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The AMERICAN TEACHER

MAY -
JUNE
1938

THIS YEAR IN WASHINGTON

By Mary Foley Grossman

FIGHTING THE NEW THREE R's . . . *Arnold Shukotoff*
THE WAGNER LABOR RELATIONS ACT - *John A. Lapp*
COERCION IN THE SCHOOLS . . . *Stanley F. Atwood*
DEMOCRACY IN OUR TEXTBOOKS . . *Mowat G. Fraser*
THE DISMISSED TEACHER . . . *Madaline Kimter Remmlein*
I AM THE SCHOOL HOUSE *H. Softley*

A PROGRAM FOR PEACE

Harry F. Ward
Frederick J. Libby

OFFICIAL ORGAN of the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

Organized Labor and the Public Schools

IRVIN R. KUENZLI

Organized Labor was largely responsible for the present free public school system of America supported by general taxation. Many so-called "public schools" of Europe require tuition payment from parents of pupils.

Organized Labor from its very beginning has battled for equality of opportunity for all children of the Nation and has vigorously opposed class education.

Organized Labor sponsored the Smith-Hughes Federal Aid Bill which provided a national program for vocational education including home economics and agriculture. This was the first important step in securing Federal Aid for schools.

Organized Labor was largely responsible for the creation of the President's Advisory Committee on Education which recently recommended to the President a program of general Federal Aid for schools. This Committee was originally appointed because of complaints on the part of Organized Labor concerning the administration of Smith-Hughes funds. Appointed first to study the question of federal funds for vocational education, the committee later was authorized to study the whole question of general Federal Aid for education in America.

Organized Labor is at present urging its education committees in local unions to study local school conditions; to see that labor is represented on school boards; to see that teachers have democratic working conditions; and to see that all funds secured for education by general taxation are properly and efficiently expended. It is important that teachers cooperate fully with these education committees in their analysis of local conditions.

There is no organization or movement in America which has so excellent a record of achievement in relation to supporting and protecting the public schools as has the organized labor movement. Every teacher in the Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the organized workers of America for the part labor has played not only in providing better wage scales for all workers (including teachers), but also in assisting to provide educational opportunities for the Nation's children.

The AMERICAN TEACHER



Looking Toward the Twenty-Second AFT Convention

The Federation is just coming of age with a membership of some thirty thousand. We have the chance to become a national force as never before.

Issues will arise in this convention which may have momentous consequences for education for years to come. There is, first of all, the work of the Educational Policies Committee. How can we help to mould schools which will be genuinely people's schools, democratically administered and democratically controlled? How can adequate finances be secured from taxation without frightening the electorate?

Second, there is the problem of organization. The teachers of the nation are ripe as never before for organization into units of the American Federation of Teachers. What can we do in this period to promote the organization of new and effective locals of the American Federation of Teachers?

Third, the matter of academic freedom. All about us are cases of the abridgement of academic freedom. What part have we played in promoting tenure and freedom for teachers; how can we more effectively promote it in the future?

Fourth, the question of a permanent paid editor for *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. We want the magazine to continue to expand and improve next year as it has done this year. We also consider a regular bi-monthly news sheet sent to each member.

Fifth, we face the need for Federal Aid to Education. The organization promoted a great national conference at Washington this spring. Unless this principle is enacted into law before the Convention meets, we must lay plans how to secure its passage during the coming year.

Finally there is the entire problem of national and state legislation which the Federation must support and must lay

The Convention this year is going to be one of the most important in years.

plans for supporting. The elections in the fall need to be considered.

All in all the Convention this year should be attended by every teacher who really cares about education and the welfare of the children of the nation. *LET US MAKE THE CONVENTION A UNITY CONVENTION WHICH WILL SHOW THE POWER OF THE ORGANIZED TEACHERS TO GO FORWARD TO NEW AND HIGHER GOALS FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.*

The Recovery Program

At the time of our writing, the recovery program of the President is the major issue before the country. Millions of people are awaiting the initiation of this program; it means employment for them, hope for their families; it may well be a fortress for the people against the ravages of a new economic crisis. To study the opposition to this bill is to find, without surprise, the same forces that have poured their energy and money into all the attempts since 1936 to discredit the New Deal and to pave the way for a return to a political program which repudiates the idea that the economic welfare of all the people is a fundamental concern of government. The meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce this month voices in detail this program—a "breathing spell" for business. Now it must be of two or three years duration. No profit tax. Cripple the Wagner Act. Stop spending. Give business its head. Make the White House once more the annex of Wall Street. There is no more important task before our people—and we have wide contact with the backbone of the American people—than to exert our influence in behalf of governmental expenditures which will go to fulfill the needs of the underpaid and the unemployed. The President's recovery program is in part a response to this economic need. We cannot afford to forget that.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

MAY-JUNE, 1938

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IN THIS ISSUE:

A Plea for Unity—An Editorial.....	5
I Am the School House—H. L. Softley.....	6
This Year in Washington—Mary Foley Grossman.....	8
Support for Federal Aid—Eugene C. Holmes.....	9
Fighting the New Three R's—Arnold Shukotoff.....	10
Democracy in Our Textbooks—Mowat G. Fraser.....	12
Educational Round Table—Irving Adler.....	13
The Wagner Labor Relations Act—John A. Lapp.....	14
The Dismissed Teacher—Madaline Kimter Remmlein.....	16
Coercion in the Schools—Stanley F. Atwood.....	18
The Keeney Case.....	19
A Program for Peace	
For Peace and Democracy—Harry F. Ward.....	20
Remove the Causes of Aggression—Frederick J. Libby.....	21
Shall We Affiliate?—Continuing the AFL-CIO Forum.....	24
Drawings by Arlis, Leboit, Pound	

DEPARTMENTS:

Editorial Paragraphs	3
President's Page—On Current Issues.....	11
It's Happening Now.....	28
The Teachers Union in Action.....	30
New Locals	32
Labor Notes	33
Among the New Books.....	34
Correspondence	37
The Contributors	39

North Central Association Recognizes Chicago Teachers Union

Chicago high schools this year that the *esprit de corps* of the teachers and principals has improved since the time of the last visit to these high schools. Members of the staff of the Chicago high schools have mentioned frequently the following factors as having contributed to the improvement of the *esprit de corps*.

1. Prompt payment of salaries.
2. A general reduction of the number of classes taught daily from six classes to five.
3. *The formation of the Chicago Teachers Union which is said to have resulted in a lessening of the feeling of fear and anxiety on the part of teachers and principals relative to the permanency of their positions.* (From the Report for

"It was the opinion of those engaged in the visitation of the

1938 of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.)

Better Schools in the South

Low wages, poverty, subnormal standards of living—does any one doubt that where these are the characteristic economic and social phenomena of a region, there, too, you will find the worst school conditions, illiteracy and cultural deterioration? Yet the backward economy of the South and its accompanying evils were pointedly emphasized by President Roosevelt in his speech to the people of Gainesville, Ga., on March 23. "Georgia and the lower South may just as well face facts", he told them—"The purchasing power of the millions of Americans in this whole area is too low." The President believes that those forces which retard progress and prosperity nationally are responsible for the low wages and social backwardness of the South. "The selfishness of a few" is a broad term, but who in the South fights against wages-hours legislation, the unionization of industry, the extension of education for Negro and white alike? Where else are long outworn privileges defended by an open appeal to race prejudice and the hooligan bombast in Congress of elected representatives? At Gainesville, the President said, "When you come down to it, there is little difference between the feudal system and the fascist system. If you believe in the one, you lean to the other." Every time reaction in the South puts over another wage-cut, it is striking at education and the chances of the working people of the South for social improvement. If better schools are to come to the lower South—and the "old days" which the President assures the people of the South "we are not going back to" are not to remain, the government must work more effectively for the people who need the "better schools, better health", etc. That means, for one thing, that Federal aid to the schools must soon become a reality.

Nation-wide Protest Greeted Denial of Civil Rights in East Indiana

The superintendent of schools of East Chicago, Ind., has notified Mr. Vernon Sigler, Executive Vice-President of the East Chicago Teachers Federation, Local 511, that he must either withdraw his candidacy for the state legislature or take a payless leave of absence. This ultimatum was based on a resolution of the school board, dated March 9, 1938, the date on which Mr. Sigler filed his declaration of intention to run for office. There is some evidence that this resolution was really passed subsequently and was predated. Local 511, which is paying Mr. Sigler's salary

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

through subscription until the end of the year, has been advised that the salary can be collected in the courts since the ruling is in violation of a tenure law which makes ill-health the only basis for an obligatory payless leave of absence. But whatever the legal aspects of this case may be, it involves a fundamental principle of civil rights and the protests which have been pouring in should be continued in order to insure the rescinding of the discriminatory resolution. "Employment of a teacher in your schools," said William Green in a telegram to Superintendent Forszt, "does not in any way deprive him of his rights as a citizen to aspire to be a candidate for election to public office. The exercise of this right is as sacred as the exercise of

the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This same principle has been emphasized in the protests of Jerome Davis, Irvin Kuenzli, Arnold Shukotoff, and others. This case involves the elementary rights of citizenship of teachers. It must be won. All locals, all union members, should send protests.

Thanks The Editorial Board wishes to express its thanks to Miss Lillian Fine and Miss Lillian Levenson of Local 5, and to Dr. Oscar Shaftel of Local 537 for their work in reading copy, correcting proof, securing art work and doing the make-up for THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

A Plea for Unity

AN EDITORIAL

IN TIMES like these when the very foundations of civilization are threatened; in times like these when everything that man has struggled for since he first stood upright is faced with the possibility of extermination by war-mad fascist dictators; in times like these when economic problems of unforeseen magnitude challenge every faculty of resource and brain that America can muster; in times like these, the need for united action by all friends of democracy and civilization should be so obvious as to need no argument.

However, differences do arise. Sincere men disagree on philosophy and courses of action. Personal ambitions or personality differences sometimes precipitate conflicts which split entire organizations. Today, organized labor is the victim of a combination of all three. Two labor organizations are fighting each other, while the forces of reaction look on with glee. And with each indication that the friends of the administration at Washington are quarreling among themselves the conservatives advance more boldly. Permit a recapitulation: The Wagner Act, with the National Labor Relations Board which gives it meaning, labor's Magna Charta, is attacked more bitterly every day; the wages and hours bill is held up in Congress because of labor's internal struggles. Housing legislation and adequate appropriations for relief are dependent on united liberal support of the President and Congress. Even our foreign policy reflects the contradiction of aims manifest among labor and liberals.

Teachers are new to the labor movement. While there are 28,000 members in the American Federation of Teachers, large numbers of them are not yet imbued with a trade union ideology. Others have the enthusiasms of new converts. Consequently, the greatest responsibility facing the leadership of the American Federation of Teachers is to

educate the uninformed, to restrain the enthusiasms of the over-enthusiastic, and to unite all the teachers on the attainable.

The number of teachers affiliating with labor has been increasing rapidly in the last two years. There is a possibility now that the AFT may have 100,000 members by 1940. Yet with a membership of 100,000, we would represent only one-tenth of the teachers of America, and would yet have a tremendous task ahead in organizing and assimilating the 900,000 not yet affiliated with labor.

Granted that the situation is grave both in America and in the world, we teachers do the cause of organized labor no service by quarreling among ourselves about our affiliations. And there could be no greater disservice to the cause of ultimate labor unity than a split in a union that is just beginning to grow and function.

Teachers are trained for a profession, which by its very nature should help teachers deal with controversial issues or their merits. Teachers should know how to disagree intelligently; and teacher unionists, more widely informed on contemporary matters, should be particularly able to settle their differences amicably.

Ferment is a sign of growth. Splits a sign of weakness. In a world desperately in need of a progressive and sane leadership, the organized teachers of America can best serve civilization and democracy by building a united teachers' movement, which will teach by example, as well as by precept.

As the time for the Convention approaches, the common resolve of each of us should be a united teachers' union, determined to unionize, educate, and stimulate the 1,000,000 teachers of America to stand together for democracy and civilization.

I Am the School House

● H. L. SOFTLEY

The principal of a school in Canada eavesdrops on the soliloquy of a rural schoolhouse.

"I AM the rural school house, the guardian of the hopes of every generation. In me all things are equal. It is my duty not only to teach, but equally to learn, to keep perpetually a light upon my altars, kindling it forever afresh from the unextinguishable flame that burns in every young heart. I am the true democracy of Saskatchewan. I am the school house.

"A parade of many combatting personalities has passed through my door. Most unusual of these have always been the young teachers, fresh from training schools, full of enthusiasm for their work, anxious for personal success, cherishing the ambition to revolutionize the art of teaching, and conscious of taking upon their young shoulders a share of the world's responsibility.

"Meanwhile Mrs. Hasit is sitting at the back of the district observing, forming an opinion as to whether or not our young pedagogue, whom I shall call Uninitiated, is going to develop into a teacher or not. She expects her children to make progress. She judges by results. If the expected results are not forthcoming she concludes that Uninitiated is a failure. Uninitiated should have known that it is safer to light the school fire with gasoline, than to tell Mrs. Hasit that her offspring is a blockhead. Mrs. Hasit came back with the argument that there is a potential premier in every child, and the teacher has to develop little Willie's complex personality and bring it into a state fit for that premiership. After this outburst Uninitiated readily admits that Willie has possibilities. Just what those possibilities are Uninitiated did not say. One thing I did notice was that Mrs. Hasit's tirade did not contribute much to the making of a successful teacher, nor did it assist little Willie to pass into the next grade.

"For the most part however the community is willing to give Uninitiated every chance to make good. The ordinary citizen is delighted to see her go on to victory. But unfortunately every one in the district is not just ordinary.

"Mrs. Hasit keeps her children away from school on the most trifling pretext and then wonders why they do not make progress. Then there are the Staylates, who take their children to dances and keep them out of bed until dawn. These are the B. Littles who make a practice of discussing the teacher in the presence of their boys and girls. And what of the Standoffs who never invite the teacher into their home to get acquainted but criticize Uninitiated behind her back for being stuck up; and the R. Banefuls who get Uninitiated's ear and seek to poison her mind against their traditional enemies; and the S. Clusives, that merry little group at every social gathering who are so happy in their own company that they never notice

lonely Uninitiated in their midst? Of course, these extraordinary folks are not conscious of playing a part in a mild tragedy. Nothing is further from their minds than to jeopardize the teacher's career at its very inception.

"When the Drouth made its appearance and my district went without a crop for six consecutive years, Uninitiated used to plough through two miles of snow, two miles through drifts where there were no sleightracks, one step after another in 30 below zero weather. I used to watch her warm up the little tots who would come in crying with the cold. It did not take Uninitiated long to comfort them and soon they would be all smiles.

"Uninitiated and the children were so happy, in those days, despite their troubles, but after six full years of drouth every one is under a severe tension and tempers flare at the least provocation. Now Uninitiated tends my fire, getting to school hours before the pupils and struggling to light a fire which seems never to be in the mood for giving off its old-time heat. I notice now that she is thinner and her usual good temper is fast fading away. The pupils, too, do not seem to like to come every day. It may be because I am so cold, my walls are full of wide cracks and the plaster has come off, letting in the cold air which makes the lives of the pupils miserable. My doors do not close properly, the knobs are missing and my floor is sagging and parting from the wall. Uninitiated asked the trustees if I could be given a good cleaning and perhaps have my windows and doors patched up. The chairman told her (I heard him) that the school had no funds and could not pay any one to do the work. Of course he did not have to tell Uninitiated that there were no funds, for she had not received any salary for three whole months. Uninitiated timidly suggested that some ratepayer do the work and have his bill credited on his taxes. The chairman asked little Uninitiated if she would undertake to find the ratepayer who would agree to do the work on that basis. Uninitiated was unsuccessful, so she and some of the students did what they could one day to make me look a little more attractive. The next day Uninitiated received a note from Mrs. Hasit, strenuously objecting against little Willie's scrubbing the floor. Mrs. Hasit suggested that if the school was not clean enough for Uninitiated that she scrub it herself. Poor little Uninitiated cried for an hour after school and I was unable to comfort her.

"The sky appeared blue again on the memorable day on which Uninitiated received her first cheque after three and one-half months' work. This was the advance grant for which she had persuaded the Board to apply on Nov. 1. True it was only for \$49.50, but it seemed like a million

dollars, judging from the way Uninitiated cried with joy. How to spend it? That was the question. I know that Uninitiated came into the district with a little money and that she paid her first month's board with that. Now she owed Mrs. Staylate for two months' board and Mr. Staylate never lets pass the opportunity to remind her of the fact. Uninitiated decided to pay \$30 to Mrs. Staylate, get some much-needed texts and lesson plans and keep \$10 for herself. I knew Uninitiated was making a mistake and that she was too optimistic in supposing that the next advance would arrive before Xmas. But how was I to tell her what I thought? She wanted very much to go home for Xmas so she decided to phone the Minister of Education herself. She was told that no more advance grants were being sent out until after the New Year. I felt so sorry for Uninitiated; there seemed to be no one to whom she could turn for advice and aid. I cannot call her Uninitiated any longer. She had graduated from that class. Henceforth I shall call her Initiated.

"Little Initiated was staring gloomily into the fire at Mrs. Staylates' farm house when she heard an unusual announcement over the radio. This I heard from a conversation between Mr. Standoff and Mrs. Baneful at a dance held in January within my smoke-begrimed walls. The secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation had a message broadcast to the effect that any teacher unable to get home for Xmas because of lack of funds was invited to phone or wire him, and sufficient money would be sent for the necessary train fare. Mrs. R. Baneful said she had read in the paper that the Ontario Teachers' Federation had sent over \$5,000 to Saskatchewan for distribution among needy teachers. Mr. Standoff also stated that the entire amount had been distributed within ten days. So I imagine that other schools are suffering as I have suffered during the past two years.

"The next morning Initiated took the train for home. She felt rather self-conscious in her shabby clothes. Several civil servants got on the train at the Capital station; they were dressed in the latest style and seemed very happy. Little Initiated had gone to school with some of them but she stayed in her corner and tried to hide the runs in her stockings. She was not envious of these happy people but she asked herself why they should be so happy and why she, with her three years of University and Normal school training, should be so unfortunate as not to be able to get a position in the Civil Service where the salary was paid punctually at the end of each month.

"Arriving at her home, she was met by her sister and her

father. Her sister had her B.A. also and had been teaching for six years. They had much to talk over. Sister Initiated had salary arrears of over \$1800 due her. She had hoped for a payment of 25% of these under the provision made by the government that \$200,000 a year would be set aside out of the Educational Tax revenue for liquidation of salary arrears, accruing prior to 1935. But to date, Dec. 27, 1937, only 58 applicants out of over 400 had been paid. She had consoled herself with the statement made by the Minister of Education that the entire \$200,000 would be paid out before April 1, 1938.

"When the time came for Initiated to go back to her school, Mr. Initiated called her into his study and talked to her in this vein. 'Why not give up teaching? It is true you have spent four years preparing yourself for your chosen profession; it is also true that I have loaned you \$2500 with which to take your training and University courses. At your present rate of salary, provided that you collect it regularly, it will take you at least 25 years to pay back the principal alone. Now I have a Chinese friend in Regina who operates a very modern and efficient restaurant. Suppose I get in touch with him and perhaps he can get you a job as waitress. He really is a fine fellow. I helped him in a time of trouble and I know he has not forgotten it. You will be able to board at a fine home with running water and have all the modern conveniences at your disposal. Then too you will be able to choose your own friends, go to a movie when you wish, join the Y.W.C.A. and really begin to live. Perhaps there you will meet a fine young man, and the two of you may be able to build a home of your own. There is another thing to take into consideration—that is, as a waitress, you will be protected in the matter of salary by the Minimum Wage Law by which you will be able to collect a weekly wage of \$12.50. Does that appeal to you?'

"Initiated thought this over for two days. She did not like the idea of working in a Chinese restaurant but her father had lost his job and perhaps she ought to try to repay him the money she had borrowed. He needed it now and she certainly did not want to stay at home and be a charge on the family. Again, she liked teaching very much but she hated to go back to her school under the existing conditions. Finally she made her decision. Today a B.A., a trained teacher, eager to take upon her shoulders her share of the world's responsibilities, is a waitress in the restaurant of her father's old friend in Regina.

"A new teacher came yesterday. Her eyes are full of hope."



This Year in Washington

● MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN

THE National Legislative Committee has had as its primary concern this year the matter of Federal Aid to Education. In October we appeared before the President's Advisory Committee on Education outlining to them our program for an adequate education system in the United States and we emphasized the need, first, for Federal subsidy of public schools on the basis of equalization of educational opportunity and, secondly, the need for the expansion of cultural services patterned upon those made available by the WPA, pointing particularly to Adult and Workers Education, Remedial Teaching, Nursery Schools and the various Art Projects such as the graphic arts and the Federal theatre.

Many interviews were held, with various members of the committee after this official presentation before them. Finally the committee made its report to the President on February 23. It was most gratifying to find that the recommendations of the report followed very closely the recommendations that we had made to the committee. Notably, in connection with Federal Aid to public schools, the committee recommended an equalization measure which took into consideration the tax paying ability of the states, their school population and their treatment of minority races.

On March 23 representatives of the American Federation of Teachers met in Washington with representatives of other educational organizations to help frame a bill for Congress based upon the report of the Advisory Committee. At that time the American Vocational Association held up approval of the vocational recommendations in the bill. However, there was general agreement on the major proposals. On April 19 there was introduced into Congress an amendment to S-419 (Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill) offered in the nature of a substitute which embodied in the main the principles discussed in the general conference. Not all of our proposals were embodied in this bill nor are we in entire agreement with it. In several instances we feel that our point of view has not been sufficiently considered.

At this writing we are planning an intensive campaign to try to force consideration of the amended Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill in Congress before its adjournment. It is important to note here that we agreed to the amending of the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill because that bill had at the time weathered the Senate Education Committee and was on the calendar.

Should the bill be shelved at this session of Congress we have still a great deal of progress to encourage us. For the first time an official committee has endorsed the principle of Federal Aid to public schools. Furthermore, in its endorse-

ment it has approved the principle for which the AFT has voted, namely equalization among the various states. Even if the bill does not reach final consideration at this session it has excellent chances of passing in the next session of the legislature.

In other respects the present session of Congress has been one marked by bitter opposition to basic theories of democracy. The reactionary and anti-labor elements in the country have girded their loins to defeat all progressive legislation, starting with the defeat of the President's Supreme Court proposals. Various Congressmen and Senators, regardless of strict party affiliation, have grouped themselves for a fight against legislation for the benefit of the majority of the people of the United States. Thus the Wages and Hours Bill was pushed aside. Similarly, after a vigorous campaign the Reorganization Bill was defeated. Again the President's plan for work relief was assailed.

In all of these situations your legislative committee took the position of defending social legislation. It asked for the continuance and extension of the Recovery Program; it supported the President's Reorganization plan. Likewise it supported the Wages and Hours Bill and established contact with representative people in Congress in support of the Wagner Labor Relations Act when it was attacked.

On the question of Peace, which evidently concerns a great many of our members if communications to the Legislative Committee are at all indicative, we have stressed the necessity for a clear national policy in the growing war danger. We have accordingly requested from McReynolds an open hearing on Peace Policy before his committee demanding that due consideration be given the O'Connell Peace Bill and the various other measures, including that of Byron Scott of California, so that a real definite national policy might be arrived at.

In addition to these activities on a national scale which are important principally because they are reflected in state policy and because they have attempted to achieve concrete Federal assistance in the case of the Federal Aid Bills for educational equalization and educational expansion, the National Legislative Committee has attempted to fulfill the growing need of the locals throughout the country for help in the state legislative field. In the Model Bill Bureau, we have been making extensive research on matters of local importance such as tenure, sabbatical leave, retirement, salary schedules, etc. We have prepared two model bills and have several others which are in state of preparation.

We hope to extend this service so that states may have model material upon which to pattern local measures for

introduction into state legislative campaigns to put through various acts for the social and economic security of teachers in service as well as the protection of the public school system in general.

The National Legislative Committee finds its work becoming increasingly complex. It welcomes its new and enlarged activities but would like to have from individuals and locals throughout the country more conscious cooperation in the form of *a.* criticisms and suggestions of its work; *b.* prompt response to its requests (whether for information or action in Congress) and *c.* an evaluation of its services and frank discussion as to whether these should be curtailed, expanded or merely maintained at its present level.

We all feel there is a tremendous field for legislative work. Primarily as employees of the state our economic status is

dependent upon effective legislative action. In other unions the economic and social well-being of members depends in large part upon successful negotiations with individual employers. In our case satisfactory working conditions are almost wholly dependent upon skillful legislative policy and careful alignment of public opinion. It seems to us therefore that more and more the American Federation of Teachers must concern itself with a sound legislative program based upon legislative research.

We welcome any criticism or suggestion you may give us for improvement. Please do not hesitate to send us even the smallest contribution in this respect since upon your interested cooperation depends the effectiveness of the American Federation of Teachers in improving the school system in the United States.

Support For Federal Aid

UNIVERSITY presidents, representatives of William Green and John L. Lewis, of major farm organizations, Negro leaders, Senators and ten Representatives, attending the National Conference on Federal Aid to Education in the National Press Club Auditorium, Washington, D. C. on May 7 and 8, joined in urging the Federal government to grant Federal Aid to States unable to support adequate school facilities.

Dr. Frank Baker, president of the State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and a member of the AFT expressed the sentiment of the conference when he stated: "To assure its own security, democracy must maintain equality of educational opportunity. In the eyes of democracy the son of the tenant farmer in Arkansas is just as precious as the son of the wealthy banker on Wall Street and the education of the former may contribute more strength to democracy than the education of the latter."

Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., drew the applause of the conference when he reminded the delegates that they were duty-bound to fight for Federal Aid to the schools of the South. AFT vice presidents, legislative representatives of the American Youth Congress, the Peoples Lobby, the National Farmers Union, the Louisiana Farmers Union, the American Library Association, Farm Research, the National Negro Congress and many other organizations stressed the

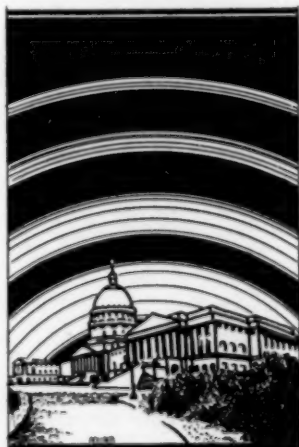
importance of immediate passage of the AFT-sponsored Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, pointed out that large numbers of rural children later become citizens of our cities, and certainly reflect the state of our educational drawbacks. "The quality of education in those rural areas is a matter of vital concern to the industries, the cities, and the people of the whole country", he declared. "An economic, social and cultural lag in any part of the country is an economic, social and cultural damage to all parts of the country."

From every part of the country there were delegates and observers who hammered home the need for Federal Aid, and the support they would throw behind its passage. Congresswoman Nan Honeyman represented the support pledged by Governor Martin of Oregon. Jerry Voorhis, Congressman and AFT member, represented California. Gordon McIntyre spoke for the Farmers Union of Louisiana. Senator Elbert Thomas spoke for Salt Lake City, Congressman Burdick for North Dakota, Miss Allie B. Mann for Atlanta, Georgia. Others pledged wide support.

President Jerome Davis, Dr. W. Carson Ryan Jr., President of the Progressive Education Association (the conference was called by the AFT and the PEA), Mary Foley Grossman, National Legislative Representative, and Professor Doxey A. Wilkerson, AFT Vice-president, all pointed out to the delegates what their next steps should be. Congressmen must be seen and written to, because all of them are necessarily sensitive to such a human factor as democratic education. Organizations must mobilize support by going on the radio and broadcasting about the need for the passage of this bill. State legislatures should be memorialized so that they in turn will exert pressure on Congress.

EUGENE C. HOLMES



Fighting the New Three R's

● ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF

Retrenchment, Racketeering and Reaction are behind the attacks on the progressive forces in the schools.

THE necessity of nation-wide pressure in given local situations is dramatically indicated by a consideration of the after-effects of teacher dismissals.

In Monongalia County, W. Va., two teachers were ousted last June. Both Donald Chesrown, who was head of the Industrial Arts Department of the Morgantown High School, and Owen Hamilton had been active in the Teachers Union and in the Central Labor Union of Monongalia County. The charges made against both men in interviews held between the Central Labor Union and the Monongalia County Board of Education were trivial and vague. "Unpopular in the community" was one. But when Dr. Charles Ambler, the head of the Board, was asked: "Unpopular with whom in the community," he was compelled to reply: *unpopular with the anti-union forces in the community.*

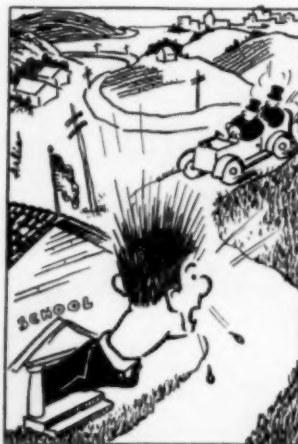
Since the two dismissals last June—three other teachers were reinstated as a result of labor protest—a number of things have occurred. Assistant Superintendents Walter Riddle and Robert Clark have been riding around the country-side, calling teachers out of classrooms and asking them whether they belonged to the Teachers Union. Organization in Monongalia County has been traveling downhill. Fear of reprisal has settled like a terrifying shadow over the area to make a mockery of academic freedom. Furthermore, financial racketeering has appeared. At a County Parents-Teacher meeting on February 1, Dr. Charles Ambler tried to conceal the true amount of taxes derived by the school board from the State. After being questioned, he was also forced to admit that the school board had borrowed \$87,000 illegally.

In Flint, Mich., teacher intimidation and the worsening of school conditions have also followed the dismissals of three active teachers. An analysis of average salaries paid by twenty cities of comparable size reveals that Flint is at the bottom of the list—below Reading, Pa.; Scranton, Pa.; Fordson, Mich.; Evansville, Ind.; South Bend, Ind.; Pontiac, Mich.;—below all, with an average annual salary of \$1599. Although the school year has been gradually shortened from 1931 to the present, further shortening is now indicated. Furthermore, books that have been on the library shelves for years have been suddenly withdrawn. In addition to pro-labor books, so careful a work of scholarship as Professor Frederick Schumann's *The Nazi Dictatorship* has been removed.

Teachers sometimes regard the dismissals of active union colleagues as scheduled "spite" affairs. Administrators are

thought of as necessarily hostile to union organization. Those who think along these lines disregard the increasingly sympathetic attitude of an ever-increasing number of administrators toward the Federation. They overlook the fact that antagonism between teachers and administrators exists only when the latter regard themselves as *financial* rather than *educational* agents, and that antagonism tends to disappear when the needs of teachers, students and the community come to replace in the administrator's mind attention formerly given to the demands of board members.

The foregoing proposition makes it clear that the dismissal of active teachers has a fundamental purpose. It is not merely a question of removing a harassing opponent. It is actually a problem of removing any one who will organize opposition to retrenchment, racketeering, or reaction in education. It is a problem of preparing the ground for the carrying out of a financial program for the few instead of an educational program for the many. The impoverished Flint schools and the financial difficulties facing the Morgantown schools forcefully illustrate the routine followed.



The fight to reinstate ousted teachers thus is basically a fight to protect the school system against further destructive attacks by anti-educational forces in the community. Because of the wave of fear that sweeps through schools and communities in which dismissals occur, outside pressure is frequently the *sine qua non* for an effective fight.

In the case of Professor Jerome Davis, nation-wide pressure compelled the administration to grant an added year's salary. Public interest over a period of twenty years prepared the ground for the recent reinstatement of Professor William Schaper at Minnesota. In California, widespread protest this January prevented the revocation of the teaching license of Victor Jewett. In New York, public criticism recently forced the Board of Education to grant a teaching license to August B. Gold. If the schools and teachers of Flint and Morgantown are to meet the challenge of the new three R's in education, they must have support and encouragement from teachers all over the country.

On Current Issues

● THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

RICHARD WHITNEY, now in a cell in Sing Sing, is listed in the Harvard University Catalogue as on the Visiting Committee of the Board of Overseers on Economics. He was engaged in criminal operations when awarded an honorary degree at New York University. A year or two ago we were informed that Raymond J. Walsh, one of the most popular teachers in the Economics Department at Harvard and a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, would not be retained. Richard Whitney will no longer have influence on the Department of Economics at Harvard but the system of control by conservative economic royalists still remains dominant at many institutions of learning in the United States. We cite Harvard precisely because it is among the best of our universities in the matter of freedom, as their recent gesture in placing Granville Hicks on their staff indicates. But even so, from Laski to Walsh there have been subtle restrictions on academic freedom, even at Harvard.

What does all this control do to the minds of men? For one thing it tends to make relatively scarce the teacher who dares to follow truth into zones of economic conflict. Radical instructors must, as a rule, keep their beliefs within the realm of theory and the confines of the classroom or else, even if hired, they will be fired.

This control also tends to keep the average citizen from learning about the realities of our social order in the school. Politics is seldom taught by concrete demonstrations regarding the behavior pattern of actual bosses or political machines which dominate within a particular state or local community. Economics seldom portrays the actualities of the control by the public utilities and the vested interests. The result is that citizens tend to fall easy victims to special interest groups who masquerade under patriotic titles.

Recently I have been broadcasting over a national network on education. It is symptomatic that American citizens trained in our schools can write such rejoinders as this:

I am not a member of the K.K.K. but as near as I can learn they are the one organization that stands for real Americanization and believe in keeping America for Americans and do not allow any Roman Popery in their program. I do know all they teach in Parochial schools is hatred towards any one that does not conform to their Roman way of thinking. Why not get busy and inform yourself before knocking the K.K.K. hereafter.

Here is another:

I today heard your ignorant address. If the people would come back to the true education, namely to the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour things would soon be different and no need of unions and rebel Reds.

Americanization of the right sort and a religion which promotes justice and the common good may both be desirable, but when Americanization masks behind the Ku Klux Klan and religion operates against unionization both are dangerous. Education should make every citizen see behind such superficialities. . . .

The railroads of the United States are now in financial difficulties. Recently they had the temerity to ask the President of the United States for a government subsidy. Yet at the hearings of the Senate Committee investigating railroad finance, it was revealed that from 1920 to 1936 the various rail associations spent approximately one hundred and eighty-seven million dollars for lobbying. They also secretly financed some one in the Investors' Association to hand out biased propaganda.

The American Federation of Teachers believes that education cannot ignore great public issues or significant revelations like this. We stand guard not only for the welfare of the children but for democracy itself. Education must let in the light on what is happening in the social and economic order and prepare children to play their part in a real world of struggle and strife twixt greed and justice. . . .

In appraising our present situation teachers need to consider their treatment in relation to that of others. Consider the military group, for instance. It costs the government in the neighborhood of \$35,000 to educate a naval officer. He has the option of retiring at 38, even when strong and well. Many officers have been forced to retire at 48. A major-general may retire at 48 and draw a salary of \$6,000 a year. At present the total cost of retirement in the navy alone reaches almost thirty-seven million dollars annually and within ten years it will actually cost tax payers \$100,000,000 a year. . . .

Elsewhere in this issue is an announcement of the National Convention which meets August 15 to 19 in Cincinnati. Every member of our Federation should want to attend.

What shall be our relation to the issues confronting America? One session of the Convention will be devoted to the question of Academic Freedom. In the past few months a wave of dismissals and of other violations of academic freedom has occurred. The Educational Policies Committee will report their findings regarding the content and the processes of education. We intend to have one session devoted to the problems and difficulties confronting locals in their organizing work throughout the nation. Here there will be opportunity for all to share in helping to solve our common problems.

JEROME DAVIS

Democracy In Our Text Books

● MOWAT G. FRASER

How many American school textbooks encourage or even explain democracy? The answer is startling even to many educators of liberal leanings. It is also of the highest importance. It not only reveals the true status of education for democracy in this country—it offers both undeniable evidence of the opposition to such education and an unassailable, key opportunity for bettering conditions.

Democracy, we may all agree, means rule by the people—in civic affairs, by all normal adult citizens. But today, it is becoming increasingly evident, democracy implies more than simply a form of government. Voters may not dare to take part in political campaigns for fear of losing their jobs; and they may not want to campaign for the people's good because of misinformation or narrow aims. If we are to have rule really by the people today, therefore, we must assure them economic and educational as well as political opportunity. Furthermore, if we are to prevent a concentration of power which would tend to curb these kinds of opportunity, the ideal to strive for must be opportunity which is equal to all.

How many textbooks encourage their readers to consider how consistent our crucial, controversial civic policies are with the democratic ideal of equal justice and opportunity? I am not asking how many tell which policies are consistent with the ideal and which are not. I am only asking how many encourage their readers to consider such matters.

About three years ago I began to try to find out. I have since examined all the most widely used elementary and secondary school civics, economics, history, and other social studies textbooks, and all others which I have been able to find. I have written to all the leading publishers, all the leading textbook writers, and several leading professors of the teaching of the social studies, to ask their opinions. Through articles, speeches, and further correspondence, I have made known my findings to all these individuals and to many others, and have asked for contrary evidence.

What have been my findings? Almost all textbooks extol democracy in name. Many discuss our most important general civic problems, and some of them give long lists of arguments on "both sides" of such problems. Some cite certain recent controversial issues as specific illustrations. Most books somewhere mention equal opportunity as an ideal; and a very few somewhere contain an isolated question or two concerning the attainment of that ideal. But how many encourage their readers to consider how consis-

Pointing out that when not a single American text encourages true democracy, the time is ripe for textbook reform.

tent any disputed civic policy is with that ideal? Not a single one! In other words, not a single American school textbook encourages or even explains democracy in our crucial, disputed economic, labor, political, educational, or other civic affairs—not a single one! (With the exception of the few statements in a very few books, used only in a few colleges and usually only for reference, the same is true of college textbooks.)

This conclusion is not a matter of opinion. The proof is in black and white for anybody to see at any time.

Nor, as far as I know, is this conclusion now disputed by anybody who has heard or read a full statement of it. Half a dozen publishers, a like number of teachers and professors, and one textbook writer have disputed it and cited pages in certain books as evidence. I have examined all such pages and books with care. They contain commendations of the least disputed aspects of democracy, and cite instances or raise questions concerning their attainment. But in no case is there even the slightest encouragement for the reader to consider these matters, much less more vital and controversial ones, in the light of the ideal of equal opportunity. Upon my pointing out this fact, none of the objectors has persisted with his contentions.

On the other hand, many publishers, textbook writers, and educators have written me admitting, explaining, and usually regretting the fact I have pointed out. The tenor of all their explanations is the same. Textbook writers, they believe, will not write books encouraging the democratic ideal and publishers will not publish them simply because school administrators and boards of education are afraid that such textbooks will be considered too radical—afraid that the American public will object to books which discuss its most important civic problems with unselfish aims! A typical opinion is the following from a publisher who had recently requested my review of his newest textbook, but to whom I had to reply that his book had the fundamental failing of all others:

Ideally speaking, we are in agreement with you when you say that an outstanding civics text should advance the democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all. As publishers, however, we are forced to look at the problem from a commercial standpoint. . . . I am very much afraid that the educators themselves would crucify any authors or publishers who brought out a book which attempted to crusade for the ideal of maximum social opportunity for the masses. Some day, perhaps, this will not be true.

Let me be clear. I am not implying that textbooks should give any particular solutions to any controversial problems.

I am suggesting only that textbooks should encourage their readers to consider our most important civic problems, and to consider them with an unselfish aim—the democratic aim of equal opportunity for all, politically, economically, and educationally.

What can be done? Reform is not impossible. There have been numerous indications in the last few years that a considerable majority of the American public not only need but are ready to demand a thoroughly democratic solution of our civic problems, as well as a fearless consideration of them. This interest is obviously being stimulated by the same social trends which are causing our prevalent economic insecurity and educational inadequacy; and it will apparently increase in force until such insecurity and inadequacy are eliminated.

Nor is such reform of minor importance. Vital textbooks are of continuous, widespread influence. Textbooks are not of merely temporary concern and quickly laid aside; they are used from week to week and year to year. They are used by millions of citizens—not only by students but also by teachers and laymen. Textbooks which encourage true

democracy could encourage it among thousands of teachers who today obviously do not appreciate its meaning. Such vital, clarifying books would inevitably be carried to interested parents in tens of thousands of homes, and become the concrete bases for discussion in innumerable forums, churches, and discussion groups. Sometimes the case for humanitarianism seems hopeless.

What, then, should we do? Two things especially, it seems to me. First, let us bring this need out into the open and request support from all organizations interested in civic education—women's, church, labor, business, "patriotic", veteran, fraternal, professional and other organizations.

Secondly, let us ask these organizations to sponsor the new textbooks needed. For an individual to write a textbook with a new dominant idea is an arduous and lengthy task; for him to write it in the face of unappreciative, even hostile potential buyers is scarcely conceivable. American educational and civic organizations which sincerely believe in democracy should help to sponsor the new books now needed, and to see that they are used in every school.

Educational Round Table

PUBLIC attention in New York City was focused on the problem of "Education for Democracy" when, on April 2, more than 3000 teachers attended the annual educational conference sponsored by Local 5. The teachers assembled in ten morning panels to discuss with labor, parent leaders and persons prominent in school affairs the next step necessary for making the schools more responsive to the needs of the people. The panel discussions were followed by a general luncheon-meeting that taxed the capacity of New York's largest dining room. The luncheon was addressed by John Brophy, Director of the CIO, Jerome Davis, president of the AFT, and Charles J. Hendley, president of Local 5. Dr. Roma Gans of Teachers College, Columbia University, presided.

Three of the morning panels heard and discussed proposals for extending democracy in education through strengthening and safeguarding popular control of the schools and assuring greater freedom to teachers and students. The speakers at these panels included Paul Kern, president of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, and James Marshall, vice-president of the Board of Education. Commissioner Marshall, addressing a hall that was crowded to the point of overflowing, urged teachers to affiliate with the labor movement. Celia Lewis, Chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee of Local 5, spoke for the union at this panel.

Two panels were addressed by members of the Executive Council of the AFT. Doxey Wilkerson spoke at the panel on the Negro in the schools. Mary Foley Grossman addressed the group that dealt with the development of a people's culture.

Other panels dealt with child welfare, vocational education, the teaching of American ideals of democracy and peace, and a critical evaluation of recently published reports by committees of the Board of Superintendents.

Mr. Brophy in his luncheon address stressed the unity of interests of the labor movement and the profession in meeting the assaults of reaction. Dr. Davis, surveying the current attacks on the American system of free public education, pointed to the underlying cause: "This attack is not based entirely on the specious cry of 'economy'. It is rather based on the conviction that a democratic system of education is developing a democratic people, able to think, to vote, to act in its own interests. Such an educated, alert populace might be disastrous to certain vested interests."

Among the distinguished guests at the luncheon were those State Senators and Assemblymen who had actively supported the Union's legislative program. These included the five Assemblymen elected by the American Labor Party, the New York division of Labor's Non-Partisan League. A representative of the Mayor conveyed his greetings to the gathering. Messages of support were also received from Frederick L. Redefar, Secretary of the Progressive Education Association, and Thomas Mann, noted German writer.

The proceedings of the conference will soon be published in a 32-page booklet. Local 5 hopes to approach the objective set by the National Educational Policies Committee: "We must make education more responsive to the needs of the people. We must implicate the people and excite their interest in the problems of democratic education."

IRVING ADLER

The Wagner Labor Relations Act

A labor arbitrator discusses the background and functioning of the Labor Act.

● JOHN A. LAPP

THE National Labor Relations Act was designed for the purpose of protecting and promoting collective bargaining between employers and employees. It has no other purpose except that. All of the provisions of the Act are incidental to the central purpose of giving the workers the right to deal collectively with their employers and to protect that right by the force of law. The Act was not designed for mediation of labor disputes, nor the arbitration of labor disputes, nor for the regulation of trade unions, nor for the preservation of law or order in times of strike. These matters are not within the purview of the Act and are not intended to be.

The Act proceeds on a simple theory based on long known and well established facts. These facts demonstrate that strikes interfere with commerce; that the failure to bargain collectively is one of the major causes of strikes; and that the elimination or reduction of this cause will reduce the number of strikes and, thereby, protect commerce from interference. No one can understand the National Labor Relations Act, much less criticize it, unless he starts with the purpose of the Act. Those purposes were set forth so clearly by the Senate Committee, when it had the Act under consideration, that they cannot be misunderstood, except by those who wish to misunderstand them. The Committee said:

The most fertile sources of industrial discontent can be segregated into a single category susceptible to legislative treatment. Competent students of industrial relations have estimated that at least twenty-five per cent of all strikes have sprung from failure to recognize and utilize the theory and practices of collective bargaining, under which are subsumed the rights of employees to organize freely and to deal with employers through representatives of their own choosing.

Long ago the same fact was recognized by the Supreme Court in the *Debs Case*.

"The National Government," said the Court, "given by the Constitution power to regulate interstate commerce, has by express statute assumed jurisdiction over such commerce when carried upon railroads. It is charged, therefore, with the duty of keeping those highways of interstate commerce free from obstruction, for it has always been recognized as one of the powers and duties of a government to remove obstructions from the highways under its control."

Congress declared the intent of the Act to be the removal of the causes of certain substantial obstructions "to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of asso-

ciation, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection."

One of the most remarkable facts about the National Labor Relations Act is that it should be required at all to protect the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. That is a natural right and workers are in no different category than bankers, merchants, lawyers or manufacturers who organize for their mutual aid and advantage. The right to join unions was, to be sure, legally accepted. But of what avail would it be to have the right to join a union if the employer could discharge workers for that reason? Legal rights became a fiction in the face of the economic power of employers to discharge or discipline employees for union activities. The National Labor Relations Act sought simply to protect workers in a legal and natural right. It was, in fact, a culmination of more than forty years' effort to protect the right of workers to organize. Just forty years ago Congress passed an Act prohibiting the discharge of workers on railroads for joining labor unions. About the same time, fifteen or more states passed similar laws, making it a penal offense to discharge men for joining unions or to require them to agree not to join unions as a condition of employment. These acts were struck down by Supreme Court decisions which held that they interfered with the right of free contract on the part of employers and employees.

In the period of the World War, the right to organize was largely protected through the insistence of the government and through the operation of the War Labor Board. These protections were removed immediately after the war



ended, but a statute applying to railroads was finally passed and accepted as constitutional by the Supreme Court, assuring the right to organize and bargain collectively to the workers in that industry.

The Federal Government made its first broad effort, applying to all industries, to safeguard collective bargaining by law, when it passed the famous Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The terms of that section expressly prohibited interference with the right of workers to organize. Section 7 (a) was hailed as a charter of liberty. It was believed that the right of labor to organize was clearly insured and safeguarded. Organization of workers spread rapidly. The time seemed to be arriving when employers and employees everywhere would sit at the conference table and, through collective bargaining, settle their differences.

The Government did not seek to organize workers, but rather to clear the path for organization. Insofar as men wished to organize, it was intended that they should have the right to do so. If men did not wish to organize that was their privilege. It appears that men did wish to organize for the membership of labor organizations increased at a rapid rate during the summer and fall of 1933, but the life of Section 7 (a) was short. Employers soon began to evade and defy it and the section, itself, passed out of existence with the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Schechter* case.

Thus, with the exception of the Railway Labor Act, workers had little, if any, protection in their right to organize prior to the passage of the National Labor Relations Act. The Act met the fury of employers and the subtlety of the lawyers. It was openly defied. Lawyers said it was unconstitutional. Fifty-nine of the leading attorneys of the country, in a widely circulated brief, contended that there was no doubt that it was unconstitutional. Courts began to act on that assumption. Injunctions were issued right and left; sometimes it would appear without the court taking the trouble to review the law. The staff of the National Labor Relations Board had to run hither and yon to meet the onrushing attacks.

Nearly one hundred suits were fought out in the courts over the simple question as to whether the Board could hold a hearing. Lawyers contended that the Act was in violation of the Fifth Amendment, because it took property without due process of law. They contended, further, that it could not apply to manufacturing and production because those were local matters over which the Federal Government had no control. These contentions were all swept aside by the Supreme Court in one of the most stunning defeats that the legal profession has ever encountered in this country. Not only was the Act upheld as constitutional, under the Fifth Amendment, but its application to all industries through which streams of interstate commerce flow, or which affected such streams of commerce, came under the provisions of the Act. The orderly pro-

cedure of law has been restored. The Board is enforcing the Act to secure the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. The courts have supported the Board in almost every instance and the law is now a fixed and permanent part of the labor legislation of this country.

There is one limitation which exists, by virtue of the form of the Federal Government, which must not be overlooked. The Act does not apply to all trade and commerce. It does not apply to intrastate commerce, where no stream



of interstate commerce is involved. It does not apply to laundries, dry cleaning establishments, restaurants, hotels, barber shops and a host of similar industries. Its application in retailing is not clear, but probably it does not apply to the small retail establishments. It does not apply, of course, to public employees of states, cities, counties and other local governments, there being no question of commerce involved. The recognition that the Federal power could not extend to strictly local industries has brought the enactment of state laws in a half dozen states which extend the protection of law to those trades and callings not covered by the National Act.

The right of workers to organize and bargain collectively is protected by the Act. But collective bargaining is only a means to an end, that end being better relations between employers and employees. Collective bargaining transfers the conflict from the picket line to the conference table. Satisfactory results can be obtained only when, from the conference table, come understandings and agreements which are mutually satisfactory. The Act makes it possible for the two parties to appear on somewhat equal terms. It does not require that either side give in to the other. It does not require agreements nor does it force compulsory arbitration in case there is no agreement. Employers and employees may disagree and strikes and lockouts may follow. The aim of the Act is that the causes of unrest and of strikes may be met at their source and, to an increasing extent, through the conference method, may be limited or reduced. The final test of the National Labor Relations Act will be found in the success with which collective bargaining is carried on.

The Dismissed Teacher

● MADALINE KIMTER REMMLEIN

A study to acquaint teachers with legal rights and procedures when facing dismissal.

TEACHERS are not infrequently dismissed before the expiration of their contracts. Such dismissals may or may not be just. Details of each individual case determine the dismissed teacher's position; but there are certain general rules which all teachers in service should understand so that they may evaluate the facts and know what procedure is necessary or possible should the situation present itself.

If a teacher receives a notice of dismissal his first step is to discover if the school board has the legal right to so dismiss him. Until he has received advice, he should not stop teaching, unless forcibly prevented. Otherwise, he may be said to have abandoned his contract. If the school board has acted within its right, the teacher may then discontinue his services and prepare his defense.

The teacher's position falls into two main categories depending upon whether or not he is teaching under the protection of a tenure law. Tenure teachers may be legally dismissed for those causes stipulated in the tenure law. These causes usually comprise inefficiency, incapacity, conduct unbecoming a teacher, or other just causes, including reasons of economy such as the discontinuance of a particular kind of service. (For instance, the kindergarten. The "discontinuance of a particular kind of service" may, however, not be interpreted as to include discontinuance of a subject, especially when the subject is prescribed in the curriculum.) Tenure teachers have the privilege of advance notice and a hearing on the charges.

In systems where tenure protects teachers from undue dismissal, a probationary period is usually required. Probationary teachers are subject to dismissal for just cause. Unfortunately, probationary teachers are sometimes dismissed for speciously just causes, in reality to prevent their acquiring tenure. This is illegal evasion of the tenure law and if the teacher has completed his probationary period satisfactorily, attempted dismissal has been considered illegal by the courts provided reappointment would grant tenure rights.

By providing protection against dismissal, tenure laws give to tenure teachers not only economic security but professional standing. Only six states—Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—have statewide tenure laws. In Delaware, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, and South Carolina a continuing contract system is operative. In Ohio contracts may be made for more than one year. Fourteen states, in addition, have tenure provisions in certain districts but not over the entire

state. In sixteen states no legislation at all prescribes the length of employment for teachers and in six states the law provides only for annual election of teachers. In those states having no protective legislation at all the teachers' chances of dismissal during the school term may be high, and annual election provides only slight protection.

In states having no tenure law, other statutes have a bearing upon the teacher's term of employment. If the law gives the school board the right to "dismiss at pleasure" no contract will protect the teacher from discharge since the law in such cases has been held to nullify all contract stipulations inconsistent with it.

If the law reads that the school board may dismiss teachers for specified reasons, the teacher may or may not be dismissed for reasons other than those specified, for the courts have disagreed on the interpretation of such a law. Some rulings have expressed the opinion that the list of specified causes for dismissal is exhaustive and had the state intended that teachers be dismissed for reasons other than those specified these other reasons would have been included in the statute. However, other courts have ruled that the school board may, by contract, gain the right to dismiss teachers for causes other than those stipulated by statute.

In some other states, the law provides that teachers may be dismissed for cause only, but causes are not specific. In such states, the causes used for dismissal may be many and varied, according to the individual contract binding the teacher. When there is no statutory provision for dismissal, the courts have upheld the school board in their right to dismiss teachers provided they can show valid cause. By general understanding, common law, and practice, causes for legal dismissal of teachers include incompetency, neglect of duty, immorality, and violation of board rules. In general, personal reasons or grounds not affecting the teachers' efficiency are not legal causes for dismissal.

Incompetency constitutes a universally valid cause of dismissal. But when a teacher is dismissed for incompetency, the burden of proof is upon the board of education. The teacher's certificate is *prima facie* evidence of qualification and must be overcome by positive evidence to the contrary. When a decision as to the competency of a teacher is to be made, the whole course of his conduct must be taken into consideration; occasional mistakes are not conclusive in the eyes of the law.

Teachers may be dismissed for neglect of duty. Therefore, the courts have been called upon to determine what

constitutes neglect of duty within the contemplation of the law. For example, it has been decided that frequent tardiness is justifiable cause for dismissal. Temporary absence from school without sufficient cause also constitutes that degree of neglect which justifies a school board in dismissing a teacher.

A teacher may be dismissed for immorality. In fact, a good reputation, as well as a good character, is a necessary qualification of a teacher and scandal has been considered just cause for dismissal regardless of the truth of the rumor.

A teacher is bound to obey all reasonable rules and regulations of the school board employing him. It makes no difference whether the rules were in force at the date of his employment or were promulgated at a later date. The teacher impliedly consents to obey all reasonable rules which a board may find it necessary to adopt from time to time. The teacher's obligations in this respect are by implication read into the contract. Ignorance is no justification for violation of the rules since it is presumed that the teacher contracting to teach, subject to school board rules, is cognizant of the content of those rules.

However, rules and regulations of the school board must be reasonable and not inconsistent with state statutes. If a board makes an unreasonable rule or a rule in excess of authority, the teacher is not bound by it. Obviously, school boards and teachers may differ in opinion as to the "reasonableness" of some rules. A few examples will show the delimitations of reasonable rules set by court decisions when dismissal has been based on violation of same. Dismissals have been considered legal when the teacher has refused to comply with the regulation that teachers be vaccinated, and when the teacher has refused to obey a rule prohibiting the reading of the Bible in the schools. It has been held to be an unreasonable rule and no cause for dismissal if a teacher does not live in a boarding house selected by the school board as a condition of employment. Yet a school board may legally require teachers to reside in the city in which they teach.

If a teacher has been dismissed in accordance with law, there is no cause for action. If his dismissal is illegal, several methods of procedure are open to him, depending upon state statutes defining his position. Tenure teachers, illegally dismissed, may sue for reinstatement. Non-tenure teachers under certain circumstances, may sue the school board for damages, but never for reinstatement.

In states where the law provides for dismissal of teachers for cause only, a teacher usually has the right to notice of the charges and an opportunity for hearing before the school board. This hearing need not be a formal procedure but merely the opportunity for defense. After the teacher has defended himself before the school board, dismissal by the school board is not always conclusive. In some states where school tribunals have been established by law for the express purpose of reviewing cases under dispute, it has been ruled that teachers should appeal to these higher tribunals

before the case is acceptable in court. In Texas, for example, a teacher discharged without cause cannot appeal to the court until after he has first exhausted all remedy of appeal to school authorities. In certain other states, the right of appeal in court is denied and the decision of the school tribunal is final. In Iowa, a county superintendent held that a teacher had been wrongfully dismissed and the decision was considered conclusive in spite of the fact that the local school board which had dismissed the teacher attempted to change their decision.

A number of court decisions have ruled that dismissal by the school board is not conclusive and that the final decision rests in court action, regardless of the higher school tribunals. Other courts have considered that their only function is to determine whether the board has acted arbitrarily, corruptly, or in bad faith, and that otherwise, the dismissal of the teacher by the school board is conclusive.

However, in most states, the unlawfully dismissed teacher may bring immediate suit against the school board in its corporate name, not against any member or official. Individual members of the school board are not liable unless they have acted maliciously or in bad faith.

Provided the dismissed teacher's case is allowed in court and illegal dismissal can be proved, the teacher is entitled to recover the wages agreed upon for the time he was prevented by dismissal from teaching. It has been ruled that it is the dismissed teacher's duty to make every reasonable effort to secure similar employment, after the teaching contract has been broken, in order to mitigate the damages, but that he is not required to accept unsuitable employment or any position of a lower grade or in a different locality. Some teachers may have assumed that the acceptance of another position after dismissal and earning compensation while the court case is pending would lessen their chances of recovery for the unjust dismissal, but this is not so. Deductions are made of the amount earned by a subsequent position which mitigated the damages due. If the position accepted subsequently to an illegal dismissal be at a larger salary, the teacher can still recover nominal damages for his wrongful dismissal.



legal technicalities and the contradictory precedent court opinions which may work against them. Even if he wins his case in court, the damages paid him do not compensate for his dismissal except in a limited monetary way.

Coercion in the Schools

● STANLEY F. ATWOOD

A superintendent of schools in Washington describes the subtler forms of pressure administrators may exert on teachers.

INFLUENCE by an administrator upon his assistants along lines which are purely educational is of course not only desirable but necessary in the efficient conduct of a school system. But when influence is exerted outside of this legitimate field it is dangerous both to teachers and to the children in public schools.

This influence may be exerted in different ways. It may be crude and open, as when an administrator in a school system instructs his teachers to join or not to join an organization such as a commercial club, community club, professional organization or whatnot. It may consist in the teacher being told that he must remain in the community over the week-end, how he shall spend his evening, whether or not he can play cards, smoke, dance, or in the case of a woman teacher, have company of the opposite sex. In one case, the superintendent of a small school system required the teachers in the system to join one professional organization and denied them the privilege of joining another, even though the principles of the two were not antagonistic. In another case, a superintendent announced at the first meeting of his staff in September that teachers' contracts were not being returned to them until they had joined a particular teachers' organization.

Such crude methods as these are seldom practiced nowadays. The intelligent school board member or administrator uses subtler but equally effective methods. School directors may let it be understood that the teacher or principal has a better chance of obtaining a position if he is willing to drive the school bus as a part of his duties or for a small remuneration, or that if he will serve as leader in the Boy Scouts or some other organization it will strengthen his candidacy. The school board may also let it be known that it looks with favor upon teachers who spend their spare time in the community or upon civic affairs. It cannot be made a part of the contract, of course; nevertheless a word spoken at the right time will get over to the teacher the idea of what is expected of him.

A teacher may be told by some one in authority that the community looks with disfavor upon members of the profession who use tobacco, who attend card parties, or remain away from Sunday school or church. In fact, sometimes church preference has been a deciding factor in the appointment of a teacher. In some districts only Protestants may be teachers; in others no Protestant will be hired by a school board. Fortunately, at the last session of our legislature a law was passed prohibiting inquiry by any school official into the religious affiliation of a prospective

teacher. This is a step in the right direction, and if extended to include affiliations with other groups will be an even better law.

Another kind of coercion is more or less unconscious upon the part of the official. Schools of education in our colleges and normal schools implant in the future teacher the idea that he must be entirely cooperative in all school matters and must not object to any policy which may be part of the system, notwithstanding the fact that this policy may have been determined entirely without his assistance or knowledge. If he does not entirely approve of a method or policy it is his duty nevertheless to support it wholeheartedly or seek another position. He learns that even though an administrator's policies be wrong or outmoded, it is his duty to follow directions. Such a course of training, in most cases, results in turning out of teachers who fit into a system of regimentation. This training makes it difficult for the teacher to examine critically an opinion expressed by an administrator whether in the field of education or outside of it. The consequence is that teachers become so habituated to follow orders that they readily accept as official, pronouncements concerning other matters than educational. The administrator, therefore, who is not constantly on his guard, is likely to be making decisions for his assistants along other lines than purely professional ones. He is apt to feel that he owes it to the teachers to give them his views upon many subjects. This might not be harmful except that it retards the development of independence and initiative on the teacher's account.

There is still another way in which teachers are regimented. This is by the existence of what is in effect an espionage system. In many industrial organizations it is a definite policy of the management to have spies and informers among the employees. Other organizations achieve the same result by the encouragement of tale bearing, which keeps the bosses informed of what their employees are thinking. So far as is known, the stool pigeon system is not used in schools but the policy of encouraging reports from teachers and principals as to what other teachers are doing or contemplating is not uncommon. In fact, in one large system the boast is made that within twenty-four hours the administration has a report on every teachers' meeting that is held. In other cases, the superintendent or principal will receive from some subordinate details of matters which have been discussed by teachers either at a public meeting or in private. This procedure may not

be part of a general plan but it is encouraged by the sympathetic manner in which the administrator receives confidences.

The course of the administrator, whether principal, superintendent, or school director, in these matters is not easy. He has to be constantly on his guard if he does not want to encourage regimentation among teachers, that he does not put himself on record before teachers on non-

educational matters.

In conclusion, it might be asked: What can be done about this matter of coercion? After all that is what should deeply concern members of our profession. The answer is that only by acting together, by supporting each other in professional and non-professional affairs also can there be built up within the mind of the individual teacher the desire to be independent and to develop initiative.

The Keeney Case

ON MARCH 22 the district court at Helena ordered the governor of Montana and the president of the state university to reinstate Philip O. Keeney, in his position as professor and university librarian with full salary from the date of his dismissal. Professor Keeney was dismissed without a hearing last summer, the reason given being general unfitness. Actually his qualifications are of the highest, the dismissal having been the result of his resisting a library censorship of the most parochial sort and of his active part in organizing a chapter of the American Federation of Teachers at the University of Montana.

Professor Keeney could have sacrificed his intellectual principles and abandoned the organization of the Teachers Union and kept his position. He chose the courageous line of fighting for his position, for his rights as a university professor with full tenure and for his rights as a citizen.

Professor Keeney could not have fought this case without the active aid of the American Federation of Teachers, and through this professional trade union came the mass support of all the organized labor forces in Montana. Leaflets were printed, mass meetings held, petitions were circulated

and letters of protest were drawn up. The most striking feature of the case is, in fact, this successful collaboration of manual and intellectual workers. The League of American Writers, the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors have also taken part in the case, the latter as an impartial investigator. The official report of this group and that of the American Federation of Teachers will probably be published shortly. Professor Keeney's own professional group, the American Library Association, apparently adopted a wait-and-see attitude, or at least took no official action.

The final victory for Professor Keeney is not yet won. The decision has been appealed by the state and probably the case will not be heard by the Montana supreme court until next fall. The decision by Judge Padbury of the district court, however, is a highly significant vindication of Professor Keeney's stand. It is also highly significant of what can be accomplished in the defense of cultural traditions and academic freedom by the concerted action of progressive labor groups.

DECISION IN THE KEENEY CASE

THE COURT FINDS that Philip O. Keeney, the petitioner and the party beneficially interested herein was duly appointed by the State Board of Education of the State of Montana as Librarian and Professor in the Department of Library Economy at the Montana State University of Missoula, and duly qualified and carried on the duties of said position from on or about September 16, 1931, to September 1, 1937, and that by virtue of the laws of Montana and the rules and regulations of said Board in full force and effect said petitioner on September 1, 1937, had and at all times since said date has had a position of permanent tenure and has been at all times since said date, and now is, entitled to perform the duties and services of said position and to receive the salary and compensation therefore at the rate of \$3360.00 per annum, from which he has been unlawfully and without such notice or hearing as provided for by law been precluded by said defendants since September 1, 1937, and that prior hereto the petitioner requested the defendants to admit petitioner to the use and enjoyment of said right and to allow petitioner to perform his said services and duties which request was by said defendants denied and refused, and that his position as Librarian and Professor in the Department of Library Economy at the Montana State University at Missoula with permanent tenure is a right to which he is entitled, and from which he is unlawfully precluded by said defendants and that said petitioner has no plain, speedy or other adequate remedy in the ordinary course of the law, and that a peremptory writ of mandamus should issue in the premises.

WHEREFORE, by virtue of the laws and by reason of the premises IT IS ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that a peremptory writ of mandamus be issued out of and under the seal of this Court directing and commanding Roy E. Ayers, Governor of the State of Montana, Harrison J. Freebourn, Attorney General of the State of Montana, Ruth Reardon, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Montana, and W. S. Davidson, W. C. Carruth, Mrs. Mayme Nance, C. Cofman, Wallace Brennan, Emmet J. Riley, R. Leedom and C. D. Borton, comprising the State Board of Education of the State of Montana, and George Finlay Simmons, President of said Montana State University at Missoula, to admit Philip O. Keeney the petitioner herein to the use and enjoyment of his said right as Librarian and Professor in the Department of Library Economy at Montana State University at Missoula and allow him to perform his services and duties as such and to allow him the salary and emoluments to said position from September 1, 1937, the date from which he has been so unlawfully precluded from his said position.

IT IS FURTHER ORDERED that said defendants make known to this Court on the 30th day of March, 1938, in the Court Room in the Courthouse at Helena, Montana, at 10 o'clock A. M. of said day how they have executed said writ and to have with them and there said writ. The Clerk of the above entitled Court is hereby directed to issue said Writ of Mandamus.

Dated this 22nd day of March, 1938.

GEORGE W. PADBURY, JR.
District Judge

Because of the very wide-spread interest in the subject at present and the possibility of further discussion of it at our next convention, the editorial committee decided to include in THE AMERICAN TEACHER Mr. Libby's article, which presents a position contrary to that adopted at our last convention, as well as Dr. Ward's, which presents a program similar to that adopted in 1937.

For Peace and Democracy

● HARRY F. WARD

THE purpose of the American League for Peace and Democracy was stated in the briefest and simplest form by the Congress held at Pittsburgh last November. It is to:

Protect and extend democratic rights for all sections of the American people;

Keep the United States out of war and help keep war out of the world. Put the other way around, this purpose would read:

To stop and prevent war;

To prevent fascism from coming to power in the United States.

The uniqueness of the American League is that it unites the defense of peace with the defense of democracy, the struggle against war with the struggle against fascism. The indivisibility of these destroyers of mankind is made abundantly clear by what is now happening in the world. There is war in Europe. There is war in Asia. These conflicts are tied together by the alliance between the powers which are invading Spain and China. Their procedure, their openly proclaimed plans and purposes, call for still more war. All the great powers, including our own, are now strenuously getting ready for that conflict.

It is the governments which have destroyed what little democracy they had within their own borders that are now waging and threatening war. One of their announced objectives is the abolition of democracy. They insist that the authoritarian state offers the best way of life for men. Thus, they not only seek their immediate objectives by force of arms, but in pursuit of their ultimate goal they destroy the only possible road to peace. For it is only by the development of democracy, that is, the increasing management of the affairs of mankind by consent and cooperation, that peace can be progressively organized. It is thus the rise and spread of fascism which binds together the struggle for peace with the struggle for democracy.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the American League for Peace and Democracy is that it unites in the struggle for this two-fold objective the workers, the farmers, the intellectuals, and the lower middle classes. Just as it was the first anti-war movement to recognize the relation of fascism to war, so it was the first to base itself on the power of the masses, recognizing that only by united action of those millions without whom war cannot today be waged will it finally be ended. A counter alliance is true of



A PROGRAM

the fascism that is now prolonging war beyond its time. Fascism comes to power by a combination of classes in a fraudulent, unholy alliance. It can be defeated only by an alliance of those who understand its nature and their common necessity to escape its deadly grip.

Another distinctive feature of the American League is its connection of the necessity of keeping the United States out of war with the necessity of helping to keep war out of the world. Its program for helping to keep war out of the world is conditioned by the imperative need of keeping the United States out of war. Unless this can be done, we lose our democracy here and our weight is then thrown on the side of the anti-democratic forces in the world scale.

At its 1937 Convention, the American Federation of Teachers passed the following resolution on the question of fascism and war:

Whereas: The threat of a world war grows more menacing daily, primarily because of the unrestrained aggression by Fascist countries as evidenced in the attack on Ethiopia, Spain, and China; and

Whereas: The policy of non-intervention actually aids and abets Fascism in its attacks on democratic countries, and

Whereas: A growing Fascism in the United States, as evidenced by vigilante attacks on labor and peace organizations, endangers the peace of our country; and

Whereas: Certain features of the Neutrality law of the United States which deny aid to legal governments attacked by others have encouraged aggression by the Fascist powers, thus increasing the danger of a world war; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers call upon the government of the United States to invoke the powers of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, calling for the outlawing of war, the creation of collective pacts and the definition



FOR PEACE

Our war department's plans for "M Day," which provides for a complete military industrial dictatorship over every aspect of American life, express the inner logic of modern warfare. They are more than the desires of militarists. They are the necessity of carrying on any first-class war. That our entry into war, with this disastrous consequence, cannot be avoided unless the wars now going on and those in prospect can be stopped, is clear enough. The history of the World War and the way we got in, our increasing preparations to fight again, both tell the story.

The program by which the American League moves toward its two-fold purpose has to be written as the situa-

(Concluded on page 22)

and punishment of an aggressor nation; and be it further
RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers call upon the Government of the United States to invoke the Nine-Power Pact in the Sino-Japanese War.

(The following Resolves were also adopted as amendments):
RESOLVED: That this Convention urge upon all labor organizations the necessity of uniting their forces with one another and with all liberals and anti-Fascists to crush the Fascist menace and the drive toward imperialist war; and be it further

RESOLVED: That we urge upon the American Labor Movement cooperation with the International Labor Movement in launching a drive against Fascism and imperialist war everywhere, and against Fascist aggression in Spain in particular; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers conduct an educational campaign among teachers in opposition to imperialist war and to Fascism and that the American Federation of Teachers recommend a similar campaign to its affiliated locals.

Remove the Causes of Aggression

● FREDERICK J. LIBBY

AGGRESSION and treaty-breaking are very much on our minds these days and the question what we in America shall do with "treaty-breaking aggressors" is probably our most important problem.

The theory that "the democracies should unite against the fascist aggressors" and by withholding our economic resources bring their trouble-making to an end without war is tempting but unsound, as I shall try to show. The alternative theory that we should remove the causes of aggression and war, while taking an uncompromising stand against involvement in any foreign war, is the thesis that I support. Let us first consider the weaknesses of concerted action against the treaty-breaking aggressors.

1. Their aggressiveness is rooted, partly at least, in hunger and despair. It is idle to argue that they are pursuing a wrong method of escape from these evils. The hunger and hopelessness of the German people as the result of the Versailles Treaty elected Hitler to power. The theory of peace through economic pressure is merely an intensification of the processes that were embodied in the Versailles Treaty. To imagine that more of the same will cure the ills occasioned by this unjust treaty is fallacious.
2. It is true that the British Empire, the French Empire, the Russian dictatorship and the United States possess a large part, probably four-fifths, of the essential natural wealth of the world. They control the greater part of the world's coal, iron, oil, cotton, timber, wheat, corn, copper, gold, silver. These four great "Haves" may fairly be called the "Sixty Families" among the nations. It is their selfish use of their wealth, which they have walled in with tariffs and immigration laws, that has contributed greatly to the present universal distress. The proposal that they shall now "gang up" on three of the poor nations and starve them into submission is as shocking as the application of the same principle to our national economic life would be.
3. The theory that we would thus avoid war is an optimistic stretch of the imagination and unjustified by any known facts. We have no reason to imagine that the dictators can be so easily cowed into submission. Lord Cecil, high priest of economic sanctions, said to the National Peace Conference: "If you use economic sanctions, you must be ready and willing if necessary to use military sanctions; and I don't believe in bluff."

The mild sanctions used by fifty-two nations against Italy only served to unite the Italian people back of the Ethiopian War. When it was proposed in the House of Commons to make the sanctions effective by including oil or closing the Suez Canal, the British government through

(Concluded on page 23)

Harry F. Ward

(Continued from page 21)

tions arise which call for action. The initial program for 1938 adopted by the Pittsburgh congress recognizes that the focal point just now of the struggle for and against democracy in this country is the attack upon labor's democratic rights. The tactic proposed to throw back the open assault upon labor by reactionary employers and corrupt officials, is the formation of citizens' committees to unite all progressive elements in the community in defense of labor's rights before any of them are deceived by the enemy. The more subtle attack upon labor organization, that concedes its necessity and then tries to hog-tie it with legislative controls, is to be met by educational propaganda and counter-pressure upon legislative bodies. The same tactic, of course, is used in defense of racial minorities, with specific support of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

In defense of democracy abroad, for the stopping and ending of war, the American League relies entirely upon economic non-cooperation with the aggressor, and the furnishing of supplies to his victim, with such regulation of purchases and shipments under the cash and carry principle as will remove the risk of our becoming involved in war. Under these conditions we have stood and still stand for the opening of our market to the lawful Spanish government according to our treaty obligations. The experience of Mexico in selling arms to Spain proves that this course would not bring us into war. Important as it is morally and for the sake of precedent to accord the same right to China, nevertheless because of Japan's command of the China coast, the more important thing is to stop supplying the Japanese militarists with the means to make war.

This can be done in three ways. First comes the people's boycott of goods made in Japan. This is already successful enough to make a considerable dent in Japanese exports to this country, principally silk. This means that the war-makers have less American money to buy scrap iron and oil with which to kill Chinese. The next item in the program of economic non-cooperation with the invader is support of labor in any refusal to handle war supplies for Japan. British labor is now taking such action. American labor has yet to move. Both these forms of people's action will increase the possibility of the third step, which is government embargo of all war supplies for Japan, and likewise for Germany and Italy.

To be effective either as people's boycott, labor action or government embargo, this program of economic non-cooperation requires concerted action between those nations which desire peace and democracy. This concerted action cannot be secured unless the people in the respective countries can control their anti-democratic, imperialist elements which in the search for profit are aiding the war-making powers and driving their own countries in the direction of fascism. Thus the program which offers the only chance of stopping war also moves in the direction of the extension

of democratic controls, and therefore the further opening up of the road to peace. This program of economic non-cooperation is the only possible substitute for war in meeting the menace of the fascist powers. In the case of Japan, because of her isolation and her distance from the nations upon whom she depends for indispensable war supplies, this program can be applied with practically no risk of war. If it can be made effective and Japan is deprived of the means to carry on war in China, obviously she will not have the means to fight anybody else. Over against the slight risk of some one desperate act before supplies gave out must be set the fact that the continuance of our present policy of doing nothing, except preparing to fight, makes war and still more war absolutely certain.

This program of economic non-cooperation with the war-makers is of course only a first step out of our present difficulties. It can only lead to the ending of war and fascism if it is accompanied by a willingness to cooperate with the people of Japan, Germany, Italy, and other countries in their situation in the solution of their economic problem. By such cooperation we do not mean the futile and dangerous effort to make concessions to the fascist powers within the framework of the competitive, profit-seeking economy. There can be no peace between imperialisms. At the beginning of the conflict in China the American League urged our government to call the conference required by the Nine Power Treaty and to proclaim one of its purposes to be to withdraw all foreign troops from the soil of China and all warships from her waters, and to end all national and international concessions which infringe upon the sovereignty of China. To the World Peace Congress at Brussels in 1936 the American League carried a proposal for a Peoples' Peace Pact which declared among other things a willingness to "initiate and support measures designed to secure equal access for all nations to all things needed for their development, realizing that this can only be accomplished through worldwide agreement and mutual exchange between free peoples."



Frederick J. Libby

(Continued from page 21)

Anthony Eden declared that this would lead to a general European war. Perhaps the British government was mistaken but at least it knew as much as we know.

4. The division of the nations into "peace-loving" nations and "treaty-breaking aggressors" is not supported by the history of the past twenty years nor by the present map of the world. The map shows which nations have been the aggressors. Economic aggression of the successful imperialist powers has preceded and occasioned the present aggressiveness of the belated and would-be empires. Repentance and the restoration of liberty to the peoples now held in subjection by the British Empire, the French Empire, and the United States would probably do more to stop imperialist expansion on the part of Germany, Italy and Japan than attempts at coercion without repentance can accomplish.

As for "treaty-breaking", the post-war era began with the violation of the terms of the Armistice, President Wilson's Fourteen Points, by the World War victors. The pledge to disarm in the Versailles Treaty and the League Covenant was violated by the same "peace-loving nations". It was Great Britain's reservation of "certain regions" that nullified the legal value of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. It was the members of the League that violated their covenant when summoned successively by China and Ethiopia to fulfill their obligations. Historical perspective is important these days in meeting the present war propaganda.

The alternative program starts with removing the economic causes of war and of fascism. Genuine economic justice is remote but we must move in that direction and not in the opposite direction. Instead of depriving the dictatorships further of the means of decent living, the rich nations should attempt, as Premier Chamberlain is endeavoring to do, to remove their sincere grievances—and take the risks. The risks are far less than the risks of war in the present increasing tensions of an arms race.

The recent Conference on World Economic Cooperation, in which both wings of the National Peace Conference united, agreed on the necessity of setting up an independent "Economic Grievance Committee", broadly representative, like the International Labor Organization, of business, labor, farmers, and governments, to study the economic situations that threaten the peace of the world and make recommendations for solutions.

The lowering of barriers to world trade is here the basic task. Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade agreement program is a beginning. Currencies must be stabilized, exchange controls removed, the quota system progressively abolished. Access to the natural resources of the world must be made possible for all peoples alike.

The other basic element in a wise American foreign policy must be to keep America out of foreign wars. Our

best military and naval experts agree that we cannot be successfully attacked and that if we have a war, we must seek it abroad. Our government has no moral right to involve us again in other people's wars. No injustice that China or Lithuania or any other nation may suffer can compare with the vast injustice of conscripting our youth to swell the proportions of a local war until it becomes a world war.

Follow through a war with Japan. Official estimates are that it would cost us fifty billion dollars in money and an incalculable number of lives. The military problem of landing troops in Japan has not been solved by our High Command. Suppose, for purposes of argument, that the problem is solved and that after five interminable years Japan surrenders her devastated land, both on the islands and on the continent of Asia. What then? Our boys will want to come home. Annexation of Japan's poverty and problems will not be thinkable. When we come home, shall we leave a happier and more prosperous Asia or a chaotic and starving Asia, famine-ridden for a generation?

But follow clearly through! To what will the boys come home? To fascism. Make no mistake about it. The War Department's Mobilization Plan and the extracts from it contained in the Hill-Sheppard Bill and its successor, the May Bill, can leave no doubt in our minds as to what is contemplated for us in any war in which our country may become engaged. A war dictatorship, in a totalitarian organization of the entire nation, with all of us in the army in one capacity or another, is the plan. Will the dictatorship end with the war? No. When the war boom ends, when the soldiers and the factory workers alike are no longer needed, then the bottom will drop out of the world. To avert chaos, the dictator will retain his control indefinitely, as the Mobilization Plan itself realistically provides.

Therefore our country must under all conceivable circumstances and provocations stay out of the wars of Europe and Asia while we cooperate in removing the causes of war. Can we stay out? Certainly, if we make reasonable preparations for staying out. The War Department has its "War College" helping in the solution of Problems 29 or 35 for winning some particular war. The State Department requires from now on an Advisory Commission, representative of the nation and including its best minds, to plan with it how to maintain our neutrality in any war that may occur and thus to win the peace. This "peace college" will need to consider how in a European war our trade should be re-routed, how our bankers shall be controlled, what restrictions shall be placed upon our shipping, what public works will relieve the unemployment, what subsidies of specific industries will be required, what controls of propaganda will be necessary. The task of winning the peace is far more important to us all than the winning of any war.

For the Affirmative

Unless organized labor unites its forces and stands united it is in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by forces of reaction and tyranny as were the labor movements of Germany and Italy. Notwithstanding this danger, however, the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization seem to be getting farther apart and the leaders seem to be reconciled to a permanent split between the two organizations.

Whatever the attitude of the leadership really is, the breach in the ranks of labor is intolerable to the rank and file membership of both organizations. For it is they who have to bear the brunt of the internecine warfare. It is they who are expected to walk through rival picket lines and to suppress whatever feelings of solidarity they may have for the rank and file in the opposing camp. Now the American Federation of Labor is going a step further and is attempting to divide the forces of labor on the political field. A. F. of L. unions are also being penalized for even conferring with one another on the subject of unity between the A. F. of L. and the CIO. Any fraternizing with CIO unionists is now regarded as high treason by the leaders whose prestige is at stake.

The grim tragedy of the situation is accentuated by the forceful demonstration that we have had in the last three years that American labor can organize on a mass scale and that there is a basic unity within the great mass of organized labor. The success of the CIO in organizing the unorganized and in winning agreements with the most powerful corporations is convincing proof that an organic unity of the crafts, the mass production workers, and the white collar workers can be established. Moreover, this mass organization of labor is absolutely necessary in the modern world. For mass production and the billion-dollar supercorporations, which are inter-locked in their financing and directorships, have created a new industrial world in which the old order of craft-unionism and business-agent leadership is wholly inadequate.

The old leaders of the crafts show no understanding of the new order of industry. They have shown a contempt for the unskilled and semi-skilled and they manifest a distrust for the white-collar and professional workers. We teachers are made to feel this keenly when we come into the councils of the A. F. of L. The craft leaders apparently are unaware of the powerful social and economic trends that are forcing labor to change its methods and policies. Their suspension of the original CIO unions, the depriving them of a voice in the A. F. of L. conventions and the granting of dictatorial power to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. indicate a determination to defend the vested interests of the crafts at all costs.

What are we teachers to do? That depends on developments over which we have little control. We certainly belong on the side of the progressive elements and we certainly demand unity. The way to unity lies in the direction of mass organization and democratic control. Let us face in that direction regardless of the threats of the top leadership.

CHARLES J. HENDLEY
President
Local 5, New York

Unfortunately, we in New Jersey have very little choice, if we want to be realistic about the question. On the basis of our experience within the American Federation of Labor, we must realize that affiliation with the CIO would be a step forward for us.

Let us consider the evidence. Neither our own Central Labor Union nor the State Federation of Labor has been active in our support. They have not sent organizers to help us. On the other hand, there is evidence which implies that the State Federation of Labor is very anxious to see the Teachers' Union deteriorate in New Jersey. This fact holds for the leadership, at least, and their control is not seriously threatened.

As a matter of fact, the leaders of the A. F. of L. in New Jersey have fought every worthwhile movement for political emancipation of the citizens of this State. They have been bitter in their attacks upon Labor's Non-Partisan League, even with the ruthless domina-

SHALL WE

tion of Boss Frank Hague staring them in the face. They backed Hague's puppet, A. Harry Moore, when he was running for Governor. In their legislative activities, they have had a mushy attitude toward the work, and not much more than perfunctory work has been in evidence in the battle against vicious bills. The President of the State Federation of Labor, Louis Marciante, had been of some help to us in the past, but for the past year most of his energies have been spent with the machine politicians of the State.

Our local, the Mercer County Teachers' Union, has had sad experience with Mr. Marciante. When we passed a resolution asking him to repudiate his associations with Hague, he retaliated with a venomous campaign of slanderous red-baiting. Our local Central Labor Union, of which he is also President, lined up solidly with machinelike precision with a threat to oust us from their body. An anonymous letter attacking our Local was even received by the C.L.U. and entered in their minutes! It is even an open fact that Mr. Marciante is a close friend of one of the most notorious union-haters in our town, a school principal who has openly announced a plan to "bust the Union"! This is the type of help we can expect from the A. F. of L. in New Jersey.

As a matter of fact, we have been getting help from the CIO, even though we are not affiliated with them. These alert and progressive unions are more solidly behind us than the Building Trades crowd, that is evident. Labor's Non-Partisan League has furnished us with more contacts and has given us more help than the State Federation of Labor ever has done. It is a reactionary State, and the A. F. of L. here is doing very little to help us in our battle for democracy.

BERNARD FORER
Mercer County Teachers' Union
Local 437

We the undersigned wish to express the desire that the American Federation of Teachers affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization. We desire this affiliation for the following reasons: First, the Committee for Industrial Organization has shown a deep interest in the unemployed professional people. Second, it is actively engaged in the organization of all salaried professional groups on an industrial union basis rather than on ineffective and obsolete craft union lines. For these two fundamental reasons we hope the American Federation of Teachers will affiliate with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

EMIL MORTEL
IRVING F. FRIEDMAN
Exec. Bd. Members
Local 346, Chicago

The Hudson County Teachers Union Local No. 515 heartily endorses the principle of industrial unionism. Laboring under the heavy hand of Hague and his reactionary "Labor Leaders", we nevertheless are supporting the organization drive of the CIO in Hudson County. We feel that the American Federation of Teachers should make further efforts to unite the A. F. of L. leadership with the CIO and to stem their attempt to disrupt and disunite the ranks of labor. If further attempts at conciliation fail, we feel that the inevitable must follow—affiliation with the CIO.

WILLIAM LONG
President
Local 515

AFFILIATE?

For the Negative

If American teachers desire better educational opportunities for their pupils, if they desire academic freedom, adequate salaries, and tenure, they have to negotiate, not with the national congress, but with their municipal political units and their state legislatures. It is therefore the support of the city and state federations of labor that are our great defenses.

The American Federation of Labor has a state Federation of Labor in every state in the Union and in the District of Columbia. It has City Central Labor Bodies in practically every town and city in America of any industrial importance.

Of the seventeen cities in America having locals of approximately 200 or more teachers, six do not have Industrial Union Central Councils (i.e., city central bodies affiliated with the CIO). These six cities, however, contain approximately 42 per cent of the total membership in those seventeen cities. The remaining membership of the American Federation of Teachers is scattered throughout the country, largely in smaller towns, most of which do not have CIO central bodies. Affiliation with the CIO would mean that more than 50 per cent of the present AFT membership could not have the support of any city central labor body, even if they desired CIO affiliation; that Chicago with 8,123 teachers, Atlanta with 1,040, St. Paul with 800 would have no affiliation with a local labor organization. The same would be true of Springfield, O.; Butte, Mont., and Detroit, Mich. The teachers at present organized in the American Federation of Labor would be divided into two labor movements, or else more than one-half of them would have no labor affiliation at all.

Moreover, judging from expressions of opinion at our last convention and of the large groups of teachers I am constantly meeting in the Middle West, and from communications sent me from California, I am convinced that the majority of the membership of the AFT is opposed to affiliation with the CIO. This membership knows that the A. F. of L. has fought valiantly for the expansion of public education, for a rich cultural curriculum for all children, for adequate salaries for teachers, for teacher tenure, and for academic freedom.

For 34 years the Chicago teachers have had the unwavering support of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor in their battles to force tax dodgers to pay their taxes, to secure tenure, increases in teachers salaries, and restoration of salary cuts. The fight against the teachers' oath bill in Illinois was won largely through the efforts of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Does any one think that the Chicago teachers or the St. Paul teachers or any of the other teachers unions which have had such support will now drop their affiliation with the A. F. of L. and its central bodies?

There are more than one million teachers in America, and only 24,000 of them are affiliated with labor. Teachers the world over are very reluctant about joining the organized labor movement of their countries. Of the teachers' organizations affiliated with the International Federation of Teachers' Associations only the French is affiliated with labor. The powerful National Union of Teachers of Great Britain is not affiliated with labor. The teachers of Sweden and Norway, where Social Democratic parties are in power, are also not affiliated with labor.

We teachers in the AFT can convince our colleagues of the value of labor affiliation or can retard for many years the building of a significant organization of teachers affiliated with labor. If we transfer our affiliation from the A. F. of L. to the CIO we accept the split as final, and there will be two national organizations of teachers

affiliated with labor. It surely would be more in the interest of inculcating ideals of political and industrial democracy in American education to have a large number of teachers converted to a belief in collective activity with labor than to reduce the number of union teachers to inconsequential minorities.

LILLIAN HERSTEIN
Local 1, Chicago

The proponents of CIO affiliation have always talked in glittering generalities and have entirely forgotten the many practical problems that would arise if our affiliation were changed.

Have they presented any practical answers to the question of gaining support from the whole labor movement in such communities like Chicago, Springfield, Cleveland, Toledo, and many other large communities where the classroom teachers are organized in considerable numbers?

Those who are in favor of maintaining our present affiliation are in thorough sympathy with the aims of industrial unionism; but yet we have not overlooked, and cannot overlook, the practical realities of getting things done for the teachers and the schools of our communities. The strongest argument that we can make in getting teachers to join our Union is to tell them that by so doing the organization secures the cooperation and help of organized labor in any program that is proposed for Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy.

As the situation was prior to our talk of changing affiliation, we were in a very strategic position. Locals could secure the help and cooperation of both the A. F. of L. and CIO.

It is unfortunate that the proponents of CIO, in their zeal for splitting the union movement, have maneuvered the AFT into a very peculiar and harmful position. Our membership perhaps would be twice the number we have today if there had not been the threat of a change of affiliation. If we are interested in organizing teachers in such numbers that they will really be a force in the educational, economic and political fields, we must maintain our present affiliation, and at the same time, maintain a very friendly attitude with the CIO. Unity and progress cannot be obtained by creating disunity.

It appears to me that anyone who sincerely wishes to see the labor movement progress must deplore any division in its ranks. A demand should be made to the leaders that they get together. The labor movement is bigger than any leader or group of leaders.

ROY T. DEAL
President, Local 279, Cleveland, O.

At this stage of "American labor movement with the reaction knocking on the door in order to move the clock of history backwards, we would do well to consider what should be the position of AFT on the issue of unity of labor.

The economic royalists bent on their purpose of breaking the backbone of successful trade unionism and nullifying the progressive measures of the New Deal legislation, are calling to the helm the most opportunist leaders of the A. F. of L. to divide and disintegrate the rank and file of workers. This they try to accomplish by red-baiting and open hostility to the CIO.

We as educators, in associating ourselves with the A. F. of L. desired above all to give articulation to labor's yearnings and aspirations for a happier life. As such, we were always ready to fight for labor's rights.

We have consistently called the attention of the leaders of both CIO and the A. F. of L. to bury the hatchet and to compromise on vital issues in the face of a common enemy. We were ready to offer our counsel to bring the opposing parties to the conference table.

For all the efforts to bring peace into the family of American labor and to forge united action in order to consolidate our gains, we were not only held in contempt by the hierarchy of the A. F. of L. but also threatened in many locals by expulsion from the federation.

We know that such dastardly tactics do not come from the honest and unity-desiring members of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. but solely from the top-heavy bureaucracy of the federation. We are sure that the majority of the members of the A. F. of L. are in favor

SHALL WE AFFILIATE?

(From preceding page)

of unity of labor and sympathetic to the CIO's proposal to enter A. F. of L. as an entire body and to iron out the jurisdictional difficulties later.

It is the duty of AFT to remain within the ranks of A. F. of L. and to appeal to the rank and file to force the leaders to come to terms with the CIO group.

It is our duty to hammer incessantly at the importance of unity at the present time. There is no doubt but there must be issues where the two labor groups can meet on the common ground. Such action of AFT will not only add strength in our struggle for democracy in education but also encourage the liberal and progressive groups of the middle class of America to ally themselves with labor in their fight for democracy.

ARNOLD KEEN
Local 481, Newark, N. J.

For the sake of indicating an unprejudiced judgment and a certain background of validity in my opinions which will follow, let me state that I am specialist in charge of labor education in Utah, and the author of a couple of nationally used texts on unionism. I am in direct contact at all times with the whole A. F. of L. and CIO line-up in this state. I hold cards in both groups, and my status has never been challenged. I have done organizational work in both groups, and at the same time. . . . No, I'm not a fence-straddler, but simply believe in organizing the unorganized under their legal jurisdictions, or, where jurisdictional doubt exists, into the best international for their needs. I believe in everything the CIO has done (except where it has stolen the membership of clean, functioning A. F. of L. unions), and I believe in the militant rise of labor to establish complete industrial democracy, which can best be done under industrial unionism.

But I nevertheless believe that our international should maintain its present affiliation with the A. F. of L. Why?

First, the idealistic argument. As the strongest Unity group in the A. F. of L. we must maintain and increase our effectiveness in the fight for unity. Today we have pretty general support from both the A. F. of L. and CIO. Oh, Cagey Willie doesn't like us too well, but he doesn't dominate local solidarity of A. F. of L. affiliates. Both groups, in the communities where we deserve it, have a good amount of respect for us. I believe labor in Utah is typical in that, despite some enmities between officials of the two groups, despite a few unjustifiable jurisdictional disputes, the rank-and-file sentiment is overwhelmingly pro-unity. We're also typical in that, though the CIO is larger, the A. F. of L. has a more entrenched membership, has been awakened in its organizing activities, and has its modicum of honest progressives. There is a basis, then, upon which we can build toward unity.

But as an A. F. of L. apostate won't our arguments with A. F. of L. groups for unity seem pretty hollow? The CIO will listen to us now, but would the A. F. of L. listen after a split? Could we attack the reactionaries in A. F. of L. conventions? Even if we pulled other internationals out with us, which we couldn't, would this do anything but postpone honest-to-god unity of *all* unions, not of just the majority of organized membership? Organized labor in America will go down to defeat if some agreement—perhaps only temporarily a working agreement between two independent federations—is not found rapidly. Perhaps we hold more than our own mere choice of affiliation in the balance at this time.

Now, the practical argument. If we get the A. F. of L. "agin" us, how will we be able to influence elections or policies of school boards and legislatures? The CIO will support us now on these measures, even though the Non-Partisan League split has in many places made political unity of labor difficult. But perhaps, in the A. F. of L., we may be able to get their co-operation with the CIO on other political measures.

WILLIAM W. TAYLOR
Local 565, Salt Lake City

Other Views

First, permit me to congratulate you on the excellent symposium on the CIO-A. F. of L. problem. Congratulations to the committee which produced the extraordinary report on this critical problem in the last issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*.

The teachers in Chicago appreciate the hard work and long hours spent by the committee in assembling the facts. Chicago's teachers, now banded together in a powerful union, with more than 7800 members realize the urgent necessity of labor unity. Having ironed out the last wrinkles of amalgamation, the union stands as a strong threat to any anti-labor moves in Chicago. It also stands for progressive trade union policies.

However, Local 1 will be no stronger than the entire labor movement of the country. Teachers in Chicago are beginning to realize Labor's power, and they desire a strong, closely-knit united labor group.

For that reason they are most anxious for unity between the CIO and A. F. of L.

The local picture is changing quickly—so is the national. We need the support of a strongly organized labor body to cope with our national needs, especially since President Roosevelt has recently called for \$855,000,000 for education to wipe out old racial and sectional disputes. In turn, we owe it to Labor to stand by and demand unity.

With CIO's recent major victories in Chicago at the International Harvester Company, and the American Newspaper Guild's triumph over Hearst, we are beginning to see a reawakening in Chicago's labor movement. Nor can the minor CIO accomplishments throughout the city be tossed aside lightly. Nor can we forget that many white collar groups are organized under the banner of the CIO in the State, County, and Municipal Workers, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, and Professional Workers.

No doubt the above victories are due to the powerful platform of the CIO. Similar victories in Chicago's mass industries will undoubtedly follow in the packing industry and steel.

We cannot close our eyes to these developments. We must demand unity between the parent bodies and urge the recognition of the changing social scene along the industrial pattern. Furthermore, the original stand of the American Federation of Teachers, at its last convention, when it endorsed the principles of industrial unionism and favored a national convention for all unions—and its recent reiteration of this indorsement in Chicago by the Executive Board, as reported by Irvin Kuenzli in the last issue—must be maintained. As we continue to urge unity we must constantly press for the incorporation of these principles.

In closing, may I stress the importance of the symposium and request that the editorial board pursue its policy of democratic enlightenment.

TOBEY F. SILBERT
Local 1, Chicago

The divisive effect of the over-simplified question, "Shall AFT change its labor affiliation from A. F. of L. to CIO?" is as inescapable as unfortunate. Let us rejoice in the sound judgment of our Executive Council in having refrained from calling such a referendum as must have sharpened antagonisms and tensions within the American labor movement, and that at the added cost of further obscuring the most important issue involved.

Many if not most of us might demur, however, at the negativistic implications of a policy of nominally complete independence of, plus "moral affiliation with", both and all national labor organizations. However positive the intent of proponents of such cooperative neutrality, we should ineluctably be branded as holier-than-thou isolationists in cloistered ivory towers. What we demand is, indeed, "a course answering to the realities" of the situation; cardinal among those realities is the need for unity in the American labor movement; and this primal need is keenly sensed throughout AFT ranks.

Why should not the question be so submitted as to allow for expression of any of several combinations of opinion, in favor of any

of several possible AFT attitudes? Why not ask ourselves, among other questions, whether we would

1. Endorse the principle of industrial unionism?
2. Endorse the principle of craft unionism?
3. Confirm the protest of our 1937 Convention against "the undemocratic action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in suspending unions affiliated to the CIO"?
4. Affirm that industrial and craft unionism are so basically complementary that neither can fully thrive, or even long survive, without the other?
5. Confirm the refusal of our 1937 Convention to pay the special tax proposed by the A. F. of L. to fight the CIO?
6. Favor calling a national convention of all *bona fide* trade unions—A. F. of L., CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and genuine independent unions—for the purpose of unifying the whole American labor movement?
7. Seek regular affiliation with the CIO?
8. Reaffirm our historic indebtedness and present continued allegiance to the A. F. of L.?
9. In case of CIO affiliation without sacrifice of A. F. of L. membership, expressly engage to assume the double burden of regular minimum national dues of both A. F. of L. and CIO, until such time as an essential merger of the two may be effected?
10. Express utmost confidence in the loyal and able efforts of our present national officers to carry through any moves toward cementing the American labor movement that may be indicated by this referendum?

Such a tenfold analysis of the choice now before us would in theory allow for more than two thousand different patterns of total response, and in practice should provide channels for the natural coalescence and grouping of the main trends of opinion within our ranks.

This voicing of the notion of one unemployed member is submitted in the hope of conceivably helping some one else to formulate, elucidate, and propagate that eminently sensible and fruitful policy which, by definition, all of us hope to see pursued by the AFT.

ROLAND GILBERT DAVIDSON
New Haven, Conn.

The issue of CIO or A. F. of L. affiliation presents two distinct problems to the members of the American Federation of Teachers. First, is industrial organization of teachers more effective than craft organization? Second, what effect would a change in affiliation at present have upon the unity of the AFT?

1. Recent events establish industrial organization as more effective than craft organization in basic industries such as Steel. On the other hand, the continued jurisdictional disputes, the craft wars, and the prevalence of "racketeering" in craft unions attest a weakness more or less inherent in the form of craft organization. So, in general, industrial unionism seems to have proved a more reliable and effective form of organization in basic industries at least.

In education, most leaders are becoming more and more convinced that the principle of separation, classification and compartmentalization has in it danger to a competent understanding of relationships. More specific—it is consistent with the foremost educational thought to consider teachers, janitors and office workers in a school as integral in the educative process, with joint responsibilities, and more effectively working together than in any way separated into crafts.

Practically, a bargaining unit of all workers in education is more likely to achieve its stated ends than three separate bargaining units which, for example, permit a janitor's union to ravage an education budget.

The conclusion, then, is that industrial organization of teachers would be more effective than craft organization.

2. But, if one admits the foregoing conclusion, he must still face the problem of "What effect at present would affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization have on unity within the ranks of organized teachers?" Obviously, many who do not understand the principle of Industrial Organization and who have been opinionated by the vested-interest press, radio and moving picture industry—these many would, in varying degrees, be horrified by

affiliation with an organization that has been heralded, regardless of fact, as ruthless and rotten with misguided leadership.

The danger in provoking these AFT members, even if they are few, is that they are the "individuals" and would organize a revolt against something they do not correctly understand, thereby threatening the organization with a "split" and, in turn, emphasizing the dissension within the ranks of labor that makes the pending decision of the AFT a momentous one. We have a responsibility to minimize that dispute between the A. F. of L. and CIO leadership. And it is possible for those of us who see clearly the demand in the present situation for industrial organization to work reasonably well in spite of the form of organization.

But, on the other hand, if we accept industrial organization as the more effective form for teachers as well as other workers, we have a responsibility to work constantly for the realization of a united labor movement.

And the question resolves into a problem with which a competent statistician could assist. Just how large is that minority which can be expected to revolt if the majority insists on a referendum? Beyond that, the decision depends on individual judgments between 1. the danger in a revolt of the minority, and 2. the danger in trying to progress while laboring under a mistaken and outmoded form of organization.

ROBERT WIRTZ
Education Comm.
Local 460

As AFT members in New Jersey we are eager to present to other Teacher Union people a few of our problems, and our reaction to the A. F. of L.-CIO affiliation question.

In New Jersey we feel ourselves, as individuals, peculiarly divided on this issue. By tradition, through our National, our affiliation has been of course with the A. F. of L. In a number of instances our fathers were and are A. F. of L. affiliates in their trade unions. On the other hand, work in our State consists chiefly of large-scale industry and our main support will naturally be found in an industrial type of union organization.

In relation to ourselves, although some few of the A. F. of L. central bodies have rendered us a certain amount of support, we have found in the recent legislative session that our greatest assistance has come from Labor's Non-Partisan League, which is not only largely CIO supported but also is definitely condemned by the National and state leadership of the A. F. of L.

We are torn, then, between sentimental, traditional loyalty and our practical evaluation of what is being done for us today. Our common sense and knowledge of past events in labor history definitely indicate to us that to have to throw our lot with either group *per se* would not be the most desirable solution to AFT participation in the labor movement. We wish to go on record definitely and enthusiastically as being in favor of affiliation with an entire, united, democratic labor movement in the United States. We raise our voices to urge on the national, state, and local leadership of both the CIO and the A. F. of L., that they bend their efforts untiringly that this desirable aim of unity may be achieved. We care not from which group any or all of the officers in the organizational structure thereof may be drawn. We confidently place our trust in the eventual decisions of the mass of organized workers in our country.

The technical differences and jurisdictional disputes, the geographical divisions of such a unified labor movement, are of little concern to us. There is a larger matter on which we center our attention. A mere glance at the slogan of our own national organization indicates what is in our minds.

Above everything else this new labor movement must be dominated by democratic principles, starting with the national leadership and filtering down into the smallest locals in the land. This must be the dominating factor.

Perhaps in New Jersey we feel this need for democracy more keenly than in other states north of the Mason-Dixon Line. We do not wish to burden other members with our numerous woes. It will suffice to mention an instance or two.

The Anti-Injunction League, formed in our state through the

cooperation of both CIO and A. F. of L. locals, was boycotted by the state A. F. of L. leadership. This same leadership went farther and withdrew A. F. of L. organizer's papers from a prominent, veteran, respected A. F. of L. member in the state, because of his activity in said League.

When one of our teachers' locals requested an explanation of Louis P. Marcianite, President of the S.F.L., as to why he appeared on the same platform with Mayor Hague of Jersey City at a red-baiting, anti-CIO, anti-civil liberties, anti-organizational meeting, Mr. Marcianite's only reply was to adopt Hague red-baiting tactics by accusing the local of communistic domination, ordering it to carry on a red-purge on pain of being summarily ousted from the Central Labor Body to which it was sending dues and delegates.

These and many other illustrations merely go to show the need for greater democracy in our Jersey labor movement which we also lack in our state Constitution and legislative activity. As teachers we keenly realize that working through the Hague-Hoffman-Moore Democratic and Republican machines (or, better, machine), we can never accomplish decent educational standards and state aid for schools financed by taxes distributed according to ability to pay. We look hopefully to Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Labor Party into which it will eventually develop as the only solution to our unbearable political dilemma. We want in that League and supporting that Party not only middle-class people and farmers but every laboring man and every labor union in the state. This, it seems to us, is probably as desirable on a national as on a state scale.

In concluding we repeat that the choice between A. F. of L. and CIO affiliation is not to our liking. We wish to be a part of a unified American labor movement, regardless of its name.

LOIS ST. JOHN SMITH
Local 437
CLARENCE SMITH
Local 481

There is no need to get het up over affiliation with the CIO. The matter, of course, requires careful study by the teachers of the past history of the AFL as well as of the CIO and modern industrial practices.

As the second phase of the Big Depression gathers headway, we shall undoubtedly find the two tendencies coming to an agreement and putting up a united front to capitalistic attempts to hamstring the schools. What we need is study and dispassionate discussion of the anatomy of modern industrialism.

As I see the CIO, it is an attempt of those most brutally exploited to fashion a weapon adapted to the new technology in industry. The craft union served its day and still, within certain limitations, has its function. But what would we think of a union of English teachers, another of science teachers and another of mathematics teachers, etc.? The AFT is really an industrial union. It has no fight against the CIO.

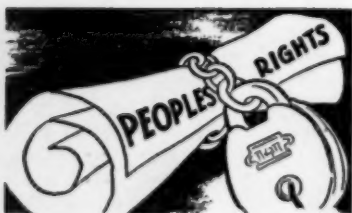
Industrial unionism is as necessary today in industry as mass production. As technology has advanced, skills and crafts have been absorbed or merged. Craft lines have become blurred.

All labor is constructive and wealth-creative. Teaching is a useful, creative and socially necessary industry. It does not and cannot stand by itself. If other branches of labor are degraded, the teaching branch is dragged down with it. Our interests are with the wealth creators and not with the exploiters of labor.

Along this line our teachers should study the excellent booklets put out by the League for Industrial Democracy at 112 E. 19th St., New York City, and also familiarize themselves with the actual workings of the CIO from its literature rather than from prejudiced sources.

HENRY FLURY
Local 8, Washington, D. C.

It's Happening Now



Fascist Legislation in Quebec

EARLY in April, incorporation of unions—a fond dream of American reactionaries—became a law in Quebec Province, Canada.

Beginning a few months ago with his infamous padlock law—the opening wedge—Premier Maurice Duplessis is now moving forward to a frontal attack on the rights of labor: the compulsory incorporation law is the third measure of Duplessis which organized labor has opposed, and, ominously, the third to become a law. The Premier himself introduced the bill in the Legislative Assembly, but the opposition was vigorous, though the amendments conceded to labor will not hamper the effectiveness of this anti-labor weapon.

The LaFollette Committee Reports

THE SENATE Civil Liberties Committee turned in its report to the Senate in April with a request for \$60,000 to continue the work of the Committee and a warning that

anti-labor activities by employer associations have become "a menace to democratic government". The Committee reported that the favorite device that has been developed by anti-labor employers to frustrate the Wagner Act is the Citizens Committee. The employers front which, as the Committee's investigation of the Johnstown group demonstrated, has little of the public in it. An epidemic of missing records, doctored books, also seems to have followed upon the committee's work. Some businesses now are not concerned about how to keep records but how to get rid of them.

A Southern Congress of Negro Youth

THE SECOND Southern Negro Youth Congress opened in Chattanooga on April 1. All the speakers at the Congress brought forward the serious problems in agriculture, industry, and public health which the Negro people face today. J. Harvey Kerns, of the Division of Negro Welfare, Cincinnati, O., who has long studied from experience the economic plight of Negroes in this country, told the Congress that five million Negroes are out of work at present, of whom 300,000 are youths—with very slim prospects of get-

ting employment now. He also estimated that 75 per cent of employed Negroes are on unskilled work. These problems of the Negro people, as no less an authority than Dr. Thomas B. Parran has emphasized, are problems which all the people, and their government must face.



Peace Note

A "FOOLPROOF" gas-bag has been developed in Great Britain for infants under two years who might not be able to manage with the ordinary mask. The new gas-bag covers the infant from head to foot and has pumps which send air in through filters. In the face of the continued insistence of Tory diplomats that England wants nothing so much as peace, it seems the Tories desire to fool-proof everything against war except their own foreign policy.

Politics

SIDELIGHTS in the defeat of the Reorganization Bill—The pack which cried "Dictator" was led by those two famous lovers of democracy: William Randolph Hearst and Father Coughlin, both of whom urged a "Paul Revere" march on Washington to arouse slumbering Congressmen. . . . The New York "Reveres" were organized and backed by men well-known in Wall Street. Especially active was Dr. Edward Rumely, convicted here during the World War as a German spy and now head of the Committee to Uphold the Constitution (for publisher Gannett of Rochester) . . . According to telegraph company officials \$150,000 was spent on messages to Congress during the last two weeks of debate on the bill. Majority of these opposed the bill. Most of the big newspapers played up the sham dictator issue and took the defeat as being a "Waterloo" for President Roosevelt. At the same time the Gallup poll indicated strong support and probable victory for the New Deal in the 1938 Congressional elections.



Nuts in the News

IN San Antonio, Texas, eight thousand women went out on strike. They were called "communists", and the usual red scare was evoked by the city administration. The police gassed them seven times, unceremoniously hustled some of the leaders out of town, and at one time or another arrested close to one thousand strikers. However, a grand jury investigation showed that the strike was legal. The union, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers, CIO, gained 6,500 members in one week.

The women won. They were pecan-shellers who struck when their wages were cut from what was in many cases \$2.20 a week to \$1.65 a week.

Civil Liberties Advanced

OUTSTANDING among recent victories for civil liberties was Governor Herbert Lehman's veto of one of the many bills sponsored by New York's leading red-baiting legislator, Senator McNaboe—a bill that would bar persons known to have radical beliefs from civil service and teaching positions in the State. Needless to say, the veto was a disappointment only to the individuals who are the leaders of the anti-democratic forces in New York State. . . . A flood of leaflets of all description swept over Jersey City soon after an old ordinance of Georgia prohibiting distribution of leaflets was ruled in the Supreme Court a violation of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press. At the same time, Mayor Hague obligingly acknowledged the purpose of his ban on leaflets by saying—"My attitude toward the invasion of business or industry by outside groups is unchanged." His legal staff is busily engaged now in finding some way to evade the decision of the Supreme Court.



Buffalo Teachers Considered Too Prosperous

ACCORDING to the *Buffalo Teacher*, organ of Local 377, Buffalo, New York, the wealthy president of the United Taxpayers League has offered certain interesting evidence to support his program for reduction of teachers' salaries: a. 19 Buffalo teachers have been seen wearing fur coats; b. a certain teacher was observed buying a 35c magazine at a newsstand; c. another teacher is known to buy his girl friend steak dinners at a specified grille; d. still another teacher reputedly orders all kinds of expensive seeds for his 12' x 14' garden.

Jal

CONFIDENCE on two fronts—earth and heaven—was fully revealed by Hitler's "Apostle" No. 1, General Hermann Goering, when he took the stump in the pro-plebiscite campaign. "The German people will not vote 99%", he said, "They will vote 100% . . . Thou, God, art with us! God, we are free!" The Nazis do not scruple to use the results of the election as campaign material before the election takes place. Moreover, they insult the religious sentiments of German Protestants and Catholics by claiming the sanction of religion for their farcical plebiscite.

A New Chapter Begins in Harlan County

THE COAL LORDS of Harlan County, Kentucky, and their feudal retinue of company-hired sheriffs and deputies are scheduled to come before Federal Courts in May for trial as the first criminal prosecution under the Wagner Act. The investigation of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Senate, followed by the Department of Justice, resulted in the indictment of 69 men.

The Teachers Union in Action

NEWS from LOCALS

Labor Opposes Transfer of New Orleans Teacher

Charging that the transfer of Miss Roberta Towles of Local 353, the New Orleans Classroom Teachers Association, was a part of the principal's opposition to progressive teaching methods, the local has secured the support of the New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council in a demand for a complete investigation of the transfer situation. Letters presenting these demands were addressed by the Labor Council to each member of the School Board. The superintendent of schools has promised that the matter will be taken up. A previous hearing adjourned in confusion when the School Board would not permit attorney for Miss Towles to question the principal as to why he had recommended transfer.

Teachers Support District of Columbia Laundry Workers

In petitioning the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board to establish a minimum wage of \$20 per week, the laundry workers had the assistance of members of the Howard Teachers Union, Local 440. A member of the local helped prepare the case for presentation and together with students of Howard University gave testimony as to conditions obtaining among this highly exploited class of workers. Ninety per cent of the workers are Negroes and the average wage is \$11.00 per week.

Hamilton County Court Recommends Salary Restoration

Local 246, Chattanooga-Hamilton County, Tenn., has announced that the County Court recently adopted a resolution recommending that the school board restore all teachers to minimum salaries in their respective classes and that it include in the budget the second step of a five-step plan for resuming full salary schedule.

Georgia Supreme Court Upholds Pension Law

According to the *Atlanta Teacher*, organ of Local 89, a recent decision of the Georgia Supreme Court strengthens the general pension fund under which teachers retire. The finding protects teachers against any lowering of pension after retirement.

No Summer Stoppage for WPA Teachers

A notable victory for WPA teachers was won, from Washington, by the vigorous action of the WPA Local 453, New York. In the face of a threat to lay off WPA teachers during the summer, a delegation to Washington received personal assurance from administrator Aubrey Williams that no stoppage would take place this summer. He also

informed the teachers that the project estimate for the year beginning July 1, 1938, should soon be submitted.

Snohomish County Teachers Support Boycott

Local 476, Snohomish County, Washington, is actively supporting the boycott of Japanese made goods, having recently participated in a parade in Everett, organized to educate public opinion as to the justice and effectiveness of the boycott. The Teachers Union featured the slogan "Books not Bullets".

Bellingham Union Hits Assessment for School Mimeographing

Local 512, the Teachers Union of Bellingham, Washington, is opposing the assessment of teachers for school mimeographing work, suggesting that such charges be budgeted in the regular costs of instruction. . . . The Bellingham Central Labor Union and the Unity Council are considering the endorsement of candidates for school director. . . . The faculty of the State College of Education in Bellingham met with representatives of Local 401, University of Washington, to discuss the union program with a view to joining Local 401 or setting up a new local on the campus.

State Aid Funds Cut in Washington

Both of the main sources of state income for the schools have been severely crippled, according to the *Washington Teacher*, organ of the Washington State Federation of Teachers. The per capita allocation of 25 cents per pupil per day has been reduced to 22.9 cents and the Equalization Fund, which Governor Martin originally intended to make available at the rate of \$100,000 per month, has been entirely withdrawn. The State Department of Public Instruction has started equalization payments as a temporary expediency. Organized teachers, with the backing of organized labor, are expected to lead progressive groups in a demand for continued support of the schools through a special session of the legislature and a bond issue, if such measures are necessary.

Labor Asks Fair Treatment in Boston School Books

Following a threat of textbook censorship on the part of Governor Hurley of Massachusetts, the Boston Central Labor Union adopted a resolution opposing censorship and calling for a revaluation of school textbooks with the aim of presenting a more adequate and unbiased picture of the organized labor movement, and the position of working people in contemporary society. Overtures of the Central Labor Union have been well received by the Boston School Committee, which has invited the delegation of the labor body to confer with it in this

matter. The Boston Federation of Teachers, Local 441, whose delegates introduced the textbook resolution, is completing a research of the treatment of labor and social problems in the history textbooks most commonly used in the Boston schools.

West Virginia Federation of Labor Adopts 22-Point Educational Program

An extensive educational program was adopted at the March 11 meeting of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor. Among the twenty-two points of the program were the following: state tenure law; state retirement law; \$150 per month minimum salary for teachers on twelve month basis; teacher representation on elective school boards; campaign against use of schools to spread propaganda for private enterprises; equal opportunity for children regardless of race, religion, social status, or political views; condemnation of Monongalia County School Board for dismissal of union teachers; academic freedom for teachers; unionization of teachers and other school employees. . . . Local 382 announces passage by the Woods County Board of Education of a retirement plan endorsed and supported by the union.

News Briefs from Ohio

The Akron Board of Education has placed all first grade classes on half-time as an economy measure. This means that some teachers are required to teach 35 to 40 children in the morning and an equal group in the afternoon. Attempts of the Akron Board of Education to dismiss 138 teachers for reasons of economy met with the protests of Local 287. As the result of these protests and the protests of local labor the number of dismissals has been reduced to 36. Local 287 urges all locals to send protests. Local 279, Cleveland, while supporting an income tax to replace the present sales tax, has pointed out the necessity of insisting on full collection of the sales taxes, and the danger of repealing the sales tax before other provision is made for school funds. Local 334, Elyria, introduced a tenure amendment to the Ohio Education Association's bill dealing with appointment of principals and teachers. The amendment was accepted, but the bill as a whole was tabled in the legislature.

News Briefs from Philadelphia

A series of radio broadcasts under the sponsorship of Local 192, Philadelphia, Pa., is being devoted to presenting the need for evening schools now threatened by the economy program of the Board of Education. 17,000 students face "destruction of all their hopes and aspirations if the evening schools are closed". . . . Local 192 is also opposing attempts to increase the hours and curtail the vacation periods of school secretaries. . . . The local recently sponsored a two day "Laymen's Conference on Education" conducted from the people's standpoint in language intelligible to them.

News Briefs from New York

The campaign of Local 5, New York City, in the case of August Gold, previously refused a license under conditions which appeared to involve gross discrimination, has come to successful conclusion. Mr. Gold has been granted a license. . . . The Boro Hall Academy, an accredited private school, has renewed its agreement with the teachers union for another year. The new agreement includes pay increases as high as 20 per cent. . . . Courses in Trade Union Problems and the Activity Program have been conducted by Local 5 and the Board of Education has granted credit toward their annual salary increase to teachers taking those courses. . . . At the call of the Hudson County, New Jersey local, the Arts Committee of Local 5 invaded Jersey City and performed a pro-labor, anti-Hague skit. The final line of the song informed Mayor Hague: "We wouldn't touch you with a one foot, two foot . . . ten foot pole!"

News Briefs from Chicago

Local 1, the Chicago, Ill., Teachers Union, after a series of conferences between school authorities and labor representatives, has won the right to use school buildings for union meetings after school hours. A committee of Local 1 is studying the scope of non-teaching duties which teachers often find so oppressive. On March 18 Dr. Floyd Reeves, chairman of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, addressing 3000 members of Local 1, stressed the need for bringing vocational training into closer relationship with general education. Important speakers at the Union Study Class have been A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Professor Howard McCluskey of the University of Michigan School of Education.

North Shore Religious Leaders Discuss School Problems

As the first step in a campaign to discover what the people in its area would like the schools to do, the North Shore Teachers Union, Local 460, has recently held an open meeting in Evanston, Ill., at which religious leaders of several denominations told what they believed the schools should be doing and what kind of people they would like to see coming from the schools.

Teachers' and Women's Groups Join Labor To Protest School Fingerprinting

The Paterson Teachers Union, Local 482, together with the two units of the Progressive Women's Council, representing 200 parents, have joined the Central Labor Union of Passaic County, New Jersey, in protesting the practice of fingerprinting school children. The Labor body branded the practice of fingerprinting school children as an early move toward regimenting the population and expressed fears, based on past experiences, that the fingerprint files might be used as a blacklist of workers.

Inter-County Labor Wins School Board Posts

Local 489, Inter-County, Washington (Pacific City, Auburn, Federal Way, etc.) has announced that two members of the Railway Brotherhoods sympathetic towards the Teachers Union were recently elected to the school board. Earlier in the year Auburn railroad workers, on behalf of Local 489, obtained assurance from the school board that there would be no discrimination against union teachers.

Labor Sponsors New Local in Harve

More than 35% of the teachers of Harve, Montana, are charter members of Local 542, recently formed. Harve is a railroad division point and the organization meeting was sponsored jointly by the Harve Trades and Labor Assembly, the Railway Brotherhood, and the Farmer-Labor Council of Hill County.

Los Angeles School System Studies Internal Democracy

A committee of Local 430, Los Angeles, Cal., is studying the problem of democracy in the Los Angeles School system in cooperation with a general committee, representative of all teacher groups and meeting in the Superintendent's office. The union survey will locate instances of undemocratic procedures along with noteworthy examples of democratic practices.

Milwaukee Electric Company to Reduce School Rates

A fight started two years ago by Local 252, the Milwaukee, Wis., Federation of Teachers against high electricity rates charged the schools, achieved success recently when the Milwaukee Electric Company offered changes in rates to effect a saving of \$10,000. Further savings of \$50,000 are anticipated in an engineering survey authorized by the School Board. The school board has been paying 2.9 cents per kilowatt hour, as against .78 cents paid by other city units. Likewise in Milwaukee a move to discharge teachers who marry during the probationary period before they are granted permanent tenure was defeated by a tie vote of the board of education. The ban proposal was opposed by locals of the AFT and other labor groups.

Tenure for New York College Teachers

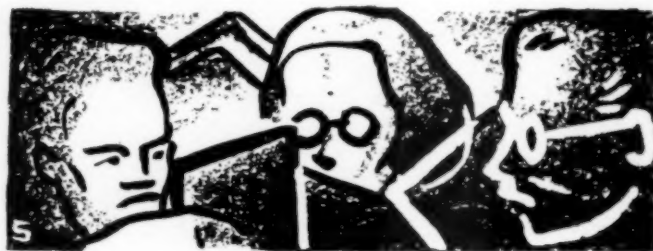
Despite the decision of the New York Court of Appeals, which recently reversed the ruling of a lower court in connection with the Becker case and declared the college teachers tenure law unconstitutional, representatives of Local 537, College Teachers Union of New York, have been assured by the chairman of the Board of Higher Education, which governs New York's municipal colleges, that tenure will be provided for the colleges through by-laws instead of state legislation and that this matter will be disposed of by the May meeting of the board. The draft of Local 537, which accords tenure to the instructional and non-instructional staff after a three year probational period, is to be used as the basis for the Board's new tenure provision.

Michigan Federation of Labor Adopts Educational Program

The Michigan Federation of Labor, meeting in Flint, recently adopted a six-point program on education. The program includes: strengthening of teacher tenure law; extending franchise in school elections to all citizens; repeal of loyalty oath law for teachers; more effective system of state supervision, incorporating in the law standards for teachers' salaries, length of school terms, class size, type of curriculum; elimination of discrimination against groups in use of school buildings; revision of Michigan's tax system.

Palo Alto Teachers Endorse Medical Aid Program

In a recent election campaign, the Palo Alto Teachers Union, Local 442, supported a bond issue for the Palo Alto hospital. The local has also endorsed efforts to provide medical services for rural districts. Under the sponsorship of Local 442 an investigation is being conducted to determine the salaries and teaching load of assistants and acting instructors at Stanford University.



Welcome to New Locals

- No. 558 Lehigh County, Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers
- No. 559 Denver, Colorado Adult Education Teachers Union
- No. 560 Association of Recreation and Education Leaders, Berks County, Pennsylvania
- No. 561 Federation of St. Cloud, Minnesota College Teachers
- No. 562 University of Colorado Local
- No. 563 Birmingham, Alabama Federation of Teachers
- No. 564 Dayton, Ohio Federation of Teachers
- No. 565 Salt Lake City, Utah Adult Teachers Union
- No. 566 Rochester, New York Teachers Federation
- No. 567 Pueblo County, Colorado Teachers Local
- No. 568 Fargo, North Dakota Teachers Union
- No. 569 Bogalusa, Louisiana Federation of Teachers
- No. 570 Scranton, Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers

Labor Notes

Double Standard

As a result of investigations made by Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, chief of the research division of the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, the injustice and the danger of double wage standards for men and women becomes more apparent. Miss Pidgeon in reports entitled "Differences in the Earnings of Men and Women" and "Women in the Economy of the United States of America", gives a mass of wage data tabulated by sex, showing that no matter what the year, the locality, or the type of occupation, the level of women's wages is much below that of men. The differentials have prevailed, according to the reports, for no more substantial reasons than tradition and lack of organization. "Women's lack of organization undoubtedly forms a large factor in keeping their wages at low levels", the report states, but "in many instances the payment of a low wage to women is a hangover from the traditional attitude that assigns a low money value to work thought of as 'women's work'. Even when women put forth as great exertion and contribute as greatly to the resultant product as do men, on the whole their pay envelopes contain amounts distressingly lower than those of their brothers."

Numerous instances are given. Women's Bureau investigators found that women employed in men's shirt and work-clothing factories in one state averaged only 26 cents an hour while men working as unskilled laborers on streets and sewers averaged 32 cents an hour. In another plant both men and women were paid on time rates for feeding machines which cut felt strips for blackboard erasers. The men's earnings were 45 cents an hour, the women's 35 cents. In general, women's wages vary between 50 per cent and 75 per cent of men's, depending on the industry.

The report concludes that "it is obvious that the low wages received by women produce a low standard of living for the women themselves and in many cases for their families, especially in those now very numerous cases in which wage-earning women support dependents and even entire families of considerable size. But the effects of this situation is far more widespread than that, since it has a very definite tendency to depress wage standards in general for both sexes, extending and perpetuating the ills of poverty and dependency and placing a premium on the displacement of men and the hiring of women at reduced rates."

This exploitation and discrimination should be challenged by women everywhere. As long as the employer has access to a cheap labor market so long will he endeavor to take advantage of it at the expense of all workers. A solidly organized labor movement can prevent it.

Labor in Politics

Progressives and democratic thinkers have maintained that labor must unite for action in the political field, else the sweep of a governor's pen can wipe out a gain made by labor in the economic field. Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party—these and like organizations have arisen to answer the growing need of labor for protection from sabotage by professional politicians and stooges.

Nowhere has this political action been justified more clearly than in New Jersey. Here, at the behest of the Manufacturers' Association, a bill was introduced which would have wiped out any union of public employees with Labor (including, of course, the AFT), and which would have prohibited almost any kind of labor activity, ranging from sit-down strikes, picketing, closed shop, to the use of outside national organizers. Large fines and penitentiary terms were specified for any one attempting to disregard the terms of what was jocularly called this "Labor Relations Act". A new and delicate wrinkle was introduced into this bill which would have made Hitler green with jealousy. The bill was to punish a "slow-down strike"—that is, an employee's working at a slower rate of speed than the employer thought he should!

Labor, disorganized, might have been helpless to prevent this fascist measure. Luckily, however, Labor's Non-Partisan League in New Jersey was ready, and staunchly resisted attempts to pass this anti-labor concoction. Experienced legislators have given their opinions privately that if labor had not been alert and organized, this bill would have gone through. And from there it would have been moved on to other states for ratification. "The enemy has been stopped on the eastern front!"

What's in the N.A.M.?

The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee has unearthed records of tremendous value during its investigations. It has shown dramatically the huge network of labor spies, terrorists, and strike-breakers. One of its most recent exposés has been the role of the National Association of Manufacturers as a sort of executive committee in the fight against organization of labor. Despite the fact that the Committee has been handicapped by the deliberate destruction of incriminating records, enough has been unearthed to show the tie-up between the N.A.M. and the firms which produce tear gas, finks, and other savory products. It is only fitting that now the anti-Roosevelt forces in Congress should join in a holy crusade to cut appropriations for this very valuable investigation. Economy!

Among the New Books

Since a great many important books have appeared recently, it has seemed desirable to call to the attention of our readers more than we ordinarily have room for in these columns. This has necessitated briefer mention of good things than our reviewers would like. B. G.

The Family in Historical Setting

THE FAMILY: PAST AND PRESENT, edited by BERNHARD J. STERN. D. Appleton-Century Co. 461 pages. \$2.75.

The Progressive Education Association and Dr. Stern are to be congratulated on one of the few compilations on the family which approaches adequacy. Though primarily a source book for college use in the changing forms and environment of the family, this work on the whole is highly readable and eminently suitable for the intelligent layman. The material of this book covers the following fields: primitive societies; the ancient and medieval family; Chinese and Islamic family life; the renaissance and reformation; modern industrial European family life; American backgrounds; the contemporary American scene; industrial life; the farm; depression influences; the increasing life span; sex problems; and the building of personality in the modern family. Dr. Stern's sound scholarship and catholicity of interests combine to produce this excellent work. Some of the most effective passages are those on income and economic progress, housing, child labor, rural life, and the depression. Equally valuable, albeit unusual, is the inclusion of excellent material from the field of modern fiction. Two pictorial sections and a dozen pictorial graphs dealing with contemporary American conditions add considerably to the value of the book, as does a good index.

WILLIAM P. TUCKER
State Librarian
Olympia, Wash.



New Stories of the Negro People

UNCLE TOM'S CHILDREN, by RICHARD WRIGHT. Harper & Co. \$2.50.

In these four prize-winning novellas, which were awarded the Harper-Story Magazine prize for the best manuscript submitted by a WPA writer, the author achieves new heights and establishes an unforgettable landmark in American fiction. For their drive, their burning message and their style, these stories will echo through our times as splendid examples of the artist who is so much in accord with his environment that he can write about it with such pain-taking reality. Wright tells of the Negro people, a people he knows and loves, who are learning now that "freedom belongs to the strong". These stories will so tear your heart and carve themselves into your marrow that there will arise a determination to do something about a hell that enslaves millions of human beings. If the essence of high writing displays the ability to translate and to transmute the living that men do, then Richard Wright has won for himself a deserved niche in American literature.

EUGENE C. HOLMES
Howard University

The Greeks in Modern Idiom

THREE GREEK PLAYS, by EDITH HAMILTON. W. W. Norton & Co. 239 pages. \$2.50.

Because Edith Hamilton believes that the Greek plays should be translated anew in each generation to keep alive as much as is communicable of their unsurpassed greatness, she has created this brilliant book. *The Trojan Women* of Euripides, the *Prometheus Bound* and the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus live again in her modern idiom, and they live not only because these Athenians of the Fifth Century B.C. left a poetic drama as great as any the world has ever known, but because in symbol and reality they have important things to say to an age like ours, an age in which many a rebel benefactor of mankind is tortured, like Prometheus, by the tyrant; and many a woman learns, like Hecuba, the sorrow that war brings to her sex—the murder of sons, the destruction of homes; and many a man perceives, like the Chorus in *Agamemnon*, the futility of "war who trades/men for gold/life for death/holding scales/where the spear-points meet and clash . . ." The spirited poetry of Miss Hamilton's translation has already shown itself at home on the modern stage as well as in the study. In addition, she has provided the book with illuminating prefaces on translating, on meters, on the psychology of the characters and on the modern meanings of the plays.

BORIS GAMZUE
New York University

Of Human Lives

HEREDITY AND POLITICS, by J. B. S. HALDANE, F.R.B. W. W. Norton & Co. \$2.50.

This book turns the clarifying spotlight of a sound knowledge of human biology upon many of the confusions resulting from the application of conventional eugenics to political problems. The author, an acknowledged authority on human genetics, in a manner "as popular as possible without sacrificing truth to simplicity" cogently proves that such eugenical doctrines as "the unfit should be sterilized," "certain classes are congenitally superior to others, and . . . it is desirable that the superior classes should reproduce more rapidly", and "certain races are congenitally superior to others", cannot be scientifically supported, and that they are in general "the somewhat unscientific application of prejudices, whether racial or class prejudices." Since these pseudo-scientific theories bolster frightful political acts such as the Nazi persecution of Jews, and the bombing of regions where population is densest and poorest (and hence, Major Eric Sachsland of the German Air Force would say, "eugenically undesirable"), Professor Haldane, by confuting such doctrines, has rendered a deep service to those engaged in the struggle against fascist aggression and obscurantism. *Heredity and Politics* should be on the desk of every one who has the fate of democracy at heart.

THE FIGHT FOR LIFE, by PAUL DE KUIJF. Harcourt, Brace & Company. 342 pages. \$3.00.

In his earlier books Dr. de Kruif demonstrated a lively capacity for dramatizing the work of individual investigators in the biological and medical sciences. In *The Fight for Life*, as in his previous volume, *Why Keep Them Alive?*, Dr. de Kruif's humanization of science becomes primarily concerned with the social diffusion of the fruits of research. And he has learned the bitter lesson that a maze of economic barriers prevents the widespread application of medical discoveries to human betterment. *The Fight for Life* describes the brave attempts to overcome this frustration in the saving of life in childbirth, in the struggle to prevent pellagra, in the curbing of infantile paralysis, and in a number of other human afflictions. In great measure this volume is a call to battle. Says Dr. de Kruif:

"Nor do the people own the science of those now dedicated to fight for the lives of all. Yet this new adventure upon which our fighters for life are now embarking must be democratic to the limit. It is the people's death fight or it is nothing. And, before the struggle can be engaged, the whole people must be told of it. . . . Having felt it, the people will then fight for the right of their searchers to use science to give mankind the right to live."

DR. ALEXANDER SANDOW
New York University

A Forum on Education and Democracy

EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, *The Second Yearbook of the John Dewey Society*. HAROLD B. ALBERTY and BOYD H. BODE, Co-chairmen. D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc. 292 pages. \$2.25.

The exorcism of our personal devils of academic repression is one of the major values received through the reading of this volume. The authors make a comprehensive, incisive and temperate contribution. We are brought face to face with the fact, unwelcome perhaps to our more zealous campaigners for freedom, that our enemy is the mores, the ways of the human mind, the inadequacies of the conceptions and practices of our as yet incomplete social democracy. First, say the authors in effect, we must understand ourselves and our contemporary culture; then only can we wisely plan and execute our policy for safeguarding and promoting the rights of our pupils and of our rather stupid public and of ourselves which alone justify freedom of inquiry. Much of the explanation and interpretation in this volume is not new. Nevertheless, the subject of academic freedom is of such transcendent significance that the definitive volume is of very great importance. Exceptions may, of course, be taken to some of the explanations and recommendations of one or another of the authors. More frequent than the disagreements, however, are the irrefutable justifications for open inquiry and tolerance on the bases of examples and insights that are relatively new to the reader.

PHILIP W. L. COX
New York University

A Rich Source Book for Those Who Guide American Young People

YOUTH EDUCATION TODAY. *Sixteenth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, National Education Association*. Washington, D. C., 1938. 509 pages. \$2.00.

The Commission on Youth Problems of the American Association of School Administrators should be congratulated upon its splendid contribution of *Youth Education Today*. Here is a book that is realistic, sound, and constructive. The titles of some of its chapters give a clue to its comprehensive survey of the field: the Dynamic and Life-Centered Curriculum; Creative Citizenship; the Adjustment and Guidance of Pupils in the Regular Day Schools; The School's Responsibility for the Adjustment and Guidance of Out-of-School Youth; Unifying and Coordinating the Influences Affecting Youth. Its appendix includes: Text of Suggested Law for Community Centers; National, Private and Governmental Organizations with Leisure-Time Services for Youth; Guidance Services; and Youth Serving Organization Activities. This book is a challenge to action on the part of high school teachers and administrators. Armed with such books as *Youth Education Today*, representatives of educational associations, youth organizations, welfare groups, government agencies, medical and dental groups, psychologists' organizations, and the like might assemble to draw up a comprehensive program for our nation's 6,000,000 young people. The call for such a conference might be: "We have the facts about America's youth problem. Now let's do something about it!"

JAMES E. MENDENHALL
The Lincoln School
Teachers College
Columbia University



Brief Reviews

SPY OVERHEAD, by CLINCH CALKINS. Harcourt Brace & Co. 363 pages. \$2.50.

Miss Calkins was on the staff of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee when it was probing into the labor spy racket. She has made excellent use of her great opportunity. Her summary of the two and a half million words of testimony concerning the efforts of our industrialists to smash unionism, is interwoven with documentary evidence out of the mouths and files of the spies themselves, the agency heads, and the captains of industry who wanted the job done and paid handsomely for it. It is a shocking tale which should be told again and again by teachers of social science. Not as well written as *Some Folks Won't Work* by the same author, it is, nevertheless, an extremely useful book which should be read and discussed by every socially-minded person.

LEO HUBERMAN

YOU CAN'T DO THAT, by GEORGE SELDES. Modern Age Books. 307 pages. 50c.

Another indispensable book for the alert and liberal teacher, published by Modern Age Books. An arsenal of facts overlooked by the hasty reader of our newspapers. Examples of police disrespect for law and order, of corporations that defy the government, of the political lobbying of munition makers, and most illuminating disclosures of the half-truths, the suppression of facts, the editorializing which passes as "objective journalism" with few exceptions among our newspapers. The book is a tonic. Its brief, bright style sweeps us out of our lethargy and our ignorance, and reminds us of the other side of the American story which is seldom realized, but must be faced if education for democracy is to endure.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

THE DAY'S WORK, by OSCAR BRYNES. Harcourt Brace. 79 pages. \$1.25.

This narrative poem about the Great Armored-Car Robbery is exciting reading and, on the whole, good poetry. Without ever indulging in propaganda, without ever stepping out of his characters, this poet makes dramatically clear the roots of such crimes as this in social injustice. The result is realistic, strong-sinewed free verse.

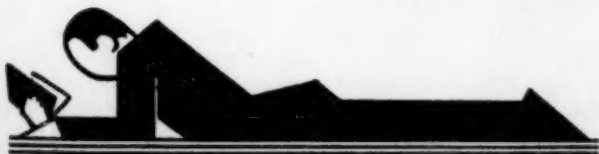
EDA LOU WALTON

FIVE YEARS OF HITLER edited by M. B. SCHNAPPER. American Council on Public Affairs, 20 Vesey St., N. Y. C. 46 pages.

YOUTH BETRAYED by M. B. SCHNAPPER. Introduction by ILSE TRAUMAN. International Relief Association. 63 pages.

In six short essays, *Five Years of Hitler* describes the thoroughness with which the German people are being regimented for the realization of Nazi expansionist aims. Hitler himself is the tool of the big industrialists (Frederick Schuman: *History of a Lie*). It is in the interests of these that free trade unions have been abolished (Robert Brady: *Labor*); that religious freedom has been curbed (Henry Smith Leiper: *Religion*); that women have been relegated to the role of providing soldiers for the army (Dr. Alice Hamilton: *Women in Harness*); that the celebrated "Lehrfreiheit" of former Germany has been swept away; and that racism and the principle of blind obedience to the Führer have been made the basic and permeating principles of all education (Charles Beard: *Regimentation of Education*); and that Germany is now an armed camp, a menace to world peace and to democracy everywhere (H. C. Engelbrecht: *A Nation in Arms*). Mr. Schnapper's essay amplifies this picture with a detailed account of Nazi educational methods in schools, colleges and labor camps, reveals the sham of Hitler's "solution" of the unemployment problem, and ends with a list of martyred youth, victims of Nazi terrorism. Together, these two pamphlets offer an evaluation of the results of five years of Hitler's rule.

DR. MOSES RATNER



LET FREEDOM RING, by ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS. *Liveright Publishing Corporation. Revised edition. 475 pages.*

The test of civil rights, Mr. Hays reminds us, with examples brought up to 1937, is whether the weakest person may use them in behalf of unpopular causes in times of great emotional stress. These rights have been won by unceasing struggle for them, which is indeed the method that Hays advocates and the only possible method. For, he concludes, "protest at the slightest infringement, a capacity for indignation, courage, faith in democratic processes, vigilance, are necessary if we are to maintain liberty."

JOEL SEIDMAN

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL, by SAMUEL EVERETT and Others. *D. Appleton-Century Co. 473 pp. \$2.25.*

Education for "practical" democracy now is the thesis of this volume. A group of educators from various parts of the United States have brought together vivid descriptions of community schools at work in rural districts, city slums and suburban towns. Dramatic episodes unfold the story of cooperative enterprises where children, youths and adults have united their efforts for common interests. The records of schools for Indians, Negroes, mountaineers, plantation workers, and immigrant populations reveal the breadth of problems to be dealt with in American education.

MIND IN TRANSITION. Patterns, Conflicts and Changes in the Evolution of the Mind. By JOSEPH K. HART. *Covici-Friede. 412 pages. \$3.50.*

Changes in human nature, thought and behavior are sketched in bold outlines by a sociologist looking back through history. He is eager to rouse moderns for vigorous participation in the present race between intelligent action and social disaster, since "Mind must change as it moves and acts. 'Learning' is achieving citizenship in the world of change!"

BERYL PARKER

NIGHT AT HOGWALLOW, by THEODORE STRAUSS. *Little, Brown and Company, Boston. 174 pages. \$1.25.*

In this prize-winning novelette the author shows the deeper implications of southern mob behavior by placing it in the context of southern mores and the social and political organization of the small southern town, where the seeds of an American brand of fascism are found. Aside from being a dramatic and moving piece of fiction, which captures the reader from the outset, this story may be read with profit by those who seek an understanding of the complexity of the problems involving race and labor in small southern towns.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

LEARNING IN LEISURE: The What and Why of Adult Education. *Educational Materials Project, Department of Education, St. Paul, Minn. 85 pages.*

This pamphlet is a well documented survey of the place and function of adult education in American life. Those in charge of the work in Minnesota are fully aware of the usefulness of an adequate program in adult education for broad social and democratic ends. The *raison d'être* of adult education has seldom if ever been more comprehensively or clearly put.

WARREN BOWER

PHOTO-HISTORY, NO. 4: CHINA REBORN. 155 E. 44th St., N. Y. 64 pages. 25c.

The latest issue of Photo-History is another fascinating study of a vital center of world interest. *China Reborn* is a dramatic pictorial analysis of four thousand years of China's history and its meaning for 1938. Its skill in combining splendid photography with the concise objective comments and illustrative charts is a triumph of modern pedagogy which has already been of use to many teachers.

THE RIVER ("A NATIONAL DRAMA IN PICTURES AND SOUND"), by PARE LORENTZ. *Stackpole Sons. \$2.00.*

As a motion picture *The River* is probably the finest documentary film ever produced, and a tribute to the high artistic standards of that progressive Federal bureau, the Farm Security Administration. In book form, it is a permanent record of the most striking scenes

from the movie and of the excellent utilitarian text with its poetic overtones that Pare Lorentz provided for the sound track of his film.

CONSUMERS UNION REPORTS. *Consumers Union of U. S., Inc., 55 Vandam St., N. Y. C.*

These reports of Consumers Union are a much needed guide through the welter of misleading advertising, worthless and dangerous products and business trickery that face every consumer every day. The work of this non-profit organization, directed by a distinguished board, is enabling its subscribers to buy safely and intelligently and to save many times the very small subscription cost.

BORIS GAMZUE

COUNTER-ATTACK IN SPAIN, by RAMON SENDER. *Translated from the Spanish by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell. Houghton Mifflin Co. 288 pages. \$3.00.*

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THE OCEAN HIGHWAY. FEDERAL WRITERS PROJECT, WPA. *Modern Age.*

LABOR'S NEW MILLIONS. MARY HEATON VORSE. *Modern Age.*

Correspondence

A Double Barreled Labor Policy

To the Editors:

There are two things which the American people must do to raise their standard of living. They must increase production and they must increase their purchasing power enough to buy the increased product.

What is true of the American people as a whole is true of American labor, especially if we conceive of labor as all the people who work for a living, skilled and unskilled. A drive towards increased production combined with the drive for increased purchasing power should be the double barreled policy of labor.

To receive increased production without increased purchasing power is futile. Goods pile up on the shelves, unemployment increases, depressions are just around the corner. To secure increased purchasing power without increased production is equally futile. We merely have the privilege of paying more money without getting any more goods.

The only time that labor can appreciably improve its condition by getting higher wages is when production is increasing about as fast as wages. Conversely the only time that we can appreciably improve our condition by increasing production is when wages are increasing about as fast as production. (Falling prices, of course, are equivalent to a general increase in wages.)

To put it negatively, higher wages are useless to us unless accompanied by or followed by increased production; increased production is useless unless accompanied by or followed by an increase in wages or by lower prices.

It seems to labor's advantage, therefore, to put up just as big a fight for increased production as it does for higher wages. This labor has never done. It has worked intelligently for increased purchasing power. It has never gone before the country with a clear-cut program for stimulating production or for holding production at a high level when it got there.

We believe that some such program as the following would be of greater benefit to labor than the traditional fight which increased wages and improved working conditions but did little to increase production.

1. Educate our membership and the public in general to see that the economic welfare of all the people who work for a living depends, first, upon a constantly increasing supply of goods and services, and secondly upon the ability, through lower prices or higher wages, to purchase the goods produced.

2. Formulate a legislative program designed first to "increase production up to the limit of consumer needs" and secondly to enable the working people to purchase what they produce. Secure the support of the public for such a program by showing them that their welfare depends upon it.

3. Use the influence of labor organizations in every plant in America to see that the management maintains a maximum production schedule. Judicious advertising of its failure to do so to a public educated to oppose curtailing production would bring positive results. A threatened strike to secure maintenance of production would have public support because the public in the long run stands to gain by it.

4. Get labor, consumer, and public to insist that the purchasing power of labor's wages and the farmer's prices shall be sufficient to buy their share of the increased national product, by showing them that continued failure in purchasing power of any of these major groups means a depression which affects farmer, labor and public alike.

5. Let labor continue to see that the hours and working conditions are such that he has health and leisure enough to enjoy the extra things that he has thus been able to produce and purchase.

A. S. HANCOCK
Local 437
Trenton, N. J.

Taking Issue

To the Editors:

I have read with great interest Bernard Forer's "When a Law is not a Law" in your January-February issue. It seems to me that the writer's attitude is extremely one-sided, even bitter, and I cannot believe it is representative of the majority of teachers in this state. I have a daughter who is a teacher (not in N. J.) and was myself a member of the Board of Education in this borough for some years; hence my interest in the subject matter.

Most towns and municipalities fully respect the tenure law. Specifically Mr. Forer cites Jersey City, Atlantic City and Trenton. I will put up no defense for "Haguetown" in this or any other particular. Atlantic City typifies the near-bankrupt communities where citizens, represented by Boards of Education, should be sympathized with in their efforts to keep down taxes by any equitable means within the law. As to Trenton, Mr. Forer's own bailiwick, he is no doubt an expert witness. However, to call the City Council "notorious stooges" goes a bit far. The Council represents the entire electorate of the city, and banking and business interests are generally minority interests just now. The remedy suggests itself.

I see nothing unfair in the conditions stated in his paragraph I, although his choice of words might be criticised.

As to paragraph II, surely Mr. Forer would not have a teacher continue because of tenure if he or she were, for example, virulently syphilitic or leprous. In that case, the teacher would not be "fired" but quietly asked to resign. It is ridiculous to assume that any Board would "fire" a teacher for "dandruff or athletes' foot". If Mr. Forer intends to be humorous, he is equally open to criticism.

Regarding "voluntary" pay cuts in this, as in other towns where many taxpayers' incomes had been reduced from 25% to 100% and whose taxes continued often at higher rates, teachers readily and cheerfully acquiesced. Here, salaries have been fully restored.

The tail-piece cartoon is also offensive. To put it mildly, it is hackneyed at best. The average citizen taxpayer who might be portrayed thin and ragged, is conspicuous by his absence.

Quite recently, I have read that the test case in Trenton referred to by Mr. Forer, has been decided, presumably justly, in favor of the teachers. This seems to show that a law is a law in New Jersey.

FREDERICK E. STANTON

Mr. Forer Replies

To the Editors:

Mr. Stanton has objected to my writing as being "one-sided", and I will admit cheerfully that it probably was. However, I wrote the article from the viewpoint of the classroom teacher as opposed to the dictates of the machine politicians and corporation interests in New Jersey. The fact of the matter is that the tenure law is being violated, especially in the rural districts, and that the example of Frank Hague is being followed in a large number of the cities. I invite Mr. Stanton to check up on the number of tenure teachers in South Jersey.

As for Atlantic City, Mr. Stanton claims that "near-bankrupt communities . . . should be sympathized with in their efforts to keep down taxes by any equitable means within the law." That is just the point. Cutting salaries in violation of the tenure statute is *not* the law. There are other legal means for helping such distressed cities, overhauling New Jersey's antiquated and unjust taxing system, for instance. Teachers cannot and should not support an entire community through a depression; an illegal salary cut is simply an especial income tax levied on a narrow group.

Certainly no teaching group could object to the dismissal of a teacher "virulently syphilitic". However, as Mr. Stanton himself suggests, a special statute is not necessary. A hint to resign would

be all that would be necessary. The "dandruff law" to which I referred was worded so vaguely and would have been such a potent weapon in the hands of certain school boards, that a militant teacher could have been dismissed easily.

As to the test case in Trenton, which has received two favorable decisions thus far, this seems to be another case in point. The law became the law only when an aggressive group in the Teachers' Union fought hard, refused to be intimidated, and started legal action. Even then the progressive teachers behind the move have been harassed, and at the present writing almost unbelievable pressure is being applied upon us all. The City Council is pushing the Mayor-appointed Board of Education, the Board has given the Superintendent his orders, the principals have been called into an extraordinary number of sessions, the teachers have been herded into meetings, and company union leaders have been launched on a tremendous campaign of falsification and rumor-mongering. The Board is demanding that an armistice be declared—without payment of back salary due! Teachers are being talked to by their principals, and the seeds of confusion and panic are being sown. It is the Jersey City influence. Luckily there is a Union here, and we are working to combat the propaganda. We are standing on our legal rights. When we get a writ of mandamus from the Supreme Court of New Jersey, the tenure law will actually mean something.

BERNARD FORER

On the "College Newsletter"

To the Editors:

The New York College Teachers Union has learned that there are a number of persons who have expressed the desire to subscribe to the "College Newsletter", fortnightly publication of our Union. Can you, therefore, please arrange to have an announcement published in the next issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER, advising readers that Local 537 will be pleased to send issues to persons outside the jurisdiction of Local 537, for the sum of \$1.00 per year, which just about covers cost of mailing? Subscriptions may be sent direct to our office, 235 Fourth Avenue, New York.

ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF

On AFT Policy

To the Editors:

The minutes of February 27 and again of March 13 indicate that the committee is discussing the possibility of including articles on both sides of the collective security question; that is, one article for isolation and one for collective security, with an appropriate editorial comment explaining that teachers are divided on this question.

In my opinion the proper procedure is to point out in an editorial note that although teachers may be divided, the convention went unanimously on record for the invocation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact calling for the outlawing of war, *the creation of collective pacts and the definition and punishment of an aggressor nation* (p. 49, Convention Proceedings).

Even Mr. Beagle's amendment is contrary in spirit to an isolationist position, for it distinctly calls upon the labor movement internationally to cooperate against fascism and against imperialist war and against fascist aggression in Spain in particular.

The columns of THE AMERICAN TEACHER are open to teachers who desire to write in expressions of difference with editorial policies or articles included in the magazine. But I see no reason for the committee to take what amounts to an impartial position, neither for collective security or against it, when the convention distinctly expressed itself on the very central points involved in what has since come to be called "collective security". How can the magazine refrain from taking up the cudgels for collective security? Why should the committee yield to Seidman to the extent of giving equal play and equal emphasis to the isolationist position, when the convention is on record for collective security?

The purpose of the magazine is not to give space for the personal opinions of any member of the Editorial Committee (except as any union teacher is entitled to space), but to interpret events, elucidate complex problems, in the light of the policies and decisions laid down by the convention and the Executive Council. Hence, when

there is division among the union members as to some policy, those responsible for the magazine must recognize that division exists, but cannot content themselves with stating the fact or with acting as though they and the magazine had no responsibility for overcoming that division.

Clearly, on this particular question, the function of THE AMERICAN TEACHER and the duty of its editorial committee is to present to the Union membership the meaning of collective security, the reasons isolationism leads to war and to continuing victories for fascism, and the argument for collective security.

The magazine is educational, after all, and is maintained to end or reduce division among us, not to perpetuate it through the absence of a decisive stand, through encouraging those who may disagree with the officially adopted policy because they have not heard the case for it and against isolationism.

HUGH DELACY
Vice-President, A.F.T.

(The Editorial Committee wishes to call the attention of the readers to the statement preceding the two articles in question on page 20.)

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

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CELIA LEWIS
8 West 16 Street, N. Y. C.

Business Offices

506 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Ill.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

THE CONTRIBUTORS

IRVING ADLER is chairman of the Educational Policies Committee of Local 5.

STANLEY F. ATWOOD is Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Washington.

MOWAT G. FRASER is a lecturer in education at the University of Michigan. He is author of *The College of the Future*.

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN is the national legislative representative of the American Federation of Teachers.

EUGENE C. HOLMES teaches in the English Department at Howard University. He is a member of the Editorial Board of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

JOHN A. LAPP is a government labor arbitrator. He was formerly head of the Department of Social Sciences at Marquette University.

FREDERICK J. LIBBY is executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

MADALINE KINTER REMMLEIN is a member of the American Educational Research Association. She has made educational surveys under the Department of Public Instruction and the State Planning Board in Pennsylvania.

H. L. SOFTLEY is principal of the Abbey High School in Abbey, Saskatchewan, Canada.

ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF is chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee of the American Federation of Teachers.

HARRY F. WARD is chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

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IMPORTANT NOTICE:

Because of a conflict in convention dates and because satisfactory hotel arrangements could not be made, the Executive Council has voted to hold the convention at Cedar Point, Ohio, instead of Cincinnati, Ohio, as previously announced.

CONVENTION CALL

American Federation of Teachers

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

HOTEL BREAKERS

CEDAR POINT, OHIO, ON LAKE ERIE



To All Affiliated Locals:

The Twenty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers is hereby called to convene at the Breakers Hotel, Cedar Point, Ohio, August 15, 1938, at the hour of 10 A. M., E. S. T., and will remain in session five days or until such time as it has given full consideration to such matters as may legally be brought before it.

Education in America is faced with such serious problems in many places that the very existence of free public education is threatened. Internationally we are on the threshold of another world war and Democracy hangs in the balance. Nationally we are faced with the perplexing problem of "educating for democracy" in the throes of economic recession. In many places throughout the Nation, children in the schools are again asked to pay the price of our social and economic failures. In many state and local school districts attempts are being made to restrict educational opportunity and to curtail the school program. In the face of these pressing educational problems, it is highly important that all locals have full representation of carefully chosen delegates.

RESOLUTIONS

In recent conventions so many resolutions have been introduced that it has been impossible for either the convention or the Executive Council intelligently to consider all of them. It is recommended that only resolutions of utmost importance and directly related to teaching and the educative process be presented to the convention. Locals are requested to cooperate in making resolutions few in number so that it will be unnecessary to establish a numerical limit.

Resolutions and other material which locals desire to have placed in the hands of delegates should be sent in as soon as possible and will not be accepted for mimeographing after July 9, 1938.

REPRESENTATION

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the constitution as amended to date. Articles VI and VII explain the rules of representation at the convention.

No local in arrears for two months (June and July) or more shall be entitled to representation.

Locals chartered after July 15, 1938, will not be entitled to representation. Locals chartered before July 15, 1938, must have paid at least two months per capita (June and July, or July and August) and have no arrear-

ages to be entitled to representation. It should be noted that fractions of 25 are not to be counted in determining votes.

Locals of 1 to 49 members will have one vote.

Locals of 50 to 74 members will have two votes.

Locals of 75 to 99 members will have three votes.

Locals of 100 to 124 members will have four votes, etc.

At the 1937 convention the credentials committee ruled that a delegate carrying proxy votes for locals (as provided in Section 3, Article 7) must be a member of one of the locals represented.

Since the convention will open one week earlier than last year, per capita for July must be paid not later than August 1 in order to allow time for computation of the number of votes to which locals are entitled.

The books will be closed on August 3 and no per capita will be accepted at the convention.

Fraternally yours,

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS.

IRVIN KUENZLI, Secretary-Treasurer.

JEROME DAVIS, President.

The headquarters for the convention will be at the Breakers Hotel.

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One person 5.50; per day

Convention Committee

Michael J. Eck—Vice-president for Ohio, West Virginia area.

E. Glenn Baxter—President Ohio State Federation of Teachers.

R. E. Abercrombie—President Cincinnati Local 479—Chairman of Local Committee.

Jerome Davis—Ex Officio.

Irvin Kuenzli—Ex Officio.

