six years librarian of the University of Montana, was dismissed last April, just one week after he had organized a chapter of the American Federation of Teachers on his campus. And the men behind that dismissal, President Simmons, Governor Ayers and even "liberal" Senator Burton K. Wheeler, who has preserved to date a discreet silence on every aspect of the case, have never explained the reasons for Professor Keeney's dismissal. This fact was made clear in the hearings on the mandamus proceedings brought by the State Federation on Professor Keeney's behalf. No question of competence, academic attainments or ability was raised—only the arbitrary right of dismissal, in spite of a state tenure law which provides permanent tenure for higher ranks of teachers after three years of service. The Montana labor movement recognizes that fundamental issues are at stake. AFL and CIO unions are fighting together for Professor Keeney's reinstatement. Practically every Central Labor Council in the state is on record against the dismissal. Behind the firing of Professor Keeney are the large industrial interests of the state, Anaconda Copper, Missoula Mercantile Co., etc., who, through their friends on the campus and in politics, control the university and are fighting Montana labor on every front.

A Significant Convention

The third convention of the American Student Union gave evidence of the growing maturity of the student movement in the United States. Five hundred voting and two hundred visiting and fraternal delegates crowded the campus at Vassar College. Representatives of the Mexican teachers, of the Brotherhood of Cuban Youth, of the American Federation of Teachers, several friendly high school principals, and a spokesman for the British student movement, by their presence assured the students of the partial realization of their aim to broaden and strengthen the base of the American student movement. Greetings from President Roosevelt, the Canadian student movement, the World Youth Congress, John L. Lewis, Governor Elmer A. Benson and many key figures in the labor movement served to tighten the links with which students are forging unity with the progressive movement in America and among the peoples of the world. The convention voted to meet the intensified onslaughts of fascism and the war situations in the world with a realistic peace program. Abandoning the Oxford Union Pledge and voting support of President Roosevelt's peace proposals the American Student Union unites itself with the forces urging the United States government to take the lead for peace in conjunction with the other peace-loving nations, yet at the same time opposing added war preparations and compulsory military training. Meanwhile efforts to help the Spanish and Chinese people are to be redoubled. Another significant new point in the program is a ruling allowing chapters autonomy in the matter of support of progressive political candidates in local elections. Altogether, the students are showing themselves awake to the world they live in, and able and willing to play a constructive role in it.

AFT Acts for Unity

In the face of the business recession, the rising tide of unemployment, and the economic and political mobilization of reaction, there is every need for the resumption of unity negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the CIO. Labor unity is the very real and practical concern of union teachers, for reaction is already laying a heavy hand on the schools. In this the Executive Council of the AFT has voted to send the following petition to all locals:

To be effective in combatting its united enemies, American Labor must attain not only unity, but unity on a basis that will insure the organization of all unorganized workers in America. As steps to this end, we propose:

1. That all members of the CIO and the AFL be brought under one organization.
2. That unity be preserved by suitable democratic structures and practices; and
3. That the principle of industrial unionism be accepted as the form of organization of workers where demanded by conditions in modern industry.

Because these proposals are essential for real and lasting unity, we the undersigned members of the American Federation of Teachers respectfully petition you to adopt them for continued negotiations with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Locals of the AFT can do something positive to further the cause of unity by circulating these petitions as widely as possible among their members.

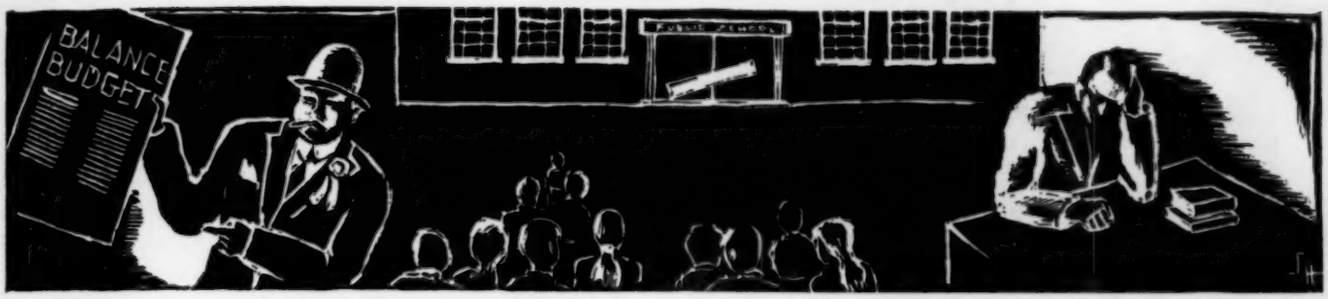
THE AMERICAN TEACHER

ENTERED as second class matter October 18, 1933, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

SUBSCRIPTION: $1.00 for the year —Foreign $1.10—Single copies, 25c. Published bi-monthly except July-August. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal or express money orders, draft, stamps, or check.

A New Threat to Education

An Editorial



RETRENCHMENT, budgetary deficits, forced vacations, closed schools—that is again headline news on education in many parts of the country. The danger signals are out. Funds for education are inadequate; drastic tax-limitation legislation has thrown whole school systems into chaos; propaganda for economy, for reduction of educational programs, for dubious revisions of curricula consequent upon economy moves rise to confront the teacher with the ominous warning that public education is again under attack.

Budgetary deficits and inadequacy of tax resources are already producing the familiar signs of strain in the educational structure and the familiar jolts to the economic status of the teacher. In Birmingham, Ala., the first suggestion of a local budget committee, as a means of making up a deficit, is to reduce school expenditures and to cut teachers' salaries. In Minneapolis and Cincinnati and Lowell, Mass., winter vacations of abnormal length have been introduced. In Tennessee, the city system of Chattanooga is in difficulty of legal complications which have tied up salary restoration for the teachers and cause the defeat of a tax-levy at the polls. The Hamilton County system of the same state has been endangered by the transfer of school funds to social security system. Some rural districts in Illinois have been forced to close the doors of their schools. At Conneaut, O., where a two-mill tax levy was defeated at the polls, the schools were closed for an indefinite period on Dec. 12.

The serious situation facing the schools of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia is a result of a court decision limiting taxation for school funds; such a situation always produces a breakdown of school finances and becomes the pivotal point in those reactionary schemes which attempt to limit and curtail education under the guise of thorough curricular changes which adapt the schools to "present day conditions". Special budget committees, as in Iowa, slash school expenditures in the name of economy and cripple school systems which, according to actual needs, should be expanding.

Crises in school finances are usually caused by inadequate and inequitable tax structures, a failure to use all the resources of taxation, and finally by the organization and effective operation of the groups in every community which, out of design or ignorance, desire to reduce public education to a limited program and eliminate all possibilities of the progressive evolution of education as a socially necessary service.

We know that expenditures for education are always under attack from specially interested groups in a community; and our experience in the depression shows that in a weakening of the economic structure schools are likely to suffer the most when social services are being curtailed. The progressive teacher now cannot fail to observe, when a recession in business activity again affects the sources of revenue, that the anti-education forces, organized by the same groups that were active against the schools during the depression, have taken a definite direction. Economy may still be their sacred watchword; but the actual motivation behind recent retrenchment moves is appearing more and more as outspoken and thinly veiled opposition to the function of public education in a democracy.

However, no teacher should underestimate the difficult and complex problem which school financing is in many communities. For that reason the business of the teacher is to understand these problems and work with and actively influence the people in the community whose children stand to lose most in any curtailment of education. A Federal Aid law will go a long way toward alleviating the inequities in the resources for educational funds which exist in impoverished communities. In all communities the schools must stay open. The teachers have the responsibility of rallying the parents, the trade unions, the progressive citizens in the defense of the school system; of leading the opposition to the organized foes of education.

The local problem is, in the larger sense, the nation's too; but the initiative and the impulse to lift the whole problem into its proper focus for the nation must be found at home.

Education and Social Change

Today's education must go beyond the conclusions reached by Horace Mann.

By ELMER A. BENSON

HORACE MANN had definite convictions about how school education could bring about certain changes in society.

What was the chief social change that he wanted to see brought about? What was his idea of how school education could bring it about? Have the hundred years that have since passed by shown that Mann's philosophy of education and social change was right or wrong?

Only by asking and answering such questions, will this generation be able to carry on from where Horace Mann left off.

THE CHIEF social change that Mann wanted to see brought about can be best understood by remembering some of the well known features of his time.

When he was born, in 1796, the Declaration of Independence was only twenty years old. Its noble utterances had stirred in the common men of that age the faith that on these shores the class oppressions and exploitations of the Old World would be thrown off, in order to build a democratic and humane civilization, in which each individual would enjoy equal opportunities to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Yet Horace Mann, living only a few years after the Revolutionary War, saw the bold and glorious promises of that Declaration being slowly blotted out by the black shadow of human enslavement that was creeping across the social fabric of the young republic.

In the South, the bond slavery of the Negroes doomed a whole race to permanent degradation, and condemned poorer whites permanently to a position of social and economic inferiority because they did not own slaves.

In New England and the East, where the factory system and modern industrialism were rising, Horace Mann could see taking shape before his very eyes a kind of wage slavery. The common people were coming to depend entirely upon this new and improved system of producing wealth, without in any way controlling it. Child labor, long hours, pay of a dollar-and-a-half or two dollars a week, and periodic unemployment were dooming large numbers of factory workers to an inferior social and economic rank.

By 1837, when Mann became secretary of the newly established Massachusetts Board of Education, there was financial panic and industrial depression. One-third the working population of New York City were unemployed. Through the slums of the cities and factory towns stalked unemployment, hunger, disorganization of family life, and crime, including an increase in the depravity of drunkenness.

When Horace Mann saw these conditions, he accused the wealthy and powerful in our cities of living upon the poor and weak, much as in some waters the great fish live by eating up the little ones. He wanted to see these conditions changed, and he had plans for getting them changed.

OTHERS ALSO wanted to see these conditions changed, and had plans to get them changed. Among these were the leaders of the rising young labor movement of 1837.

They believed in popular education, and they helped Mann to win support for the idea of free, public, tax-supported schools for the children of rich and poor alike.

But they also saw that the widespread and periodic unemployment, with its train of misery and poverty, was the inescapable result of the way in which our new machine-method of producing wealth had been organized. A relatively few individuals were permitted to regard the rest of the people in society as merely so many possible "hands" whose labor they might buy if they needed it in order to turn out some more goods from which they could make a profit. The question of whether people needed food, clothing, and housing had nothing directly to do with the matter.

The leaders of that labor movement saw that the only way to correct this condition was to re-organize the forces which controlled the production and distribution of food, shelter, and clothing; and the first step in doing so was to organize the workers into unions for the purpose of wresting control of their economic lives from complete domination by employers.

Horace Mann turned a deaf ear to the arguments of these labor leaders. He argued that if we could make enough individuals into good people, soon the world would be dominated by good people, and then human exploitation would cease. The schools, he predicted, could do this by rearing a generation in whose hearts had been implanted benevolence, in whom any disposition toward avarice or greed had been curbed, and who had all been trained in how to earn a living. The generation of "sober, wise,

good men" that would result from such training, said Mann, would "remove the old and substitute a new social edifice".

This was Horace Mann's philosophy of how to achieve social change by education. On the whole, he was listened to. On the whole, the labor leaders were not.

WE ARE NOW in 1938, instead of 1837. We are in the midst of industrial depression, and we constantly skirt the edges of financial panic. One-third our population are still ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed. Through the slums of our cities and across the exhausted farm lands of certain areas, stalk unemployment, hunger, poverty, crime, and increasing disorganization of family life.

Plainly, after a hundred years, we are obliged to confess that Horace Mann's method of achieving the social change he and others desired has not worked. He tried to cure an ill in the social fabric by doctoring individuals instead of altering the social fabric itself. He tended to regard education as a substitute for action, instead of a desirable accompaniment of social action.

These facts do not entitle anybody to say that the public school system which Mann did so much to help establish has failed. We need only to look at the bright young America that today stands by our side, in order to be glad that the schools came, and to resolve, on behalf of unborn generations, that we shall strike down any hand that is lifted to wipe out the schools by depriving them of funds.

Further, the educator is not entitled to conclude from the facts I have mentioned that education can do little or nothing in the service of bringing about the social changes on which hang the success or failure of American democracy.

WHAT, THEN, do the facts that I have mentioned justify us in concluding?

First, we can no longer honestly preach the doctrine that only by improving the personal character of individuals do you bring about social justice. Social justice or injustice depends in part upon the way society itself is organized. No matter how good the wishes of the individual may be, there comes a point where the social organization, rather than the sentiments of the individual, determines how he shall act.

Next, today's educators have the obligation to go beyond the point reached by Horace Mann. They still have to seek ways whereby democracy's educational facilities may be placed at the service of those citizens who are actively engaged in the effort to abolish economic inequality and autocracy.

Third, today's educators have the obligation to develop in their students a more vigorous awareness of the realities of present social struggles, as well as a wish to participate in them for the purpose of bringing about economic democracy.

Fourth, those educators who want to discharge to the full their civic responsibilities will live not only as teachers in the classroom, but also as active members in the struggling groups of their own communities.

Finally, we are now obliged to agree with Horace Greeley, who said in Mann's own time that "before Education can become what it should and must be, we must reform the Social Life from whence it proceeds."

THERE IS SOME evidence that before he died Mann was himself drifting toward this view. In 1849 he resigned his position as educational secretary in order to enter Congress and take an active part in the struggle to wipe out Negro slavery. "Recent events," he said, "have forced upon the public attention the great truth, that before a man can be educated, he must be a free man."

In the same year, in an address, he also described America's new financial barons as being

> as dangerous to the welfare of the community in our day, as was the baron of the Middle Ages. . . . The power of money is as imperial as the power of the sword; and I may as well depend upon another for my head, as for my bread. The day is sure to come, when men will look back upon the prerogatives of Capital at the present time, with as severe and just a condemnation, as we now look back upon the predatory chieftains of the Dark Ages.

From such words as those, we are justified in thinking that perhaps Horace Mann was beginning to see the real nature of the social change that he wanted to bring about. Not long before he died, he said, "I should like to live again, to enroll myself anew in a fifty years' campaign, and fight once more for the glory of God and the happiness of humanity."

Perhaps if Horace Mann were given the privilege of living again and in our times, he would enroll himself in the battle to free men from the threat of war and fascism by fighting the economic autocracy upon which these are based. And I believe he would want education to help in that battle.

The Needs of Youth

LEADERS OF AMERICAN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS CONTRIBUTE TO A SYMPOSIUM

Recently at a mock trial a jury of prominent citizens including the Governor of Nebraska convicted adult society of "ignorance, selfishness, and indifference to the needs of youth"—charges brought by the Nebraska Christian Youth Council. We as teachers cannot be indifferent to the needs of youth. Since the young people themselves have begun to speak out through their own organizations, we have asked representatives of a number of well known youth organizations to present their programs in the following symposium.

• William W. Hinckley

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

WHEN a flood, an earthquake, or a hurricane strikes our land, the story is emblazoned on the nation's headlines and broadcast on the air-waves from coast to coast. The country deplores the tragic loss of life. But—

Five million out of twenty million young people between sixteen and twenty-five are both out of school and out of work. Prosperity in 1937 turned the corner and left one quarter of young America in a blind alley, its steps dogged by poverty, sickness, disease.

An average of more than a half a million high school students drop out of high school each year. Low wages and inadequate purchasing power of the people are largely responsible for this school mortality. Forty per cent of young Americans, high school age, are not in our "universal, free, public educational system".

—And these are tragedies more devastating than a flood, more destructive than an earthquake, more lasting in effect than a hurricane. Yet the newspapers and radio do not treat them as great national catastrophes and they are allowed to linger on under our very noses. The total cost is too great to be counted. How does one add up millions of budding lives trampled before they have a chance to flower?

The needs and aspirations of American youth are a part of the conscious lives of the young people themselves and in this, of course, is the greatest hope. Not only is young America conscious of its own needs and interests but it is solidifying the unity of all the youth organizations and agencies serving youth, for the purpose of developing and pressing for legislative programs.

President Roosevelt in his greeeting to the Fourth American Youth Congress caught the temper of the young generation: "This is no time for complacency or indifference," he said. "It is a time when vigorous and intelligent participation in the solution of our common problems is needed from every citizen in our democracy." He commented further, "The American Youth Congress has become an important instrument in achieving this end, and, as such, has the good will and best wishes of all who are concerned with the future of American democracy."

Seventy national youth organizations and agencies serving youth were represented by Senators at the Model United States Congress of Youth in Milwaukee, July 4. Among these, the American Federation of Teachers together with seventeen other national and international unions sent representatives.

At these sessions with the vast majority of American young people represented, legislative policies were developed for states and for the nation to meet the challenge of:

1. UNEMPLOYED MILLIONS:
   to create job opportunities for all;
2. THE THREAT OF A SECOND WORLD WAR:
   to guarantee peace and security for all;
3. SLUMS:
   to build decent comfortable homes for all;
4. CRIME AND DELINQUENCY:
   to provide healthful recreation facilities for all;
5. DROP-OUTS FROM SCHOOL AND COLLEGE:
   to increase educational opportunities for all;
6. INDUSTRIAL DESPOTISM:
   to develop better wage, hour, and working conditions for all;
7. SHARE-CROPPING AND MORTGAGE FORECLOSURES:
   to achieve a wholesome community life for all;
8. LYNCHING, RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE AND PREJUDICE:
   to establish democratic equality for all.

To enforce the work begun at the Model United States Congress of Youth, the National Council of the American Youth Congress has been established for the year and a seat has been voted for a representative of the Executive Committee of the Teachers Union. It is the hope of all the student organizations of our country and several of the national educational organizations represented there already that with the Union's cooperation the Education Committee of the National Council of the Youth Congress may begin work toward the development of a powerful American peoples' education movement devoted to education for democracy and peace, more democracy in education, and equality of educational opportunity.

• Molly Yard

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

ONE OF THE greatest tragedies which faces present day youth is its enforced idleness. The tragedy would not be so great if any steps were being taken to meet the situation, but actually the one thing established to deal particularly with idle youth, the National Youth Administration, has been curtailed and everything points to its abolishment.

One of the obvious reasons for idleness is the general economic situation. Yet as far as youth is concerned lack of jobs might not be so serious now if adequate attention were paid to the educational problem. There are thousands of youth forced to idleness because they cannot afford an education. Students in high school find they do not have carfare to get to school, they do not have clothes to wear to school, they do not have the strength to go to school because they are so underfed. If a high school student does manage to graduate, in most cases he does not have the means to go to college. There are few cities with free city colleges. There are few state scholarships. The lack of money keeps young Americans out of school and in the streets.

The American Student Union stands for equality in education. We believe that young Americans regardless of their economic status have the right to a full education. We believe that the American Youth Act must be passed for it provides scholarships for needy high school students and jobs for needy college students, to say nothing of the jobs it would provide for out-of-school, unemployed youth. We believe that the cost which the Youth Act would mean is nothing compared to the millions of dollars now being spent on our youth in the jails and in the reform schools. It is far better that we spend money to give youth an education and thus keep them from idleness and then criminal activity, than to spend it after they have become the victims of their environment. Furthermore, the United States spends huge sums on the R.O.T.C. The American Student Union believes that the R.O.T.C. should be abolished and that this money should be spent to meet the needs of our youth for education. We believe that the development of future American citizens is one of the most important problems confronting the nation and that many battleships could be scrapped and the money used to meet the needs of American youth.

• Edward E. Strong

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

NEGRO young people are in search of economic security, civil rights, adequate educational opportunities, recreational facilities, and decent housing. Our objective is to become, as rapidly as possible, an integrated part of American life; to contribute, along with the other youths of the country, our best towards the maintenance and extension of democracy.

But a hungry, thwarted, frustrated youth is unable to contribute its best to American culture. The paramount cry of Negro youth, therefore, becomes a cry for bread. One-half million of us are unemployed, being forced to remain on charity and in the bread lines. If so-called "prosperity" has returned, disinherited Negro youth has yet to learn of it. Those among us who are fortunate enough to have a "job" receive a starvation pittance—certainly not a sufficient amount to be given the sophisticated title of "wages, salary, or income". There is the sixteen year old Negro lad in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, who worked from six in the morning until eleven at night for seven consecutive days, 119 hours, in a restaurant, washing dishes, mopping

floors, and cleaning windows, only to be paid at the end of the week the "munificent" sum of one dollar.

In Florida Negro young people by the thousands are seized and forced, at the point of rifles, to work the huge turpentine camps, the large citrus and truck farms for board and room—the food consisting of fat meat, sorghum molasses, pone bread, cabbage, and black-eyed peas. The slave trade of the New South carries on uninterrupted as unemployed young Negro men from Georgia are taken by the truck loads, under the guise of being given good positions, into Florida to work the turpentine camps and truck farms —despite the thirteenth amendment prohibiting chattel slavery, the famed "G" men and the federal anti-kidnapping law.

How to win economic security! How to find jobs with suitable working conditions and living wages! This is the most pressing, the most acute problem confronting Negro young people. Most of the other difficulties facing us flow from the basic economic exploitation of the Negro people.

The Youth Division of the National Negro Congress operates on the premise that this state of affairs can best be solved through the united action of all forces in America believing in progress—the Committee for Industrial Organization, the American Youth Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Student Union, the National Negro Congress—pooling their strength to insist upon a comprehensive federal legislative program designed to mitigate these evils. Moreover, we believe that the organized labor movement, as represented by the CIO, presents the greatest single possibility for meeting, in the most decisive and definitive manner, the three major problems confronting Negro youth—jobs, civil liberties, education.

• Helen Morton

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

THROUGH work, play, worship, home and friends, youth grows to spiritual maturity and gains the character which is essential to effective living. All that makes for high quality in decisions and choices and provides the setting which makes this possible consitutes his needs.

The National Student Council of the Y. W. C. A., made up of students, faculty and alumnae from universities and colleges, judging from its traditions and expressions would give these three needs major importance:

First, the discovery of a cause which is larger than the self, a cause which is worthy of giving all one's loyalty and energy to, something which commands the interest in competition with the self-absorbing activities of everyday life. This cause must be two fold: it must be based on a solid foundation of belief of mind and heart, and it must find expression in specific activities. The moment of awakening to a sense of social responsibility, which may come suddenly for some and gradually for others, is the primary need of youth.

Secondly, the ability to think for oneself, the cultivation of critical judgment which makes it possible to swim against the current of mass movements in any of their multiple forms, the training in the group methods of a democracy which gives respect for the contributions of many different points of view and recognizes the rights of the minority.

Thirdly, the kind of experiences which make for knowledge of the unity of mankind, the brotherhood of men as children of the One God. This means active participation in a world wide fellowship which transcends national boundaries, and racial barriers, and class distinctions.

The ways which we most advocate to meet these needs include the following:

First, through experience in life's situations where the insight is guided and stimulated towards a desire to accept social responsibility. Family training, the contagion of inspired personalities, participation in labor unions or cooperatives all contribute.

Secondly, through self-running projects, proposed, guided and criticized by a responsible group. All that goes to make up high quality in group discussion and action, such as adequate factual knowledge, resources of help and suggestion, thorough consideration of possible action and the use of the best critical judgment.

Thirdly, the widest possible contacts with the other people and groups, through meetings, correspondence and sending of representatives on a pooled system of finance to make wider contacts.

In conclusion, whatever the needs of youth may be, they should be met in such a way as to provide immediate steps being taken in which some tangible accomplishment is possible, and they should lead to preparation for meeting the kinds of problems and tensions in which teachers and other professional groups are involved. These call for courage and high calibre characters in the cultivation of which we all must cooperate.

• Hayes Beall

METHODIST YOUTH COUNCIL

YOUTH THAT IS TODAY in its late teens and early twenties lacks opportunity to make its way in the world. Instead of an open frontier, our generation faces vocational frustration, insecurity and the threat of war. An increasing number realize that none of these failures or dangers is inherent in the nature of things. Rather, we see a world of infinite possibilities in which society's injustices are placing a special handicap on youth. The need of this generation is the knowledge and the power to re-order society so that the potential opportunities that abound may be actualized. Basically, this involves replacing the

profit system with an order in which the good of all is sought cooperatively. To be sure, there are other needs, both personal and social, which youth has, but none is more fundamental.

The National Council of Methodist Youth is a body of youth drawn from the churches of the denomination all over the nation and has expressed himself rather definitely concerning the needs of our generation. The Council is committed to working for the cooperative commonwealth which it believes will be vastly more Christian than the present system. As an immediate step in seeking to meet this basic need of youth, the National Council of Methodist Youth favors the adoption of the American Youth Act. None of us can do otherwise than deplore the recently announced decrease in the grant for the National Youth Administration. We feel that education and religion have profound and related responsibilities in helping to inform and motivate this generation so that it can reconstruct the social order in a way that will open to humanity the opportunities there really are in an age of abundance.

Where A Law Is Not A Law

Combatting direct and indirect evasions of tenure, the AFT in New Jersey is leading the fight to uphold the law.

By BERNARD FORER

When is a law not a law? Obviously, when it is disregarded.

In New Jersey, there is a tenure statute on the books. Yet, if a municipality wishes to give its teachers tenure, it may. If it desires to deprive its teaching force of tenure, that too is a simple matter.

The tenure law in New Jersey contains three major provisions:

1. Teachers must undergo a probationary period before permanent tenure may be achieved. The law itself stipulates three years; but a ruling was made, with the amiable non-resistance of the administrators and the State Department of Education a few years back, that tenure could not be obtained until the instructor had received a contract for the fourth year.

2. A teacher under tenure may not be dismissed without cause, such as inefficiency or immoral conduct, and must be granted a public hearing before the Board of Education. But two years ago a bill was introduced which would have given the administration the right to fire teachers declared physically unfit by a Board-approved physician. The bill was so vaguely worded that an instructor could have been discharged for an ailment "inimical to the welfare of the school". Under these terms a teacher could have been fired for anything from dandruff to athlete's foot. Luckily a Teachers Union had just been formed in New Jersey. It waged an aggressive battle against this proposal; and despite the fact that the measure had received the sanction of the State Teachers Association, it went down to defeat before the Union campaign.

3. A tenure teacher is not to have his salary diminished during his term of office. It is against this stipulation in the statute that a most relentless fight has been waged by reactionary interests.

The simplest way of avoiding tenure is to dismiss teachers at the expiration of three years and hire new ones. This is a forthright method of stating, "We do not wish to give teachers security."

A more subtle way of "beating" the law is the hiring of so-called permanent substitutes. In Jersey City, for instance, it has been almost impossible recently to obtain a regular teaching position with tenure. The victims of this system undoubtedly feel that the word "permanent" has an irony of its own, since many of them have taught five, six, and seven years without coming closer to the promised land of security. This has other implications besides insecurity. Before the last mayoralty election in Jersey City, a "sub" whom I know was visited by a ward-heeler and told to sign certain papers. The papers simply stated that the employe promised to vote for Hague and his followers—and were to be brought before a notary public and signed!

Another method of evading tenure, and one which is most frequently used, is that of dismissing a teacher for a few days just before the three years are up. The instructor is subsequently re-hired, and he may begin all over again his attempt to achieve three years employment as interpreted by the administration. This practice is

especially prevalent in smaller communities. All through the southern part of the state, one can go from town to town without finding more than a handful of teachers who have tenure, and most of them are old-timers.

One of the major offensives of the financial interests has been against the salaries of teachers and public employes in general. The politicians have yearned to repeal the tenure act, but discretion has told them it is dangerous to attack so large a group of voters. Large demonstrations of teachers have met "ripper" bills on several occasions. Therefore there has been developed an evasive flank attack upon tenure rather than a frontal drive for repeal.

Since the start of the depression, however, the foes of tenure and of the salary provisions in the tenure bill have become much more open. First of all, pressure was exerted to force "voluntary" cuts upon the instructors; and waivers of legal salaries were signed throughout the state. Even this procedure was not drastic enough, so that a fight was put on in the Legislature to sidetrack the tenure act. After a period of carefully staged coyness to the idea, the senators and assemblymen passed a "permissive" act which gave municipalities the power to reduce salaries to meet their financial "emergencies". The act was for one year only. However, such an act could be renewed; and it was, year after year.

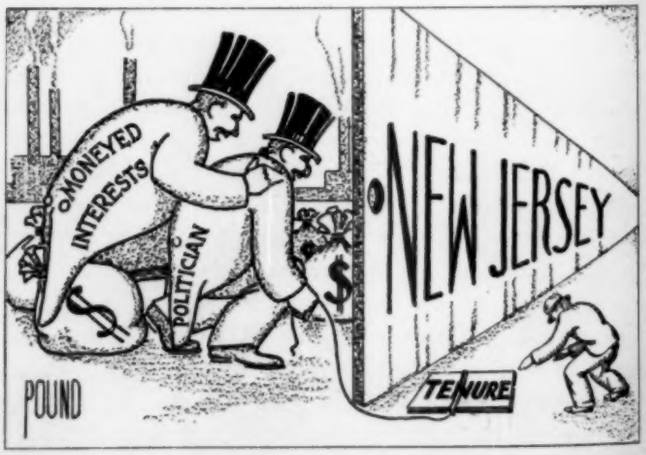
No effective resistance was put up to this legislation until the first local of the AFT came into being, in Mercer County. In the two years since then, five other locals have been chartered, and they have joined in the fight. Mercer has been in the forefront, since from the beginning it organized campaigns against the permissive act. The unions have flooded the legislators with telegrams, and have revivified defunct teachers' associations. The support of the State Federation of Labor was obtained; and the state firemen's and patrolmen's benevolent associations were persuaded to join in the fight. Through the efforts of Miss Lois St. John and her legislative committee, the Union obtained the cooperation of that powerful group, the State Civil Service Association. The big-moneyed interests put on a strong defence, largely through the astute lobbying of experts in the State Taxpayers' Association and the State League of Municipalities. As luck had it, the Legislature was in a cat-and-dog fight, and neither party wanted to handle a hot potato. The permissive act was not renewed last year.

However, the battle has just begun. Dozens of municipalities have refused to restore salaries to legal levels as the tenure act stipulates. In such cities as Atlantic City and Jersey City teachers were made to sign waivers. Other towns simply refused to obey the law. The Mercer County local put up a whale of a fight in Trenton. Circulars were distributed, meetings held, and the teachers stiffened to the point where they refused to sign waivers. A test case was started, in the name of Herbert H. Cole, vice-president of the Trenton local and president of the State Federation. The other unions rallied to the cause splendidly, and such locals as Camden, Essex and Paterson did yeoman's work.

Despite a lukewarm and sometimes hostile attitude on the part of Trenton Teachers Association (a company union), the legal action has progressed very favorably. The first decision rendered by the State Commissioner has ordered the Board of Education to restore salaries, and already several other cities have decided to recognize the tenure law. Thirty-nine school districts are still holding out, however, and the case will be carried to the highest courts. The City Council of Trenton, notorious stooges for the local banking and business interests, has fought tenure relentlessly through its controlled Board of School Estimate. It has already appealed the first decision in favor of the teachers. Although it realizes that its case is practically hopeless, it is trying to drag out the verdict and weaken morale.

Meanwhile the rest of the state is looking toward the Union for leadership and guidance. Before the recent convention of the State Teachers' Association, the Union was instrumental in the formation of a broad movement called the Progressive Teachers' League. It banded together teachers from all over the state into an aggressive group; for the first time in history, a platform of progressive measures was pushed through the administration-controlled convention. One significant resolution pledged the Association to investigate tenure evasion, and to put up a Legislative battle to correct the abuses discovered.

The tide has turned. The AFT has worked to make the teachers in the state conscious of the problems and the issues. The rank and file has become aroused, has learned what democracy implies. The fight is not finished, but the Union can be proud of its record to date.



Bright, Normal or Dull?

THE PHILADELPHIA LOCAL EVALUATES A NEW PROPOSAL

The Proposal

SHALL father and mother have a voice in selecting Arthur's course in high school, or shall it be the responsibility of the school authorities alone to assign a curriculum? Do educators know a child well enough *at the end of grade three* to route his educational course for the *next nine years*?

Professionally conscious teachers of Philadelphia are pondering these questions, which arise from a series of recommendations made to the Philadelphia Board of Education. The recommendations are contained in a report submitted by Dr. George A. Works, of the Department of Education of the University of Chicago, at the conclusion of an exhaustive survey of the Philadelphia public school system.

Dr. Works stated that his recommendations were meant to deal with underlying philosophy only, and that the application and administration of the plan, if adopted, would of course be determined by the Philadelphia school authorities. The recommendation of the Works Survey Committee concerning the establishment of a differentiated curriculum plan is as follows:

> Differentiated curriculum for the normal, below normal, and for the above normal pupils running parallel are easily feasible in a large system like Philadelphia's. Each child could then have the sort of curriculum that most nearly meets his own needs. Assignment to a curriculum should be the sole responsibility of the school authorities and not dependent on parental consent. To give ample opportunity to determine the nature and needs of each child the primary grades (kindergarten through third) should be considered as a single unit with an undifferentiated curriculum but providing for no failures. The curriculum for the below normal pupils should perhaps extend through the compulsory school age period as a unified curriculum.

In evaluating this underlying philosophy, the Professional Problems Committee, and later the union membership, while not rejecting the principle of adapting subject matter to student ability, adopted a position which was presented to the Board of Education in a documented brief. Here are the relevant parts of the brief:

Is It Psychologically Sound?

The American Federation of Teachers (Local 192) opposes the institution of this plan because it is psychologically unsound and because it is undemocratic. The views of such leading educators as Drs. Dewey, Kilpatrick, Watson, McGaughy, Keliher, Burr and Mort support these beliefs.

It is psychologically unsound because:

1. "It seriously distorts the nature of individual differences. People are not equally capable in all subjects or lines of activity. Differences in emotional adjustment, personality type, condition the task of the teacher in working with the individual just as truly as do differences in intelligence. Such a sectioning as is here proposed gives the illusion of dealing with only a small difference and has left almost as wide a range of individual problems as would be found in an unselected group. The proposal pretends to simplify adjustment to individual differences and does so by ignoring most of the important individual differences."

   (Dr. Goodwin Watson, Columbia University, in a special statement issued to the Professional Problems Committee of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 192.)

2. There is a host of evidence which proves that such factors as socio-economic environment, linguistic background and physical condition (Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences*) have a definite effect on I. Q. A child lacking in cultural experience and in familiarity with the language will be relegated to the "dull" group where the limited curriculum offered would perpetuate his original handicaps.

3. Many errors of judgment may arise from the fact that:

   a. The true measure of a child's ability would require repeated testing in all fields of ability which are important for homogeneous grouping. According to Dr. McGaughy in *An Evaluation of the Elementary School* this would be completely out of the question both from the standpoint of the time required of pupils and teachers and of the expense which would be involved.

   b. Tests now available are inadequate for testing all abilities.

   c. Tests must frequently be administered and scores interpreted by persons who are not thoroughly trained in this field of specialization.

As a result of the above conditions, Drs. Burr and West and many others in studies on homogeneous grouping assert that it is impossible to secure homogeneity through the use of any combination of the scores on intelligence tests and achievement tests, even though those supposedly objective measures are supplemented by teacher judgment (McGaughy.)

Is It Democratic?

We believe that the Works proposal would create an undemocratic situation in the schools for the following reasons:

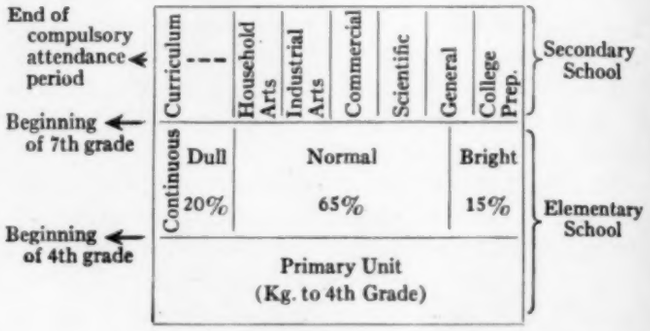
1. If we are to do more than lip service to John Dewey's philosophy that "school is life," then schools should be so administered as to eliminate artificiality and reproduce the relationships and situations which are

desirable in adult society. A division into three groups on the basis of ability is unlifelike and artificial.

2. A division into "bright", "dull", and "normal" groups would bring about a stratification of classes in school which might serve as a pattern for stratification in society.
3. "Bright" children would get an exaggerated idea of their abilities and "dull" and even "normal" children would develop inferiority complexes. J. F. Roger, M. D., consultant in Hygiene and Specialist in Health Education in the Office of Education in Washington, D. C., says that "the attempt to get into higher ability groups results in an illness as real as measles and unfortunately far more drawn out and full of misery."
4. According to such educational leaders as Dewey and Kilpatrick, the philosophy of modern education throws the emphasis of the school away from the mastery of subject matter and focuses its attention on the development of human, social traits. Homogeneous grouping places its emphasis on and uses as its basis for grouping intellectual achievement rather than personality and social development.
5. The leaders of our future society cannot be educated for such leadership in a school organization in which they are segregated from the group with whom they are to live and over whom they are to exercise their leadership. According to Dr. William C. Bagley "the qualities making for democratic leadership, far from being exclusively intellectual qualities, are not even predominantly so. They are rather 'human' qualities such as integrity, industry, persistence, courage and loyalty." (*School and Society*, April 6, 1922)

The American Federation of Teachers therefore recommends instead of the parallel curriculum plan a program including:

1. *Smaller classes*, which would permit the teacher to truly cater to all individual differences.
2. *An enriched curriculum*, offering varied experiences and vital content which will fit the individual to participate in society.



PROFESSIONAL PROBLEMS COMMITTEE
PHILADELPHIA LOCAL 192

Shall We Affiliate?

Continuing the AFL-CIO Forum for Union Members

This is a continuation of the discussion forum on affiliation which has appeared in the past two issues of The American Teacher. The editors urge wide participation in this forum. The present issue contains a supplement on the CIO prepared by a committee at the request of the last convention of the AFT. The next issue will contain a similar supplement on the AFL. These two careful, factual studies are important contributions to our discussion.

FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE:

To the Editors:

The labor-conscious Negro teacher in America has a special interest in the question of the affiliation of the AFT with the CIO. This special interest arises from the fact that the CIO represents the first opportunity that the Negro worker by and large has had to become an integral part of the American labor movement,—to fight for and share in the benefits to organized labor.

Under the obsolete craft union structure of the A. F. of L. there was no place for the great mass of unskilled Negro workers, and as a general rule the small minority of skilled and semi-skilled Negro workers admitted to the Federation were isolated in weak Jim Crow locals. As a consequence of this virtual exclusion of the Negro from the ranks of organized labor, both he and the white worker have suffered. It is not necessary to enter here into a discussion of the various forms of special exploitation of the black worker, or to demonstrate how this condition has operated against the white worker, whether through the vicious practice of employing Negroes as strike-breakers or through the more subtle manifestations of the divide-and-rule principle. This is an old story.

The CIO stands for the unionization of our millions of unorganized workers, black as well as white, unskilled as well as skilled. Its principle of industrial organization, the organization of *all* workers in a plant or industry upon an equal and democratic basis, means the realization of that complete unity of labor which in turn means a powerful labor movement. That this is true is proved by the remarkable growth and achievements of the CIO during the two years of its existence. The record speaks for itself. Negroes constitute a goodly number of the hundreds of thousands of workers who have been organized and who have reaped the benefits of collective bargaining in the various CIO industries—steel, automobile, cannery, tobacco, maritime, restaurant, laundry, agriculture, etc.

If these gains are possible among industrial workers they are also possible among white collar and professional workers—and teachers. Already the federations of newspaper men, technicians, office and professional workers, government workers, and state, county and municipal employees have enlisted under the banner of the CIO. Will the teachers follow? Certainly, in spite of the progress made in the AFT in recent years, the slogan "organization of the unorganized" applies to them. And especially does it apply to the underpaid and tenureless Negro teachers in our southern

schools and colleges. In education as in other fields of labor there must be organization of *all* workers if there is to be effective union progress.

In view of these facts and in view of the great success of the CIO the question of whether the AFT should affiliate with the CIO cannot be considered debatable. The A. F. of L., in its present structure and with its present leadership, cannot develop the united organization of all labor. The CIO *can* and has already shown the way. It is time for the teachers to catch up with the vanguard of labor.

W. A. HUNTON,
Local 440, Howard University

●

To the Editors:

For many years the Teachers Union has been one of the fine forces for progress in American life. The public policies we have advocated for the schools, for the teaching profession, and for the underprivileged in America, have won us a place of respect and leadership out of all proportion to our size.

More than once groups like ours have won a name for themselves, only to drop out of sight because when a test of some magnitude came they were not quite equal to it. The AFT faces such a crucial test today. I do not say that we will deteriorate and disappear if we do not throw in our lot with the CIO at this time. More than likely we should continue to grow in numbers, though more slowly than necessary. We should undoubtedly reap many benefits from the work of the CIO even though refusing to join with it. The CIO unions, we have found, are very generous in their attitude toward us. In good trade union fashion, they offer their support when we need it, whether we are one of them or not. It is conceivable, should the labor movement remain divided for a long time, that we might calculatingly wait until the CIO had proceeded so far in its organization of the vast body of unorganized workers in America (which the A. F. of L. has refused to do anything about) that we might be almost the last leaf on the old A. F. of L. tree. If we would but wait that long we could be certain none would be able to criticize us for our impetuosity or our ultra-progressivism. But is so faint-hearted and mean a way our way?

The CIO stands for the principles we have always believed in. It stands for organizing the unorganized, for an all-inclusive American labor movement that will embrace workers of all skills and all categories. It stands for raising the standard of living of the entire American people, so that there shall be a bottom below which wages are not allowed to fall. It advances a program of progressive legislation to which all progressive people can heartily agree. It rejects the business unionism characteristic of the A. F. of L. since its formation, which for so long made of the American labor movement a narrow, self-seeking clique of the privileged few. No one suggests that all the members of the American Federation of Labor are like their leaders. I believe that if a referendum of A. F. of L. members could be taken, despite the misrepresentation of the CIO by the A. F. of L. leaders, we should get a vast majority in favor of unity of the labor movement based on the principles and program of the CIO. In most of the unions of the A. F. of L. the members have no such opportunity to express their will.

Where then does that place us? So long as there was no movement that advanced our position, we could remain a part of the A. F. of L. despite the tragic ways in which it disregarded the well-being of American workers. But now there is a movement, well-organized, with a larger membership than the A. F. of L., embracing the most significant sections of labor in the country, with whose program we are in complete agreement. Do we not stand to lose our integrity if we refuse to throw all our weight on the side of the CIO program now? Can we explain our timidity after the gains have been won, and we come forward and ask to share in the benefits? Can we continue to play a significant part in progress if we reject the opportunity to join our forces with the progressive labor movement that has emerged with such astonishing strength and promise?

KATHARINE LUMPKIN
Local 230, Smith College

FOR THE NEGATIVE:

Resolution Relating to the Relationship of the American Federation of Teachers to the Committee for Industrial Organization

WHEREAS, certain proposed amendments to the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers involving affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization would, if adopted, do great injury to us, the organized teachers of the Canal Zone, And

WHEREAS such affiliation would lead to our suspension from the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council and Central Labor Union from whom we enjoy our greatest backing and support and through whom we can exercise our greatest influence in labor and community affairs, And

WHEREAS such affiliation would compel us to disband as a local of the American Federation of Teachers and reorganize as a lodge of the American Federation of Government Employees, as the Committee for Industrial Organization has no strength whatever on the Canal Zone, And

WHEREAS we believe affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization would only widen the breach existing in the ranks of labor at a time when labor solidarity is needed most,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we, the members of Local 227 of the American Federation of Teachers, go on record as opposing affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization and warn our national officers that such affiliation would force us to give up our membership in the American Federation of Teachers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge our national officers to take all possible steps to aid in reuniting the ranks of labor, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we oppose any and all special assessments of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of fighting the Committee for Industrial Organization, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary send copies of these resolutions to our national secretary and to the secretary of the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council.

The above resolutions were adopted (by unanimous vote) at a General Meeting of Local 227 of the American Federation of Teachers (Canal Zone) held on Thursday, Oct. 14, 1937.

HERVEY C. PRENTISS, President
ROGER C. HACKETT, Secretary

●

To the Editors:

In response to your request for expressions of opinions on the momentous question of withdrawing from the A. F. of L. and joining the CIO, I wish to state my emphatic disapproval of the resolution adapted by the AFT convention in Madison. I am thoroughly in sympathy with industrial unionism. Our own Local 5 is practically an industrial union. Eventually labor, if it is to survive, will have to organize vertically. The labor movement can only lose by disunion. Its enemies encourage scission and secession. Two years ago we, in New York, had a case of jitters. We were nearly wrecked. A certain discontented element, after an unsuccessful attempt to have our charter revoked, withdrew from the union, hoping to paralyze it. For a variety of reasons we survived and grew mighty, but we should welcome the seceders to our fold whenever they see fit to return.

In France, soon after the war, the Confédération Général du Travail broke in two and went into decline. After one year the two bodies had fewer members than the original federation.

The old guard in the A. F. of L. looks at us with suspicion. We shall be of greater use to the CIO and to the unity of labor by remaining with the A. F. of L. and exerting persistent pressure, jointly with the rank and file of other unions, in favor of reuniting the two wings. The Nation of Nov. 13, 1937, p. 518, has a very cogent paragraph advocating unity. Surely organized labor has no friend more true and impartial. It is never too late to secede if it becomes inevitable. For the present let us remain with the family and work for reconciliation.

MYRON ZASLOW
Passaic, New Jersey

A Federal Adult Education Program

Expanding Educa

THE WPA and Adult Education section of the AFT, in a report to the President's Advisory Committee on Education, has urged the United States government to launch a large-scale program of adult education, divorced from relief.

The text of the report follows:

The educational projects of the Works Progress Administration have made an enormously valuable contribution to the cultural level of the United States. Important educational services have been provided to broad masses of our citizens who lacked the funds to pay for them. Cities and states that had slashed educational facilities during the depression or that had never possessed adequate facilities, have benefited greatly from this program. It was a sad commentary on our collective intelligence that in 1933 there were 200,000 unemployed teachers in this country, while millions needed the information that they were trained to impart.

In the first four years of the WPA adult education program from May, 1933, to May, 1937, four million students attended classes taught by 100,000 teachers. In the spring of 1937 almost a quarter of a million men and women were enrolled in illiteracy classes alone. The parent education and college extension programs supplied a genuine need for information, as did the workers' education program and the other WPA educational activities.

This program, however, has been seriously hampered by two factors. The first of these is the policy of placing relief first and making education secondary. The program, under present regulations, is denied the services of many thousands of trained teachers simply because they are not eligible for relief. The second factor, equally disastrous in its results, is the temporary nature of the program. This has been made even worse by the uncertainty as to whether the necessary funds will be made available from month to month. Newspaper reports from Washington indicate a $500,000,000 slash in the relief appropriation for the next fiscal year. The educational projects will be in severe danger if this plan is adhered to.

We believe that the WPA educational projects, operating under difficult conditions, have demonstrated their value to the country. We believe that they should be continued and expanded, under circumstances that will permit the greatest possible service to be performed. This can be done only if federally sponsored education is removed from its present status as a relief activity, and made a permanent part of our governmental program.

Education for adults is vital in a democracy. Economic necessity forces millions of young people into industry long before they have acquired the training that citizens should have. Especially do children of working class parents suffer in this respect. The children of under-privileged groups, such as the Negroes, need particular assistance. Whole sections of the country, especially in the South, lack adequate educational facilities, and possess limited means. The needed teachers are available now or can be trained. Current economic trends make such a program vital, both to the teachers and to the groups whom they serve.

A federal adult education program, divorced from relief, is essential if the cultural level of the masses of American citizens is to be raised. In a democracy this is not a luxury, but a necessity. The teachers are available, the demand for their services exists, and the need is great. The richest country in the world can easily afford an adequate program. Indeed, it cannot afford not to have it.

Delegates from four WPA locals, and the WPA vice-president at a regional conference held in Philadelphia on January 9, conferred with Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, chairman of the National Legislative committee on the ways and means of assuring such a program..

It was decided that a bill should be drawn up including adult education, workers' education, recreation, and nursery schools; that these services should become a permanent part of the school system; that the necessary money should be distributed by the federal government to the states, without any requirement for matching; that administration should be entrusted to a commission with state, federal, and labor representatives; that the present personnel should be used, with qualifications for new teachers to be left to the commission; that the matters of appropriation, salaries, and tenure should be decided by the national legislative committee. This bill, like our federal aid bill, is an important part of the AFT program for the expansion of educational opportunities.

ucanal Opportunities

The Federal Arts Bill

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, until the inception of the WPA Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration, was limited only to those whose wealth, position and leisure permitted them to enjoy the benefits of art. With art their special province, they gave to it their own stamp of eclecticism.

Today the barriers created by cultural snobbery are at last being surmounted. The dead weight that cursed the arts, tipping the balance towards the privileged, is removed. The scale of culture has been adjusted to greater accuracy. Correcting the unequal distribution of cultural advantages, the WPA Federal Arts Projects are creating a firm foundation for the future of art in this country, while they preserve for safekeeping, beyond the assaults of time and disuse, our heritage from the past.

What has to be done to keep alive this vital, energizing force that is changing the picture of culture in this country? What is to be done to assure the men, women and children of America that the rich, new experiences they have enjoyed through the Federal Art, Theatre and Music Projects may continue unabated? What is to be done to guarantee the children in our schools today that the magical world given meaning and form through painting, play acting and music-making will not disappear in the dust of a cultural drought!

The answer to all these questions is the Coffee Federal Arts Bill, providing for the establishment of a permanent Bureau of Fine Arts, which will make certain the permanence of the Federal Arts Projects. The bill's declaration of policy states:

> The Federal Arts Projects have proven conclusively that there exist in the United States the potentialities for a great and flourishing culture, which will, if properly developed, make our country a greater Nation and render upon our people as a whole the occasion to exercise with democratic equity their cultural aspirations . . .

The conditions which made the arts the jealously guarded possessions of the few "have undergone material changes, which have brought into the cultural life of the Nation democratic implications and practices never before known. For the first time millions of our people have begun to receive the benefits of cultural enlightenment beyond an elementary education. . ."

Through Federal patronage the arts have been decentralized and made available to the entire country.

> Mural paintings and easel paintings depicting stirring events in American life have made our schools more beautiful and of greater community interest . . . people have attended the theatre in their own community where heretofore no theatre had existed . . . Orchestras now play in rural communities and in playgrounds there are now all manner and types of classes for children in the arts, crafts and puppet theaters. These have proved to be a great deterrent to juvenile delinquency. Opportunities for musical education are widespread and popular . . . The folk art of America, an integral part of our earlier national life has again received encouragement . . .

The arts are no longer enshrouded in awe-inspiring shadows. Community centers in rural sections of the country are providing all manner of programs that augment and complement the schoolroom studies of children. Through self-expression they are acquiring an understanding and appreciation of art that provides for a deeper understanding of its significance in their everyday life. In remote sections of the country where there had been little or no opportunity to see paintings, sculpture and prints, to see actors unfold a dramatic tale, or musicians recreate the classics of opera, symphony and song, a meeting ground has been provided for the artist and those who see his work, bringing them into a closer, more understanding relationship.

> It is no longer consistent with the purposes of democratic Government to render this program subject to the limitations of the present work relief program. Under this present program it has been impossible to establish reasonable tenure and therefore there is required a constant revision of plans and operations due to the emergency character of these appropriations. The personnel employed upon the projects cannot work to the best of their creative ability while subject to momentary dismissal and while under the knowledge that at any time, the public which they serve may be deprived of the benefits of the national services of the projects as a whole and the Nation not granted the assurance of permanency of development for its culture. To accomplish this, there is needed a long range and adequate plan . . .
>
> It is the obligation of the Government to recognize that culture as represented by the arts is a social necessity consistent with democracy, and also to recognize that such culture must be encouraged and developed in the interest of the general welfare.

Nationwide response to the Federal Arts Bill has reached tremendous proportions. From far flung sections of the country educators have rallied in support of the bill and their endorsements emphasize the significance of the bill to the world of education.

The conservation of the benefits provided by the Federal Arts Projects is the concern of the Federal Arts Bill, and it is surely the responsibility of all culturally minded citizens to urge its passage.

Brazil Is a Warning

● THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

I HAVE JUST returned from flying over 15,000 miles in South America. My main task was to observe the political situation in Brazil. I also briefly visited Puerto Rico, Trinidad, Haiti, Cuba, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Panama.

In Brazil I found a country larger than the United States in the grip of what might be termed a South American brand of fascism. The teachers are unorganized; strikes are illegal; freedom of speech, of press and of association is non-existent. No one has security. A simple telephone denunciation by anyone may be enough to cause an arrest. Once arrested the victim is held incommunicado. Political prisoners may be kept for two or three years before trial. Some are even tortured to death by the police.

I talked with two teachers who had been arrested for some unknown reason. They were not communists but were kept for over a year in a jail reeking with vermin and jammed with many other prisoners. Eventually they were suddenly released without trial and with no explanation.

All power is concentrated in the hands of President Vargas, the dictator. He can make laws by decree and after declaring a state of war, can alter the constitution at will. One of his most recent edicts declares that juries may be prosecuted and sent to jail if they bring in a verdict "contrary to the weight of evidence" or "grossly negligent". The courts thus become a mockery.

How is it possible for such things to happen? It is the old, old story of power and privilege which has been repeated over and over again. In Brazil 93 per cent of the people are relatively penniless, while seven per cent of the middle and upper classes control the wealth and power. This small oligarchy does not provide education for the masses. Some 80 per cent of the children are not in school and remain illiterate for life. The schools that do exist are ill-adapted to the needs of the common people.

The present Brazilian dictatorship forces every teacher to spend the first five minutes of every school day educating against communism. Since most teachers do not know what this means, the results are laughable. At present *Tarzan* and *Tom Sawyer* have been debarred! No wonder Carleton Beals in his recent book on South America declares that as far as education is concerned Brazil ranks last.

Now all of this may seem a far cry from the United States, but is it? Does not Brazil magnify to sordid proportions some factors which are latently present in our own country? To be sure we have far less illiteracy, a democracy and better schools, but one must never forget the appalling educational darkness of many rural areas in our country or the inequalities between our states. We are not compelled to teach against communism but some twenty-two states do require loyalty oaths. Again, in actual practice the American teacher is circumscribed in what he can say in the social field. Latin or geometry may be relatively safe. But how about the social science instructor who fearlessly dissects the present economic order and attempts to make plain to the student the realities of exploitation in a world of capitalism?

We believe in America and the American people with all our hearts but this should not obliterate the fact that even here we are running a race between educational freedom and catastrophe. Unless teachers organize and cooperate with organized labor in achieving their aims, they will, in the end, be impotent.

We are in a race between war, revolution, and economic collapse on the one hand and peace, constructive change, and plenty for all on the other. Our main reliance must be on education with the hope that we may bring intelligent direction of the social process. If education becomes the lackey of the established order we are lost. In education we need to eliminate useless vestigial remains and focus attention on the realities of the contemporary world. Just as in Brazil the wealthy landowners oppose adequate school budgets, so in America at the least sign of recession many business interests demand retrenchment. We must dare to confront them with the necessity for increased educational opportunity for the sake of the child life of the nation.

The world can see that education in Brazil is not free. In America we sometimes suffer from the illusion that we are freer than we are. It would be well in our schools to use the recent addresses of Secretary Ickes and President Roosevelt.

The only way to secure dynamic free education is through organization. Brazil is a warning. If we cannot organize, that means our freedom is an illusion. Democracy in the United States is not yet achieved. The specter of fascist dictatorship and war are too near the horizon. If we could but dramatize the real dangers of the present hour every member of the American Federation of Teachers would feel impelled to act.

JEROME DAVIS.

It's Happening Now

Man Bites Dog

THE SALUTARY effect of Pennsylvania's new tenure law may be noted in the news which came in November from the town of Bloomsburg. There the local autocrats of the school board had failed to give ten teachers new contracts and had been paying salaries below the legal minimum since 1935, although funds were sufficient. Now the board has been removed from office by a ruling of Judge Charles C. Evans for its failure to comply with the Tenure Act.

Nazi Notes—from Germany

ACCORDING TO a dispatch from Dresden, Germany, one of the major problems facing the Nationalist Socialist regime there is the drift away from the one and only Nazi greeting "Heil Hitler". Germans, for some reason, are going back to the old salutations. Labor Front chiefs, with their usual perspicacity, have announced that anyone who does not "Heil Hitler" will be considered anti-Nazi and "outside the community of the German nation". It is clear that the German worker does not appreciate what the regime is doing for him. For instance, his wages are raised by the device of cutting down the amount he pays into the insurance fund thus undermining his future security. The state, in turn, levies on the insurance fund for armaments and business escapes more taxes. So everybody is happy!

Nazi Notes—from the USA

POPULAR RESENTMENT against the open activities of avowed Nazis in this country has expressed itself in organized opposition in several parts of the country during the last few months. Apparently, Americans of German descent don't care much for the Nazis, if the reception which the midwestern regional conference of the "Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund" got in St. Louis can be judged. The last we heard the outfit was still looking for some one who would rent it a hall. In Cleveland, where the Nazis work very closely with native fascist organizations, another regional conference of the same organization was countered by mass meetings and picket lines. And at Southbury, Conn., a town assembly recently voted to deny Nazis the privilege of buying land near Southbury for a camp. Nazi organizations in this country are a part of a world network under directions of a Foreign Bureau in Berlin. According to Kurt Rosenfeld, exiled former Minister of Justice, 68 Nazi units here are divided into three regional divisions—37 in the Eastern, 17 in the Middlewestern, and 14 in the Western divisions.

Federal Judge Upholds Religious Liberty

IN AN IMPORTANT decision handed down by a Federal Court in December, Judge Albert B. Maris in Philadelphia held that school authorities have no right to expel pupils who refuse to salute the flag in opposition to their religious convictions. Two years ago the children of William Gobitis, a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, had been forced out of school by the school board of Minersville, Pa., for refusing the flag salute. In his decision Judge Maris, by citing the Pennsylvania Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment, demonstrated that the arbitrary action of the school authorities was a clear infringement of fundamental constitutional rights. He also said in his decision:

> To permit public officers to determine whether the views of individuals sincerely held and their acts sincerely undertaken on religious grounds are in fact based on convictions religious in character would be to sound the death knell of religious liberty.
>
> To such pernicious and alien doctrine this court cannot subscribe.

Statistics for Teachers

A REVISED REPORT issued by the National Education Association shows that 23 states now have teacher oath laws. The laws of some states are more stringent than others; Georgia, for example, has a law which makes the teacher subscribe to an oath to "refrain from indirectly or

directly subscribing to or teaching any theory of government, of economics or of social relations which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of patriotism and high ideals of Americanism". . . . A study made by Professor Harold F. Clark of Columbia reveals that the public school teacher has drawn an average salary of $1,350 in the years from 1920 to 1936. For doctors the average has been $4,850; lawyers, $4,730; and regular college teachers, $3,050. Draw your own conclusions!

"Fordism" in Its Definite Version

On December 23, the National Labor Relations Board issued the report of its findings on the labor policies of the Ford Motor Company. In a 22,000 word document, Ford is charged, briefly, with the following offenses against its workers: Discharging workers for union activities, forming a company union; vigilanteism against members of the auto workers union, and its accompanying brutality and invasion of civil rights; restraining in all ways the self-organization of Ford workers. The evidence carefully gathered and brought together constitute the full and final indictment of the labor policy of Ford before the American people.

Flash—

Late in December the Supreme Court refused to review a decision of a Georgia State Court upholding the dismissal of a child for refusing to salute the flag. The effect of this decision is to leave this important question of civil and religious liberty in the hands of individual states. In Pennsylvania and California, dismissals of this kind have been opposed by the courts; but in Massachusetts, Georgia, New Jersey and New York, the highest courts (in New York the State Department of Education) have upheld dismissals arising out of local protests by parents whose religious convictions do not permit the salute and the vow of allegiance.

Catholic Girls Join the Japanese Boycott

Young women of the College of New Rochelle, a school conducted by Catholic Ursuline nuns, through the action initiated by the Peace Club of the college began a boycott of Japanese goods in November. The immediate effect was a noticeable increase in the popularity of cotton stockings and ankle socks among the student body.

New Jersey Labor for Political Independence

In December Mayor Hague of Jersey City took the headlines with his drive against the CIO. Not attended by so much publicity, at the same time organized labor and its allies in New Jersey rallied to form the American Labor Party of New Jersey. 369 union delegates attended the labor party convention. Of 164 organizations represented, 112 were CIO unions and 34 were A. F. of L. In a remarkable preamble to the resolution creating the party, the history of New Jersey under the domination of the old line parties was reviewed, and Mayor Hague's government was called "a corrupt and un-American machine". The convention called for an increase in WPA wages and the WPA program, uniform relief throughout New Jersey, and an end to the anti-labor injunctions of the Chancery Court. In the words of the preamble:

> The time is here when the people are ready to throw off the chains of bondage and become free American citizens fighting for progress and against reaction.

A New School for Unionists

In November, the United Federal Workers of America announced the opening of a school in Washington for trade union members with a curriculum designed for labor. Range of subjects to be taught is wide—from economics and the history of labor to literature and dancing. Aside from its frank stand for the kind of education trade unionists will value most, the school is to be commended for its willingness to consult the interests of its students. The school extends the following invitation to its potential students:

> If you find that your personal interests have not found recognition in this catalogue let us know. The Federal Workers School is prepared to give a course in anything that is requested, provided there is a sufficient number of requests for the course.

Oklahoma Inspects Its School Buses

Ninety-six thousand children are carried daily by school buses in the State of Oklahoma. This is not just one more "little known fact". An inspection of the school buses has been started to eliminate unsafe vehicles. So far ten per cent of the buses examined have been found dangerous because of carbon monoxide fumes. The danger was lessened only by the fact that most of the buses were ramshackle affairs with broken windows! A new law prescribes minimum safety regulations for school buses. But what about school buses in other states?

The Teachers Union in Action

NATIONAL NEWS

For the Unity of the AFL and CIO

At its meeting in Chicago Dec. 29-31, the Executive Council of the AFT expressed the deep felt desire of our organization for unity in the ranks of labor. The following letter was sent to William Green. A copy of this letter was sent to John L. Lewis.

Dear Brother Green:

We are profoundly disturbed by the crisis developing all over our nation. Hundreds of thousands have been dismissed from employment during the last few months, and renewed attacks are being made upon America's educational system. Attempts to destroy the tax base of Philadelphia's schools, the suggestion that 80 per cent of Chicago's students be deprived of all opportunity for balanced education, recurrent challenges to teacher tenure, property tax limitation, indicate a concerted campaign against education.

This simultaneous attack upon the right of Americans to employment and education can only be met by a strong, united labor movement.

To be effective in combatting its united enemies, American labor must attain not only unity, but unity on a basis that will ensure the organization of all unorganized workers in America. As steps to this end, we propose:

1. That all members of the CIO and A. F. of L. be brought into one organization;
2. That unity be preserved by suitable democratic structures and practices; and
3. That the principle of industrial unionism be accepted as the form of organization of workers where demanded by conditions in modern industry.

Because these proposals are essential for real and lasting unity, we the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, urge you to adopt them for continued negotiations with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

On behalf of our Executive Council and membership, I take this opportunity of conveying fraternal greetings in the sincere hope that the New Year will witness an early and successful conclusion to your efforts to reunite the divided body of American labor.

Yours fraternally,
IRVIN R. KUENZLI,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Part of this letter will be embodied in a petition addressed to Mr. Green which members of the AFT in every local will be asked to sign.

No action was taken at this time to send out a referendum on affiliation with the CIO. It was voted that a special meeting of the Executive Council to consider this question could be called upon petition of five members of the Council.

Fact finding reports on the CIO and A. F. of L. will be printed as supplements to THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

Greetings from the American Association of University Professors

The Executive Council sent greetings and an invitation for joint action to the American Association of University Professors meeting in Indianapolis. The following reply was received from the AAUP:

The Council of the American Association of University Professors extends its greetings to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers and welcomes the spirit of cooperation in the solution of our common problems in the educational field. This council and a special committee just established will gladly explore the possibilities of associated action for the more effective realization of the social function of the teacher in a democratic society.

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE
ROBERT E. MATTHEWS
EDWARD C. KIRKLAND
Special Committee of the Council.

Academic Freedom Cases

The Executive Council sent a letter to Governor Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota commending his action in urging the regents of the University of Minnesota to reinstate Professor William A. Schaper who was dismissed for his anti-war attitude before the declaration of war in 1917. A letter was also sent to the board of regents of the University. All college locals and Minnesota locals were asked to send resolutions for Mr. Schaper's reinstatement.

It voted a request that the National Academic Freedom Committee devote special attention to the legal battle of Local 368 in the test case of the tenure law of Louisiana, and to the cases of Chisholm and Hamilton Counties in West Virginia. Publicity was authorized calling upon teachers to organize their ranks and join with organized labor in defense of freedom.

The American Teacher

The Executive Council voted for a paid editor in principle for THE AMERICAN TEACHER and set up a committee to bring in nominations at its next meeting.

Six members from various parts of the country were added to the present Editorial Board which will continue to function till the next Executive session. Miss Celia Lewis was elected secretary of the Editorial Board. On policy, it was voted that the primary function of THE AMERICAN TEACHER is to contribute to the health and growth of the organization; that THE AMERICAN TEACHER further the cause of "Democracy in Education—Education for Democracy", and that THE AMERICAN TEACHER should,

therefore publish material which helps to give the profession its social orientation; that THE AMERICAN TEACHER continue the CIO-AFL forum; that news items and editorials specifically involving locals and regions be referred to the local and the regional Vice President involved for verification of fact and local strategy before publication. The Council adopted a resolution which "enthusiastically commends the conscientious and excellent work of the Editorial Committee of THE AMERICAN TEACHER."

Other Actions of Executive Council

The Executive Council established committees on educational policies, vocational schools, reorganization of per capita payments, convention arrangements, and a sub-committee to study group insurance. Mr. Kuenzli and Mr. Wattenberg, publicity director, were authorized to prepare a statement on the importance of per capita payments which is to go to every local. Additional funds were allotted to various regions for organizational purposes.

Experimental News Service Established

Mr. William W. Wattenberg, national publicity director, is establishing a clip sheet bulletin. The clip sheet will contain news of the national office and of the several locals. It will perform the function of keeping local officials informed of developments in all parts of the country. During the experimental period the clip sheet will be available on a strictly exchange basis to all locals that cooperate by sending in copies of their publications. Those locals not publishing bulletins may secure the service by periodically furnishing information about their activities. Publications and letters should be addressed to Mr. William W. Wattenberg, Library Plaza Hotel, Evanston, Ill.

A Weapon for Academic Freedom

The National Academic Freedom Committee has issued the first number of a monthly bulletin, *Academic Freedom*, intended to coordinate the assistance various locals can give on cases of discrimination. Leading articles concern the Jewett case in California, the Flint dismissals and the Liebman case.

NEWS from LOCALS

WELCOME TO NEW LOCALS:

No. 539 Brainerd Federation of Adult Education Teachers, Brainerd, Minnesota.

No. 540 Rockford Federation of Teachers, Rockford, Illinois.

No. 541 Inland Empire Federal Teachers Union, Spokane, Washington

No. 542 Havre Federation of Teachers, Havre, Montana.

No. 543 Winnebago Co. Federal Teachers Union, Rockford, Illinois.

No. 544 Winnipeg Hebrew-Jewish Teachers Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Educational Program Adopted by Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association

At an educational conference called by the Farmer-Labor Association of the Eighth Congressional District of Minnesota, an extensive educational program was incorporated in the proceedings of the meetings. This program calls for: 1. encouraging unionization of teachers; 2. full payment of supplemental state aid to schools; 3. establishment of adequate retirement allowance; 4. adequate state support for health education; 5. adoption of state tenure law; 6. limitation of class size; 7. equalization of educational opportunity through state aid; 8. discontinuation of state appropriations for teacher-training departments in high schools; 9. extension of adult education through vocational training, workers and farmers education, general cultural education; 10. increase of democracy in school administration; 11. state insurance fund for all forms of school insurance, such as fire and liability insurance. Governor Benson was commended for his insistence upon a progressive educational program.

Local 5 Wins Court Decision

In a sweeping decision rendered Nov. 30, Supreme Court Justice Isidor Wasservogel upheld all of the contentions of the Joint Tenure Defense Committee, of which the College Teachers Union, Local 537, formerly a section of Local 5, is a unit, regarding the constitutionality of the New York State tenure law and ordered the statement of Dr. Miriam Becker at Hunter College with full back pay. This decision if upheld by the Court of Appeals will establish the tenure of teachers in the New York city colleges as well as the constitutionality of the law itself. . . . Local 5 has initiated a campaign to secure the same working conditions for teachers in trade schools as those which exist for academic high school teachers. The same status is guaranteed under the law, but in actual fact the trade school teachers of New York work a six to eight hour day. Some trade school teachers have gone back to junior high schools with lower pay, rather than work under the strain of trade school conditions.

Chicago Wins Lengthened School Term

As a result of a campaign led by the Chicago Teachers Union, the school term has been lengthened two weeks and the 15 per cent direct salary cut has been reduced to 7½ per cent. This restores one-half of the reduction made in 1933 when the Board of Education slashed school services and cut salaries. The Chicago Federation of Labor has named C. L. Vestal of Local 1 to its committee on voca-

tional education which is conferring with the Superintendent and the Board of Education on plans for Chicago's schools.

Philadelphia Faces Retrenchment

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has ruled in a suit initiated by the mayor of Philadelphia that the Board of Education does not have the power to levy more than 8½ mills in taxes. An emergency decree permits the board to collect taxes at the rate of 9¼ mills for this year but forbids an increase in the tax rate necessary to keep the schools at an adequate level. It directs, moreover, that by 1939 the tax rate must be limited to 8½ mills. As a result the schools of Philadelphia have sustained severe retrenchment: 1. salary cuts; 2. lengthening of teaching day; 3. elimination of night schools; 4. no appropriations for school libraries; 5. no new appointments, but consolidation of classes to fill vacancies; 6. reduction of services such as glasses for needy pupils. To meet this situation, Local 192 has called upon Governer Earle, in a petition signed with 25,000 names, to summon a special session of the legislature to provide relief for the schools of the state. Other teacher organizations have followed the example of the union and now the School Board has made a similar request.

Successful School Levy Campaign in Cincinnati

Through the vigorous campaign of Local 479, with the support of labor leaders and several school board candidates, the Cincinnati, O., school levy was carried by a small majority in the municipal elections. The School Bond Issue for building purposes, requiring a 65% vote, was defeated. Because of the failure of the school levy in 1936, Cincinnati schools closed early for an extended "economy" Christmas vacation.

Elyria Local Ballots on Proposed Activities

In its December bulletin, Local 334, Elyria, O., has published a ballot on proposed activities for the school year 1937-38. Though the ballot is not considered by the bulletin as giving a conclusive picture of preference, the largest vote went to the following: 1. pay for summer school and travel; 2. single salary schedule; 3. pay on twelve months basis; 4. forums on educational and social problems.

North Shore Local Adopts Policy on University Broadcasts

The College Section of the North Shore, Ill., Teachers Union, Local 460, has adopted a constructive policy in regard to radio broadcasts by faculty members of Northwestern University. Faculty members are continually asked by the University to give radio broadcasts, but the University has adopted no policy for compensation, so that the only reward for the time and effort spent in preparation is personal publicity. The college section of Local 460 has submitted the following recommendations: 1. that faculty members might be expected, as part of their public service function, to take part in one broadcast each year without compensation; 2. that professors or instructors conducting a series of broadcasts should receive a reduction in their teaching load equivalent to the time consumed in preparing for the broadcasts; 3. that for those faculty members appearing frequently on programs, but not often enough to be relieved of a course, either the time be accumulated towards reduction in load or monetary remuneration be made.

Columbus Proposes Democratic Appointments to Board of State University

At the request of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers, a committee of the Columbus Federation of Teachers, Local 438, has drawn up a statement of principles as to qualifications for a trustee of a state university. According to the bulletin of Local 438, this statement is being circulated in order that "an enlightened public opinion towards the functions of a people's university be promoted." The statement proposes that "the governor set the precedent of selecting trustees in a democratic manner by inviting nominations from qualified groups such as those engaged in the teaching profession and that the selection be made after a public hearing on the qualifications of the candidates."

Wood County Local Sponsors Nutrition Project

Local 382, Wood County, W. Va., has promoted the idea of a nutrition project, which would meet the needs of the many undernourished children in the schools. The proposal was presented by Local 382 to the Wood County Central Trades and Labor Council, which endorsed it. After conference between representatives of the Central Trades and the directors of the Community Chest, it was agreed that the Community Chest would supply money and food. WPA will furnish labor for preparation of the food and the Board of Education has agreed to furnish heat, light, buildings and transportation of materials. The project, which has aroused much favorable comment, will serve a daily lunch to approximately 1,000 children for a period of four months.

WPA Carries Grievances to Washington

On December 2 to 4, Mr. Joel Seidman, national vice-president for WPA, together with Vice-President Doxey A. Wilkerson, was in conference with leading officials of the Works Progress Administration. In part the purpose of the conference was to ascertain, if possible, the plans for the future of WPA and to present a number of grievances. On behalf of the Cleveland local, complaints regarding priority and dismissals were presented and the local is being asked to send specific cases, with some assurance that the persons will be reinstated. A request

from the Philadelphia local for a 10 per cent pay increase was likewise presented, since project workers in Pennsylvania are not paid at the same rate as in New York City, Milwaukee and certain parts of Ohio. The WPA vice-president has also requested that the President's Advisory Committee on Education schedule a hearing on WPA. Chairman Reeves replied that no more hearings are being held, but requested that the WPA and Adult Education section of the AFT submit a statement.

Cleveland Labor Saves School Revenues

Organized labor, in cooperation with Local 279 of the American Federation of Teachers, has prevented three moves which might have crippled the schools of Cleveland, O. An act providing $2,000,000 of tax refunds was declared unconstitutional by the Common Pleas Court. The State Tax Commission ruled adversely in a test case looking to a large-scale downward revision of valuations. A charter amendment giving the city power to levy 5½ mills outside tax limitations was defeated at the polls even though this measure had the support of the Chamber of Commerce, the Citizens' League, and the local newspapers.

Buffalo Local Seeks to Mandate Salary Restoration

Following the pay restoration in Buffalo, N. Y., Local 377 seeks to make this restoration secure through amendments to the state education laws. The local has received word from N. Y. Assemblyman Ehrlich that he is preparing a bill that would effect this purpose. In conference with Mr. Ehrlich early in December, the legislative committee of Local 377 agreed that the fullest cooperation of all teacher groups in support of this legislation should be secured by the local. Many teachers had been under the impression that the restoration could not be taken away from them by action of the city government. That teacher sentiment is now aroused for this legislation to mandate salary restoration is evident in the unanimous support of the measure voted by the faculties of three Buffalo high schools.

Los Angeles Labor Supports Teachers at Budget Hearing

In petitioning the Los Angeles, Cal., Board of Education for salary restoration, Local 430 was fully supported by local labor. At the budget hearing, when the budget was under attack from many sides, representatives of the Los Angeles labor movement took the floor and supported the contention of the School Board and the teachers that increases were necessary. . . . Local 430 is continuing the fight for full salary restoration, and is conducting a campaign for reduction of teacher load. Under teacher load the local specifies, in addition to number and size of classes, "all those petty daily annoyances which . . . tend to make working conditions harder", such as "inclusion of sub-normal children in regular classes, additional playground duty, thousands of reports, lack of proper instructional materials."

Akron Local Protests Lifting of CLU Charter

Protests of Local 287 against the revocation of the charter of the Central Labor Union of Summit County, Akron, O., were received by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. during the Denver Convention. The CIO unions of Akron had been expelled from the Central Labor Union in accordance with the mandate issued by William Green, but a coordination committee was subsequently formed to maintain cooperation and prevent raiding and open hostilities. The charter of the CLU was lifted by A. F. of L. organizer H. A. Bradley following an address which the CLU president, Wilmer Tate, delivered at the convention of the United Rubber Workers in Akron. According to Mr. Chalmers Stewart, president of AFT Local 287, organizer Bradley assumed the chair of the Central Labor Union and conducted the explusion in an undemocratic manner. Local 287 has been active in unity efforts and in opposition to the revocation of the charter.

Hammond Teachers Maintain Salary Status

The brief of the Hammond, Ind., Teachers Union was presented to the state tax board by Mr. Carl Mullen, president of the Indiana State Federation of Labor. While no definite statement was made by Governor Townsend or the board, the local has been given to understand that their request will be complied with and that the part of the budget pertaining to teachers salaries will not be disturbed. Mr. Mullen also informed Governor Townsend that the State Federation of Labor would not countenance attacks upon collective bargaining rights of teachers and janitors. Governor Townsend concurred in this position. The teachers' salaries were not cut.

Howard Local Plans Educational Meetings

Local 440, Howard University, Washington, D. C., has announced a series of recreational and educational meetings to take place throughout the year. The bulletin of the local states: "These programs are designed for the explicit purpose of acquainting our membership and the community with the latest developments on the labor, political, and economic fronts, and the teacher's relationship to them. Attention will be given to socio-economic analyses, to descriptions of Negro higher education, to salaries and tenure, and the relation of these matters to Howard." The local is also working out plans for organization of teachers, and for involving the local more closely with the community, especially with other Negro labor groups.

Bennington Local Issues Important Statement

In view of an erroneous Associated Press Dispatch concerning the Bennington, Vt., Teachers Union, Local 491, the following statement has been issued by the local: "Last April a committee of the Bennington Local 491 began a series of classes with a small group of workers from several Bennington mills. After the class had been meeting for about a month, an organizer was sent into Ben-

nington by the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. It seemed inadvisable for the Teachers Union to be associated with this group at a time when their interests had turned almost exclusively to questions of joining unions, and the class was temporarily abandoned. It was agreed at that time that if and when a group of workers, organized or unorganized, wishes to organize another class, we should be glad to resume our relationship with them. During the summer all but one of the large mills, and some of the smaller ones, were organized under the CIO and contracts signed. In the fall we were requested to provide instruction for one or more classes. We were also invited to send a delegate to the central body, composed of representatives of *all* the labor unions in Bennington. All of them, with the exception of the Teachers Union, were affiliated with the CIO. At the time of our becoming affiliated with the Central Council, the secretary of the Teachers Union was instructed to write to William Green, urging that all possible steps be taken toward attaining unity among all American labor organizations, and citing our affiliation with the local CIO unions as evidence of our conviction of the importance of such unity. The local newspapers felt that such action on our part was newsworthy and printed a statement prepared by us. It was accurately headlined, using the phrases 'helpful hand' and 'timely gesture'. It contained the explicit statement 'This is in no sense a bolt from the A. F. of L.' A local representative of a national news agency, apparently feeling that this was a case of a man biting a dog, telephoned certain information obtained from this release to the regional office in Pittsfield, Mass. At some point between the printing in the *Bennington Banner* of our release and the item as released by the national news agency, it became completely distorted to read: 'Twenty Members of Faculty of Bennington College join the CIO.' We regret this error, and the Chicago office of the AFT was immediately informed of the actual events."

Executive Council Supports Governor Benson in Righting Old Injustice

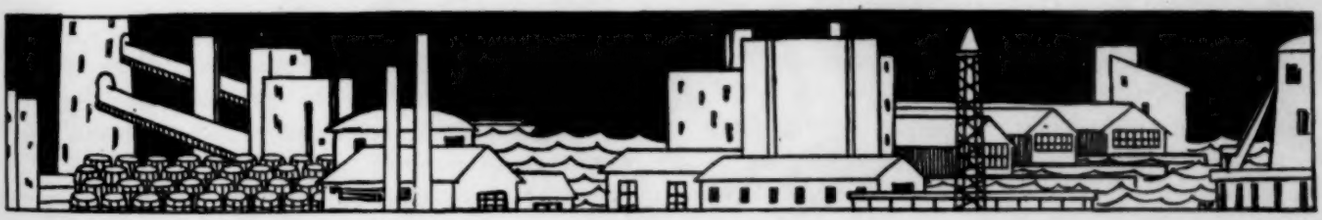
Governor Elmer Benson of Minnesota has requested the Board of Regents of the Minnesota State University to reinstate Professor William A. Schaper, who was dismissed on September 13, 1917, on what is alleged to be a trumped-up charge of Pro-Germanism. In a letter to a member of the Board of Regents Governor Benson says: "Before the United States entered the war against Germany, Professor Schaper had expressed opposition to this country's entrance into the war. Certainly he had a right to that opinion. It was shared by many prominent and illustrious men at that time. . . . Many good Americans today will support Professor Schaper in the correctness of that view." In endorsing the request of Governor Benson, the Executive Council stated: "His [Schaper's] reinstatement at this time, when there is war in the world that may conceivably involve the United States and when attacks upon academic freedom are increasingly frequent, would help defend the integrity and security of teachers throughout the country."

News from the Northwest

The Washington State Federation of Teachers held a highly successful convention in Tacoma on October 23. Resolutions were adopted for continuation of NYA subsidies to needy students, cooperation with the state teachers association on tenure, limitation of class size, boycott of all goods made in Japan, Germany, and Italy, and support of the one dollar organizing assessment. The Tacoma local reports a doubling of its public school membership. Local 401, University of Washington, is preparing strong action to insure the retention of Mrs. Florence James and several others in the English Department. The problem appears to combine discrimination against liberal teachers with an attempt to reduce teaching costs by replacing experienced teachers with teaching fellows at $50 or less per month. The local is also taking part in a fight to protect the jobs of married women teachers in the university. The growth in prestige of the local is seen in the election of two union members to the executive board of the instructors association at the University.

Michigan Teachers Seek Extension of Franchise

The Michigan Federation of Teachers includes in its legislative program a measure to allow all citizens to vote in school elections. At the present time—except in Detroit, Grand Rapids, and Flint—citizens are not given the franchise in school elections unless they happen to own property or have children in school. "This illogical discrimination," the Federation declares, "should be eliminated. All citizens support the schools, whether through payment of local or state taxes."



Labor Notes

Civil Rights for Labor

The previous issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER carried a Labor Note on the spread and danger of vigilante movements. That, however, is but one phase of the concerted attack on labor which is proceeding on many fronts. There are, for example, the exploits of Frank ("I am the law") Hague, mayor and political boss of Jersey City, N. J., whose police attacked more than forty CIO organizers, driving twenty-six of them out of the city. This act evoked a furor of protest in labor and liberal circles and among progressive Congressmen. A mass meeting of protest which followed several days later was unmolested. However, there have been further developments. Unable to rent a single building, CIO leaders have threatened to go to court if a permit is refused for an open-air meeting. Hague's next move was to call together about three thousand war veterans, most of them jobholders, for the purpose of forming a vigilante organization to fight the CIO. As one of the veterans put it: "We ought to put this here amendment in [into a ready-made resolution] so the rest of the country can't put the finger on our mayor and say he did it."

Equally alarming is the extent to which the courts have entered into the anti-labor conspiracy. An amazing opinion handed down in New Jersey on Dec. 28 declares that a strike is ended when the strikers' jobs have been filled by scabs and a plant can resume business. Thereafter picketing is illegal. The decision accompanied an injunction against striking employes of a Newark plant. Of course, this is by no means a new disease; yet it is one that is constantly breaking out into new rashes. Nor does legal discrimination confine itself to labor alone. It extends also to labor attorneys. Mayor Hague, for instance, made threats of personal violence against Attorney Morris Ernst, should he dare to set foot in Jersey City. Columnist Jay Franklin, in a recent article, wrote, ". . . it has become clear that there is a . . . Fascist tendency to deprive Northern (as well as Southern) workers of the assistance of counsel, and to terrorize the attorneys who represent strikers." . . . In Baltimore Federal Judge Coleman of the District Court at Baltimore suggested to lawyers representing maritime strikers that it was a violation of their legal oath for lawyers to represent strikers. In Lewiston, Me., a lawyer was sentenced to six months in jail for advising strikers of their rights. In Cleveland, O., N. D. Davis was suspended for a year for advising the unemployed how to avoid eviction notices. The CIO complains of the court's attack on their chief counsel in Ohio, after he won a hearing for a union despite determined efforts to deny the union's right to offer a defense. Judicial autocracy—to employ a euphemism—most certainly did not end with Mooney and Billings. . . . The incredible brutality used against union members by Ford's hired thugs is matched only by the decision of Circuit Judge Lester S. Moll in dismissing the charges of criminal assault. A glimmer of hope is offered by the formation of the American Association of Economic Freedom, a new organization of liberals dedicating itself to the defense of democracy and unionization. Vigilantism and abrogation of civil liberties demand widespread mass organization to combat them.

The Eagle Falls

The months old strike against the Brooklyn Eagle has at last terminated in complete success for the Guildsmen. This strike is noteworthy in its development of several new and interesting angles, not the least among them being the enthusiastic aid in picketing rendered by the Ministers Union Local 1. Notwithstanding the fact that the newspaper is an independent, it received weighty assistance from the American Newspaper Publishers Association and from big business interests in New York in an effort to break the strike and aim a blow at the Guild. The concessions won by the strikers, including virtually a closed shop through use of a preferential hiring list, discharge for cause, a five-day, forty-hour week, and other significant gains, were largely due to the vertical character of the strike which took in employes of the commercial departments. A new and unusual feature of the strike, "secondary" picketing of Eagle advertisers, produced gratifying results as the newspaper lost heavily each month in advertising. An adverse injunction was granted by a New York court, but the Guild modified its posters to conform. This is sure to prove a potent accessory weapon in future Guild strikes.

Milwaukee Trades Council Urges U. S. Run Idle Plants

In January the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council issued a statement that stands as a landmark in labor pronouncements, indicative of a trend of thought characteristic among progressive elements in organized labor found in many sections of the Middle West and adopted unanimously by more than 800 delegates. . . . As membership in the organized labor movement in Milwaukee increased from less than 25,000 in 1934 to 80,000 in 1937 a new social and economic philosophy has gradually emerged. In 1934 it was organization for more pay and shorter hours, but the present document reveals a groping for a fundamental basis for social reconstruction and a more equitable distribution

of the elemental wants of the worker. . . . In the present document, the growing militancy of labor is reflected in the demands on government, and it witnesses the birth of a new idea, an acknowledgment that labor must participate in the fundamental problem of reconstructing our social and industrial order.

If those in charge of private industry cannot or will not so conduct industry and business that the welfare of all people is safeguarded and advanced, then it is the duty of the government to take over this task and provide the opportunity for work for all who are able and willing to work.

From October, 1936, to October, 1937, members of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in good standing have increased from 110,000 to 198,000. This infusion of new blood is reflected in the program demanding that government take over idle factories, and if necessary make a levy on idle capital, a demand common to both the Trades Council and the State Federation of Labor in a recent conference on unemployment.

Such a program should not be limited to building projects as has been the case in the past, but should embrace every line of employment which will create needed goods and services, and which will give employment to workers in the field of their experience.

In whatever field—housing, electrification, manufacture, transportation—if facilities and factories are idle and capital is being withheld when the products of such facilities and factories are needed and workers are out of work, government in the performance of its mandate to promote the general welfare should operate such facilities and factories and if necessary make a capital levy on idle capital to permit such operations.

The document concludes with a bitter indictment of certain elements in industry who cry for confidence and who blame recent increases of unemployment on lack of confidence in government. Milwaukee labor raises the question, who can have confidence in such industrial leadership? . . . It is a hopeful sign. Understanding business and professional people, teachers especially, know that they cannot thrive in a community existing largely on relief. If labor moves to the left, it does so with a full understanding and a sincere effort to seek a way out of economic darkness, and to crystallize its thinking into some form of a social philosophy.

Among the New Books

Language Teaching for Culture

A CULTURAL BASIS FOR THE LANGUAGE ARTS. Walter V. Kaulfers *and* Holland D. Roberts. *Stanford University Press.* $1.00. 1937. 115 *pp.*

The essays collected in this little volume represent the contribution of two authors who have investigated various curricular problems of the modern American high school against the background of a changing society, and particularly the vexed and vexing question of modern language study at a time when educational currents are set strongly towards the drastic reduction of language courses in our schools. Writing from an admirably humane and infectiously optimistic point of view, the authors posit a belief or at least a hope on the reader's part that it will be the increasing purpose of the American commonwealth to provide all of our children with ever greater shares of cultural goods; they are aware therefore that education is inextricably bound up with social change and such specific problems as a more equitable distribution of wealth. At the same time they admit that many causes—disabilities of class as well as talent—operate to reduce to a very small percentage the number of students to whom the practical conquest of a foreign language is immediately interesting or even possible. They therefore propose a type of course (especially for students not entering college) in which stress is placed on foreign culture and civilization rather than paradigms; in which short-cuts and outside aids are unblushingly used to expedite the larger purpose.

After all, argues Dr. Kaulfers, if graduate schools of the best repute offer survey courses in Scandinavian, Slavonic, and other literatures based entirely on English translations, why should high schools cling to formal linguistic drill? Teachers will find the concrete suggestions for study and activity in such courses extremely valuable. I should like to commend particularly the proposals for courses in general language, which offer the alert teacher an opportunity to clarify elementary questions of race and language, symbol and sound, cultural heritage, class and speech, through the child's native tongue, and at the same time tend to arouse sympathetic curiosity concerning emigrant languages spoken in the community. These suggestions are a real contribution towards the methods of democratizing culture.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH

"Benevolent" King Henry

THE FLIVVER KING. UPTON SINCLAIR, Detroit: *United Automobile Workers of America,* Griswold Building. 119 *pages.* 25 cents.

Upton Sinclair has written a double-barreled story: one about the monarch Henry Ford, described in his title, *The Flivver King,* and another, intertwined with the first, concerning a kingdom, described in his sub-title, *A Story of Ford-America.* Kings are usually judged on the balance between the life and the death they deal out. Sinclair shows King Henry bestowing life, with a creative benevolence, by presenting his subjects with a tin lizzie which answers their conveniences, business needs, and pleasures. He would make more rapid their pilgrimage to success, he would preserve their bodies; he would regale their souls. His gift was not merely to the rich, for it was priced where great numbers of wage-earners could reach it. Sinclair sums up Henry's philanthropic purposes:

> He was going to make them over into people like himself. They would become sober and honest and hardworking, like him; mechanics and lovers of machinery like him; rich—well, possibly not quite so rich as he, but as rich as was good for them.

But it was just here that His Majesty's benevolence struck a snag. Here he was powerless to avoid some deathly gifts. He had achieved kingship in a characteristically American manner, beginning as country farmboy and passing through the steps of machinist, electrician, tinker and inventor. But his benevolent flivvers had made him inordinately rich. A billion dollars became his oversoul. It told him to use the "speed-up" and "stretch-out" systems in his factory. It showed him how to crush the workers with threats, spyings, gougings, and unfair practices of all kinds, while capitalizing on the glory he received from advertising his great kindness to them in the $5, $6 and $7 a day minimum wage. It had him promising the workers unions if they wanted them and using every brutality to prevent their getting unions. It had him, on March 7, 1932 (and later), doling out real, steeljacketed death to four of them and near death to fifty more, all unarmed on a march to him, begging sympathy.

Henry's kingdom had, and has, many peculiar features, and Sinclair lines them up. There are a proclaimed disbelief in economic law, an omniscience about art and science, an absurd peace ship—

a veritable ship of fools—a burning anti-Semitism, an antiquarianism which called for reconstructing spurious birthplaces of America's great and tearing down new highways in order to restore colonial roads, a social and political obtuseness as evidenced by his decency crusades, his suit against the Chicago Tribune and his senatorial campaign, and a business acumen which had King Henry compelling his hardpressed agents to pay their liege's debts when he was about to lose his throne to vile moneylenders. The crowning touch was the most devastating system of espionage on earth, captained by an ex-Navy boxer, and comprising 3600 ruthless janissaries. All these hobbies are expensive and luxurious, criminally so in the light of the condition of the Ford worker. But a billion dollars, says Sinclair, can do more with a king than a king can do with a billion dollars.

Upton Sinclair is a photographer on a mission. His camera is especially equipped to show the minute detail of the worker in a world that is not nearly "social" enough for him. Sinclair's style in *The Flivver King* is as simple as it ever gets to be, though full of delightful innuendo. More biographies like Sinclair's will help keep the public sharpened, while the workers march and thrust for freedom against such kings as Ford.

The publication of the book by the United Automobile Workers of America is a new departure in both publishing and workers' education.

JOHN LOVELL, JR.

Writers Against Gentility

AFTER THE GENTEEL TRADITION. Edited by MALCOLM COWLEY. *W. W. Norton Company*, 270 *pp.* $2.75.

For a century or more, native American writers have been protesting against tendencies commonly caled romantic: that is, flight from the present, escape to the past or away to the antipodes, or into wild fancy. In 1837, Emerson clearly spoke out against the Margaret Mitchells and Hervey Allens of his own day.

"I ask not for the great, the remote, the romantic; what is doing in Italy or Arabia; what a Greek art, or Provencal minstrelsy; I embrace the common, I explore and sit at the feet of the familiar, the low. Give me insight today, and you may have the antique and future worlds."

Not long afterward, Hawthorne, a disappointed old man, remarked that "it needs the native air to give a writer's work reality."

Notwithstanding such sentiments against unreality in letters, for a stretch of years between Emerson and Howells, writers of fiction and criticism failed to picture the actual world in which they found themselves. Literature with rare exceptions failed to catch the color, the vibrancy, the rhythm of life. Failure to report honestly or interpret faithfully the external world resulted in a kind of pale, over-refined, shadowy vaporing. For decades, the genteel tradition as it has since been called, "a sort of inner play or digestion of vacancy" as Santayana defined it, touched literature and blighted it.

Within the past quarter-century, pressure from the middle class has produced a crop of writers who have felt the need of expressing middle-class ideals and beliefs and strivings, at variance with gentility. Since 1910, in fact, some of our most representative and rugged writers have fought whatever tended to restrict the holder and freer utterance.

Fifteen of these literary leaders pass in review under the generalship of Malcolm Cowley. Fifteen contemporaries from Dreiser onwards are discussed by as many prominent journalists. In the revolt against gentility, suggested by a challenging address by Sinclair Lewis before the Swedish Academy on receiving the Nobel Prize, the cry for more passion, more candor, more vitality has been continuous. Writers have recognized that literature to be valid and impressive must be stirred by the contemporary struggle.

These critical papers suffer from sketchiness and rapid diagnosis. The quick impression is set down for the hurried reader. The best-rounded essays that escape this charge have a leisurely quality: *Carl Sandburg* by Newton Arvin, and *Homage to Hemingway* by John Peale Bishop.

The genteel clan is still with us, even though they try to cover their writings with a coating of "realism". Since 1930, the worker with his problems—strikes, trade unions, police brutality, and mass movements—is finding a place in literature. Would it not have been wise to have included in the survey an article dealing with this emerging literature, done by that persuasive Marxist critic, Granville Hicks?

FELIX SPER

A History of the Labor Schism

MEN WHO LEAD LABOR. BRUCE MINTON *and* JOHN STUART. Drawings by SCOTT JOHNSTON. New York: *Modern Age Books, Inc.*, 1937. 270 *pp.*, paper, 35 cents.

Within the vivid framework of biographical sketches the authors of this timely book trace the story of the dramatic conflict of forces in the ranks of American labor which have of late resulted in the open revolt against the old order and the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The book is an unqualified endorsement of industrial unionism and its concomitant militancy. It is a no less unqualified condemnation of the inadequacy, ineffectualness and smug complacency of the old leadership. It goes into a thorough and convincing discussion of basic causes. It illuminates sharply the defects of policy and method in the old set-up, the stagnation of bureaucracy, the lack of integrity, the shortness of vision, the corruption that finally led to revolt.

The authors review the traditions of Gompersism which William Green was to observe so faithfully. Gompersism represented the lack of ultimate aim which was responsible for the rejection of independent political action, the refusal to recognize the basic struggle between capital and labor, the policy of concern for no more than immediate economic relief, the stubborn indifference of craft unionism to the fate of millions of unorganized workers in the unskilled classifications.

By accepting Gompers' heritage, Green became responsible for the static role of the A. F. of L. in the face of rapidly changing economic conditions. The trade union movement remained impotent and timid while the employers grew in strength through unification, through the rise of monopolies with their interlocking directorates and through the rise of gigantic trusts with centralized control. The inadequacy of Gompersism was thrown into sharp relief by the dismal failure of the American labor movement to grow. Since Green's rise to the presidency in 1924 the membership of the A. F. of L., already then on the downgrade, dropped from a little below three million to only slightly over two million by the middle of 1933.

Not equal in stature, according to the authors, to his great historical responsibility, Green was content to let the industrial and financial powers try to overcome the difficulties of the economic breakdown of the depression, while the labor movement remained inert. He not only failed to launch an aggressive organizing campaign when the NRA lent new impetus to the labor movement, but actually ordered organizers to slow down. When organization on a large scale finally began to proceed independently of Green and the executive council and in spite of them, Green and his coterie showed open resistance and animosity.

The struggle for aggressive organization and the inevitability of the impending cleavage became clear from this point. The book analyzes the role of Green and the other die-hards on the executive council, Hutcheson, Woll, Morrison, Wharton, as a sinister affair of obstruction, of greed for power tinged with corruption, and, in some cases, of the tyranny of racketeering. The chapter on Hutcheson presents the evidence of the low level to which Gompers' organizational tactics had descended. The chapter on McGrady illustrates the failure of Gompers' labor diplomacy.

Here is where John L. Lewis comes in. Nursed on the Gompers tradition and not untainted by its attendant evils, he shakes off the fetters like a veritable Samson and rises to the occasion offered by section 7-A of the NRA to lead labor into a new phase in its history. The story of his organizational success holds the promise of a new era of genuine achievement for the American labor movement. Back of Lewis is the power of the rank and file whose irresistible drive for organization becomes an epic of labor militancy. Symptomatic of the new urge are the vigorous figures in its vanguard —Bridges, Randolph, Broun, a new leadership possessed of hardy realism and political sagacity.

M. J. Fruchter

Labor Organizing

WHEN LABOR ORGANIZES. R. R. R. Brooks, New Haven; *Yale University Press*, 1937. 361 *pp.*

CIO, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN ACTION. J. Raymond Walsh, New York; *W. W. Norton*, 1937. 293 *pp.*

It is both interesting and significant that in a period of rapid development of the labor movement two officers of the American Federation of Teachers should be among the first to interpret the trends. Mr. Brooks, who in 1936-37 was president of the New Haven local, taught at Yale. Mr. Walsh, New England Vice President in 1936-37, was at Harvard.

It is equally significant that the intimate connection with the labor movement enjoyed by both should reflect itself in the production of books which show a breadth of knowledge of the field that marks both these works as significant contributions. Brooks and Walsh know their unions from within. They have captured the significance of recent events and say what they have to say well. These books are "best buys".

Brooks is definitely the better volume to put into the hands of a person unacquainted with the ins and outs of the labor movement. His Chapter One is a description of how a modern union organizing campaign is conducted. He goes on to outline the traditional structure of the A. F. of L. and to show the functioning of its affiliated unions. The weapons of the employer and the extent of union organizing success are then vividly portrayed. Perhaps his best chapters are those on strikes and strike-breaking. After taking up the business and welfare policies of the unions, he turns to questions of administration and leadership. His book closes by considering the place of labor in our present political structure. Brooks's viewpoint toward the A. F. of L. and CIO controversy follows:

> The contemporary unpleasantness between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is not . . . an isolated phenomenon in American labor history. It signalizes a rapid increase in the intensity and scope of the process of transition which has been going on for nearly fifty years. Regardless of the personalities and the machinery through which they operate, the principle of industrial unionism can be expected to win if for no other reason than that the problem of the jurisdictional dispute must be met if the labor movement is to survive. (Pp. 43-44)

As to the merits of the controversy, Walsh is by far the more outspoken. An ardent A. F. of L. sympathizer might read Brooks' book with the feeling that while it had a CIO "bias" it was after all a "gentlemanly performance", employing all the subtleties of expression for which a New England university is famous. Such a person could take no such comfort from Walsh's more direct approach. A brief paragraph from Walsh will show the difference.

> In any event, the A. F. of L. was essentially a business, not a social, organization. Gompers didn't want to build a labor movement; he wanted to win certain immediate gains in wages and hours for a limited and unimaginative group of workers—by standing on the backs of all the others . . . So far as labor policies are concerned, the change from A. F. of L. policy has meant a shifting from special self-interest to concern for the entire social and economic structure. (Pp. 252-253)
>
> In all fairness the Federation must bear the chief brunt for bisecting the labor movement. At no point did it show capacity for intelligent compromise, and since its suspension order, it has added bitterness to stupidity. (P. 280)

Walsh goes on, however, to point out the great losses of disunity and urges more emphatically than Brooks the need for reestablishing peace in the labor movement.

The chief merit of *CIO, Industrial Unionism in Action* is the ability of the writer to present in popular style the highlights of recent labor experience. The steel, motor, and rubber campaigns are given at full length. The tactics on both sides are reviewed and are enriched by the inclusion of specific illustrations of their application. The writing is vigorous.

Both works express marked sympathy with the formation of a labor party and discuss the political implications of labor's relationship with the New Deal.

Since no book review is complete without at least a concluding qualification to whatever praise it bestows, let us add ours: Both books are marred by somewhat loose statements of membership and of union affiliations. Broadly, the totals tell the correct story, but the details suggest more precision than the facts warrant. This flaw is to be sure understandable—one wonders how one can classify some unions which have succeeded for a time in keeping one leg in the CIO and the other in the A. F. of L.

Colston E. Warne

Book Notes and Recommendations

A sound view of radio education is set forth clearly in *Radio in the Classroom* (*Prentice-Hall*, $2.50) by Margaret Harrison, who deals critically with radio in the school, presenting it as only one of the modern tools of education whose uses and limitations are relative to the general educational values it may serve. Teachers will find concise and vivid the author's summaries of classroom activities initiated or supplemented by radio programs.

One of the most significant chapters shows how realistic attitudes toward advertising, publicity and propaganda were developed in a school where pupils and teachers learned to evaluate the influence of radio and to become equally critical of what they saw in print.

Beryl Parker

•

No one can fully know America who does not know the story a recent Modern Age Book has to tell. The book is *You Have Seen Their Faces* by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, and it is a record of a recent trip through those cotton states that have been associated in our minds with peonage, child-labor, exploitation of sharecroppers, chain gangs, malnutrition; but that are now finding hope and militancy in the tenant-farmers union. The book is an exciting one, both because of Caldwell's careful text combined with verbatim records of conversations, and because of the dramatic photographs of one of America's greatest masters of the camera, Miss Bourke-White, whose studies of people are beautiful in their eloquence. At 75 cents this book is a rare value, and it is a pleasure to find so well designed a work carrying proudly the signatures of the unions concerned in every stage of its creation.

Incidentally, the presence on the list of Modern Age Books of so many titles of importance to all people alive to contemporary problems, suggests that we have a duty as teachers to see that these excellent and inexpensive volumes are stocked in newsstands, stationary stores and bookstores throughout America. The list is varied

enough for any taste and the sooner they become a habit in American homes the sooner will our educational hopes be realized.

Those of us who remember the adventure of finding the National Geographic Magazine on library shelves, will welcome the new two volume *Book of Birds* which the National Geographic Society is distributing from its Washington headquarters at the cost price of $5. One need not be an ornithologist to appreciate the 204 pages of full-color plates showing 950 birds painted by the artist-naturalist, Major Alan Brooks, as well as the 228 action photographs. Birds form one of the most popular subjects of Natural History and this comprehensive treatment of the birds of the North American continent, north of Mexico, should give many teachers a chance to renew an absorbing youthful interest. It is a good means of profitable relaxation in these busy times. The two volumes of the set are, in addition, beautiful examples of the bookmaker's art.

BORIS GAMZUE

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.

We Stand Corrected

To the Editors:

I have noticed in recent issues of THE AMERICAN TEACHER that the American Federation of Teachers has been given credit for the reinstatement of the six Highland Park teachers dismissed last year for participating in a school board election. The statements imply that the teachers were rehired as a result of a union campaign. This is not true. Our organization participated to the extent of its ability in the campaign to reinstate the teachers. Other groups, however, also participated wholeheartedly. The Citizens Committee in Highland Park was very effective, as were also the Academic Freedom Committee of the NEA and a National Defense Committee.

We should appreciate your publishing this statement in the next issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

RENNETTE SELTZER
Acting Secretary
Michigan Federation of Teachers.

(The editorial committee is glad to print this correction. It is the policy of the AFT to work as far as possible with other organizations. Recent examples of this are the joint NEA-AFT committee on federal aid, and the cordial exchange of greetings with the American Association of University Professors. The editors are, therefore, anxious to give full credit to other organizations wherever the work of these organizations in a joint cause is brought to their attention.)

Bombs Bursting in Air

To the Editors:

May I ask you to print the following letter which seems to me of great timeliness and importance?

LILLIAN LEFKOWITZ
New York.

Shanghai Y.W.C.A.,
999 Bubbling Well Road,
Oct. 18th, 1937.

Dear Miss Lefkowitz:

First I wish to give you my deep appreciation for the letter which you sent some times ago, and beg for your pardon in the delay of this answer. Though I haven't kept up a close correspondence, but you are always in my thought.

I am writing this in the midst of machine guns, air bombing and roaring of cannons. It was so bad last night that every one in the city woke up. So we are living under constant horror and terror of air raid. The slaughter of noncombatants and the bombing of unprotected cities has become a common daily news. Our aggressor who has fought here for more than two months and yet cannot break through our first line of defence. Being rather helpless, our aggressor is now adopting the policy of air bombardment so as to break up our morale. But instead "beating Chinese to their knees" we stand more firmly than ever. Millions of people become homeless and penniless but they are calm and ready to give themselves away for the cause. We know that we are fighting for the emancipation of our nation and the good of the masses.

To be in the war zone, the Y.W.C.A. has become one of the centers of red cross activities and refugee work. Besides running a camp for homeless women and children, we are making patted jackets for soldiers, bandage and etc. In regard to industrial girls, who are now out of work, the Y. is giving them special training so as to be more equipped to do the above mentioned work. We sent about sixty girls to different refugee camps, red cross hospitals and even to work among villagers behind the line.

Through our National Office, we have sent out a letter from our industrial girls to the girls in America concerning the present hostility. It must have reached you by this time. We need your close attention in the shaping of public opinion in your country to take a stronger measure against Japanese aggression.

If you are interested in following up the war events, I would like to suggest a few magazines which are impartial and quite accurate in giving facts—*China Weekly, China Critics,* and *China Today.*

Hope to hear from you on what you people think about this war.

HELEN CHUNG

•

THE CONTRIBUTORS

ELMER A. BENSON is the Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota.

BERNARD FORER is corresponding secretary of Local 437 (Mercer Co., N. J.) and secretary pro tem of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers.

MOSES J. FRUCHTER is a member of the Editorial Board of the *Philadelphia Teacher,* publication of Local 192.

JOHN LOVELL, JR. is assistant professor of English at Howard University and a member of Local 440. He has just completed a Ph. D. thesis, approved at the University of California, on *Champions of the Workers in American Literature of the Forties.* He is a member of the Outside Organizing Committee for the AFT.

IRVIN R. KUENZLI is secretary-treasurer of the AFT.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH is associate professor of English at New York University and a member of the Council of the Mediaeval Academy. She is one of the editors of *Science and Society.* She is on the Executive Board of Local 537 (College Teachers, N.Y.C.).

FELIX SPER is a member of the Academic Freedom Committee of Local 5 (New York). He is a member of the English Department at Hunter College.

COLSTON ESTEY WARNE is associate professor of economics at Amherst College, and a member of Local 230. He is a member of the National Council of the American Association of University Professors, and president of Consumers Union of the United States.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AND THE TEACHER

BY IRVIN R. KUENZLI

All classroom teachers should be familiar with the provisions of the Social Security Act approved on August 14, 1935. This is true not only because of the teacher's inherent interest in improving the social structure and in providing for children and their parents, but also because of certain phases of the act which directly affect teachers' economic status.

It should be noted in the first place that the act is wide in scope, dealing with a number of distinct though related measures pertaining to social security. These measures may be listed as follows:

Unemployment Compensation, Old-Age Assistance, Old-Age Benefits, Aid to Dependent Children, Maternal and Child Health Services, Services to Crippled Children, Aid to the Blind, Extension of Public-Health Services, Vocational Rehabilitation.

It is obvious that the whole measure is closely related to the social structure which is the foundation on which successful classroom work must be built. It is not within the scope of this brief article to discuss these various parts of the Social Security Act.

Of particular interest to teachers are the features of the act dealing with old-age assistance and old-age benefits. The Old-Age Assistance program is designed to help states in providing immediate assistance to the aged purely on a basis of need. Under certain conditions the Federal Government matches on a 50-50 basis every dollar spent by the state for old-age assistance, but does not contribute more than $15.00 per month for any individual. Any teacher or former teacher who is now aged and in immediate need might, as a citizen, benefit under this section of the act.

Of greater importance to teachers is the feature dealing with Federal old-age benefits designed to provide an income in old-age based on wages received by an employee in covered employment.

It is true that the salaries of teachers employed in a public school, state university, or in most non-profit educational institutions do not provide credit toward old-age benefits, and at first sight such teachers seem to be totally excluded from benefits.

It should be carefully noted, however, that if a teacher at any time engages in employment covered by the old-age benefits system, "wages," as defined in the act, received in such employment will constitute credit toward old-age benefits. This is a fact of considerable importance to a teacher who is considering a careful plan of lifetime finance. It is possible for a teacher to build up during vacation periods, or during leave of absence, a considerable retirement income available after attaining the age of 65.

To qualify for monthly benefits under the act an individual who has attained the age of 65 must have earned a total of not less than $2,000 in "wages" after December 31, 1936, and must have been employed in some five different calendar years after December 31, 1936. This means that should a teacher, during vacation, or otherwise, earn $2,000 in "wages" in five or more different years he would be eligible to a benefit of $10.00 per month after attaining the age of 65 years. This represents a minimum amount which could be augmented in proportion to the "wages" earned by the teacher. Should a teacher earn $3,000 in five separate years in wages as defined in the act, he would be entitled to $15.00 per month after 65 years of age.

The table indicates the method by which retirement incomes are calculated.

(Not counting wages from a single employer in excess of $3,000 annually)

Total wages received after Dec. 31, 1936, and prior to age 65, in covered employments.	Per cent of total wages paid as monthly rate of benefit.
First $3,000	1/2 of 1%
Next $42,000	1/12 of 1%
All over $45,000	1/24 of 1%

It is possible, therefore, for teachers under retirement systems substantially to increase their retirement incomes. In the state of Ohio, for instance, a teacher might begin a teaching career at 22 years of age, earn $3,000 in "wages" by leave of absence (or otherwise), retire under the Ohio Teachers Retirement System at age 59 or 60 at a maximum of approximately $80.00 per month, and at age 65 receive $15.00 per month additional in old-age benefits under Social Security. The amount received would be determined by the amount of "wages" earned exclusive of salary received from the Board of Education.

In case a teacher's wife or husband is employed for "wages" an additional benefit might be provided for the family income in old-age.

Even though teachers' salaries are excluded from the act it is quite possible for a teacher to build up an annuity which would be equal to the income from several thousands of dollars. Teachers benefit from that provision of the act which provides proportionately larger monthly benefits for small earnings. Every teacher should study the act in terms of his own position and experience.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor

President
Jerome Davis

Secretary-Treasurer
Irvin R. Kuenzli

Vice-Presidents

George E. Axtelle
John D. Connors
Hugh DeLacy
Michael J. Eck
Arthur Elder
Mary Foley Grossman
Charles J. Hendley
Mary J. Herrick
Allie B. Mann
Mercedes L. Nelson
Stanton E. Smith
Joel Seidman
Harry C. Steinmetz
Paul W. Preisler
Doxey A. Wilkerson

Board of Editors

Richard B. Crosscup
Edward De Brae
Dorothy Douglas
Kermit Eby
George Finch
A. S. Hancock
Eugene Holmes
I. R. Klingsberg
Celia Lewis
Allie B. Mann
Hazel Murray
Nancy Lea Smith
Sara T. Walsh
William W. Wattenberg

George E. Axtelle
Representative of the Executive Council

Contributing Editors

Mildred Berleman
Sterling A. Brown
Edwin Berry Burgum
Arthur Elder
Boris Gamzue
Ida Glantz Klingsberg
Robert Morss Lovett
Ora McLaughlin
Selden Menefee
Beryl Parker
Holland D. Roberts
Colston E. Warne
John Woodruff

Secretary, Board of Editors
Celia Lewis
8 West 16 Street, N. Y. C.

Business Offices
506 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Ill.

WHY I AM A MEMBER OF THE TEACHERS UNION

Public education is bound indissolubly with the welfare of the working people. As a worker in public education I am obligated both professionally and personally to affiliate with other workers in an organized effort to advance the cause of labor and education. Therefore I am a member of the American Federation of Teachers.

JOHN G. ROCKWELL,
COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

I am a member of the Teachers Union because a broad and an enlightened labor movement is the only effective instrument of constructive social change in a competitive society; because organized labor is the most sympathetic ally and the strongest champion of public education; because the interests of classroom teachers and other organized workers are mutual by identity of status; and because the Teachers Union is affiliated with the organized labor movement and aggressively assumes its role with all workers in the struggle to preserve and broaden our democratic institutions and for the attainment of a true democracy.

CLAUDE WILLIAMS,
DIRECTOR, COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE.

I am a member of the Teachers Union because I could not really keep my self-respect if I were not. The teachers of this country are on the whole underpaid and in many cases tyrannized over by reactionary interests in their communities. Organization is needed to improve their economic status, and it is only by organization that they can affirm their right to be free men and women. In such a situation, I believe we all should join the American Federation of Teachers. We will not be respected as a profession until we have the courage to respect ourselves. And we cannot fully function as we should unless we cooperate together.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Because I believe democracy in education and education for democracy can never be achieved unless the teachers are organized; because we are living in an era of group action, where without group pressure academic freedom, tenure, adequate salaries and retirement cannot be secured; because affiliation with the American Federation of Labor brings the support of millions of workers behind education and at the same time gives an opportunity to take action on larger questions of national policy; because the American Federation of Teachers is the most progressive and effective organization in the country for work with, by, and for teachers.

JEROME DAVIS,
PRESIDENT, AFT

On broad grounds I am a member of the American Federation of Teachers because I believe that as one of those whose income comes entirely from productive labor my interest lies with that body of the American people who make their living by productive labor.

More specifically I joined the American Federation of Teachers because I believed that one of our great problems is the restoration of democracy to the teaching profession, and the American Federation of Teachers is the only nation-wide organization that to my knowledge is controlled by the rank and file of the teaching body. As a first step in the restoration, I believe that the dualism between administration and teaching must be eliminated.

As an administrator who also teaches, I welcome the opportunity to join a rank and file organization.

FRANK E. BAKER,
PRESIDENT, STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE,
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The children of mechanics, artisans, and laborers comprise the major part of the enrollment of the schools in which I work, and my affiliation with the fathers of these children through the American Federation of Labor, leads to a mutual understanding which in turn leads me to better help these boys and girls to become more worthwhile citizens now and in the future.

MARY V. COOPER,
ACTING PRINCIPAL, WALNUT STREET SCHOOL,
DARBY, PA.

ROOM
BRARY
ICH.
FEB 25 1938

The AMERICAN TEACHER

IN TWO PARTS—PART TWO

VOLUME XXII | JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1938 | NUMBER 3

Report on

The Committee for Industrial Organization and The American Federation of Labor

The 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers directed the Executive Council to prepare a report on the C. I. O. and to distribute it to each member of the A. F. T.

As a committee of three to prepare this report, the Executive Council in August 1937 appointed Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, of Washington, D. C.; Mr. Michael J. Eck, of Cleveland; and Mr. Stanton E. Smith, of Chattanooga.

The same committee, with the addition of Miss Lillian Herstein, of Chicago, was authorized at the December 1937 meeting of the Executive Council to prepare a similar report on the American Federation of Labor and to distribute it to each member of the A. F. T.

Report on

The Committee for Industrial Organization

Incident to the proposal that the American Federation of Teachers change its labor affiliation from the American Federation of Labor to the Committee for Industrial Organization, the Twenty-First Annual Convention of the A.F.T. directed the Executive Council: (1) to conduct at its discretion, "no sooner than February first, 1938," a referendum of the membership on the question at issue; and (2) "preceding such referendum, . . . to make an exhaustive study" of certain questions concerning the C.I.O., "a written report of its findings" to be sent "to every member of the American Federation of Teachers." There follows[1] the report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council to conduct the aforementioned investigation.

Purpose and Scope

It is not within the scope of the Committee's assignment to reach a judgment regarding the proposed change of labor affiliation. Rather, its sole task is to provide certain factual information which should be of aid to the membership in evaluating the proposal at issue. Further, the Committee was not asked to make a comparative study of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.; but rather, to investigate certain specified questions relative to the latter organization. In accord with these limitations, the present report is restricted to a factual analysis of the membership, organizational structure, and functioning of the Committee for Industrial Organization, together with its status as a labor movement. Attention is given also to a brief statement, from the viewpoint of C.I.O., of the implications for A.F.T. of the proposed change of affiliation.

The information here presented was obtained from publications and official documents of the C.I.O., a questionnaire to the Director, interviews with national officers, and an exhaustive critical study of the organization by Brother J. Raymond Walsh, an investigator for the National Labor Relations Board. All sources, together with certain supplementary data, are set forth in the Appendix to this Report.

[1]See appended copy of "Resolution on C.I.O. Referendum."

Membership

The C.I.O. is a federation of national and international unions, local industrial unions, and industrial union councils. At the time of its inception, November 1935, it comprised but 8 national and international unions, representing approximately one million members. There are at present 33 national and international unions affiliated to the C.I.O., together with 697 local industrial unions, and 130 industrial union councils. In all, its affiliated organizations comprise a membership of approximately four millions.

The affiliates of C.I.O. are representative of over three dozen major industrial fields. Among these affiliates are a number of unions whose membership consists predominantly of professional or other "white collar" workers; notably, the American Newspaper Guild; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians; United Office and Professional Workers of America; United Federal Workers of America; and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America. Evidence of continuing growth on the part of C.I.O. is found in the recent affiliation of the United Furniture Workers of America (December 7, 1937).

Organizational Structure

The C.I.O. has its headquarters in Washington, D. C., where its national officers and their assistants are stationed. The personnel of the central administrative staff consists of the Chairman, John L. Lewis; the Director, John Brophy; an Executive Assistant to the Chairman; a Publicity Director; a legal staff; editorial workers; research workers; accountants; bookkeepers; stenographers, and clerical workers. The national officers derive their authority from the several constituent unions. For example, at the recent Atlantic City Conference (October 1937), and previously, representatives of affiliated organizations voted unanimously to confer full authority upon the Chairman to conduct the affairs of C.I.O. during the intervals between conferences and other meetings. Each of the constituent unions has an equal voice in the conferring of this authority.

In addition to the national officers, and working under their direction, the C.I.O. employs 50 Regional Directors

and 10 Sub-Regional Directors located in 35 states (including District of Columbia) and in the Northern Provinces of Canada. The distribution of these directors, by geographical regions, is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Geographical Distribution of Regional and Sub-Regional Directors of C.I.O.

Regions[2]	Number of States With Directors	Number of Directors
Northeast (13 states)	12	22
Southeast (11 states)	5	4
Southwest (4 states)	2	2
Middle (8 states)	8	19
Northwest (9 states)	5	5
Far West (4 states)	3	7
Canada (Northern Provinces)	..	1
TOTAL	35	60

Under the supervision of these 60 regional and sub-regional directors is a large staff of "field representatives."[3] Both the regional directors and the field representatives are responsible directly to the national officers of the C.I.O. They "are employed for one primary purpose—to carry out the task of organizing the unorganized. In this, they are instructed to aid trade union organization under the banner of the C.I.O. wherever such aid is needed, and to the fullest extent possible."

In quite a number of localities, affiliates of C.I.O. have gone together to form what are known as Industrial Union Councils. As was mentioned above, there are some 130 of these delegate bodies, six of which are state federations. Their function is to consolidate the strength of individual unions in a given locality for the furtherance of common purposes. An analysis of the geographical distribution of industrial union councils is provided subsequently in this report.

Functioning

Technically, the original eight national and international unions which organized the C.I.O. are still affiliates of the A. F. of L. Though suspended, they have not yet been expelled. Largely because of this fact, together with the continuing hope for unity between the two major factions of American labor, C.I.O. has never held a general convention or adopted a national constitution. It is pertinent to give attention to its plans in this respect, as well as to current policies and procedures which would normally be defined in a constitution.

Conferences:

Representatives of affiliated C.I.O. unions now meet at irregular intervals, as in Atlantic City during October 1937, and in Washington, D. C., during the early part of December. At such conferences, affiliated unions are represented by their presidents or other officials designated by the organizations concerned, and industrial union councils by the regional officers of C.I.O. "Each representative at such meetings has equal voice in the determination of policy."

Election of Officers:

The major national officers—Chairman, Director, and Secretary—are elected in general conference by the vote of representatives of affiliated unions. All presidents of affiliated national and international unions are officers of the C.I.O.

Finances:

The Charter Fee for an international union is $25.00. In addition to this initial fee, each affiliated union is expected to pay a per capita tax of 5 cents per member per month. Aside from special assessments which may be voted by the national body, an affiliated union owes no other financial obligation to C.I.O. Full financial reports are made at general conferences of the organization.

Autonomy:

All national and international unions affiliated with C.I.O. are autonomous organizations. By their charters, all of which are similar, they are obligated to comply with "the rules, regulations and laws of the Committee for Industrial Organization."

Contracts:

The national office of the C.I.O. assists all of its affiliated unions in the securing of contracts. However, the national organization does not decide on the merits of such contracts. "This is left to the discretion of the unions themselves."

Proposed Constitutional Convention:

The recent Atlantic City conference of the C.I.O. unanimously adopted a resolution which provides for the calling of a national convention for the purpose of drafting a general constitution. The date of this convention was not fixed at the conference. In response to a query concerning the manner in which such a proposed constitution would be drawn up, the Director replied:

> A national constitution of the C.I.O. will follow the most democratic processes of the labor movement. As is well known, the C.I.O. represents a new concept of trade union democracy in the American labor movement. Without such an extension of trade union democracy as C.I.O. represents, it would have been impossible to organize the 3,000,000 previously unorganized workers now members of the C.I.O. Each affiliate of the C.I.O. is fully autonomous. Since each has an equal voice in the formulation of C.I.O. policies, this autonomy will be preserved when a written constitution is prepared.

Status as a Labor Movement

The extreme youth of C.I.O., together with the precipitous manner in which it has grown, gives rise to the question: Is it really a substantial and effective labor movement? One suggestion in this regard is afforded by the data on

[2]The regional classification of states here used is that of the Nat'l Resources Board. See Appendix for the list of states included in each region.

[3]In response to changing emphases in C.I.O.'s organizational campaigns, the number of field representatives fluctuates from time to time and from region to region. An official report dated August 19, 1937, lists 140 of these workers.

membership presented earlier in this report. Two further indices are found in the achievements of C.I.O. as an agent for collective bargaining and in the extent and distribution of its industrial union councils.

Achievements in Collective Bargaining:

The Director reported at the recent Atlantic City conference that, out of 374 elections held by the National Labor Relations Board to determine the collective bargaining agent preferred by workers in various industrial plants, some 291, or 78 per cent, were won by C.I.O. unions. There were reported also contracts with over 30,000 companies covering 3,200,000 workers; sole bargaining rights in contracts covering 2,100,000 workers, and closed shop contracts covering 1,500,000 workers; wage increases aggregating one billion dollars per year; shorter hours for two million workers; and vacations with pay for one million workers. These data afford a partial basis for appraising the effectiveness of C.I.O. as a collective bargaining agent for workers.

Distribution of Industrial Union Councils:

Information is not at hand concerning the geographical distribution of all 130 of the C.I.O. industrial union councils. However, the location of 116 of these central bodies is detailed by an official roster dated November 22, 1937.[4] Their distribution among the several geographical regions of the nation is set forth in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution by Regions of C.I.O. Industrial Union Councils[5]

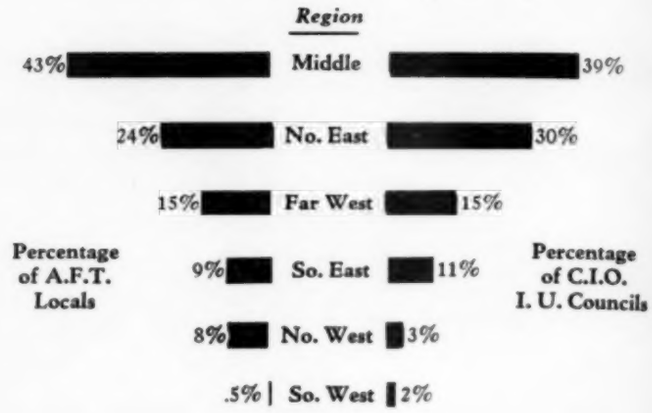
Region	Number of States with Industrial Union Councils	Number of Councils
Northeast	7	35
Southeast	3	13
Southwest	2	2
Middle	8	45
Northwest	2	3
Far West	3	18
TOTAL	25	116

It will be noted that industrial union councils are centered primarily in the northeastern and middle regions of the country. Among individual states, Ohio with 15 and Pennsylvania with 14 have the largest numbers of councils. There are 10 such delegate bodies in Indiana, 9 in West Virginia, 9 in Washington, 8 in Alabama, 7 in Illinois, and 7 in California. In all, these states include over two-thirds of the total number of councils. The remainder are distributed among 17 other states.

The percentage distribution of C.I.O. industrial union councils and of A.F.T. locals among the several geographical regions is portrayed graphically in Figure 1.

[4]See Appendix E.

Figure 1. Percentage Distribution of A.F.T. Locals and C.I.O. Industrial Union Councils Among Geographical Regions of the Nation.[6]



It will be noted that the same general pattern of regional distribution obtains both for A.F.T. locals and for C.I.O. central labor bodies.

Regional groupings, of course, conceal variations among communities within a given area. One measure of the extent of such variations among the main centers of A.F.T. strength is afforded by the incidence of industrial union councils among cities with large numbers of A.F.T. members. The "Statistical Report" of the Secretary-Treasurer, as of October 1937, lists 17 cities with approximately 200 or more members each. These cities are listed below. Crosses designate the ones in which C.I.O. industrial union councils are located.

Table 3.

Cities with 200 or more A.F.T. members	*Cities with I. U. Councils (10/22/37)*
New York	X
Chicago	
Cleveland	X
Atlanta	
Philadelphia	X
St. Paul	
Toledo	X
Chattanooga	X
Cincinnati	X
Springfield, Ohio	
Buffalo	X
District of Columbia	X
Gary	X
Butte	
Minneapolis	X
Milwaukee	X
Detroit	

The 18,505 A.F.T. members in these cities constitute 79 per cent of the total paid-up membership of the organization at the time of the Secretary-Treasurer's report. Industrial union councils of the C.I.O. are located in all but six of the 17 cities.[7]

[5]As of November 22, 1937, not including 14 councils established since that date.

[6]Not including 14 councils established since November 22, 1937.

[7]Some of the 14 recently established councils may be located in cities not shown to have councils in the above tabulations.

Included in the Appendix is a state-by-state tabulation of A.F.T. locals, and C.I.O. industrial union councils. Analysis of the data there presented reveals that 165 of the 182 locals reported by the Secretary-Treasurer as of October 1937, are in states which have one or more industrial union councils. In 7 states with no C.I.O. central labor bodies, there are 17 A.F.T. locals.

Implications for A.F.T.

In its instructions to the Executive Council relative to the investigation assigned to this Committee, the Twenty-First Annual Convention specified that attention be given to "the significance to the American Federation of Teachers of the proposed affiliation with the C.I.O., as concerns organizational campaigns and national and local legislative campaigns, as well as the future position and program of the American Federation of Teachers in the Committee for Industrial Organization, if affiliation is decided upon by the membership." In keeping with these instructions, the Committee addressed the following three questions to the Director of C.I.O.

19. What assistance (financial or otherwise) could the American Federation of Teachers expect from the Committee for Industrial Organization in the former's campaigns to effect the organization into unions of increasing numbers of American teachers?

20. . . . In connection with the former's legislative campaigns (e.g., for a democratic program of Federal aid to education, for state teacher-tenure laws, etc.)?

21. From the viewpoint of the Committee for Industrial Organization, in just what ways could, or should, the affiliation of A.F.T. to C.I.O. further the goals of organized American labor?

The reply of the Director to these questions is reproduced without comment below.

19, 20. The C.I.O. has granted financial assistance, both in the form of direct loans and appropriations and in the form of paid organizers, to a large number of its affiliated unions in the past. The details of such assistance naturally cannot be discussed in a general memorandum of this nature. The C.I.O. in many public statements has vigorously promoted the passage of progressive legislation designed to further the interests of workers of all classes and occupations.

21. It is the repeated belief of the C.I.O. that the organization of all workers on the industrial plan is a necessity for the raising of living and working standards throughout the United States. This is evidenced by the way in which the C.I.O. has consistently organized hitherto unorganized workers in all branches of industry and in the technical and professional occupations. The addition of the organized teachers to the C.I.O. would of course be of value in aiding the carrying out of this great task.

Respectfully submitted,

THE COMMITTEE ON C.I.O.

Signed: DOXEY A. WILKERSON, *Chairman.*
MICHAEL J. ECK, *Vice President.*
STANTON E. SMITH, *Vice President.*

Chicago, Illinois.
December 30, 1937.

APPENDICES

A. List of Sources.
B. "Resolution on C.I.O. Referendum", Twenty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Madison, Wisconsin, August 23-27, 1937.
C. Letter and questionnaire to the C.I.O.; reply of the Director.
D. Distribution of A.F.T. Locals and of C.I.O. Regional Directors and Industrial Union Councils, by Regions and by States.
E. List of C.I.O. Industrial Union Councils.
F. Chart of Membership in the C.I.O.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF SOURCES

1. Response of the Director of C.I.O. to a Questionnaire (Appendix C.)
2. Interviews with the following C.I.O. officials:
   (a) John Brophy, Director
   (b) Walter Smethurst, Executive Assistant
   (c) C. D. Fowler, Publicity Director
3. J. Raymond Walsh, *C.I.O.: Industrial Unionism in Action,* New York: Norton, 1937. P. 293
4. Report of the Director to the Atlantic City Conference of C.I.O., October, 1937
5. *C.I.O. News Service* and *C.I.O. News*
6. *C.I.O.: What It Is and How It Came To Be,* Publication No. 12, October, 1937. Pp. 46
7. Official documents of the C.I.O. as follows:
   (a) Regional Directors and Field Representatives, August 19, 1937
   (b) List of Industrial Union Councils, November 22, 1937 (Appendix E)
8. American Federation of Teachers, *Statistical Report of Locals As of October, 1937*

APPENDIX B

RESOLUTION ON C.I.O. REFERENDUM

Adopted by A.F.T. August 26, 1937.

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Teachers stands for unity in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, a united labor movement is necessary for the continued success, both economically and politically, of the trade union movement in the United States; and

WHEREAS, at the 1936 convention the American Federation of Teachers went on record as being sympathetic to the aims and purposes of the Committee for Industrial Organization; and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Teachers is on record as endorsing the principles of industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, the C.I.O. has achieved great success in its organization campaigns in the steel, auto, rubber and other mass production industries; and

WHEREAS, the Committee for Industrial Organization has influenced and aided both the unionization of teachers and the securing of progressive teacher legislation; and

WHEREAS, this convention of the American Federation of Teachers now has before it the question of the next step in its relation to the Committee for Industrial Organization, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers reaffirm its endorsement of the principles of industrial unionism; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers at this twenty-first convention direct the Executive Council to undertake a referendum of the

membership on the question of affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers to the Committee for Industrial Organization; such referendum to be conducted in accordance with existing constitutional provisions at the discretion of the Executive Council; such referendum to be conducted no sooner than February first, 1938; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that, preceding such referendum, the Executive Council be instructed to make an exhaustive study on (1) the structure, functioning, dues, contracts, autonomy, etc., of the C.I.O. in its relation to labor; (2) the significance to the American Federation of Teachers of the proposed affiliation with the C.I.O. as concerns organizational campaigns and national and local legislative campaigns, as well as the future position and program of the American Federation of Teachers in the Committee for Industrial Organization, if affiliation is decided upon by the membership; and that the Executive Council be instructed to send a written report of its findings to every member of the American Federation of Teachers; and be it further

RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers protest the undemocratic action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in suspending unions affiliated to the Committee for Industrial Organization; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that the American Federation of Teachers refuse to pay the special per capita tax proposed by the Cincinnati conference of the American Federation of Labor; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: that for the purpose of unifying the American labor movement this Twenty-first Convention go on record as favoring the holding of a national convention of all bona fide trade unions, A.F.L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods, and genuine independent unions; and accordingly instruct our delegates to the 1937 convention of the American Federation of Labor to introduce such a resolution into that convention.

APPENDIX C

LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE C.I.O. and REPLY OF THE DIRECTOR

Box 112, Howard University
Washington, D. C.
December 18, 1937

Mr. John Brophy, Director
Committee for Industrial Organization
1106 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brophy:

As you probably know, the issue which dominated the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Madison, Wisconsin, August 23-27, 1937, was: *Shall A.F.T. change its labor affiliation from A. F. of L. to C.I.O.?* The issue was not resolved. Rather, the Convention provided, among other things: (1) that the Executive Council investigate certain questions germane to that issue, a report of its findings to be submitted to every member of the Federation; and (2) that, after February, 1938, and at the discretion of the Executive Council, there be conducted a referendum of the membership on the issue of affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers to the Committee for Industrial Organization. (See appended copy of Convention resolution.)

We have been authorized by the Executive Council to conduct the investigation referred to above. Much of the information we seek is available in official publications and reports of your organization. Other information we desire is set forth in the appended series of questions.

We solicit your cooperation in our investigation, and should appreciate a prompt response to this inquiry. Our final report must be submitted to the Executive Council at its Chicago meeting during the Christmas holidays.

Very truly yours,
THE COMMITTEE ON C.I.O. of the
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
Signed: DOXEY A. WILKERSON, *Chairman*
MICHAEL J. ECK, *Vice Pres.*
STANTON E. SMITH, *Vice Pres.*

QUERIES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS CONCERNING THE COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

I. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

A. Membership:

At the recent Atlantic City meeting of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the Director reported that the organization's membership then comprised:

(a) 32 national and international unions,
(b) over 600 local industrial unions,
(c) 4 state industrial councils and 78 city, county, and regional councils, and
(d) approximately four million workers.

1. What changes, if any, need to be made in the above figures in order to bring them up to date?
2. What other types of units, if any, are included in the membership of C.I.O?

B. Organizational Structure:

From the above mentioned report, it is understood that the affairs of the national C.I.O. are administered by:

(a) A central body of national officers, located at Washington, D. C.
(b) 48 regional directors,
(c) 10 sub-regional directors, and
(d) a staff of several hundred field representatives.

3. What other types of officers, if any, constitute a part of the administrative machinery of the national organization?
4. (a) What is the composition of the central administrative body? (b) What is the scope of its authority? (c) From what source, or sources, is its authority derived?
5. What are the functions of: (a) Regional directors? (b) Sub-regional directors? (c) Field representatives? (d) Any other types of administrative officials there may be?
6. What relationships (scope of authority, etc.) does *each* type of administrative agency (national officers, regional directors, etc.) bear: (a) to the several local, national, and international unions which comprise the membership of C.I.O.? (b) To the several local, county, and state industrial councils?
7. (a) Just what obligations (other than financial) do national, international, and local union affiliates owe to the national organization? (b) To what extent are such national and international affiliates autonomous organizations? (If possible, please append copies of charters issued to such affiliates as the American Newspaper Guild; Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians; United Office and Professional Workers of America).

C. Functioning:

8. (a) At what intervals are general conventions held? (b) What is their composition (i.e., basis of representation, etc.)? (c) What is the extent of their authority?
9. At what intervals, in what manner, and by what agency are selections made of (a) National officers? (b) Regional and sub-regional directors? (c) Field representatives? (d) Any other administrative officials there may be?
10. How, and by what body, are national policies formulated (e.g., concerning eligibility to membership, the issuance of charters, organizational campaigns, dues, legislative programs, etc.)?
11. What function does the central administrative body exercise in connection with the negotiation of a contract by an affiliated union?

D. Finances:

12. What is the cost to a national or international union of a charter with the Committee for Industrial Organization?
13. The Director reported at the recent Atlantic City meeting that:

    ". . . A rate of 5 cents per member per month has been established for affiliated national and international unions, becoming effective as of June 1, 1937. All unions which desire to remain affiliated with the C.I.O. are now required to make these per capita payments on the basis of their full membership."

    (a) Is it correct to assume that this policy would apply to the American Federation of Teachers were it to become affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization?

    (b) Just how does the national organization determine the extent of the "full membership" for which an affiliate should pay dues?
14. What other financial obligations, if any, does an affiliated national or international union owe to the C.I.O.?
15. At what intervals, and in what form, are financial reports of the C.I.O. made to its affiliated unions?

E. Constitution:

16. Is there a constitution, or other such instrument, which defines the structure and organic relationships of the Committee for Industrial Organization? (If so, please append a copy. In case of any of the above questions which are adequately covered by such a constitution, merely designate sections where the information requested may be obtained).
17. If there is no such constitution: (a) What is there to serve the same function? (b) Is the adoption of such a constitution planned for the near future? (c) If so, when? (d) How will it be formulated?

F. Geographical Distribution of Membership:

18. If convenient, please append a summary statement indicating the approximate total membership of C.I.O. affiliate in each state of the nation. Supplementary thereto would be desirable a similar breakdown for major cities in the country. In fact, as complete an analysis as can be provided—number of locals, chief industries, number of members, etc.;—would be very helpful. However, do not delay a reply if this information cannot readily be supplied.

II. Implications for A. F. T. of Affiliation With C. I. O.

From the general objectives of the Committee for Industrial Organization and its relations to the American labor movement, there are evident certain implications for A.F.T. of affiliation with C.I.O. Aside from these, there are certain more definite considerations relative to which information is desired. They are:

19. What assistance (financial or otherwise) could the American Federation of Teachers expect from the Committee for Industrial Organization in the former's campaigns to effect the organization into unions of increasing numbers of American teachers? (In addition to a direct answer, please cite illustrations from the experiences of other national and international affiliates).
20. What assistance (financial or otherwise) could the American Federation of Teachers expect from the Committee for Industrial Organization in connection with the former's legislative campaigns (e.g., for a democratic program of Federal aid to education, for state teacher-tenure laws, etc.)? (In addition to a direct answer, please cite illustrations from the experience of other national and international affiliates).
21. From the viewpoint of the Committee for Industrial Organization, in just what ways could, or should the affiliation of A.F.T. to the C.I.O. further the goals of organized American labor?

Please send responses to:

Doxey A. Wilkerson, *Chairman*
Committee on C.I.O.
American Federation of Teachers
Box 112, Howard University
Washington, D. C.

December 18, 1937.

RESPONSES OF C.I.O. TO A.F.T. QUERIES

Committee for Industrial Organization
1106 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.
December 26, 1937.

Doxey A. Wilkerson, Chairman,
Committee on C.I.O.,
American Federation of Teachers,
Box 112, Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In response to your questionnaire of December 18, permit me to set down the following answers.

A. Membership

1. There are at present 33 national and international unions affiliated to the C.I.O. The latest is the United Furniture Workers of America, affiliated December 7, 1937.

As of December 15, 1937, there were 697 Local Industrial Unions, 124 Industrial Union Councils, and 6 State Industrial Union Councils.

Present membership of the C.I.O. is approximately 4,000,000.

B. Organizational Structure

2. The C.I.O. has its headquarters in Washington, D. C., where the Chairman, John L. Lewis, the Director, John Brophy, and other officers and employees are situated.

The number of Regional Directors, Sub-Regional Directors, and Field Representatives fluctuates. There are at present over 60 Regional and Sub-Regional Directors, with offices in the United States and in Canada.

3. Remaining officers constituting a part of the administrative machinery of the C.I.O. consist of a Publicity Director, an Executive Assistant to the Chairman, a legal staff, editorial workers, research workers, and the necessary accounting, bookkeeping, stenographic and clerical staff.

4. The authority of the officers of the C.I.O. is derived from the unanimous action of the constituent unions of the C.I.O., expressed in the Atlantic City Conference of the C.I.O. during October, and previously. Full authority was conferred on Mr. Lewis, as Chairman, to conduct the affairs of the C.I.O. during the intervals between conferences and other meetings. Each constituent union has equal voice in the conferring of this authority.

5. Regional Directors and other field representatives are employed for one primary purpose—to carry out the task of organizing the unorganized. In this, they are instructed to aid trade union organization under the banner of the C.I.O. wherever such aid is needed, and to the fullest extent possible. They are responsible to the National headquarters of the C.I.O.

6. Regional Directors and other members of the field staff are not responsible directly to the affiliated national or international unions, though they are instructed to cooperate with them to the fullest measure. Their responsibility to delegate bodies depends on their membership or affiliation to such bodies. Here again they are instructed to aid such bodies as fully as may be needed.

7. As stated on the charter of each of our affiliated unions, national and international bodies are obliged to comply with "the rules, regulations and laws adopted by the Committee for Industrial Organization."

All affiliated national and international unions are autonomous. All national and international charters are similar in provisions.

C. Functioning

8. The Atlantic City Conference of the C.I.O., held in October 1937, provided for the calling of a national convention of the C.I.O. The last general conference of C.I.O. unions was held in Washington, in December 1937. At this and similar meetings in the past, each union was represented by its president or by some representative or representatives designated by the Union. Local Industrial Unions are represented by regional officers of the C.I.O. Each representative at such meetings has equal voice in the determination of policy.

9. National officers of the C.I.O. are elected by the vote of representatives of affiliated unions. At the time of the formation of the C.I.O. in November, 1935, Mr. Lewis was elected Chairman, Mr.

Charles P. Howard Secretary, and John Brophy Director. All presidents of affiliated national and international unions are officers of the C.I.O.

Regional Directors and other field officers are chosen on the basis of need for their services, and selected for their experience and their loyalty to the principles of industrial organization.

10. The policies of the C.I.O. are promulgated, as indicated in the answer to question B. 4, above, by the Chairman and other officers of the C.I.O., acting under the direction of the constituent unions.

11. The national office of the C.I.O. assists in the securing of contracts by all affiliated unions, but does not pass on their merits. This is left to the discretion of the unions themselves.

D. Finances

12. The Charter fee for an international union is $25.00.

13. All affiliated unions are expected to pay the per capita tax, which constitutes the income of the C.I.O.

The determination of membership is based on the figures of the affiliated unions.

14. An affiliated union owes no other financial obligation to the C.I.O. beyond the payment of per capita tax or other assessments that may be voted by the C.I.O.

15. Financial reports are made at meetings of the C.I.O., such as the conference at Atlantic City, N. J., in October, 1937.

E. Constitution

16. In the absence of a full national convention, in which delegates are represented on the basis of a certain number per unit of membership, the C.I.O. has not yet prepared a written constitution. The C.I.O. is governed throughout its actions by the policies and wishes of its affiliated unions, represented in conferences and other meetings, as indicated in the answers to questions C. 10 and B. 4 above.

17. Each of the affiliated national and international unions possesses a constitution or similar body of governing principles. Since these affiliates are the ruling bodies of the C.I.O., the C.I.O. is therefore governed by these governing principles.

The Atlantic City conference of the C.I.O. unanimously passed a resolution providing for the calling of a national convention, at which time a constitution will be discussed.

The date of this convention was not fixed at the conference.

A national constitution of the C.I.O. will follow the most democratic processes of the labor movement. As is well known, the C.I.O. represents a new concept of trade union democracy in the American labor movement. Without such an extension of trade union democracy as the C.I.O. represents, it would have been impossible to organize the 3,000,000 previously unorganized workers now members of the C.I.O. Each affiliate of the C.I.O. is fully autonomous. Since each has an equal voice in the formulation of C.I.O. policies, this autonomy will be preserved when a written constitution is prepared.

F. Distribution of Membership

18. The pamphlet, "The C.I.O., What It Is and How It Came To Be", a copy of which is appended, gives an accurate record of membership and accomplishment of the affiliated C.I.O. unions.

Implications to A.F.T. of C.I.O. Affiliation

19, 20. The C.I.O. has granted financial assistance, both in the form of direct loans and appropriations and in the form of paid organizers, to a large number of its affiliated unions in the past. The details of such assistance naturally cannot be discussed in a general memorandum of this nature. The C.I.O. in many public statements has vigorously promoted the passage of progressive legislation designed to further the interests of workers of all classes and occupations.

21. It is the repeated belief of the C.I.O. that the organization of all workers on the industrial plan is a necessity for the raising of living and working standards throughout the United States. This is evidenced by the way in which the C.I.O. has consistently organized hitherto unorganized workers in all branches of industry and in the technical and professional occupations. The addition of the organized teachers to the C.I.O. would of course be of value in aiding the carrying out of this great task.

Fraternally yours,

John Brophy, *Director.*

APPENDIX D

DISTRIBUTION OF A.F.T. LOCALS and of C.I.O. REGIONAL DIRECTORS and INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS by STATES AND REGIONS

Region	*State*	*No. of A.F.T. Locals (Oct., 1937)*	*No. of C.I.O. Regional Directors 12-15-37*	*No. of C.I.O. Industrial Union Councils 11-22-37*
Northeast	Connecticut	2	2	—
	Maine	—	1	—
	Vermont	1	—	—
	New Hampshire	—	1	—
	Massachusetts	6	1	3
	Rhode Island	—	2	—
	New Jersey	6	4	3
	New York	8	2	3
	Pennsylvania	11	4	14
	Delaware	—	1	—
	Maryland	1	2	2
	West Virginia	6	1	9
	Dist. of Col.	3	1	1
	Total	44	22	35
Southeast	Virginia	1	1	3
	N. Carolina	—	1	—
	S. Carolina	—	—	—
	Georgia	5	—	—
	Florida	—	—	—
	Alabama	1	1	8
	Mississippi	—	—	—
	Louisiana	2	—	—
	Arkansas	2	2	—
	Tennessee	5	1	2
	Kentucky	—	—	—
	Total	16	5	13
Southwest	Texas	—	1	1
	Oklahoma	1	1	1
	New Mexico	—	—	—
	Arizona	—	—	—
	Total	1	2	2
Middle	Ohio	15	7	15
	Indiana	4	1	10
	Illinois	9	3	7
	Michigan	9	1	4
	Wisconsin	20	1	3
	Minnesota	21	1	3
	Iowa	—	3	1
	Missouri	1	2	2
	Total	79	19	45
Northwest	N. Dakota	4	—	—
	S. Dakota	1	—	—
	Nebraska	—	1	—
	Kansas	—	1	—
	Montana	4	1	1
	Idaho	—	—	—
	Wyoming	2	—	—
	Colorado	1	1	—
	Utah	2	1	2
	Total	14	5	3
Far West	Washington	12	1	9
	Oregon	3	2	2
	California	13	4	7
	Nevada	—	—	—
	Total	28	7	18

NOTE: The above tabulation does not include 14 industrial union councils established since November 22, 1937.

APPENDIX E

LIST OF INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS

November 22, 1937

K. L. Cole, Ex. Sec.
Toledo IUC #Z-1
1605 Jefferson Ave.
Toledo, Ohio

Paul Rusen, Chairman
Steubenville, IUC #Z-2
104 S. 3rd Street
Steubenville, Ohio

William Leader, Pres.
Philadelphia IUC #Z-3
1420 N. Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Persa R. Bell, Sec.
Birmingham IUC #Z-4
1st Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Birmingham, Ala.

J. D. Kimberling, Sec.
Ark.-Okla. IUC #Z-5
720 Metropolitan Bldg.
Muskogee, Okla.

Bill Busick, Chairman
Los Angeles IUC #Z-6
116½ W. 9th Street
Los Angeles, Calif.

John Frank, Rec. Sec.
Northern Cambria IUC #Z-7
Box #133
Marsteller, Pa.

Andrew Loyek, Sec'y.
Marshall County IUC #Z-9
10 Hickory Ave.
Moundsville, W. Va.

Bernard Borah, Sec'y.
Knoxville IUC #Z-10
218 S. Gay Street, Box #1492
Knoxville, Tenn.

Chas. F. Stedman, Rec. Sec.
Vigo County IUC #Z-11
2043 N. 4th Street
Terre Haute, Indiana

Alma Nickerson, Sec'y
Wheeling IUC #Z-12
Box #3
Triadelphia, W. Va.

Hugh Wilson, Rec. Sec.
Sullivan County IUC #Z-13
Sullivan, Indiana

I. G. Stone, Pres.
I.U.C. of Appalachia #Z-15
Imboden, Va.

Robert Crawford, Rec. Sec.
I.U.C. of Fredericktown #Z-16
Box #3
Richeyville, Pa.

D. Keane, Sec'y.
Indianapolis IUC #Z-17
168 W. 9th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

O. S. Wensel, Sec'y.
Kiski Valley IUC #Z-18
411 Linden Street
Vandergrift, Pa.

Mr. Robert Light, Pres.
Logan IUC #Z-19
Box #347
Logan, W. Va.

E. E. Ward, Sec. Treas.
Alameda County IUC #Z-20
936 Broadway
Oakland, Calif.

W. R. Norman, Rec. Sec.
Stark County IUC #Z-21
1327 Cleveland Ave., S.W.
Canton, Ohio

Mr. M. Vranesh, Rec. Sec.
Allegheny Valley IUC #Z-22
Box #56
Rural Ridge, Pa.

Mr. A. D. McLeod, Pres.
Montana State IUC #Z-23
1217 8th Ave. S.
Great Falls, Mont.

Chester Black, Sec'y.
Walker County IUC #Z-24
Box #148
Jasper, Ala.

Elmer Fehlhaber, Sec.
Cleveland IUC #Z-27
Room 614 9th Chester Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio

Edward A. Brown, Rec. Sec.
Huntsville IUC #Z-28
410 Shannon St.
Huntsville, Ala.

John Carnahan, Pres.
Lower Thumb of Mich. IUC #Z-29
1914 Stone Street
Port Huron, Mich.

William Donahue, Sec.
Belmont County IUC #Z-30
3512 Trumbell Street
Bellaire, Ohio

Mr. R. Labounty, Fin. Sec. Treas.
Sandusky IUC #Z-31
1508 W. Tylor Street
Sandusky, Ohio

E. B. Shannon, Rec. Sec.
Welch IUC #Z-32
Box #828
Welch, W. Va.

Thomas Walmsley, Sec.
Roslyn & Cle Elum IUC #Z-34
Roslyn, Washington

C. L. Pegues, Fin. Sec. Treas.
Bessemer IUC #Z-35
1726½ 3rd Ave.
Bessemer, Ala.

Mr. A. Brilliant, Ex. Sec.
Kansas City IUC #Z-36
813 Walnut Street
Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. Wm. B. Vernon, Sec.
Shelby County IUC #Z-37
Box #57
Underwood, Ala.

Mr. Wm. Shaw, Rec. Sec.
Mercer County IUC #Z-38
Box #484
Princeton, W. Va.

Mr. Leo Kish, Pres.
Beckley IUC #Z-39
Glen Morgan, W. Va.

Agnes M. Hutton, Rec. Sec.
Trenton IUC #Z-40
355 Garfield Ave.
Trenton, N. J.

Bess Meblin, Rec. & Cor. Sec.
South Bend, IUC #Z-41
919 S. Michigan Street
South Bend, Indiana

Mr. D. J. Davis, Sec.
Herrin IUC #Z-42
217 N. 20th Street
Herrin, Ill.

Paul A. Nolf, Rec. Sec.
Indiana IUC #Z-43
Box #33
Ernest, Pa.

Mr. H. G. West, Fin. Sec.
Bibb County IUC #Z-44
West Blocton, Ala.

G. George De Nucci, Pres.
Franklin County IUC #Z-45
180 E. Long Street
Columbus, Ohio

Carl Rush, Sec. Treas.
Zeigler IUC #Z-46
319 Walnut Street
Zeigler, Ill.

F. G. Hunter, Dist. Org.
South Jersey IUC #Z-47
2332 Broadway
Camden, N. J.

Luther Slinkard, Rec. Sec.
St. Louis IUC #Z-48
3412 N. Union Street
St. Louis, Mo.

Gunnar Mickelsen, Dir.
Wisconsin State IUC #Z-49
3022 Plankinton Arc.
Milwaukee, Wis.

Paul Witte, Pres.
San Diego IUC #Z-50
852 8th Street
San Diego, Calif.

Leon J. Buckman, Sec.
Des Moines IUC #Z-51
707 Center Street
Des Moines, Iowa

Mr. J. W. Atwood
Grundy IUC #Z-52
Big Rock, Va.

J. H. Cheeks, Rec. Sec.
Richlands IUC #Z-53
Pocahontas, Va.

Mr. M. Adelman, Sec. Treas.
Milwaukee County IUC #Z-54
Room 3026 Plankington Ar.
Milwaukee, Wis.

John L. Reano, Pres.
Vermilion County IUC #Z-55
414 S. State St.
Westville, Ill.

Michael Howard, Sec.
Baltimore IUC #Z-56
1720 Eastern Ave.
Baltimore, Md.

Wm. Kelly, Jr., Sec. (Rec.)
Tarentum District IUC #Z-57
Rear 863 3rd Ave.
Brackenridge, Pa.

Wm. J. Moulton, Sec. Treas.
Perry County IUC #Z-58
46 S. Buckeye
Crooksville, Ohio

C. E. Hoskins, Sec.
Hocking & Sunday Creek IUC #Z-59
R.F.D. #2
Nelsonville, Ohio

Lawrence G. Crowe, Sec.
Anniston IUC #Z-60
1316 Mulberry Ave.
Anniston, Ala.

Tad C. Micheals, Sec. Treas.
Erie County IUC #Z-61
213 Root Bldg., 86 W. Chippewa St.
Buffalo, N. Y.

William Gettings, Pres.
Del Norte IUC #Z-62
Box #431
Crescent City, Calif.

E. H. Foley, Rec. Sec.
Williamson IUC #Z-63
Box #558
Williamson, W. Va.

Harry McAtee, Rec. Sec.
Greene County IUC #Z-64
990 Roosevelt St.
Linton, Ind.

H. C. Price, Rec. Sec.
Mullens IUC #Z-65
Mullens, W. Va.

Marie Andrus, Rec. Sec.
Erie IUC #Z-66
817 W. 20th St.
Erie, Pa.

Mr. P. R. McGraw, Pres.
Duluth IUC #Z-67
207 W. 5th St.
Duluth, Minn.

Carrie Jones, Rec. Sec.
Winfield IUC #Z-68
R.F.D. #1
Winfield, Ala.

George A. Ford, Rec. Sec.
Springfield IUC #Z-69
222½ E. Allen St.
Springfield, Ill.

J. C. Donald, Act. Pres.
Clay County IUC #Z-70
R. R. #3
Brazil, Indiana

W. J. Carney, Temp. Pres.
Greater Newark IUC #Z-71
81 Academy St.,
Newark, N. J.

Charles Foster, Sec.
Fort Wayne IUC #Z-72
248 Farmers Trust Bldg.
Fort Wayne, Indiana

Frank E. Patton, Rec. Sec.
Barberton, IUC #Z-73
505 Hopocan Ave.
Barberton, Ohio

Joseph Loffini, Sec. Treas. Gr. N.Y. Joint Bd. of Barbers & By-Culturists #Z-74
St. Dennis Bldg. 799 Bdwy.
New York City, N. Y.

John B. Easton, Pres.
West Virginia IUC #Z-75
308-10-12 Peoples Exchange Bank Building
Charleston, W. Va.

John Kurtz, Rec. Sec.
Tuscarawas County IUC #Z-76
213 E. 11th St.
Dover, Ohio

Otto Craft, Rec. Sec.
Vermillion County IUC #Z-77
940 S. 5th Street
Clinton, Indiana

Dell Frank, Rec. Sec.
Eau Claire IUC #Z-78
120 Illinois St.
Eau Claire, Wis.

Kelsey Cottle, Sec.
San Joaquin County IUC #Z-79
209 E. Channell St.
Stockton, Calif.

L. Goldblatt, Sec.
San Francisco Dist. IUC #Z-80
Room 509, 593 Market St.
San Francisco, Calif.

Thomas Bay, Sec. Treas.
New York Maritime Council #Z-81
10 Bridge St.
New York, N. Y.

Robert Decker, Sec. Treas.
Delaware County IUC #Z-82
922 Market St.
Marcus Hook, Pa.

Ruth Tennes, Rec. Sec.
Princeton District IUC #Z-83
R. R. #2
Mt. Carmel, Ill.

James Powers, Rec. Sec.
Lake County IUC #Z-84
822 Muirfield Ave.
Waukegan, Ill.

J. T. Dudley, Treas.
Sacramento IUC #Z-85
905 6th Street
Sacramento, Calif.

C. L. Skinner, Pres.
Akron IUC #Z-86
313 S. High St.
Akron, Ohio

Arthur Hartmen, Pres.
Greater Cincinnati IUC #Z-87
812 Keith Bldg.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Irene Dawson, Rec. Sec.
Portsmouth District IUC #Z-88
514 6th St.
Portsmouth, Ohio

Robert Stevenson, Rec. Sec.
Saginaw IUC #Z-89
1150 S. Warren Ave.
Saginaw, Mich.

Henry Hansen, Pres.
Coos Bay Area IUC #Z-90
1 L.W.U. Hiring Hall
North Bend, Ore.

Benjamin Silver, Rec. Sec.
Worcester IUC #Z-91
30 Oread St.
Worcester, Mass.

Philip Curatels, Rec. Sec.
La Salle County IUC #Z-92
606 E. 6th St.
Peru, Ill.

Alta Rosendahl, Sec. Treas.
Willapa Harbor IUC #Z-93
Box #424
Raymond, Washington

J. J. Wright, Sec.
Lake County IUC #Z-94
560 Broadway
Gary, Ind.

T. K. Hedrick, Sec. Treas.
Chattanooga IUC #Z-95
207 Ferber Building
Chattanooga, Tenn.

E. V. Bennett, Ex. Sec.
Seattle IU Labor Coun. #Z-96
3141 Arcade Bldg.
Seattle, Washington

Bennie Howell, Pres.
Floyd County IUC #Z-97
2218 Beeler St.
New Albany, Ind.

Jean J. Bellefenille, Rec. Sec.
Lowell IUC #Z-98
59 Barlett Street
Lowell, Mass.

B. M. Patten, Sec. Pro. Temp.
Snohomish County IUC #Z-100
2 Wisconsin Building
Everett, Washington

Norman H. Lange, Sec. Treas.
Tacoma IUC #Z-101
1113 Fawcett Ave.
Tacoma, Wash.

G. Brick Moir, Sec. Treas.
Grays Harbor IUC #Z-102
305½ E. Heron St.
Aberdeen, Wash.

Fred Petoskey, Gen. Sec.
Bay City IUC #Z-103
504 Mosher St.
Bay City, Mich.

A. C. Bishop, Sec.
Richland County IUC #Z-104
50½ Lily St.
Mansfield, Ohio

Fred Pezzini, Pres.
Western Mass. IUC #Z-105
172 Chestnut St.
Springfield, Mass.

David J. McDonald, Sec.
Steel City IUC #Z-106
3600 Grant Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

O. P. Taylor, Sec.
Thurston County IUC #Z-107
314½ Capitol Way N.
Olympia, Wash.

Sidney R. Katz, Sec.
Washington IUC #Z-108
1422 N St. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

L. H. Ammarell, Pres.
Berks County IUC #Z-109
632 Washington St.
Reading, Pa.

E. P. Geiger, Fin. Sec. Treas.
Greater Flint IUC #Z-110
2117 N. Stevenson St.
Flint, Mich.

H. W. Wier, Pres.
Corpus Christi Area #Z-111
Box #152
Ingleside, Texas

George Miller, Ex. Sec.
Bellingham IUC #Z-112
901 Newell Street
Bellingham, Washington

R. W. Parry, Sec. Treas.
Cowlitz County IUC #Z-113
206 Ross Bldg.
Longview, Washington

James S. Fantz, Treas.
Portland IUC #Z-114
816 Guardian Bldg.
Portland, Oregon

Anthony Rago, Vice Pres.
Lower Bucks County IUC #Z-115
1625 N. 15th St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Erwin Leppert, Pres.
Washington IUC #Z-116
370 McKinley Avenue
Washington, Pa.

Sidney R. Katz, Sec. Treas.
Maryland & Dist. of Col. IUC #Z-117
1010 Vermont Ave. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Martin Mackie, Fin. Sec. (REC.)
Iron Range IUC #Z-118
310 1st Street, N.
Virginia, Minn.

E. M. Royle, Sec. Treas.
Utah State IUC #Z-119
322 Beason Building
Salt Lake City, Utah

Margaret Larson, Rec. Sec.
Hennepin County IUC #Z-120
702 Pierce St., N. E.
Minneapolis, Minn.

A. H. White, Rec. Sec.
Carbon County IUC #Z-121
P. O. Box #507
Standardville, Utah

R. F. Caskey, Sec.
Lancaster County IUC #Z-122
Box #654
Lancaster, Pa.

APPENDIX F.

CHART OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE C.I.O.*

Original 8 Unions	*Date of Affiliation*	*Approx. Membership Before Affiliation(1)*	*Approx. Membership Sept., 1937(2)*	*Maximum Potential Membership(3)*
1. United Mine Workers	Nov. 1935	400,000	600,000	620,000
2. Int'l Typographical Union	"	73,400	80,000	82,000
3. Amal. Clothing Workers	"	100,000	200,000	200,000
4. Int'l Ladies Garment Workers	"	160,000	250,000	300,000
5. United Textile Workers (T. W. O. C.)	"	100,000	400,000	1,250,000
6. Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers	"	42,800	100,000	1,000,000
7. Cap and Millinery Workers	"	21,400	35,000	60,000
8. Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers	"	14,600	50,000	150,000
Nationals and Internationals Added Since Formation of the C.I.O.				
9. Federation of Flat Glass Workers	April 1936	14,000	18,000	18,000
10. United Automobile Workers	July 1936	19,000	375,000	500,000
11. United Rubber Workers	"	3,500	75,000	120,000
12. Amal. Association Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers (S. W. O. C.)	June 1936	9,200	500,000	800,000
13. United Electrical and Radio Workers	Nov. 1936	30,000	130,000	347,000
14. Marine and Ship Building Workers	"	10,000	25,000	75,000
15. United Shoe Workers	April 1937	20,000	51,000	300,000
16. American Communications Association	"	.....	10,000	350,000
17. Aluminum Workers of America	"	12,000	15,000	40,000
18. Transport Workers	May 1937	16,000	90,000	1,500,000
19. Architects, Engineers, Chemists, Technicians	"	6,000	7,000	250,000
20. National Leather Workers	"	15,000	15,000	80,000
21. United Retail Employees	"	15,000	40,000	3,000,000
22. Int'l Fur Workers Union	"	30,000	35,000	.....
23. Office and Professional Workers	"	10,000	25,000	3,800,000
24. American Newspaper Guild	June 1937	5,000	14,000	200,000
25. United Federal Workers	"	25,000	5,000	485,000
26. Nat'l. Die Casting League	"	.....	5,000	.....
27. State County and Municipal Workers	July 1937	.....	40,000	2,000,000
28. Agricultural, Canning, and Packing Workers	"	.....	100,000	4,400,000
29. National Maritime Union	"	38,000	38,000	300,000
30. Woodworkers Federation	"	100,000	100,000	1,000,000
31. Marine Engineers Beneficial Association	Aug. 1937	.....	7,000	.....
32. Int'l. Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union	"	.....	25,000	75,000

1 Figures taken from the report on membership of the American Federation of Labor Convention, 1936.

2 Figures from the offices of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the individual unions.

3 Figures drawn from the Statistical Abstract of the United States.

* From *C.I.O.—Industrial Unionism in Action,* J. Raymond Walsh, P. 156.

Report on

American Federation of Labor

At the December, 1937, meeting of the Executive Council, the "Report of the Committee on C.I.O.," ordered by the Twenty-first Annual Convention of A.F.T., was received and directed to be published in THE AMERICAN TEACHER. The Executive Council also ordered a similar study to be made of the A. F. of L., it, likewise, to be published in THE AMERICAN TEACHER. There follows the report of the Committee appointed to conduct the latter investigation.

Purpose and Scope

As in case of the "Report of the Committee on C.I.O.," the present report is restricted to a factual analysis of the membership, organizational structure, and functioning of the American Federation of Labor, together with its status as a labor movement. Also, from the viewpoint of the A. F. of L., attention is given to the implications for A.F.T. of continued affiliation with the A. F. of L.

The information here presented was obtained in conference with officers and from official documents of the A. F. of L., and particularly, from the very full response of the Federation to a questionnaire submitted to its President. The complete set of data supplied by the A. F. of L., upon request of the investigating Committee, is included in the Appendix to this report.

Membership

The American Federation of Labor, organized in 1881, is a federation of national and international unions, directly affiliated local unions, and central labor union bodies. On January 1, 1938, it comprised 104 national and international unions, 1,503 directly affiliated local unions, 49 state federations of labor and 738 city central labor unions. In all, its affiliated organizations comprise an individual membership of approximately three and one-half millions.

The national and international unions affiliated with A. F. of L. are representative of scores of different crafts and dozens of industrial fields. Among these affiliates are several unions whose membership consists predominantly of professional or other "white collar" workers; notably, Associated Actors and Artists of America, American Federation of Musicians, and American Federation of Government Employees, and, of course, the American Federation of Teachers.

During the two-year period ending in August, 1937, the number of affiliated national and international unions decreased from 109 to 100. However, during the same period, directly affiliated local unions increased from 1,354 to 1,406, and the aggregate number of individual members from 3,153,913 to 3,271,726. Between 1928 and August, 1935, membership in A. F. of L. increased from 2,896,063 to 3,153,913, a gain of nearly nine per cent. Since the latter date, even with the loss of the unions which formed the C.I.O., the individual membership of A. F. of L. increased to 3,468,885 by January 1, 1938, a gain of six per cent over August, 1935, and a gain of 19 per cent over 1928.

Organizational Structure

The officers of A. F. of L. consist of a President, Secretary-Treasurer, and 15 Vice-Presidents, all of whom constitute the Executive Council. The authority of officers is derived from the Constitution, significant sections of which are quoted below.

Article VI, Sec. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President with the approval of the Executive Council shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall

hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor."

Article IX, Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Article IX, Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

Article IX, Sec. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

The national office of A. F. of L. is located in Washington, D. C. There stationed are the President and Secretary-Treasurer, together with the Legislative Committee, Director of Organization, Research Staff, Director of Publicity, Editor of the *Weekly News Service*, and other employees.

In addition to the central administrative staff, A. F. of L. maintains regional and local representatives "in every metropolitan center in the United States." There is a staff of 263 paid organizers, including those acting in the capacity of regional organizers. In addition, over 400 general organizers are employed from time to time on specific assignments. There are also 1,317 duly certified district organizers who serve on a volunteer basis. "The total number of organizers, including regional, general and district organizers, available to serve the needs of affiliated unions is 1,975." This force is under the supervision of the Director of Organization, who, in turn, is directly responsible to the President. "The services of the organizing staff are available at all times to national, international, and local unions" for assistance in connection with organizing, negotiating agreements, etc.

Attention should be called to one other organizational structure of the A. F. of L., namely, its "departments." According to the Constitution, "Each Department [is] to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department . . ." There are at present four such Departments: Building Trades, Metal Trades, Railway Shop Employees, and Union Hotel Trades, together with 712 local department councils. At one time there was also a Mining Department. Each such unit consists of affiliated national and international unions relating to a given type of industrial work. Each has its own officers, maintains its own local department councils, holds its own conventions, finances its own program, and sends one delegate to the general A. F. of L. Convention. In a few instances a department (e.g., the Metal Trades Department) has negotiated an agreement covering all unions (e.g., all metal trades unions) in a given industrial establishment.

Functioning

The Constitution of the A. F. of L. defines explicitly the policies and procedures of the organization. Several of these warrant brief mention here.

Conventions:

The general conventions of the A. F. of L. meet annually at ten o'clock in the morning on the first Monday in October, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, in which years the conventions meet on the third Monday in November.

Election of Officers:

The President, Secretary-Treasurer, and 15 Vice-Presidents are elected annually by the Convention. Organizers, regional representatives, and other employees are designated, appointed, or employed by the President.

Finances:

A fee of $5.00 is charged national and international unions for a Certificate of Affiliation. There is also a fee of $10.00 to cover the costs of a seal and a set of books for financial records.

Aside from these initial fees, each affiliated national and international union is required to pay a per capita tax of one cent per member per month on full paid-up membership.

The Executive Council is empowered to declare a levy of 1c per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year to assist in the support of an affiliated national or international union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout. Other assessments may be levied when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention. Illustrative in this regard is the 1c per member per month organizing campaign fee assessed by the Cincinnati Conference in May, 1937, and ordered to be continued by the Convention in Denver, during November, 1937.

Detailed financial reports of the A. F. of L. are rendered to affiliated national and international unions four times a year.

Autonomy:

From time to time, conventions of A. F. of L. have stated explicitly that affiliated unions are autonomous organizations. The following statement was adopted by the 1922 Convention:

> "Firmly in accord with the principles and methods of democracy, the A. F. of L. has opposed the spirit or methods of dictatorship, within or without the trade

union movement. We believe that only through voluntary association, through voluntary cooperation and federation, can the American workingmen successfully and effectively work out their industrial problems. Twenty-one years ago the policy of the A. F. of L. towards its affiliated organizations, their jurisdiction, their right to self-government, their freedom to develop and apply such form or organization as seemed most advantageous to them was adopted. It is most advisable that every trade unionist and every friend of our movement should be thoroughly familiar with this policy, and with this purpose in mind, we now reaffirm and re-endorse the decision relative to the rights of affiliated organizations adopted by the Scranton convention of 1901."

Contracts:

"Whenever called upon by an affiliated national or international union, but only at the express request of such union, the President may authorize any available regional or local organizers or representatives to render every possible assistance to such union in order to bring the negotiations of a contract to successful conclusion."

Constitution:

A more complete statement of the functioning of the A. F. of L. may be gained from its Constitution, "As Adopted at the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention Held at Denver, Colorado, October 4 to 15, Inclusive, 1937." Certain portions of that Constitution are here reproduced in the Appendix.

Status as a Labor Movement

The long history and development of the American Federation of Labor are well known to all persons interested in organized labor. It should suffice, therefore, here to present merely one index of its status as a labor movement; namely, the number and distribution of its city central labor unions.

Attention has previously been called to the fact that there are 49 state federations of labor and 738 city central labor unions affiliated with A. F. of L. The distribution of 735 of these central bodies, by geographical regions, is shown in Table I.

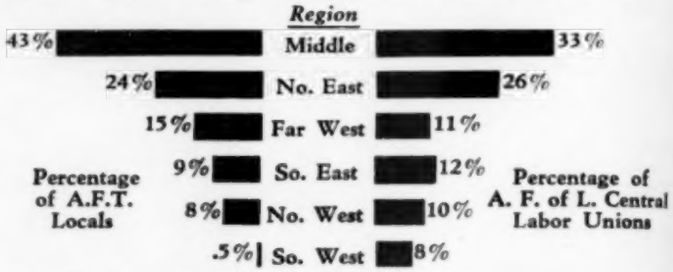
Table I. Distribution by Regions of A. F. of L. City Central Labor Unions

Region	No. of States with City Central Labor Unions	Number of City Central Unions
Northeast	12	187
Southeast	11	88
Southwest	4	59
Middle	8	231
Northwest	9	68
Far West	4	78
Alaska	1	2
Panama	..	1
Puerto Rico	..	2
Canada	..	19
Total Continental U. S.	49	711
Grand Total		735

It will be noted that city central labor unions are concentrated primarily in the northeastern and middle regions of the country. Among individual states, Illinois with 60 and Pennsylvania with 54 have the largest number of city central bodies. There are 48 such delegate bodies in Ohio, 40 in both New York and California, 32 in both Indiana and Texas, 30 in Wisconsin, 27 in Massachusetts, and 24 in Washington. In all, these ten states include over one-half of the total number of city central unions in continental United States.

The percentage distribution of A. F. of L. city central labor unions and of A.F.T. locals among the several geographical regions is portrayed graphically in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Percentage Distribution of A.F.T. Locals and A. F. of L. Central Labor Unions, by Geographical Regions of the Nation.



It will be noted that, by and large, the same general pattern of regional distribution obtains both for A.F.T. locals and for A. F. of L. city central labor unions. The most notable variation occurs in the Middle Region, where A.F.T. locals are more greatly concentrated proportionately than are A. F. of L. central bodies.

Regional groupings, of course, may conceal variations, among communities within a given area. One measure of the extent of such variations among the main centers of A.F.T. strength is afforded by the incidence of central labor unions among cities with large numbers of A.F.T. members. The "Statistical Report" of the Secretary-Treasurer, as of October, 1937, lists 17 cities with approximately 200 or more members each. These cities are listed below. Crosses designate the ones in which A. F. of L. central labor unions are located.

Cities with 200 or more A.F.T. Members	*Cities with A. F. of L. Central Labor Unions*
New York	X
Chicago	X
Cleveland	X
Atlanta	X
Philadelphia	X
St. Paul	X
Toledo	X
Chattanooga	X
Cincinnati	X
Springfield (Ohio)	X
Buffalo	X
District of Columbia	X
Gary (affiliated with Lake County Central Labor Body)	
Butte	X
Minneapolis	X
Milwaukee	X
Detroit	X

The 18,505 A.F.T. members in these cities constitute 79 per cent of the total paid-up membership of the organization at the time of the Secretary-Treasurer's report. Central labor unions are located in all but one of the 17 cities.

Included in the Appendix is a state-by-state tabulation of A.F.T. locals and A. F. of L. city central labor unions. It will there be noted that there are one or more central labor unions in each state.

Implications for A.F.T.

The Report of the Committee on C.I.O. quoted the reply of the Director of that organization to certain questions relating to the implications for A.F.T. of the proposed change of labor affiliation to C.I.O. Similarly, the President of the A. F. of L. was asked the following questions concerning the "implications for A.F.T. of continued affiliation with A. F. of L.":

18. What assistance (financial or otherwise) can the American Federation of Teachers expect from the American Federation of Labor in the former's campaigns to effect the organization into unions of increasing numbers of American teachers?
19. ——— In connection with the former's legislative campaigns (e.g., for a democratic program of Federal aid to education, for state teacher-tenure laws, etc.)?
20. From the viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor, in just what ways could, or should, the continued affiliation of A.F.T. to the A. F. of L. further the goals of organized American labor?

The responses elicited by these queries are too long to be reproduced here. They may be found in the Appendix. A brief digest thereof, together with selected quotations, is provided below.

18. "The resources of the American Federation of Labor in furthering the success of organizing campaigns among teachers throughout the United States are at the disposal of the American Federation of Teachers by virtue of its affiliation. These resources fall into several specific catagories." The categories mentioned are:

    (1) an experienced organizing staff, (2) city central labor unions, (3) state federations of labor, and (4) "the influence and prestige" of the national organization. "The record of achievement through the utilization of all of these channels in the past is the strongest basis for successful organization of those teachers who are still outside the ranks of the labor movement."

    "The American Federation of Labor has always furnished financial aid for organization and other purposes to its affiliated bodies, including the American Federation of Teachers. The policy of the American Federation of Labor in granting financial aid to its affiliated bodies still continues. The nature and details of such financial assistance are so varied that they cannot be fully discussed in a general report of this kind."

19. "The extent of the ability on the part of the American Federation of Labor to effectively assist the American Federation of Teachers to serve the interests of organized teachers through legislation can be best judged in the light of the record as it stands to date. The American system of public education owes its existence to a very large extent to the labor movement for it was organized labor's agitation for free public schools that has served to translate this demand into a realty." Attention is called to numerous convention resolutions relating to improved educational conditions, and to several definite achievements said to result largely from A. F. of L. activities. Included among the latter are: (1) enactment of teachers' pension and retirement legislation in the District of Columbia around 1917, 1918, and 1919; (2) defeat in 1927 of a proposed Massachusetts measure to take state aid away from schools whose teachers joined the union; (3) "beneficial legislation for teachers in Illinois and Minnesota" in the same year; and (4) abolition of a "yellow-dog" contract provision for teachers in Seattle in 1928.
20. "The organization and growth of the American Federation of Teachers was made possible by the unswerving purpose on the part of the American Federation of Labor to build up a strong and effective union among the teachers of America. The record of organization of teachers' unions is a record of courageous struggles against heavy odds. Organized teachers have often met with critical situations and obstacles which could not be surmounted without the support of unions united within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. The best test of the significance of the continued affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers with the American Federation of Labor is provided by the past record, which speaks for itself. Officers and members of the American Federation of Teachers have brought within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor outstanding leadership and a record of achievement. At the same time the American Federation of Teachers needs now, more than it ever did before, the support of the American Federation of Labor in order to successfully carry out its progressive program in improving the conditions of American teachers by means of democratic organization into unions."

Respectfully submitted,
THE COMMITTEE ON A. F. of L.
Signed: DOXEY A. WILKERSON, *Chairman*
LILLIAN HERSTEIN
MICHAEL J. ECK
STANTON E. SMITH

APPENDICES

A. Letter and Questionnaire to Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.
B. Response of Mr. Green to Letter and Questionnaire.
C. National Principles Incorporated in American Federation of Labor Educational Policy Relating to Teachers at the 1919 Convention.
D. Actions Relative to Public Education Taken by 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.
E. Excerpts from the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.
F. National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.
G. City Central Labor Unions of the A. F. of L.
H. Distribution of A.F.T. Locals and A. F. of L. City Central Labor Unions, by Geographical Regions and by States.

APPENDIX A

Box 112
Howard University
Washington, D. C.
January 26, 1938

Mr. William Green, President
The American Federation of Labor
Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brother Green:

As you probably know, the issue which dominated the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, Madison, Wisconsin, August 23-27, 1937,

was: *Shall A.F.T. Change its Labor Affiliation from A. F. of L. to C.I.O.?* The issue was not resolved. Rather, the Convention provided, among other things: (1) that the Executive Council investigate certain questions germane to that issue, a report of its findings to be submitted to every member of the Federation; and (2) that, after February, 1938, and at the discretion of the Executive Council, there be conducted a referendum of the membership on the issue of affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers to the Committee for Industrial Organization. (See appended copy of Convention resolution.)

The above mentioned investigation of C.I.O. has been completed and ordered to be published by the Executive Council of A.F.T. We have been authorized to make a comparable study of the A. F. of L., the report thereof to be similarly printed and distributed among our members. Much of the information we seek is available in official publications and reports of the American Federation of Labor. Other information we desire is set forth in the appended series of questions.

We solicit your cooperation in our investigation, and should appreciate a prompt response to this inquiry. We are eager, if at all possible, to have the reports on A. F. of L. and C.I.O. appear simultaneously next month in our official organ, *The American Teacher.*

Fraternally yours,
THE COMMITTEE ON A. F. of L.
DOXEY A. WILKERSON, *Chairman*
LILLIAN HERSTEIN
Chicago, Illinois
MICHAEL J. ECK, *Vice-President*
Cleveland, Ohio
STANTON E. SMITH, *Vice-President*
Chattanooga, Tennessee

QUERIES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS CONCERNING THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

I. Membership and Administrative Organization

A. Membership:

1. Aggregate numbers of individual memberships in A. F. of L.:
   (a) During 1928?
   (b) Just before the organization of C. I. O.?
   (c) At the present time?
2. Number of national and international unions affiliated with A. F. of L.:
   (a) During 1928?
   (b) Just before the organization of C. I. O.?
   (c) At the present time?
3. Number of local unions which are not members of national or international unions, but which are affiliated with A. F. of L. at the present time? (Please append a roster of national and international unions, indicating the membership of each.)
4. Number of central trades councils: Local? State federations? (Please append a list of such councils, noting the location of each.)

B. Organizational Structure:

5. (a) What officials comprise the central administrative staff of A. F. of L.?
   (b) What is the scope of their authority?
   (c) From what source, or sources, is such authority derived?
6. (a) What, if any, regional or other officials constitute a part of the administrative staff of the national A. F. of L.? (b) What are the functions of *each?* (c) What is the relationship of *each:* To the several local, national, and international unions which comprise the membership of A. F. of L.? To local and state federations? (Please supply a roster of such regional or other offices as are a definite part of the national administrative machinery, though not located at the central office.)
7. (a) Just what obligations (other than financial) do national, international and local affiliates owe to the national organization? (b) To what extent are such national and international affiliates autonomous organizations?

C. Functioning:

8. (a) At what intervals are general conventions held? (b) What is their composition (i.e., basis of representation, etc.)? (c) What is the extent of their authority?
9. At what intervals, in what manner, and by what agency are selections made of: (a) national officers? (b) such regional or other officials as there may be?
10. How, and by what body, are national policies formulated (e.g., concerning eligibility to membership, the issuance of charters, organizational campaigns, dues, legislative programs, etc.)?
11. What function does the central administrative body exercise in connection with the negotiation of a contract by an affiliated union?

D. Finances:

12. What is the cost to a national or international union of a charter with the A. F. of L.?
13. What per capita membership payments are required of national and international unions?
14. What other financial obligations, if any, does an affiliated national or international union owe to the A. F. of L.?
15. At what intervals, and in what form, are financial reports of the A. F. of L. made to its affiliated unions?

E. Constitution:

16. Please append four copies of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. (In case of any of the above questions which are adequately covered by the constitution, merely designate sections where the information requested may be obtained.)

F. Geographical Distribution of Membership:

17. If convenient, please append a summary statement indicating the approximate total membership of A. F. of L. affiliates in each state of the nation. Supplementary thereto would be desirable a similar breakdown for major cities in the country. In fact, as complete an analysis as can be provided—number of locals, chief industries, number of members, etc.—would be very helpful. However, do not delay a reply if this information cannot readily be supplied.

II. Implications for A.F.T. of Continued Affiliation with A. F. of L.

18. What assistance (financial or otherwise) can the American Federation of Teachers expect from the American Federation of Labor in the former's campaigns to effect the organization into unions of increasing numbers of American teachers?
19. What assistance (financial or otherwise) can the American Federation of Teachers expect from the American Federation of Labor in connection with the former's legislative campaigns (e.g., for a democratic program of Federal aid to education, for state teachers-tenure laws, etc.)?
20. From the viewpoint of the American Federation of Teachers, in just what ways could, or should, the continued affiliation of the A.F.T. to the A. F. of L. further the goals of organized American labor?

PLEASE SEND RESPONSES TO: :

DOXEY A. WILKERSON, Chairman
Committee on A. F. of L.
American Federation of Teachers
Box 112, Howard University
Washington, D. C.

January 26, 1938.

APPENDIX B

February 11, 1938.

Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, Chairman,
Committee on A. F. of L.,
American Federation of Teachers,
Box 112, Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am glad to furnish to the American Federation of Teachers answers to the questionnaire you submitted in your letter of January 26.

All information contained in the answers to your queries is based on the official records of the American Federation of Labor, and is documented throughout. As you well know, teachers' unions began their organization within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor at the turn of the century. Every inch of the growth of the American Federation of Teachers, since its formation in May, 1916, has been achieved as a result of the unceasing assistance and close cooperation on the part of the American Federation of Labor as your organization's parent body. In view of this, the extent of this cooperation, as reflected in the official actions of officers and members of the American Federation of Labor in annual conventions, is briefly reviewed in answer to specific questions raised in your questionnaire.

I trust that the accompanying information will satisfactorily meet your requirements.

Fraternally yours,
WM. GREEN, *President*
American Federation of Labor.

I. Membership and Administrative Organization

A. Paid Membership:

1. Aggregate number of individual memberships in A. F. of L.:

(a) 1928	2,896,063
(b) August 1935	3,153,913
(c) August 1937	3,271,726
January 1, 1938	3,468,885

2. Number of national and international unions affiliated with A. F. of L.:

	Number	*Paid Membership*
(a) 1928	107	2,870,777
(b) August 1935	109	2,933,858
(c) August 1937	100	3,039,026

3. Directly affiliated unions:

	Number	*Paid Membership*
(a) 1928	373	25,286
(b) August 1935	1,354	111,489
(c) August 1937	1,406	132,700

On January 1, 1938, there were 104 national and international unions and 1,503 directly affiliated local unions. A list of national and international local unions is appended herewith.

Paid membership figures and figures indicating the number of unions for 1937 do not include those of the suspended national and international unions or those which withdrew.

4. At the present time there are 49 state federations of labor and 738 city central labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

There are also four departments and 712 local department councils.

A list of city central labor unions indicating their location is appended herewith.

B. Organizational Structure:

5. (a) The officers of the Federation consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents and a Secretary-Treasurer. The officers are elected by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor annually. The officers of the Federation constitute the Executive Council.

The administrative work of the Federation is carried on by the President and the Secretary-Treasurer. In the performance of their duties the President and the Secretary-Treasurer are assisted by the Legislative Committee in charge of the legislative work, Director of Organization in charge of the organizing staff, the Research Staff in charge of information and research services and of publications, Director of Publicity in charge of public relations, Editor of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service, which furnishes news to the labor press, and other employees on the central staff of the Federation performing duties incidental to the administrative work of the Federation.

In addition special committees of the Executive Council of the Federation are designated from time to time to carry out duties arising from specific mandates of the Convention or from decisions of the Executive Council in connection with special legislative and administrative matters.

(b) and (c) The scope and source of authority of the President, Secretary-Treasurer and the Executive Council are in accordance with the requirements of Articles VI, VII and IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Excerpts from the Federation Constitution indicating the scope and source of authority of the officers of the Federation are appended herewith.

6. (a) Regional and local representatives of the Federation are maintained in every metropolitan center in the United States. Regional offices of the Federation, each in charge of a general organizer, are maintained in:

New York City, N. Y.	Detroit, Mich.
Buffalo, N. Y.	Flint, Mich.
Rochester, N. Y.	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Utica, N. Y.	Minneapolis, Minn.
Boston, Mass.	Des Moines, Iowa
Philadelphia, Pa.	Kansas City, Kansas
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Denver, Colo.
Erie, Pa.	Little Rock, Ark.
Newark, N. J.	Seattle, Wash.
Jersey City, N. J.	Portland, Ore.
Baltimore, Md.	San Francisco, Calif.
Washington, D. C.	Los Angeles, Calif.
Roanoke, Va.	Houston, Texas
Norfolk, Va.	San Antonio, Texas
Charleston, W. Va.	Fort Worth, Texas
Cleveland, Ohio	Phoenix, Arizona
Akron, Ohio	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Cincinnati, Ohio	Atlanta, Ga.
Toledo, Ohio	Savannah, Ga.
Lima, Ohio	Charlotte, N. C.
Ironton, Ohio	Birmingham, Ala.
Indianapolis, Ind.	Tampa, Fla.
Chicago, Ill.	Toronto, Canada
Springfield, Ill.	Montreal, Canada
Milwaukee, Wis.	

(b) Each general organizer in the locality enumerated has general supervision over the work of other organizers in his region or territory. Through his regional office organization problems arising in a territory entrusted to such general organizer are cleared, assignments of organizers are made and organizing work is otherwise directed so as to make possible the most effective servicing the organizing needs of the workers

as well as the current needs of national, international and directly affiliated unions in negotiations of agreements, collective bargaining and in other problems.

The Federation maintains a staff of 263 paid organizers throughout the country, including those acting in the capacity of regional organizers. In addition, over 400 general organizers and organizers for the trade are employed from time to time on specific assignments made by the Federation. There are also 1,317 district organizers throughout the country who hold credentials as organizers and whose services are available without compensation when need for their assistance may arise. Although district organizers serve on a voluntary basis their expenses are defrayed by the Federation where specific assignments are given them by the Federation. The total number of organizers, including regional, general and district organizers, available to serve the needs of affiliated unions is 1,975.

The entire organizing force of the Federation is under the supervision of the Director of Organization, who coordinates and directs organization activities from the Federation headquarters in Washington. The Director of Organization is directly responsible to the President of the American Federation of Labor.

(c) The services of the organizing staff are available at all times to national, international and local unions for every type of assistance that may be required in organizing work, in conducting wage negotiations, in drafting and submission of agreements to employers, and otherwise carrying out the objectives of the American Federation of Labor in the service of its membership. In each state and locality to which the paid organizers are assigned they are charged with the duty of establishing a close basis of cooperation with state federations of labor and local central labor bodies in furthering the interests of every affiliated organization in each locality.

7. (a) Obligations of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor arise from the common objectives pursued by the unions joined in the Federation. The American Federation of Labor was founded in order to "adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled". To achieve this purpose it is the object of the Federation to encourage the formation and to bring about a closer federation of unions through the organization of central trade and labor unions to provide further combinations of unions through state federations of labor for the purpose of securing legislation in the interest of the working masses. Furthermore, it is the object of the Federation to establish national and international trade unions and to promote and advance such bodies. It is also the purpose of the Federation to aid and encourage the labor press of America. The basic non-financial obligations of national and international unions are stated in Section 4 of Article II of the Federation's Constitution:

> "to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor."

(b) *Autonomy.* Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, adopted in 1886, declared as one of the objects of the organization: "The establishment of national and international trade unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies." This constitutional provision became effective on March 1, 1887, after approval by affiliated unions. Out of this basic principle of the guaranteed autonomy of the affiliated organizations grew the entire procedure for the adjustment of jurisdictional disputes and the adjudication of jurisdictional claims by the Federation.

The Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1901 declared that the American Federation of Labor did not have mandatory power to legislate for national and international unions. A declaration of principles on trade autonomy affirming union democracy and voluntarism as basic to the union structure was adopted by the Scranton convention and reaffirmed at subsequent conventions, notably in 1922. The 1901 declaration stated that: "The American Federation of Labor, being a voluntary association, cannot direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to, or in conflict with, established trade union laws". It further stated that "the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitrament. The 1922 convention, in dealing with the question of autonomy, adopted the following statement:

> "Firmly in accord with the principles and methods of democracy, the A. F. of L. has opposed the spirit or methods of dictatorship, within or without the trade union movement. We believe that only through voluntary association, through voluntary cooperation and federation, can the American workingmen successfully and effectively work out their industrial problems. Twenty-one years ago the policy of the A. F. of L. towards its affiliated organizations, their jurisdiction, their right to self-government, their freedom to develop and apply such form or organization as seemed most advantageous to them was adopted. It is most advisable that every trade unionist and every friend of our movement should be thoroughly familiar with this policy, and, with this purpose in mind, we now reaffirm and re-endorse the decision relative to the rights of affiliated organizations adopted by the Scranton convention of 1901."

8. (a) The general conventions of the American Federation of Labor meet annually at 10 o'clock a.m. on the first Monday in October, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday in November.

(b) The basis of representation in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor is prescribed by Article IV, Section 1 of the American Federation of Labor Constitution as follows:

> "From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates, sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on; From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

The procedure for the election of delegates to the convention and the basis on which votes are cast and other regulations governing convention representation are set forth in Sections 2-6 of Article IV of the Federation constitution, which are quoted in full.

> "Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.
>
> Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-

tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the Penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

(c) The convention of the American Federation of Labor is the supreme governing body of the Federation. The actions adopted by the majority vote of a convention are final and binding upon the constituent organizations and cannot be changed or rescinded except by a majority vote of a subsequent convention.

Provision for special conventions is made in Section 2 of Article III of the Federation's constitution as follows:

"Sec. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention."

9. (a) The officers of the Federation consist of a President, fifteen vice-presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer. The officers are elected annually by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention. (Article V, Section 1, American Federation of Labor Constitution)

(b) Organizers, regional representatives and other employees of the Federation are designated, appointed or employed by the President. Whenever the interests of the Federation require, the President may, in his discretion, authorize any such organizer or representative to represent him and act in his behalf on specific matters.

10. National policies of the Federation are formulated and adopted by the Convention. During the interim of conventions the Executive Council is vested by the Federation Constitution with the following powers and duties related to formulation of policy:

ARTICLE IX—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE XIV—MISCELLANEOUS

Section 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

It will be noted that under Article IX, Section 12, of the Constitution, the Executive Council of the Federation shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the Federation by a roll-call vote.

11. Whenever called upon by an affiliated national or international union, but only at the express request of such union, the President may authorize any available regional or local organizers or representatives to render every possible assistance to such union in order to bring the negotiations of a contract to siccessful conclusion.

D. Finances:

12. The certificate fee for affiliated unions granted certificates of affiliation by the President of the Federation, by and with

the consent of the Executive Council to all national and international unions is $5.00.

13. A per capita tax on full paid up membership of national and international unions is required in the amount of 1c per member per month.

14. At the time of the issuance of the charter an affiliated national or international union is required to pay $10.00 to cover the cost of the authorized official seal of such national or international union and of a set of books for financial records furnished by the Federation. The payment of $10.00 covers the cost of the entire outfit and is in addition to the $5.00 fee payable for a certificate of affiliation.

    The Executive Council is empowered to declare a levy of 1c per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year *to assist in the support of an affiliated national or international union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.*

    Other assessments may be levied when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention. Such a special assessment of 1c per member per month for the purpose of carrying on an organizing campaign by the Federation was endorsed and approved by the conference of representatives of national and international unions held in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 24-25, 1937. The fifty-seventh annual convention of the Federation held at Denver in November, 1937, authorized the continuance of this special assessment.

15. Financial reports of the American Federation of Labor are rendered to the affiliated national and international unions four times a year. These quarterly reports contain a detailed itemized statement of all receipts and of all expenditures made by the Federation during the quarter next preceding the issuance of each report.

E. Constitution:

16. Four copies of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor are appended as requested.

F. Geographical Distribution of Membership:

17. No figures are available indicating the distribution of the Federation membership by states. Although repeated attempts have been made to secure figures from affiliated national and international unions showing the geographical distribution of the membership, the method of record keeping used by most unions made it impossible to secure such reports. At the same time attempted checks of union membership through state federations of labor showed that complete figures could not be secured by this method. There is, however, a close correlation between the geographical distribution of union membership and the distribution of population and industrial concentration.

II. Implications for American Federation of Teachers of Continued Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor

18. *Assistance in the organizing campaigns.* The resources of the American Federation of Labor in furthering the success of organizing campaigns among teachers throughout the United States are at the disposal of the American Federation of Teachers by virtue of its affiliation. These resources fall into several specific categories:

    (1) *Organizing facilities and financial assistance.* The accumulated experience of many years in approaching, planning and carrying out an organizing campaign among teachers makes possible assistance from the organizing staff of the Federation of the type that could not be secured from any other source.

    (2) The American Federation of Labor has always furnished financial aid for organization and other purposes to its affiliated bodies, including the American Federation of Teachers. The policy of the American Federation of Labor in granting financial aid to its affiliated bodies still continues. The nature and details of such financial assistance are so varied that they cannot be fully discussed in a general report of this kind.

    (3) *City Central Labor Unions.* Through the affiliation with City Central Labor Unions, the entire strength of organized labor in a community is ready to give its backing both to the organization work and in making representations to the city government. With the mass support of Federation unions in individual communities, organizing work can be successful in many instances in which a local teachers' union could not succeed if it acted alone.

    (4) *State Federations of Labor.* In many phases closely related to organizing work, especially those dealing with state legislation, the affiliation of teachers' unions with the State Federations of Labor and their participation in the formulation of the state legislative program is essential to the success of the organizing campaign.

    (5) *National Representation.* In dealing with the legislative and administrative problems requiring representation before Congress, and administrative agencies of the Federal government, the American Federation of Labor again offers the facilities of its national organization in backing the National program of the American Federation of Teachers. The influence and prestige of the American Federation of Labor is as indispensable to the success of a Federal educational program as is the cooperation of State Federations of Labor in individual states and of Central Labor Unions in individial municipalities. The The record of achievement through the utilization of all of these channels in the past is the strongest basis for successful organization of those teachers who are still outside the ranks of the labor movement.

19. The extent of ability on the part of the American Federation of Labor to effectively assist the American Federation of Teachers to serve the interests of organized teachers through legislation can be best judged in the light of the record as it stands to date. The American system of public education owes its existence to a very large extent to the labor movement for it was organized labor's agitation for free public schools that has served to translate this demand into a reality.

    By 1881, compulsory school attendance laws had been enacted in 16 states and the District of Columbia. Every state now has a compulsory school attendance law.

    It was in 1902 that the public school teachers of Chicago took the historic and courageous stand in applying for a union charter from the American Federation of Labor, a move which promptly invoked the wrath and opened opposition of a Board of Education dominated by a book trust. It was the 1902 Convention of the American Federation of Labor that welcomed the public school teachers into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor and pledged the support of organized labor to the work of organizing teachers throughout the nation.

    In 1910 and 1913, the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor went on record as demanding higher salaries for school teachers, salaries sufficient to secure the services of teachers best qualified to raise the educational standards of the country. These conventions also stressed the need for increasing the number of school teachers so that a substantial and competent teaching force could be developed throughout our school system.

    The 1915 Convention of the Federation declared:

    > "The spirit of unfreedom has characterized the policy of many of the boards of education of our cities. These boards of education consist of individuals who are either elected by the people or usually in the larger cities appointed by the mayor. As a general thing they represent not the masses of the people but the employers and the corporate interests. Their direction over school affairs is a 'business administration' and is responsible for many policies that are out of harmony with democratic ideals. School management is generally upon a despotic basis,

and regulations are arbitrarily fixed for teachers who are required to submit without question. This autocratic regime has been bolstered up by fostering the notion that teachers are employed in so high a calling that they must sacrifice all of their own interest, all of their own welfare, rather than interpose their best judgment or in any way interfere with what is termed 'school discipline' and school regulation. Of course no one denies the necessity of proper school discipline or regulation, but we insist, as do the teachers, that an association of teachers conducted in the interests of the teachers, for their proper protection and welfare, does not and can not interfere with such school discipline and regulation as concern the education and the character development of the pupils. On the contrary, we insist that the reverse has been and must result."

* * *

"There is no way to aim more directly at the freedom of the wage-earners and the masses of the people than through suppression of the individuality, the thought and the activities of the teachers. The educational tendency is toward freedom and adaptability, independence, greater opportunity, not only for the teachers but for those who are taught. These are most splendid conceptions of the schools of the future, of an education that shall reach out and up to greater and broader things. That ideal can not be realized with a tyrannical system of school administration, suppressing and thwarting those who control and direct instruction. The school boards must be big enough and broad enough in mind and heart to comprehend the ideals back of the schools of the future and to exert their influence in school management for the realization of those ideals. If the members of the school board are out of harmony with progress and democracy, it is the business of the citizens to see to it that others are substituted. If this can not be accomplished directly, it must be accomplished by replacing the one who has the appointive power. As the school boards become more powerful, it is essential that control should be democratic and that those in authority should be responsible to the people. The vital relationship of the common life is industrial. Schools are more and more dealing with industrial problems and matters. Industrial instruction and vocational training are becoming more general. The industrial aspects and relations of all instruction are now recognized and are given greater thought and understanding. This again makes it all the more essential that schools should be upon a democratic basis. As free people we can not tolerate despotism or autocracy or bureaucracy in politics, in social relations, in industry or education. The teachers of our country must not be left behind in the great foward progress toward democratic ideals, greater freedom and greater opportunity. If they are not lost behind, they must join in the effort."

It was in 1916 that the American Federation of Labor Convention laid down the fundamental principles of cooperation between the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers; which was chartered in May of that year.

"The American Federation of Teachers consider themselves workers in a vitally important field and believe its members should stand shoulder to shoulder with the other workers of the country, to whom democracy is not a machinery for private gain, but a hope and means of completer living. And believing that all forward looking workers appreciate their vital state in our public schools, this convention, for the sake of our common democracy, records its approval, and urge upon its affiliated bodies the support of the following principles: '1. The right of teachers to organize and affiliate with labor must be recognized. 2. If our children, during their most impressionable years are to have the benefit of daily contact with examples of upstanding American manhood and womanhood, and not to be exposed to an atmosphere of servility in the schoolroom, teachers must be given warning and a hearing before being separated from the service. 3. The teacher must be guaranteed the opportunity to make his due influence felt in the community, working through the schools chiefly, but free to work through all the avenues of citizenship. 4. The control of the teaching staff should be removed from the lay Board of Education, and placed in the hands of the professional expert, the Superintendent of Schools. 5. If our democracy is not to be crippled at its source, democratic school administration must be secured by insuring to the teacher an effective voice in that administration. 6. The schools must be removed from politics by the application of the merit principle of civil service to the employment, advancement, and dismissal of teachers, thus securing tenure during efficiency. 7. The work of the teacher, now notoriously ill-paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial recognition more nearly commensurate with its importance to the community. 8. Vocational education should be encouraged, but only under a 'unit system.' 9. The people should directly control educational policies through the popular election of Boards of Education. 10. A system of free text-books is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools. 11. Enlightened public policy demands adequate pension provisions for public school teachers.' Every affiliated union is urged to do everything possible to secure the early affiliation of every school teacher with the A. F. of L."

In 1917, 1918 and 1919, the American Federation of Labor strongly campaigned for teachers' pension legislation for the District of Columbia. As a result of this campaign, the retirement law was enacted for public school teachers in the District of Columbia, the retirement age being fixed at 62.

Concerted attacks on the part of the open shop and other reactionary interests upon the union movement among teachers were made repeatedly in 1919 and 1920 and resulted in a senatorial investigation of the schools in the District of Columbia in which the American Federation of Labor was instrumental in bringing before the public the true facts underlying the attacks upon the teachers' organization.

At about the same time, the Board of Education of St. Louis adopted a rule whereby any school teacher who became a member of a trade or labor union would be subject to immediate dismissal. In Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 86 teachers were given the option by the Lancaster Board of Education either of withdrawing from the American Federation of Teachers or losing their positions. When the teachers refused to renounce their right of free choice in trade union affiliation, their positions were declared vacant. Similar attempts were repeatedly made by autocratic boards of education in a number of communities throughout the country in the years immediately following the War. The 1920 Convention of the American Federation of Labor stated in this connection:

"If the schools are to develop free, unafraid men and women, American citizens of the highest type, the teachers must live and work in an atmosphere of freedom and self-respect. The officers of the A. F. of L. are instructed to use every effort to protect teachers against intimidation and discrimination on account of affiliation with organized labor; and affiliated state and central labor bodies are urged to resist with all vigor any attempt to coerce the judgment and conscience of the teachers in the public schools. The history of the actions of many autocratic boards of education shows an urgent need for tenure of position for teachers based on efficiency. The A. F. of L. directly, and through its affiliated locals will use every effort to secure laws granting tenure of position for teachers based on efficiency. The A. F. of L. directly, and through its affiliated locals will use every effort to secure

laws granting tenure of position for teachers along the following lines: (1) Tenure should be permanent during efficiency after the lapse of the probationary period, which should not exceed three years. (2) All dismissals, both during and after probation, to be for cause, definitely embodied in the educational law, such as gross insubordination, inefficiency, conduct unbecoming a teacher, etc. (3) After period of probation, a dismissal for any cause (including inefficiency) to be only by a trial board of seven chosen as follows: three by the school board, three by the teachers, the six to elect a seventh, who is not to be either a member of the school board or of the teaching force. At all hearings teachers shall be represented by counsel. Appeal from the decision of the trial board may be made to the civil courts, whose decision shall be final."

The 1922 Convention of the American Federation of Labor declared as follows:

"The only adequate protection for the spiritual and professional independence of the teachers is effective organization. Primarily in the interests of the schools and of the community, the A. F. of L. recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and all state and local central bodies give every assistance to the American Federation of Teachers in the organization of the teachers and the improvement of the schools."

Throughout the post-war decade, the American Federation of Labor persistently voted for improved wages for teachers, for state teachers-tenure laws, and for every principle embodied in the Federation's educational program adopted in 1919.

In 1927, the Federation was successful in defeating the attempt made in Massachusetts to take state aid away from schools whose teachers joined the union and helped in handling beneficial legislation for teachers in Illinois and Minnesota.

In 1928, the Board of Education of Seattle, Washington, demanded that as a condition of employment or reemployment, teachers of Seattle must sign "yellow-dog" contracts declaring that they were not members of the American Federation of teachers or of any of its locals and that they would not become members during the term of their employment contract. The Convention "decided to call upon all labor organizations to come to the aid of the teachers of Seattle with all the resources at their command to the end that not only may the teachers of America be guaranteed the protection of their rights as citizens, but that other employees of municipal, city and federal government may likewise be protected; and to the further end that the teachers of Seattle may be freed through the enactment of sound tenure legislation and through an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States from the involuntary, intellectual servitude now being forced upon them by the arbitrary action of the Board of Education of Seattle." In this connection, Delegate Florence Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers said:

"At this time I want to make a public expression of gratitude to Secretary Victor Olander of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with whom I was in almost daily conference when this trouble was on, and to President Green of the American Federation of Labor for the statement he made at that time when he urged the organized labor movement of Seattle to use every honorable means at their command to defeat those men on the school board who were opposing the teachers' organization and to serve notice that the Seattle school teachers must not be compelled to sign yellow-dog contracts."

In 1928, the Federation Convention reasserted the demands for its educational platform:

"Better enforcement of the educational laws.

Wider use of school plant.

Reduction in the size of classes.

Revision of teachers' salary schedules upward.

Increase of school revenues to maintain and develop public schools.

Cooperation between boards of education and superintendents and committees representing the teaching body in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers.

Tenure of position for teachers during efficiency.

Sound pension laws.

Protection of the schools from propaganda and all forms of exploitation.

Labor representation on school boards.

Organization of teachers in such strength that they may be in a position to determine their own status, questions of professional conduct and terms of contract, and exercise fully their rights as citizens as well as teachers, thereby obtaining the place of leadership to which they are entitled in order that the best and strongest may be attracted to the teaching calling and as free men and women may be fit builders of the citizens of tomorrow in a free republic.

Opportunity for every child to receive adequate educational advantages."

In 1930, the American Federation of Labor Convention renewed its pledge of cooperation to the efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to organize teachers into unions and renewed its declaration in support of the permanent tenure of office after two years of temporary service. The Convention also recognized the importance of the success of the teachers union in Chicago in applying Workmen's Compensation Laws to teachers and approved plans for making Workmen's Compensation Laws applicable to teachers throughout the country. In 1931, the Vancouver Convention of the American Federation of Labor took stock of the assistance rendered by the Federation during the half century of its existence in promoting educational policies:

"Free text books in the public schools.

Reduction in the size of classes so that children might have adequate instruction and supervision.

Text books for social subjects to reflect a comprehensive presentation of civics, political economy and history.

A rich curriculum to advance the purpose of training for citizenship.

The American Federation of Labor had a primary part in extending public school instruction to the field of industrial training and was likewise instrumental in securing the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act under which the Federal Board for Vocational Education was authorized. It is now concerned that vocational training shall have that flexibility that will mean adjustment to modern problems and economic conditions.

The Federation advocates vocational guidance, continuation schools for boys and girls granted work certificates, night schools for adults, a wider use of school plants.

We have urged tenure positions for teachers in the public schools, higher compensation for their services, and the necessary independence in instruction, as well as participation by classroom teachers in the formulation of educational policies. We have also asked the further opportunity to organize to promote their professional interests.

We have endorsed special campaigns to eliminate adult illiteracy, special classes for teaching English to non-English speaking people, vocational re-training for the unemployed.

We have promoted undertakings in workers' education and asked for wider opportunities for all adults through resident and non-resident classes in tax-supported colleges and universities."

It was the 1931 Convention that laid a firm demand for the absorption of unemployed teachers into school systems in the face of the inroads made by the depression. In order to give employment to more teachers, the Convention recommended the reduction of the number of children in classes to a maximum of thirty children in a class.

The 1932 Convention approved several resolutions designed to give protection to teachers against curtailments of the school curriculum, against the shortening of the school year, and of other school activities. The Convention also approved increased financial support of schools and authorized the officers of the Federation to press for a congressional study of school financing in order to preserve the educational standards of the school system and the maintenance of the teaching staff.

The 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor reviewed in detail the plight of teachers during the depression and made specific recommendations for a constructive program to deal with teachers' salaries, school financing and federal aid. The Executive Council report to the convention compared the situation in 1932-33 with the prospects for 1933-34:

"In 31 states the school year will be shortened further.

In 19 states, state aid to local communities will be decreased.

In 17 states current expenditures will be decreased further.

In 19 states there will be a still further reduction in the number of teachers.

In 24 states teachers' salaries will be further reduced.

There is an increase, however, in the number of unemployed teachers and the number of pupils per teacher. The situation calls for immediate action as it affects us tremendously today and tomorrow.

If states wish to borrow from the federal government to maintain schools, they should have the right to do so.

While road construction work is necessary and valuable in the employment of many workers, we feel that the building of school houses at this time to take care of the present increase in school population would be better, for not only would many workers be employed, but many children, the citizens of tomorrow, would thereby be given a fairer chance in life.

We have on a number of occasions asked that some part of state gasoline taxes be used for school work. We reiterate our position on this one—now more than ever.

In a number of states chain stores have been taxed in order to raise school revenues, and fairly good returns of revenue have been had from this source. We commend it to all state federations for their consideration.

As tax dodging has become an all too prevalent activity and as state and local taxes as well as federal taxes are evaded, thereby causing the tragic shortage in state and local funds, which is reflected in the state's inability to maintain its schools and its social services, we feel that there should be made available to the public data on income tax payment."

Having carefully reviewed the situation the convention resolved to reaffirm the American Federation of Labor's position of unswerving support of public education, the necessary elements of which entailed:

(1) Truly professional standards in and for the classroom.

(2) Small classes taught by trained teachers.

(3) An enriched curriculum.

(4) Opportunities for growth and cultural advantages for adult workers.

(5) An equitable wage for all teachers. All employees of the school system shall be assured an equitable wage, security of position, and decent working conditions.

(6) Security of tenure for all educational workers.

(7) Decent working conditions for teachers.

(8) Right to establish teachers' unions, affiliated with organized labor.

(9) Opportunity for culture and professional study for teachers.

(10) Maintenance of educational standards.

(11) Provision for old age pensions for teachers.

(12) Opportunity for teachers to participate in formulating educational policy; the convention resolved to renew its pledge of utmost endeavor for the protection of education from kindergarten through university, and called upon all affiliated state and local central bodies to fight to the utmost to maintain intact the free public school system in this country.

In addition the convention emphasized the need of organizations of teachers into unions under the sanction of the National Industrial Recovery Act and stressed the need of expanding and preserving kindergartens as an essential part of the public school system in every state of the union. The convention also took specific action on the increasing of teachers' salaries, on security of tenure, on maximum hours of work, on maximum number of pupils, on physical condition of school buildings and on provision for old age pensions. The Federation also asked for federal aid to states for education and for a teacher training program.

The 1934 convention dealt again with the problems of teachers' tenure and every financial phase of the nation's educational program. While stressing the emergency phase of the situation, the convention pointed out that "it is as a permanent policy the obligation of the federal government to provide a substantial share of school funds." The convention commended the work and accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor in securing federal loans for educational purposes and proposed as an immediate emergency step continued effort to secure for educational institutions the right to borrow or refinance their paper through the R.F.C.

The 1935 convention specifically recommended the following steps to deal with the financial emergency in the public school system.

1. Direct grants to the States of funds to enable them to keep open their schools; such funds to be administered by the States in accordance with State law provided that the fundamental principle of equitable opportunity for all persons be observed in the administration of these funds.
2. Loans to educational institutions at a low rate of interest to enable them to maintain themselves at a high degree of efficiency so as to render the best possible public service.
3. Refinancing State and municipal commercial paper at a low rate of interest so as to prevent further curtailment of educational work.
4. Continuued appropriations from the Work Relief Funds for the emergency education program in Workers' Education Nursery School Forums.

The convention also urged the continuation and expansion of the federal emergency workers' education program and especially the phase of it carried forward under the auspices of organized labor with the established educational institutions. The convention pointed to the most notable example of such work on the Pacific coast, where a cooperative plan of workers' education has been worked out systematically between the state universities and the state federation of labor.

In the 1936 convention the Federation again acted in support of security of tenure and of a living wage for all public school teachers and reported on the passage of the important Teachers' Salary Act of April, 1936, elevating the grade of teachers in the elementary schools of the District of Columbia.

The 1937 convention of the American Federation of Labor gave specific consideration to the questions of the freedom of organization and democratic policies in public school education, the federal aid for schools and the question of academic freedom and tenure laws for teachers.

The complete text of the 1937 convention resolutions, together with the action taken by the convention on each of them, is appended hereto.

The foregoing review of the Federation's actions in connection with every question of legislative and organizational policy brought to the Federation's attention has met with full and unreserved support of the American Federation of Teachers. Such a review was necessary to indicate the scope of cooperation on the part of the American Federation of Labor in furthering the welfare of the teachers in the past as well as indicating the extent of this cooperation in the future. Naturally the type and form of assistance in each instance can only be determined as individual issues arise.

20. The organization and growth of the American Federation of Teachers was made possible by the unswerving purpose on the part of the American Federation of Labor to build up a strong and effective union among the teachers of America. The record of organization of teachers' unions is a record of courageous struggles against heavy odds. Organized teachers have often met with critical situations and obstacles which could not be surmounted without the support of unions united within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. The best test of the significance of the continued affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers with the American Federation of Labor is provided by the past record, which speaks for itself. Officers and members of the American Federation of Teachers have brought within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor outstanding leadership and a record of achievement. At the same time the American Federation of Teachers needs now, more than it ever did before, the support of the American Federation of Labor in order to successfully carry out its progressive program in improving the conditions of American teachers by means of democratic organization into unions.

APPENDIX C

National Principles Incorporated in American Federation of Labor Educational Policy Relating to Teachers at the 1919 Convention.

Careful consideration should be given to the simplification of courses of study, especially in the lower grades; but in connection with any movement toward simplification, the committee believes that the upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who can not go on to higher schools will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be flexible so that a pupil will be able to transfer from one to another. We must not compel the child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made in childhood. Organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparations for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of the people.

In all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and at least in all vocational and industrial courses an unbiased industrial history must be taught, which shall include accurate account of the organization of the workers and the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught.

The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people.

The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education under specially trained instructors.

The provision of ample playground facilities as a part of the public school system.

Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.

Better enforcement of compulsory educational laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years.

The extension of a free text-book system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it.

Wider use of the school plant securing increased returns to the community through additional civic, social, and educational services to both adults and children.

Public forums should be established in every school where there is sufficient demand, under the direction of the superintendent of schools, working in cooperation with advisory committees, representing the various elements in the community.

The educational interests of the children and the future welfare of the state demand a drastic reduction in the prevailing size of classes.

A thorough going revision upward of the salary schedule of teachers in public schools, normal schools, and universities, to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.

The liberal ungrudging reorganizations and increase of school revenues as the only means of maintaining and developing the efficiency of our public schools.

In order to secure a more democratic administration of our schools, to develop a spirit of cooperation, and to gain for the community the benefit of the experience and initiative of the teaching body, boards of education and superintendents of schools should confer with committees representing organizations of the teachers' choice in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers, and should consider and make official public record of suggestions dealing with the conduct of the schools submitted by the teachers through such committees.

Teachers should have tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full public hearings before a commission on which the teachers are fairly represented.

In a democracy the primary requirement is a citizenship educated to straightforward, logical thinking, based on facts established by careful sifted evidence. The schools can not develop this essential mental fibre if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics that men and women think about. Secondary only to a citizen's ability to do his own thinking is his ability to make his influence felt in his group and community by effectively presenting his views to his fellows, and meeting opposition in a spirit of tolerance. This power of effective self-expression and the habits of tolerance, and of intellectual fairness toward opponents, can not be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity for their exercise. Therefore, in order to enable the schools to perform one of their chief functions, preparation for active citizenship, the pupils should be encouraged to discuss under intelligent supervision current events and the problems of citizenship.

It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary in some quarters to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to endorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system, and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike.

The right of teachers to affiliate with organized labor is beyond question. And in that connection the right of teachers to hold meetings in school buildings outside of school hours, for the purpose of discussing organization, or of conducting the business of their organization, should not be questioned. Boards of education have no proprietory right in the schools, but are simply trustees for the public, of which the teachers are a part.

This convention urges all state and local central bodies to make a committee on education one of their standing committees, where it has not yet been done, and to make vigorous effort to secure adequate representation of organized labor on all boards of education.

The achievements of the American Federation of Teachers, in cooperation with the labor movement, during the past year, lead the committee to repeat with greater emphasis the declaration of the St. Paul convention that the most effective guarantee of democracy and of progress in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor, and again to urge the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and all state and local central bodies to give every support to the American Federation of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

APPENDIX D

Actions taken by the 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Labor

Democratic Policies in Public School Education

WHEREAS, Current pronouncements of leading educators and discussions at the 1937 convention of the American Federation of Teachers have revealed that many school systems of America are operated on an undemocratic, militaristic basis, so that classroom teachers live and work in a constant atmosphere of fear, and

WHEREAS, Teachers in many schools are compelled to join non-union organizations not of their own choosing and are instructed how to vote on important matters, and

WHEREAS, In certain states non-union organizations with dues of twenty-five cents to a dollar a year are being established to prevent affiliation of teachers with organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Autocratic control of public schools dictated by outside pressure groups threatens the cherished position of our public schools in preparing children for intelligent participation in democratic government, and

WHEREAS, Conditions in leading European countries have proved that the American labor movement can continue to exist only so long as democratic institutions remain, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-seventh Annual Convention urge education committees of all affiliated bodies to assist teachers in securing democratic working conditions and in providing schools which shall exemplify, in their structure and operation, the fundamental principles of American democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor insist that teachers in local communities have free choice in joining organizations and the same opportunity as other skilled workers to affiliate on a fraternal basis with their fellow workers.

The American Federation of Labor was one of the pioneer agencies in this country in the establishment of free public instruction. It has ever jealously guarded the fundamental democratic development of our public school system since its inception. It must continue to do so, for it is not only true to say that the labor movement can progressively continue only under democratic institutions, but the democratic institutions can continue to progress in safety only so long as there is a labor movement.

Your committee therefore approves of the general purpose of this resolution and recommends that Education Committees and Labor everywhere watch carefully the con-

ditions under which our public schools are administered. The American Federation of Labor has ever and will continue to support teachers and other employees of our public school system and higher institutions of learning in their demand for complete freedom of organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Aid for Schools

WHEREAS, At its national convention in 1936 the American Federation of Labor declared that "adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively;" and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council stated: "the Executive Council, appreciating the conditions surrounding the education of our children, believes that the federal government should give whatever aid is possible to the states in order that not a single child shall be prevented from securing an education," and

WHEREAS, In 1937 thousands of schools are still closed or faced with seriously overcrowded classes, sweat shop conditions as to wages and hours for teachers, antiquated buildings and equipment, and shortened terms, and

WHEREAS, In 1937 there exists a serious need for equalizing educational opportunity throughout the nation—a need resulting from the fact that public education in America varies from no schooling at all in certain poor districts to elaborate schools in rich districts, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, in spite of elaborate expenditures for armaments, roads, post offices, bridges, etc., has failed to provide a program of federal aid for schools, thus curtailing our public school system and undermining the very foundations of democratic institutions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Fifty-seventh Annual Convention, go on record in favor of a federal grant for education to be distributed to the several states with provisions which will protect the funds from political control, prevent discrimination because of race or color, guarantee a sufficient number of school days and school years for every child; but leave the operation, supervision and structure of the curricula to local boards of education.

The American Federation of Labor in previous conventions has expressed its approval of the equalization of educational opportunities for all. It has in the past supported the general principle of Grants-in-Aid for education. The President's Advisory Committee on Education is now engaged in exploring the whole question of the relationship of the Federal Government to public education in this country. The results of that study are likely to be fundamental and far-reaching.

Your committee, therefore, while approving the general principle of federal aid, considers it necessary to await this report before determining the precise way in which such grants shall be made. Upon the submission of this report the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the permanent Committee on Education will be in a position to take such action as may be warranted.

The attention of the committee has been directed to the fact that the one million classroom teachers of the country are not adequately represented on the Special Committee appointed by the President of the United States. Because of this allegation your committee recommends that this be inquired into by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and that they be empowered to take such action as their inquiry will warrant.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Academic Freedom and Tenure Laws for Teachers

WHEREAS, During the past year the same organized interests which oppose organized workers have increasingly attacked the academic freedom and sound tenure conditions of teachers in the public schools and colleges of America; and

WHEREAS, In California, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Montana, Wisconsin, Ohio, New York, West Virginia, Illinois, Minnesota, Connecticut, and other states, grievance cases have been reported in which teachers have been dismissed for union labor sympathies and activities, or for teaching facts opposed to the interests of political bosses and captains of industry; and

WHEREAS, Complete freedom to teach the truth fairly and impartially is absolutely essential if the history and philosophy of the American labor movement are to receive proper consideration in the curricula of the schools and colleges of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its stand for academic freedom and sound tenure laws; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated bodies make every effort to prevent unjust dismissals of teachers and to cooperate in reinstating teachers who have been dismissed because of sympathy with organized labor.

The American Federation of Labor has taken an unequivocal stand in behalf of academic freedom. It believes in the freedom of the teacher to teach the truth and the freedom of the student to hear such truth. It is essential that the youth of our country and our schools and colleges know the history, philosophy and principles of the American labor movement. It is imperative that the board, the teacher and the student should be free from either pressure from without or indoctrination from within.

Your committee, in the spirit of its previous declarations on this subject, agrees with the general intent of this resolu-

tion and reaffirms its position on academic freedom and sound tenure laws. The committee urges all affiliated bodies to use their best efforts to prevent the unjust dismissal of teachers and to cooperate in the reinstatement of teachers who have been unjustly dismissed for exercising their rights of academic freedom.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

APPENDIX E

Excerpts from the Constitution of the A. F. of L.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services $12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President, by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Sec. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President with the approval of the Executive Council shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor, or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE VII—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1 and September 1 of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive $10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE IX—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

* * *

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with the Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

* * *

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

Sec. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

APPENDIX F.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS OF THE A. F. of L.

Actors and Artists of America, Associated. New York, N. Y.

Air Line Pilots Association. Chicago, Illinois.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and. Washington, D. C.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America. Chicago, Ill.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen. Indianapolis, Ind.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of. New York, N. Y.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of. Chicago, Ill.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of. Kansas City, Kansas.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of. Washington, D. C.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Boston, Mass.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America. Washington, D. C.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United. Chicago, Ill.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association. St. Louis, Mo.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International. Chicago, Illinois.

Building Service Employes, International Union. Chicago, Illinois.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway. Kansas City, Mo.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of. Indianapolis, Ind.

Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood. Hyde Park, Mass.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America. Washington, D. C.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of. Cleveland, Ohio.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office. Washington, D. C.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail. Lafayette, Ind.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car. Kansas City, Mo.

Coopers' International Union of North America. Boston, Mass.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and. Washington, D. C.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of. Washington, D. C.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of. Philadelphia, Pa.

Engineers, International Union of Operating. Washington, D. C.

Engravers' Union, International Metal. Detroit, Mich.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo. St. Louis, Mo.

Fire Fighters, International Association of. Washington, D. C.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of. Chicago, Ill.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of. St. Louis, Mo.

Garment Workers of America, United. New York, N. Y.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada. Philadelphia, Pa.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window. Columbus, Ohio.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint. Toledo, Ohio.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International. Kewanee, Illinois.

Government Employees, American Federation of. Washington, D. C.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America. Quincy, 69, Mass.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United. New York, N. Y.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International. Quincy, 69, Mass.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen. Chicago, Ill.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International. New York, N. Y.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal. Cleveland, Ohio.

Laundry Workers' International Union. San Francisco, Calif.

Leather Workers International Union, United. Kansas City, Mo.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural. Chillicothe, Ohio.

Letter Carriers, National Association of. Washington, D. C.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada. New York City.

Longshoremen's Association, International. New York City.

Machinists, International Association of. Washington, D. C.

Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of. Detroit, Michigan.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of. Washington, D. C.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization. New York, N. Y.

Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of. Washington, D. C.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated. Chicago, Ill.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet. Washington, D. C.

Molders' Union of North America, International. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Musicians, American Federation of. Newark, N. J.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of. Lafayette, Indiana.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of. Albany, N. Y.

Pattern Makers' League of North America.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada. Rockport, Mass.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative. Middletown, Ohio.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of. Washington, D. C.

Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies Handbag. New York, N. Y.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car. New York, N. Y.

Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Association of. Philadelphia, Pa.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative. East Liverpool, Ohio.

Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United. Coalmont, Indiana.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate. Sparkle Lake, Yorktown Heights, New York.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International. Pressmen's Home, Tenn.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of. Fort Edward, N. Y.

Quarry Workers, International Union of North America. Barre, Vt.

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric. Detroit, Michigan.

Railway Mail Association. Washington, D. C.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition. Cleveland, Ohio.

Sheep Shearers' Union of North America. Butte, Montana.

Siderographers, International Association of. Washington, D. C.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of. Cincinnati, Ohio.

Spinners Union, International. Holyoke, Mass.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical. Washington, D. C.

State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of. Madison, Wis.

Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International. Kansas City, Mo.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen. Indianapolis, Ind.

Stove Mounters' International Union. St. Louis, Mo.

Switchmen's Union of North America. Buffalo, N. Y.

Teachers, American Federation of. Chicago, Illinois.

Teamsters, Chauffers, Stablemen, and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of. Indianapolis, Ind.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad. St. Louis, Mo.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial. Chicago, Illinois.

Tobacco Workers' International Union. Louisville, Kentucky.

Typographical Union, International. Indianapolis, Ind.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America. New York, N. Y.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United. York, Pa.

Weavers' Protective Association, American Wire.

APPENDIX G

CITY CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

ALABAMA

Anniston. Central Labor Union.
Bessemer. Central Labor Union.
Bibb County. Central Trades Council.
Birmingham. Trades Council.
Gadsden. Central Labor Union.
Huntsville. Central Labor Union.
Jasper. Central Labor Union.
Mobile. Central Trades Council.
Montgomery. Central Labor Union.
Selma. Central Labor Union.
Sheffield, Florence, Tuscumbia. Tri-City Central Labor Union.
Shelby County. Trades Council.
Tarrant. Central Labor Union.
Tuscaloosa. Central Labor Union.
Winfield. Central Labor Union.

ALASKA

Cordova. Central Labor Union.
Juneau. Central Labor Council.

ARIZONA

Clarksdale. Yavapai County Central Labor Council.
Douglas. Central Labor Union.
Flagstaff, Coconino County. Central Labor Council.
Globe-Miami. Central Labor Union.
Phoenix. Central Labor Union.
Tucson. Central Trades Council.
Yuma. Yuma County Central Labor Council.

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith. Central Trades Council.
Hot Springs. Central Labor Union.
Little Rock. Central Trades Council.
Pine Bluff. Central Trades Council.

CALIFORNIA

Bakersfield. Kern County Labor Council.
El Centro. Imperial Valley Central Labor Union.
Eureka. Federated Trades Council.
Fresno. Federated Trades and Labor Council.
Glendale. Central Labor Union.
Long Beach. Central Labor Union.
Los Angeles. Los Angeles County.
Marysville. Central Labor Council.
Merced. Central Labor Union.
Modesto. Central Labor Union.
Monterey Peninsula. Central Labor Union.
Napa. Central Labor Union.
Oakland (Alameda County). Central Labor Council.
Orange County. Central Labor Union.
Pasadena. Central Labor Union.
Petaluma. Central Labor Union.
Redding. Central Labor Union.
Richmond. Contra Costa Central Labor Council.
Riverside. Central Labor Union.
Roseville (Placer County). Central Labor Union.
Sacramento. Federated Trades Council.
Salinas. Central Labor Union.
San Bernardino. Central Labor Council.
San Diego. Federated Trades and Labor Council.
San Francisco. Labor Council.
San Jose. Central Labor Council (Santa Clara County).
San Luis Obispo. Central Labor Union.
San Mateo. Central Labor Council.
San Pedro and Wilmington. Central Labor Council.
San Rafael, Marian County. Central Labor Council.
Santa Barbara. Central Labor Union.
Santa Maria. Central Labor Union.
Santa Monica. Central Labor Union.
Santa Rosa. Central Labor Council.
Stockton. San Joaquin County Central Labor Council.
Taft. Central Labor Union.
Vallejo. Trades and Labor Council.
Ventura. Central Labor Union.
Visalia, Tulare County. Labor Council.
Watsonville. Central Labor Union.

COLORADO

Alamosa. Central Labor Union.
Boulder. Central Labor Union.
Colorado Springs. Federated Trades Council.
Canon City (Fremont County). Central Labor Union.
Denver. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Fort Collins. Central Labor Union.
Grand Junction. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Greeley. Central Labor Union.
Pueblo. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Trinidad. Central Labor Union.

CONNECTICUT

Bridgeport. Central Labor Union.
Danbury. Central Labor Union.
Hartford. Central Labor Union.
Meriden. Central Labor Union.
Middletown. Central Labor Union.
New Britain. Central Labor Union.
New Haven. Trades Council.
Norwich. Central Labor Union.
South Norwalk. Central Labor Union.
Stamford. Central Labor Union.
Torrington.
Waterbury. Central Labor Union.
Willimantic. Central Labor Union.

DELAWARE

Wilmington. Central Labor Union.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington. Central Labor Union.

FLORIDA

Jacksonville. Central Labor Union.
Lakeland. Central Labor Union.
Miami. Central Labor Union.
Orlando. Central Labor Union.
Panama City. Central Labor Union.
Pensacola. Central Labor Union.
St. Petersburg. Central Labor Union.
Tampa. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
West Palm Beach. Central Labor Union.

GEORGIA

Atlanta. Federation of Trades.
Augusta. Central Labor Union.
Brunswick. Central Labor Union.
Columbus. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Macon. Central Labor Union.
Rome. Central Labor Union.
Savannah. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Waycross. Central Labor Union.

IDAHO

Boise. Trades and Labor Council.
Idaho Falls. Central Labor Union.
Lewiston. Central Labor Union.
Nampa. Trades and Labor Council.
Pocatello. Central Labor Union.
Wallace. Trades and Labor Council.

ILLINOIS

Alton. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Aurora. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Belleville. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Benton. Central Labor Union.
Bloomington. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Blue Island. Central Labor Union.
Calumet. Joint Labor Council.
Carbondale. Central Labor Union.
Carlinville. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Centralia. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Chicago. Federation of Labor.
Chicago Heights. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Christopher. Central Labor Union.
Clinton. County Central Trades and Labor Union.
Collinsville. Trades Council.
Danville. Trades and Labor Council.
Decatur. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Du Quoin. Central Labor Union.
East St. Louis. Trades and Labor Union.
Edwardsville. Trades and Labor Council.
Eldorado. Central Labor Union.
Elgin. Trades Council.
Freeport. Central Labor Union.
Galesburg. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Gillespie. Central Labor Union.
Granite City, Venice and Madison. Tri-City Central Trades Council.
Harrisburg. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Herrin. Trades Council.
Jacksonville. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Johnston City. Trades Council.
Joliet. Will County Central Trades and Labor Council.
Kankakee. Federation of Labor.
Kewanee. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Lake County. Central Labor Council.
LaSalle. Trades and Labor Council.
Lincoln. Trades and Labor Council.
Marion. Trades Council.
Mattoon. Central Labor Union.
Metropolis. Central Labor Union.
Mt. Olive. Trade and Labor Council.
Murphysboro. Trades Council.
New Athens. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Ottawa. Central Labor Union.
Pekin. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Peoria. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Peru. Trades and Labor Council.
Quincy. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Rockford. Central Labor Union.
Rock Island, Tri-City Federation of Labor (Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill.)
Savanna. Central Labor Union.
South Chicago. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Springfield. Federation of Labor.
Staunton. Trades Council.
Streator. United Trades and Labor Council.
Taylorville. Central Labor Union.
Urbana and Champaign. Twin City Federation of Labor.
West Frankfort. Trades and Labor Union.
Westville. Central Labor Union.
Wood River. Central Labor Union.
Zeigler. Central Labor Union.

INDIANA

Anderson. Madison County Central Labor Union.
Bedford. Central Labor Union.
Bloomington. Central Labor Union.
Boonville. Central Labor Union.
Clinton. Central Labor Union.
Columbus. Central Labor Union.
Crawfordsville. Central Labor Union.
Elkhart County. Central Labor Union.
Evansville. Central Labor Union.
Fort Wayne. Federation of Labor.
Frankfort. Clinton County Trades and Labor Council.
Hartford City. Central Labor Union.

Indianapolis. Central Labor Union.
Kokomo. Trades and Labor Council.
Lafayette. Central Labor Union.
Lake County. Central Labor Union.
La Porte. Central Labor Union.
Linton. Central Labor Union.
Logansport. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Marion. Central Trades Council.
Michigan City. Central Labor Union.
Muncie. Central Labor Union.
New Albany. Central Labor Union.
New Castle. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Peru. Labor Trades Council.
Princeton. Gibson County Central Labor Union.
Richmond. Central Trades Council.
South Bend. Central Labor Union.
Sullivan. Central Labor Union.
Terre Haute. Central Labor Union.
Vincennes. Central Labor Union.
Washington. Central Labor Union.

IOWA

Boone. Central Labor Union.
Burlington. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Cedar Rapids. Federation of Labor.
Clinton and Lyons (Iowa) and Fulton (Ill.). Tri-City Labor Congress.
Council Bluffs. Central Labor Union.
Des Moines. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Dubuque. Trades and Labor Congress.
Fort Dodge. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Keokuk. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Marshalltown. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Mason City. Central Labor Union.
Muscatine. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Newton. Central Labor Union.
Ottumwa. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Sioux City. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Waterloo. Central Labor Union.

KANSAS

Arkansas City. Central Labor Union.
Atchison. Trades and Labor Council.
Coffeyville. Central Labor Union.
Dodge City. Central Labor Union.
Emporia. Trades and Labor Council.
Fort Scott. Central Labor Union.
Hutchinson. Central Labor Union.
Kansas City. Central Labor Union.
Leavenworth. Trades and Labor Council.
Parsons. Central Labor Union.
Pittsburg. United Trades and Labor Council.
Salina. Central Labor Union.
Topeka. Federation of Labor.
Wichita. Trades and Labor Assembly.

KENTUCKY

Ashland. Central Labor Union.
Henderson. Central Labor Union.
Kenton, Campbell Counties. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Lexington. Central Labor Union.
Louisville. Central Labor Union.
Paducah. Central Labor Union.

LOUISIANA

Alexandria. Central Labor Union.
Baton Rouge. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Bogalusa. Central Labor Union.
Lake Charles. Central Labor Union.
Monroe. Central Labor Council.
New Orleans. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Shreveport. Central Trades and Labor Council.

MAINE

Augusta, Hallowell and Gardiner. Central Labor Union.
Bangor. Central Labor Union.
Lewiston and Auburn. Central Labor Union.
Millinocket. Central Labor Union.
Portland. Central Labor Union.
Woodland. Central Labor Union.

MARYLAND

Baltimore. Federation of Labor.
Cumberland. Trades Council.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston. Central Labor Union.
Brockton. Central Labor Union.
Cambridge. Central Labor Union.
Fall River. Central Labor Union.
Fitchburg. Central Labor Union.
Gloucester. Central Labor Union.
Haverhill. Central Labor Union.
Holyoke. Central Labor Union.
Lawrence. Central Labor Union.
Lowell. Central Labor Union.
Lynn. Central Labor Union.
Marlboro and Vicinity. Central Labor Union.
Milford. Central Labor Union.
New Bedford. Central Labor Union.
North Adams. Central Labor Union.
Northampton. Central Labor Union.
Norwood. Central Labor Union.
Pittsfield. Central Labor Union.
Quincy. Central Labor Union.
Salem. Central Labor Union.
Somerville. Central Labor Union.
South Framingham. Central Labor Union.
Springfield. Central Labor Union.
Taunton. Central Labor Union.
Waltham, Watertown and Newton.
Westfield. Central Labor Union.
Worcester. Central Labor Union.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor. Trades Council.
Battle Creek. Trades and Labor Council.
Bay City. Central Trades Council.
Benton Harbor and St. Joseph. Central Labor Union.
Detroit and Wayne County. Federation of Labor.
Escanaba. Trades and Labor Council.
Flint. Federation of Labor.
Grand Rapids. Trades and Labor Council.
Jackson. Trades Council.
Kalamazoo. Trades and Labor Council.
Lansing. Trades and Labor Council.
Marquette. Central Labor Union.
Monroe. Central Labor Union.
Muskegon (Greater Muskegon). Trades and Labor Council.
Owosso and Shiewassee County. Central Labor Union.
Pontiac. Central Labor Union.
Port Huron. Trades and Labor Council.
Saginaw. Federation of Labor.
Sault Ste. Marie. Central Labor Union.

MINNESOTA

Brainerd. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Cloquet. Central Labor Union.
Duluth. Federated Trades Assembly.
Hibbing. Central Labor Union.
International Falls. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Mankato. Central Labor Union.
Minneapolis and Hennepin County. Central Labor Union.
Red Wing. Trades and Labor Council.
Rochester. Central Labor Union.
St. Cloud. Central Labor Union.
St. Paul. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Stillwater. Central Labor Union.
Virginia. Central Labor Union.
Winona. Trades and Labor Council.

MISSISSIPPI

Gulfport. Central Labor Union.
Hattiesburg. Central Labor Union.
Jackson. Central Labor Union.
McComb. Central Labor Union.
Meridian. Central Labor Union.
Vicksburg. Central Labor Union.

MISSOURI

Carthage. Central Labor Union.
Columbia. Central Labor Union.
Hannibal. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Jefferson City. Central Labor Union.
Joplin. Central Labor Union.
Kansas City. Industrial Council.
Kirksville. Central Labor Union.
Moberly. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Sedalia. Federation of Labor.
Springfield. Central Labor Union.
St. Joseph. Central Labor Council.
St. Louis. Trades and Labor Union.

MONTANA

Anaconda. Central Labor Council.
Billings. Yellowstone County Trades and Labor Assembly.
Bozeman. Gallatin County Trades and Labor Assembly.
Butte. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Glasgow. Valley County Trades and Labor Council.
Great Falls. Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly.
Havre. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Helena. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Lewistown. Trades and Labor Council.
Livingston. Trades and Labor Council.
Miles City. Trades and Labor Council.
Missoula. Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council.
Roundup. Central Trades and Labor Council.

NEBRASKA

Fremont. Central Labor Union.
Grand Island. Central Labor Union.
Lincoln. Central Labor Union.
Omaha. Central Labor Union.

NEVADA

Boulder City (Clark County). Central Labor Council.
Reno. Central Trades and Labor Council.
White Pine County. Central Labor Union.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Cheshire County. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Concord. Central Labor Union.
Lebanon. Central Labor Union.
Manchester. Central Labor Union.
Nashua. Central Labor Union.
Portsmouth. Central Labor Union.

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City. Central Labor Union.
Camden. Central Labor Union.
Cumberland County. Central Labor Union.
Elizabeth. Union County Trades Council.
Hudson County. Central Labor Union.
Newark. Essex Trades Council.
New Brunswick. Trades and Labor Federation.
Passaic County. Central Labor Union.
Perth Amboy. Central Labor Union.
Plainfield. Central Labor Union.
Ridgewood. Central Labor Union.
Trenton. Central Labor Union.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque. Central Labor Union.
Santa Fe. Central Labor Union.

NEW YORK

Albany. Central Federation of Labor.
Auburn. Central Labor Union.
Batavia. Central Labor Union.
Beacon. Central Labor Union.
Binghamton. Central Labor Union.
Buffalo. Central Labor Council.
Cohoes. Central Federation of Labor.
Corning. Central Labor Union.
Cortland. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Elmira. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Geneva. Federation of Labor.
Glens Falls. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Hornell. Central Labor Union.
Ilion. Central Labor Union.
Ithaca. Central Labor Union.
Jamestown. Central Labor Council.
Kingston. Central Trades and Labor.
Little Falls. Trades Assembly.
Lockport. Central Labor Union.
Middletown. Central Labor Union.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties. Central Trades and Labor Counties.
Newburgh. Central Labor Union.
New York. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Niagara Falls. Trades and Labor Council.
Norwich. Trades Assembly.
Olean. Trades and Labor Council.
Oneida. Trades Assembly.
Oswego. United Trades and Labor Assembly.
Peekskill. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Plattsburg. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Port Jervis. Central Labor Union.
Poughkeepsie. Trades and Labor Council.
Rochester. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Rome. Central Labor Union.
Schenectady. Trades Assembly.
Syracuse. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Troy. Central Federation of Labor.
Utica. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Watertown. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Yonkers. Federation of Labor.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville. Central Labor Union.
Charlotte. Central Labor Union.
Durham. Central Labor Union.
Fayetteville. Central Labor Union.
High Point. Central Labor Union.
Raleigh. Central Labor Union.
Roanoke Rapids. Central Labor Union.
Salisbury. Central Labor Union.
Wilmington. Central Labor Union.
Winston-Salem. Central Labor Union.

NORTH DAKOTA

Bismarck. Central Labor Union.
Fargo. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Grand Forks. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Minot. Central Labor Union.

OHIO

Akron (Summit County). Central Labor Union.
Alliance. Central Labor Union.
Ashtabula. Central Labor Union.
Barberton. Central Labor Union.
Bellefontaine. Central Trades Council.
Belmont County. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Bucyrus. Central Labor Union.
Canton. Federation of Labor.
Chillicothe. Central Labor Union.
Cincinnati. Central Labor Union.
Cleveland. Federation of Labor.
Columbus. Central Labor Union.
Conneaut. Central Labor Union.
Coshocton. Trades and Labor Council.
Crooksville. Perry County Central Trades and Labor Council.
Dayton. Central Labor Union.
East Liverpool. Trades and Labor Council.
Elyria. Central Labor Union.
Findlay. Central Labor Union.
Guernsey County. Central Labor Union.
Hamilton. Trades and Labor Council.
Ironton and Russell, Ky. Central Labor Union.
Kent (Portage County). Central Labor Union.
Lake County. Central Labor Union.
Lancaster (Fairfield County). Central Labor Union.
Lima. Trades and Labor Council.
Lorain. Central Labor Union.
Mansfield. Trades Council.
Marietta. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Marion. Central Labor Union.
Massillon. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Medina and Wayne County.
Middletown. Trades and Labor Council.
Newark. Trades and Labor Assembly.
New Philadelphia, Tuscarawas County. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Niles, Trumbull County. Central Labor Union.
Norwalk. Central Labor Union.
Piqua. Central Labor Union.
Portsmouth and Vicinity. Central Labor Council.
Reading. Valley Federated Labor Council.
Salem. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Sandusky. Central Labor Union.
Springfield. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Steubenville. Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly.
Tiffin. Central Labor Union.
Toledo. Central Labor Union.
Youngstown. United Labor Congress (Mahoning County).
Zanesville. Central Labor Council.

OKLAHOMA

Bartlesville. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Chickasha. Trades Council.
Cushing. Central Labor Council.
Enid. Trades Council.
Henryetta. Central Labor Union.
Holdenville. Central Labor Union.
Lawton. Central Labor Union.
McAlester. Central Labor Union.
Muskogee. Central Labor Union.
Oklahoma City. Central Trades and Labor Assembly.
Okmulgee. Central Labor Union.
Pawhuska. Central Labor Union.
Ponca City. Central Labor Union.
Sand Springs. Trades and Labor Council.
Sapulpa (Creek County). Central Labor Union.
Seminole. Central Labor Union.
Shawnee. Central Labor Union.
Tulsa. Trades Council.

OREGON

Astoria. Central Labor Council.
Bend. Central Labor Union.
Coos Bay. Central Labor Union.
Eugene. Central Labor Union.
Klamath Falls. Central Labor Union.
Oregon City. Central Labor Council (Clackamas County).
Pendleton. Central Labor Union.
Portland and Vicinity. Central Labor Council.
Salem. Trades and Labor Council.
St. Helens. Central Labor Council (Columbia County).
Tillamook. Central Labor Union.

PANAMA

Balboa. Central Labor Union.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Altoona. Blair County Central Labor Union.
Barnesboro. Central Labor Union.
Beaver County. Central Labor Union.
Bradford. Trades Assembly.
Brownsville. United Trades Council.
Butler. United Labor Council.
Cannonsburg. Central Labor Union.
Carbondale. Central Labor Union.
Charleroi. Monongahela Valley Central Trades Council.
Chester. Delaware County Central Labor Union.
Clearfield (Clearfield County). Central Labor Union.
Easton. Central Labor Union.
Erie. Central Labor Union.
Frederickstown. Central Labor Union.
Greensburg. Central Labor Union.
Harrisburg. Central Labor Union.
Hazleton and Vicinity. Central Labor Union.
Indiana. Central Labor Union.
Jeannette. Central Trades Council.
Johnstown. Central Labor Union.
Kiski Valley. Central Labor Union.
Kittaning. Armstrong County Central Labor Union.
Latrobe. Central Labor Union.
Lancaster. Central Labor Union.
Lansford. Central Labor Union (Panther Creek Valley).
Lehighton. Central Labor Union.
Lewistown. Central Labor Union.
Mahanoy City. Central Labor Union.
McKeesport. Central Labor Union.
Meadville. Central Labor Union.
Mt. Carmel. Central Labor Union.
New Castle. Trade and Labor Assembly.
Norristown (Montgomery County). Central Labor Union.
Oil City. Central Labor Union.
Philadelphia. Central Labor Union.
Pittsburgh. Central Trades Council.
Pottsville. Central Labor Union.
Punxsutawney. Central Labor Union.
Quakerstown (Buck's County). Central Labor Union.
Reading. Federated Trades Council.
Ridgway (Elk County). Central Labor Union.
Scranton. Central Labor Union.
Shamokin. Central Labor Union.

Sharon. United Labor League.
Shenandoah. Central Labor Union.
Somerset. Somerset County Central Trades and Labor Council.
Stroudsburg. Central Labor Union.
Uniontown. Trades and Labor Council.
Warren. Central Labor Union.
Washington. Central Labor Union.
Williamsport. Central Labor Union.
Wilkes-Barre. Central Labor Union.
York. Federation of Trades Unions.

PUERTO RICO

Arecibo. Central Labor Union.
San Juan. Central Labor Union.

RHODE ISLAND

Newport. Central Labor Union.
Pawtucket. Central Trades and Labor Union.
Providence. Central Federated Union.
Westerley. Central Labor Union.
Woonsocket. Central Labor Union.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson. Central Labor Union.
Charleston and Vicinity. Central Labor Union.
Columbia. Federation of Trades.
Greenville. Trades and Labor Council.
Spartanburg. Federation of Trades.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Aberdeen. Central Labor Union.
Huron. Central Labor Union.
Sioux Falls. Trades and Labor Assembly.

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga. Central Labor Union.
Jackson. Trades and Labor Council.
Johnson City. Central Labor Union.
Knoxville. Central Labor Union.
Memphis. Trades and Labor Council.
Nashville. Trades and Labor Council.
Pickwick. Central Labor Union.

TEXAS

Abilene. Central Labor Union.
Amarillo. Central Labor Union.
Austin. Trades Council.
Beaumont. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Big Spring. Central Labor Union.
Borger. Central Labor Council.
Corpus Christi. Central Labor Union.
Dallas. Central Labor Council.
Denison. Labor Trades Council.
El Paso and Vicinity.
Fort Worth. Trades Assembly.
Galveston. Labor Council.
Gladewater. Trades and Labor Council.
Harlingen. Central Labor Union.
Henderson. Central Labor Union.
Houston. Labor Council.
Kilgore. Central Labor Union.
Longview. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Lubbock. Central Labor Union.
Marshall. Trades Council.
Orange. Central Labor Union.
Pampa. Central Labor Union.
Port Arthur. Trades and Labor Council.
San Angelo. Central Labor Union.
San Antonio. Trades Council.
Sherman. Central Labor Union.
Texarkana. Twin City Central Labor Union.
Texas City. Central Labor Union.
Tri-Cities (Baytown, Goose Creek and Pelly). Central Labor Council.
Tyler. Central Labor Union.
Waco. Central Labor Union.
Wichita Falls. Trades and Labor Council.

UTAH

Carbon County. Central Labor Union.
Logan. Central Labor Union.
Ogden. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Provo (Utah County). Central Labor Union.
Salt Lake City. Federation of Labor.

VERMONT

Barre. Central Labor Union.
Brattleboro. Central Labor Union.
Burlington. Central Labor Union.
Montpelier. Central Labor Union.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria. Central Labor Union.
Appalachia. Central Labor Union.
Bristol (Virginia-Tennessee). Central Labor Union.
Danville. Central Labor Union.
Lynchburg. Central Labor Union.
Newport News. Central Labor Union.
Norfolk. Central Labor Union.
Petersberg and Hopewell. Central Labor Union.
Portsmouth. Central Labor Union.
Richmond. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Roanoke. Central Labor Union.

WASHINGTON

Aberdeen (Grays Harbor). Trades and Labor Council
Anacortes. Central Labor Council.
Bellingham. Central Labor Council.
Bremerton. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Chehalis and Centralia. Twin City Central Labor Union.
Cle Elum. Central Labor Council.
Ellensburg. Central Labor Council.
Everett. Trades Council.
Grand Coulee. Central Labor Council.
Kelso and Vicinity. Central Labor Union.
Mt. Vernon. Central Labor Union.
Olympia. Trades Council.
Pasco-Kenewick. Central Labor Union.
Port Angeles. Central Labor Union.
Raymond. Central Labor Union.
Seattle and Vicinity. Central Labor Council.
Sedro Woolley. Central Labor Union.
Shelton. Central Labor Union.
Spokane. Central Labor Union.
Tacoma. Central Labor Council.
Vancouver. (Clark County Central Labor Council).
Walla Walla. Trades and Labor Council.
Wenatchee. Central Labor Union.
Yakima. Central Labor Union.

WEST VIRGINIA

Beckley. Central Labor Union.
Charleston. Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.
Clarksburg. Central Labor Union.
Fairmont. Monongahela Valley Trades and Labor Council.
Grafton. Tri-County Central Labor Union.
Huntington. Central Labor Union.
Logan County. Central Labor Union.
Martinsburg. Central Labor Union.
Mercer County. Central Labor Union.
Montgomery. Central Labor Union (Fayette County).
Morgantown. Central Labor Union.
Moundsville. (Marshall County Central Labor Union).
Parkersburg. Central Trades and Labor Council.
Welch. Central Labor Union.
Wheeling. Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly.
Williamson. Central Labor Union.

WISCONSIN

Antigo. Central Labor Union.
Appleton. Trades Council.
Ashland. Central Labor Union.
Beaver Dam. Central Labor Union.
Beloit. Central Labor Union.
Eau Claire. Trades and Labor Council.
Fond du Lac. Trades and Labor Council.
Green Bay. Trades Council.
Janesville. Central Labor Union.
Kaukauna. Central Labor Union.
Kenosha. Trades and Labor Council.
La Crosse. Trades and Labor Council.
Lake Geneva. Central Labor Union.
Madison. Federation of Labor.
Manitowoc. Central Labor Union.
Marinette. Trades Council (Marinette, Wis. and Menominee, Mich.)
Marshfield. Central Labor Union.
Milwaukee. Federated Trades Council.
Neenah and Menasha. Central Labor Union.
Oshkosh. Trades and Labor Council.
Port Washington. Trades and Labor Council.
Racine. Trades and Labor Council.
Sheboygan. Central Labor Union.
Stevens Point. Central Labor Union.
Superior. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Two Rivers. Central Labor Union.
Watertown. Central Labor Union.
Waukesha. Trades and Labor Council.
Wausau. Central Labor Union.
Wisconsin Rapids. Central Labor Union.

WYOMING

Casper. Trades Assembly.
Cheyenne. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Evanston. Central Labor Union.
Green River. Trades and Labor Council.
Kemmerer. Lincoln County Central Labor Union.
Laramie. Central Labor Union.
Rawlins. Central Labor Union.
Rock Springs. Central Labor Union.
Sheridan. Sheridan County.

DOMINION OF CANADA

Edmonton. Central Labor Union.
Vancouver. Trades and Labor Council.
Winnipeg. Central Labor Union.
Moncton. Trades and Labor Council.
Saint John. Trades and Labor Council.
Belleville. Central Labor Union.
Hamilton. Trades and Labor Council.
Kingston. Trades and Labor Council.
Kitchener. Twin City Trades and Labor Council.
London. Trades and Labor Assembly.
Ottawa. Allied Trades and Labor Association.
St. Catherine. Trades and Labor Council.
St. Thomas. Trades and Labor Council.
Sudbury. Trades and Labor Council.
Toronto. District Labor Council.
Windsor. Trades and Labor Council.
Montreal. Trades and Labor Council.
Quebec, Levis. Trades and Labor Council.
Three Rivers. Trades and Labor Council.

APPENDIX H

H. Distribution of A.F.T. Locals and A. F. of L. City Central Labor Unions, by Geographical Regions and by States

Regions	Number of* A.F.T. Locals	Number of City Central Labor Unions
Northeastern		
Maine	..	6
Vermont	1	4
New Hampshire	..	6
Massachusetts	6	27
Rhode Island	..	5
Connecticut	2	13
New Jersey	6	12
New York	8	40
Pennsylvania	11	54
Delaware	..	1
Maryland	..	2
West Virginia	6	16
District of Columbia	3	1
Total	43	187
Southeastern		
Virginia	1	11
North Carolina	..	10
South Carolina	..	5
Georgia	5	8
Florida	..	9
Alabama	1	15
Mississippi	..	6
Louisiana	2	7
Arkansas	1	4
Tennessee	5	7
Kentucky	..	6
Total	15	88
Southwestern		
Texas	..	32
Oklahoma	1	18
New Mexico	..	2
Arizona	..	7
Total	1	59

*As listed in the Secretary-Treasurer's "Statistical Report of Locals as of October, 1937".

Regions	Number of* A.F.T. Locals	Number of City Central Labor Unions
Middle States		
Ohio	15	48
Indiana	4	32
Illinois	9	60
Michigan	10	19
Wisconsin	19	30
Minnesota	21	14
Iowa	..	16
Missouri	1	12
Total	79	231
Northwestern		
North Dakota	4	4
South Dakota	1	3
Nebraska	..	4
Kansas	..	14
Montana	4	13
Idaho	..	6
Wyoming	2	9
Colorado	1	10
Utah	2	5
Total	14	68

Regions	Number of* A.F.T. Locals	Number of City Central Labor Unions
Far Western		
Washington	12	24
Oregon	3	11
California	13	40
Nevada	..	3
Total	28	78
Outlying Areas		
Alaska	..	2
Panama	2	1
Puerto Rico	..	2
Canada	..	19
Total	2	24
GRAND TOTAL	182	735

*As listed in the Secretary-Treasurer's "Statistical Report of Locals as of October, 1937".

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY