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The AMERICAN TEACHER

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In Two Parts—Part I

FEBRUARY

1939

IS PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION PROGRESSING?

Goodwin Watson

Mental Health of the Teacher - - - - - MANDEL SHERMAN

Democracy in N. Y. City Colleges - - - - - ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF

The National Resources Committee - - - - - CHARLES E. MERRIAM

Administrators and Academic Freedom - - - - - ERNEST O. MELBY

New Year for the Sharecroppers - - - - - JOSEPHINE JOHNSON

Hollywood Runs a Christmas Party - - - - - PATRICIA KILLORAN

Reviews by

MERLE CURTI
ALEXANDER SANDOW

ORDWAY TEAD
WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

Published by the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

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Inside the Cover

Our Own "Referred without Comment Dept."—Members of the Chicago Federated Advertising Club voted that Cordell Hull was the outstanding American of 1938. First place went to the Secretary of State in recognition of his efforts toward bettering Pan-American relations and in negotiating trade treaties. The rest of the also rans finished in the following order:

2. Thomas E. Dewey
3. Douglas Corrigan
4. Howard Hughes
- *5. Martin Dies
- *6. Franklin Roosevelt
7. Donald Budge
8. Walt Disney
9. Orson Welles and John Garner
10. Johnny Vander Meer

CIRCUIT JUDGE KELLY S. SEARL OF ITHACA, Mich., made his bid for the hall of fame recently when he ruled that hours and wages of a 13-year old newsboy dismissed by the *Lansing State Journal* were not subject to regulation under the provisions of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. Judge Searl ruled that the boy was an "independent contractor" and took the occasion to attack "certain reformers" responsible for the Act and for the child labor amendment.

THE "AMERICANISM AWARD FOR 1938" of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., which is given for "outstanding patriotic service," has been awarded to Congressman Martin Dies. The League specializes in issuing pamphlets on organized labor which are used to fight the C. I. O. Tom Girdler, it has been charged, purchased 100,000 copies for his employees. The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee heard testimony concerning education and the Constitution from the heads of the League. To complete the picture, Fritz Kuhn's newspaper carried a front-page editorial which said, "Mr. Dies's wish (for more funds for the committee) should by all means be gratified."

POLITICAL NOTES: FORTY-ONE OF THE NEW Republicans elected to the House were actively supported by Townsendites and six of the new Republican Senators were endorsed by Townsend groups. The final vote on the anti-labor laws of the West Coast



was as follows: California—for, 1,067,229; against, 1,476,379; Washington—for, 268,848; against, 295,431; Oregon—for, 197,771; against, 148,460. President C. J. Hagerty, California Federation of Labor, has suggested that the American Labor movement and its friends should be mobilized into a "ballot army" of 15,000,000 men and women pledged to fight anti-labor legislation at the polls. An 11-state group of liberal organizations in the Far West is being organized to unite that area behind the New Deal. Participants in a conference held recently were President Hugh De Lacy (former national vice president of the A. F. of T.) and Executive Secretary Howard Costigan of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, Governor Culbert L. Olson and Lieutenant-Governor Ellis Paterson of California, and Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles. Arrangements have been made for a June conference of representatives from Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, New Mexico, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and Montana. The new group will be known as the Western States Commonwealth Federation.

FAIRNESS

"If anybody can ever show me where a group of employees has discharged an employer for joining an association of employers, then I'll agree that the Wagner Labor Act should be amended to protect the employers."—Allan S. Haywood, President, New York State Industrial Union Council.

SENATOR BYRD, WHO IS ONE OF THOSE let's - balance - the budget - by - cutting - out - waste - and - extravagance persons, in a recent radio speech used as an illustration of this waste, "a doghouse built by the W.P.A., with lace curtains and a bath, at a cost of \$17,000."

FACT, according to the *Congressional Record*, is that the "doghouse" is a dog pound and it was built in Memphis in 1936. The project was undertaken at the earnest request of the mayor and city council of Memphis. The city put up \$9,779 and the W.P.A. \$12,389.

At that time the people of Memphis and the surrounding country were panicky over the appearance of an unusual number of mad dogs. In 1935, 575 persons were bitten and 264 were treated for rabies.

Without a pound, the only way of dealing with the menace was to kill all dogs running at large. The pound was constructed so that dogs might be confined and kept under observation until it was established whether or not they were disease carriers. The "bath," which the Senator from Virginia chuckled over, was

to give the dogs a "dip" to guard against other diseases.

Before the pound was constructed, there had been many deaths from rabies. The quarantine, made possible by the joint efforts of the city and W.P.A., completely eradicated the disease from Memphis and vicinity and, unquestionably, saved many precious lives.



"LET 'EM EAT NUTS," WAS THE SUBSTANCE of Pecan King Julius Seligmann's testimony in 1934. At that time under oath, Seligmann said, "The Mexican pecan shellers eat a good many pecans, and five cents a day is enough to support them in addition to what they eat while they work." During the next three years Seligmann netted more than \$500,000 from the industry.

In 1939, however, the Wages and Hours law went into effect. The Southern Pecan Shelling Company applied to the commission for the right to pay learners fifteen cents a day. After a three day hearing in San Antonio, Texas, center of the industry, the government concluded that the industry could afford to pay pecan shellers twenty-five cents an hour for a forty-four hour week. The employers including Mr. Seligmann, claimed that this would bankrupt the industry.

"Nuts to you," was the reply of the pecan shellers, remembering Seligmann's \$500,000 profits from the last three years.

"CALLING AMERICA," THE SPECIAL February number of *Survey Graphic*, Paul Kellogg, editor, and Raymond Gram Swing, special contributing editor, goes into a second printing tomorrow to make the largest issue of the magazine in its twenty-six years of publication. The average monthly circulation of *Survey Graphic* is 25,000. The new printing of the current issue will bring the total for that issue to 90,000 copies.

The single-copy price of this issue is fifty cents, but one hundred copies may be secured at a price of twenty-five cents a copy. Order them for your Union study class.

The February issue of *Education*, edited by Jesse S. Robinson, chairman, Department of Economics, Carleton College, deals with Economics. The following articles seem especially pertinent: "Economics in a Dynamic Society," by A. B. Wolfe; "Provocative Economics," by Broadus Mitchell; "The Economics of the Teaching Profession," by Harold F. Clark; and "The Teaching of Economics in the Sixth Grade," by John W. Knoble. Address: 370 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass. Price: fifty cents.

G. T. G.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

ENTERED as second class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

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ONCE AGAIN the Daughters of the American Revolution have indicated their lack of belief in the letter and spirit of the United States Constitution by barring Marian Anderson, noted Negro singer, from the D. A. R.-owned Constitutional Hall in Washington, D. C.

Perhaps the only reason for mentioning this is because the D. A. R. is now engaged in promoting "the appreciation of good citizenship among young people" by offering its fourth annual trip to Washington, D. C., to the best qualified girl in the United States. She must be a member of a senior class in an accredited public high school and "need not be eligible for membership in the D. A. R." The winning girl will be selected upon the basis of the following qualifications:

1. Dependability—which includes truthfulness, loyalty, and punctuality.

2. Service—cooperation, courtesy, consideration of others.
3. Leadership—personality, self control, ability to assume responsibility.
4. Patriotism—unselfish interest in family, school, community, and nation.

When the young lady who has to the nth degree all of the above qualities (especially "cooperation, courtesy, consideration of others" and "unselfish interest in community and nation") wins her trip to the Capitol City and her D. A. R. guide, showing her Constitutional Hall, says, "And this is where We barred Marian Anderson from singing"—

We hope the young lady will just ask, "Why?"



MANY INDICES POINT TO a new era of retrenchment and economy drives at the expense of the schools. Minneapolis teachers have suffered a 12 per cent salary cut; a severe cut in the Detroit school budget is impending; Toledo teachers face irregular paydays; and the Wisconsin tenure law is threatened. In such circumstances it is essential that teachers' unions receive every assistance from friends of education, lest school children and teachers again be victims of short-sighted economy addicts. Any action which undermines public confidence in teachers and their organizations increases the likelihood of closed schools, overcrowded classes, shortened school terms, and unpaid teachers.

It is peculiarly unfortunate, therefore, that this time should be chosen to whip up a witch-hunting hysteria at the expense of the American Federation of Teachers. Newspapers and organizations hostile to education will seize any opportunity to "smear" the American Federation of Teachers. They have received and have used such opportunities during the past month. The immediate incident for renewed Red-baiting was the suspension of two New York locals from the New York Central Trades and Labor Council. Without a hearing or opportunity for defense, the New York College Teachers Union and the WPA Teachers Union were suspended on the following specific charges: (1) they had sent delegates to the Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy; (2) they had cooperated with the Workers Alliance, a national organization of the unemployed; and (3) they had participated in a parade to welcome home American veterans returning from Spain. Both locals, in statements, declare that in these actions they were associated with

many other A. F. of L. unions, and that the call for the Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy had been signed by A. W. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

The American Federation of Teachers is faithful, and will continue to remain faithful, to the cause of organized labor. It has always remained true to democracy. Its actions have been, and will continue to be, in accord with the best principles of trade unionism. We invite any sceptics, both those outside and those inside the labor movement, to examine the resolutions adopted at our last national convention. The guiding principles therein set forth represent Americanism in the purest meaning of that term. Our membership and democratically elected officers have been tireless and fearless in their devotion to our slogan, "Education for Democracy; Democracy in Education." This we pledge to the labor movement and to the entire American people: the American Federation of Teachers will so conduct itself as to preserve and strengthen American schools to the end that democracy shall endure and flourish.

★ ★ ★

JUST FOR THE SAKE OF THE RECORD: Too many American newspapers gave front-page headlines to Matthew Woll's assertion that the A. F. of T. was threatened with expulsion from the A. F. of L. and failed to print even in the back pages a telegram from President William Green in which he said, "Council has taken no action nor does it contemplate action of any kind against the American Federation of Teachers Union. Statements which appeared in the press were the expression of Vice President Woll and not of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor." President Jerome Davis, was assured by Mr. Green that no action was contemplated.

★ ★ ★

IN SPITE OF Goodwin Watson's very fine article in this issue, we should like to indicate the recent stand taken by the Board of Directors of the Progressive Education Association under the head, "For the Understanding and Defense of Democracy." The statement points out that:

With increasing violence, since the World War, our democratic way of life has been attacked by an enemy of unexampled power and ruthlessness—fascism. In structure and method of government, in ideals and philosophy, in deeds as well as in utterance, fascism brands itself as a menace to our democratic civilization. Today it has launched a world-wide offensive which penetrates the borders of every democratic country.

Because the real spearhead of fascism resides in Hitler and the Nazi Government of Germany, we focus our indictment and our bill of particulars on the barbarous acts which they have committed during the last six years. In doing so we wish to make clear that much the same indictment can be drawn against the dictatorship governments of Italy, Japan, and other countries under the sway of fascist ideas.

After a long list of charges against the present German government (not against the German people), the report calls upon all members of the Progressive Education Association to:

Launch in their respective centers a searching study of the meaning and practice of democracy in their schools and communities, make renewed efforts to guarantee in their schools and communities the democratic way of life; make clear the actual status of democracy in government and social life in their respective communities and countries; and lead in opposing every sign and symptom of fascism.

This is a program which merits the support and co-operation of every member and every local of the American Federation of Teachers.

★ ★ ★

IN CONNECTION WITH the problem of understanding American democracy, we recommend highly the program, "Americans All—Immigrants All," which is being broadcast every Sunday through May 7 over the Columbia Broadcasting System at 2 P. M. eastern standard time. The program has been designed to show the contributions of various cultural groups to the social, economic, and political development of the United States. Secretary Ickes, Commissioner Studebaker, William Dow Boutwell, director of the Radio Division of the Office of Education, and the Columbia Broadcasting System are to be commended for presenting this program in these troubled times.

★ ★ ★

WE SHOULD LIKE to comment editorially on the contents of this issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER. Naturally, we think it is a good issue. Josephine Johnson's article on the Missouri sharecroppers and Patricia Killoran's article on the children of the migratory workers are very fine background material for understanding the need for federal aid to schools in the United States. Also, as Miss Killoran has pointed out in her article, the students of the Los Angeles and Torrence high schools participated in the Christmas party by raising money and collecting clothing and food for their underprivileged brothers. Each article in this issue deals with a concrete problem of American education and is worthy of considerable study.

The symposium, "The Next Step for the Progressives," will be continued in the March issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

We should like to call your attention to the very important material on federal aid and on the legislative program of the A. F. of T. which appears in the newspaper supplement of this issue. Extra copies of the supplement may be purchased by locals as long as the supply lasts. A special coupon for this purpose will be found in the supplement.

We should appreciate expressions of opinion on the types of articles that have been appearing in the AMERICAN TEACHER, so that we may better edit the magazine according to the desires of the membership.

The President's Page

SELF CRITICISM

SIR WILFRED GRENFELL ONCE SAID, "Any man who comes to the age of thirty-five without opponents and criticism might just as well be dead. His epitaph has already been written." The same is true of groups.

Any democratic organization needs self-criticism. If none comes, something is wrong. We all should want to improve both ourselves and our organization. We should be constructively self-critical. The American Federation of Teachers gets plenty of criticism. Hardly a week goes by that some un-American society or committee does not criticize our efforts to secure better schools and more democratic schools. Criticism can be both helpful and harmful; it can be both true and untrue. What we want is to increase criticism which is both true and constructive and decrease that which is false or harmful.

Not long ago, one of the organizers of the American Federation of Teachers was criticized for certain alleged actions. A careful examination of the evidence proved rather conclusively that the charges were unfounded. Some of those who had formerly been critical exonerated the individual. Even this criticism was not wholly injurious. It helped bring changes in organizational procedure.

Part of the reason why false charges become current is rumor and gossip. Someone hurls an irresponsible remark, making no adequate effort to verify it. Then it is passed on to someone else who in turn re-tells it, and by the time it becomes general property no one would recognize the allegation from the original microscopic basis of fact.

A letter has just come from a member who criticizes one faction in a local, charging it with "shocking lack of integrity in flaunting planned and directed action within the ranks of our membership." But this is all vague. How difficult it is to get concrete examples of the unjust actions complained of. Sometimes they are charges of liberals against reactionaries or more often the charges of conservatives against radicals,

but nearly always they are made in generalities.

Again, we receive letters asking that either all Communists or all Fascists be expelled from the Union. Just who is a Fascist or a Communist is not always easy to ascertain. But in any case it is a fundamental principle of our Federation not to discriminate against any member because of race, religious faith, or political belief. Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Communists, even those who sympathize with the program of Hitler and Mussolini, have the right to belong to the American Federation of Teachers. Any one of us can oppose a particular program in a local or in the national organization, but we have no right to demand the expulsion of anyone simply because of a political shade of belief. In some measure such requests are contrary to the spirit of the American Federation of Teachers. We believe in education for democracy and democracy in education, and that means that all groups have the right to function with the loyalties and responsibilities that our citizenship always involves. This is not to say that any factions within our locals should stoop to underhand means. It is obvious that every group should operate honestly and democratically, and on the whole they do. While any individual or group may make a mistake, the surprising fact is not the mistakes but the loyalty and devotion of all members and groups, regardless of political belief.

To critics of the American Federation of Teachers, both within and without, we can point to the program and the achievements of the Federation as a whole. No one should be blinded by some action in a local union of which he does not approve. Rather we should see the tremendous significance of the American Federation of Teachers in its hundreds of locals, and in its national organization, as it helps to shape education for the future. It is to be expected that the ridiculous and ludicrous Dies Committee, which condemns democratic governors, members of the Cabinet, and patriotic Americans in general, would naturally see red in regard to any

organization which is seeking to achieve education for democracy and which dares to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

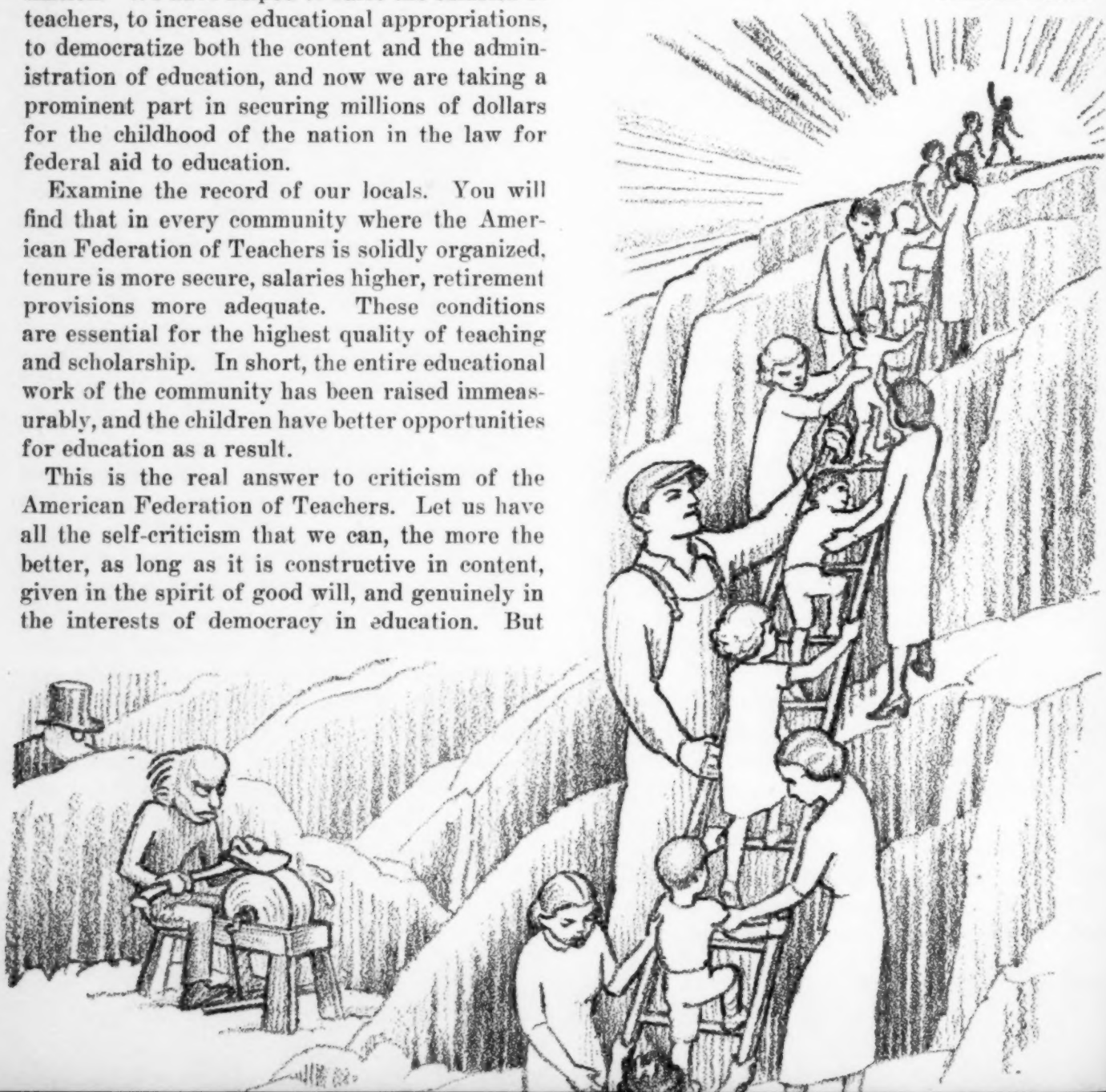
It is my hope, however, that every member may become so thoroughly informed of the achievements of the Federation throughout the country that he will not become inflamed by minor episodes. After all, the American Federation of Teachers has increased its membership over 100 per cent since 1935. It has over 90 per cent of all the teachers in Atlanta; it has the largest public-school teachers' local in the world in Chicago; it has the largest college local in the world in New York City. In Pennsylvania, we have helped to enact the most forward-looking tenure law that has ever been passed in the United States. Month by month, we are protecting thousands of teachers throughout the country from un-American injustice and discrimination. We have helped to raise the salaries of teachers, to increase educational appropriations, to democratize both the content and the administration of education, and now we are taking a prominent part in securing millions of dollars for the childhood of the nation in the law for federal aid to education.

Examine the record of our locals. You will find that in every community where the American Federation of Teachers is solidly organized, tenure is more secure, salaries higher, retirement provisions more adequate. These conditions are essential for the highest quality of teaching and scholarship. In short, the entire educational work of the community has been raised immeasurably, and the children have better opportunities for education as a result.

This is the real answer to criticism of the American Federation of Teachers. Let us have all the self-criticism that we can, the more the better, as long as it is constructive in content, given in the spirit of good will, and genuinely in the interests of democracy in education. But

let us not play into the hands of Dies committees, or reactionary fascist interests, by making false charges which have not been proved, cannot be substantiated, or charges which can be warped and propagandized throughout the United States to the injury of all. Too often teachers tend to be theoretical believers in democracy, theoretical friends of labor. The way to correct this is by coming to know 'as many as possible of the people and groups which make up our various locals. In working with them for the common good we should become tolerant of opposing points of view. We must learn to sift and evaluate the truth in situations; and especially must we safeguard the precious heritage of freedom in the Federation, freedom in education, freedom in all our democracy, so that American childhood and youth may be protected and prepared for the new world which will confront them.

JEROME DAVIS



Is Progressive Education Progressing?

◆ GOODWIN WATSON

THERE ARE PERSISTENT RUMORS that the John Dewey Society "for the study of education in its interaction with society and culture," is about to be merged with the Progressive Education Association. The newly published (third) Yearbook of the John Dewey Society¹ includes: interpretation of American social trends by Professors Harold Rugg and George S. Counts; description of the psychology of personality development and the essence of guidance by Dr. Caroline B. Zachry; an excellent description of the culture and how it affects learning, by the dean of all Progressives, Professor William H. Kilpatrick; and descriptions of progressive practice in curriculum revision by outstanding younger leaders, Professors Paul R. Hanna, Hollis L. Caswell, and L. Thomas Hopkins. On the whole, then, the volume reflects pretty well the present state of mind of representative leaders in what is called "Progressive Education," spelled with capitals. The Progressive Education Association includes many persons who lag behind such leaders, but the current Yearbook portrays the outlook of policy-makers within the movement. Whether the merger goes through, or the same people continue to work in two separate organizations, the appearance of the new volume offers a good occasion to strike a trial balance. What is the strength and weakness of the dominant viewpoint in Progressive Education? Specifically, how do the distinguished authors of *Democracy and the Curriculum* hope to contribute to the progress of education and of society?

The objective is eloquently stated by Dr. Rugg: "To bring forth on this continent—in some form of cooperative commonwealth—the civilization of economic abundance, democratic behavior, and integrity of expression which is now potentially available." All of the writers agree, of course, that the culture educates, that unemployment is deplorable, that fascism is a menace, that schools should be closer to life, that individual person-

◆ Because of the importance of the subject of the new yearbook of the John Dewey Society, *Democracy and the Curriculum*, we are presenting an extended review by Professor Goodwin Watson of Teachers College, Columbia University. "Is Progressive Education Progressing?" is being submitted to the nine authors of the John Dewey yearbook for comment. These comments will appear in a forthcoming issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

ality should be respected, that growth in critical thinking is to be sought, and that education must serve "the whole child." This is all part of the basic credo of the Progressives, and has become so widely accepted by the profession and by the general public that its re-statement seems hardly necessary.

Despite the concensus of stereotypes, the writers seem to have had great trouble getting together on this book. It is not so much that they clashed—although there are some unresolved contradictions—as that their minds never really came into any common focus. Dr. Rugg's supreme criterion for "organic form"—"Have I perceived the significant relationships between the parts of the subject? Am I putting them together so that they constitute a true unity? Does every member fit? Is each one indispensable? Do they all, together, serve the function of the total thing?"—should have been put up as a wall-motto whenever the committee met. As the book stands, it fails to meet each test. Significant relationships are overlooked; there is no real unity; some of the chapters seem to have been written just because the writer was found on the committee; and no cumulative, integrated effect is achieved. The editor managed to fit all the parts into a mosaic, but it must be far from what he would call a true "design." A series of pamphlets, some exciting and some dull, some upon one theme and some upon another, have been bound within one set of covers.

The predicament of the collaborators is not surprising. When a group of busy specialists can give only marginal time to a book which must

¹*Democracy and the Curriculum: The Life and Program of the American School*, written in collaboration by Harold Rugg, editor, and George E. Axtelle, Hollis L. Caswell, George S. Counts, Paul R. Hanna, Pickens E. Harris, L. Thomas Hopkins, William H. Kilpatrick, J. Paul Leonard, Caroline B. Zachry. New York: D. Appleton-Century. 536 pages. \$2.75.

appear at a given date, they can hardly be expected to achieve organic form in their work of art. What makes it worth comment is that the Progressive Education movement seems to suffer from a similar lack of organic structure. There are many star players, but the teamwork is infantile. It takes all the administrative genius of Frederick Redefer to get even a little cooperative action. Teachers are incorrigible individualists, and some of the leading liberals seem to be far better able to speak and write about cooperation than to work in harness.

But to get back to the book. Nearly half of the volume seems to have been written by Professor Rugg. It is difficult to discern, in these sections, any progress beyond the contributions which he made in *The Great Technology*, and in *Culture and Education in America*, except for his excoiation of fascism, the British Tories, and his prediction (only mentioned and not elaborated, despite its terrific import) that we have seen only the beginning of a series of world wars. His written style is stirring, grand, and sweeping. He traces the development of our industrial culture, our democratic government, and our creative arts in dullness-defying life-leaps across a millenium of history. The one chapter of seventy pages is an outline of history, touching lightly upon the Tigris-Euphrates valley culture of five thousand years ago, the "dazzling heights" of Moham-medan achievement, the Florentine textile industry in the Fourteenth Century, Maudsley's lathe, Huyghens' gunpowder engine, the Magna Carta, the conquistadores, the westward movement of the American frontier "thirty miles a year"; the rise of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and many other matters. His one-two-three-four summaries condense race experience in great generalizations, gleaned, as he likes to say, "along the time-line of history." The sketch is truly a work of art, almost symphonic.

The problems of what is called "our depressed society" are focused in three trends: (1) acceleration in machine technology, (2) lag in social invention, and, most interesting of all, (3) lag of popular consent behind even social invention. There is no suggestion of the interests behind these lags, and it is assumed that more education will undoubtedly lead to understanding of our social problems and close up the gaps.

The failure to analyze any opposition forces is one of four fundamental weaknesses in the Progressive Education approach to social prob-

lems as presented in this volume. These limitations are important because they are shared not only by Dr. Rugg's collaborators in this book, but probably by the majority of liberal-progressives in modern education. On the whole, the attitude seems to be that educators can go ahead and prepare youth and adults for a new type of social life if only the educators understand the need to do this. The closing chapter offers the challenge: "*Teach the fact of potential plenty from the cradle to the grave. Dramatize it in the daily give and take of pupils and teachers, in*



thrilling libraries of books, in the cinema and in other works of the theater, over the radio." The ease with which technocratic programs of this kind were laughed off the stage in 1933 troubles the author not at all. "Let us build the confident attitude that such a regime of plenty can actually be created." Other writers do not wholly share this optimism. Dr. Caswell, for example, writes, "Socially valuable work should be made available for all members of the social group. Solution of this problem obviously involves major economic readjustment. The school may be able to do relatively little in attacking it; yet that little should be done." The chapter by George Counts (which appears to be only an insert from his recent book, *The Prospects of American Democracy*) lists the liabilities as well as the assets of American democracy, and in his conclusion, Dr. Rugg notes that there are seeds of incipient Fascism in this country. But nevertheless there "widens before us the vista of the power for constructive social change that now resides in the persons of a few ten thousand teachers in this country." The practical suggestions involve attack upon non-controversial community improvements. Generally the community is treated as a unit, with no hint that it is apt to be divided.

Cooperatively, one and all, we are to catch the vision, enroll in discussion groups, and build the plan of plenty, thus preserving democracy. It seems significant that in Chapter X the work of several commissions of the Progressive Education Association is presented, but nothing is said about the work of the Commission on Educational Freedom. Even at that point where analysis of economic trends makes it necessary to recognize that there are "Haves" and "Have-Not's" in our social order, the authors, in common with many Progressive Educators, thank Providence that we in America do not have class divisions as they do in Europe.

Even within the field of curriculum and subject-matter, the Progressive point of view is presented with no attention to the educational fundamentalism of Drs. Adler, Hutchins, Barr, and Buchanan, or to the forces which make such doctrines so dangerously popular.

The fallacious assumption that society will be transformed almost blithely by study, without struggle, emanates from a second basic inadequacy. The authors seem to have the uncritical faith of the intellectual that, as Comte said, "Ideas rule the world." As Dr. Rugg envisions history, all change began with thinkers whose new ideas led painlessly to new inventions and to new ways of living. No one should deny the power exerted by some ideas under certain favorable circumstances, but surely pure rationalism and idealism have suffered some telling blows from Kant, Dewey, Freud, and Marx. In the foreword, Dr. Rugg recognizes (in fine print) the fact that "government in our democracy is carried on by the interplay of 'interest groups,'" but, so far as I can discover, that is the last recognition of this important fact to be found in the volume. The suggestions for "participation" of children and youth in community life too often come out concretely, like the suggestion in Chapter XIV, that pupils walk along the accident-proof, suspended observation platform, graciously provided by the Ford Motor Company at Dearborn, thus penetrating into the very center of pulsating factory life.

The third point of criticism concerns Dr. Rugg's lack of faith in the common man, which seems rather strange alongside his enthusiasm for democracy and for the free expression of each individual personality. Yet he writes: "History has proved if you start a group of people equal in any enterprise and let them compete

for honors, jobs, land, money, power, what-not—in a short time a few who are brighter and shrewder, more vigorous and ambitious, will have the best jobs, the best land, and most of the money and will control the others. They will be the 'leaders'—the 'important people'—while the mass of the group will be 'followers,' 'the common men,' 'the men on the street.' . . . It all confirmed Darwin's idea, providing another example of 'the survival of the fittest!'" Consequently Dr. Rugg asserts that the conflict today is "not between the 'Haves' and the 'Have-Nots,' for the latter are docile and accept things as they are, but between the 'Haves' and those vigorous Persons-With-A-Social-Conscience who are troubled about the condition of the 'Have-Nots' and are determined to do something about it!" The conclusion is that "We" (presumably the few of us who are P. W. A. S. C.) dare not leave the brilliant and able members of society free to exploit the helpless masses, but "we must now impose sufficient restrictions upon them to guarantee a continuous operation of the social system and a humane and efficient division of the social income." Simple, isn't it?

The fourth criticism is a corollary of the other three. Individual thought and action are stressed to the almost complete neglect of group thinking, organization, and collective action. Democracy, for this group, is nine parts individual freedom to one part common purpose. I quote again from the conclusion called "Working at the American Problem." "Indeed, if every hour of every day in every classroom in America were conducted on the rigorous criterion of integrity of expression, we would thereby guarantee the protection of our unique American brand of democracy. There would be no battle at our gates, no anxiety lest our people be persuaded by the lure of the easy brilliant way (sic) of badges and banners, parades and pageants. . . . For the criterion of such behavior (intelligence and integrity of expression) can be stated in one simple and blunt question: *Have I stated what I really am? Have I said what I see my unique way?*" That is the resurgence of the early doctrine of self-expression, which motivated the first private schools to break from the regimentation of traditional education. It is all "I," "my," "me," with little recognition of the problems which require us to say, "we," "our," and "us."

In the light of the denial of class interests, the faith in ideas as such, the hope for reform by

paternalism, the distrust of the common man as inferior clay, and the excessive individualism, the reader will not expect to find any sympathy with the position of the American Federation of Teachers. It may be surprising, however, to find that the whole history of the development of our economic order and our democratic institutions is told with the complete omission of any reference to organized labor. The word "union" does not appear in the index, nor, as I remember, in the volume. The positions of political parties, either major or minor, are not examined. Perhaps that is the reason why two leaders in the A. F. of T., George E. Axtelle and Beryl Parker, although members of the Yearbook Committee, seem to have contributed no chapters. I do wonder, however, why they did not feel it necessary to challenge such an analysis of social change.

To do the volume justice, and to recognize the current achievements of Progressive Education, it is important to call attention to several other valuable contributions. Paul Hanna's word picture of "The School: Looking Forward" is the most exciting reading that I know in modern educational literature. His suggestion that it might be better to change the name from "school" to "Institute for Individual and Community Development" sets the tone for a splendid piece of creative educational writing. Miss Zachry's chapter on growth is the best concise outline that I know, of the development of the emotional life of a child from birth through adolescence. The

chapters by Dr. Kilpatrick include a lucid description of what we mean by "the culture," and the germ of his recent thought about "the self" and its relation to learning. The references scattered through several chapters to progressive programs now in operation in certain schools and school systems take the book out of the "mere theory" class and give it roots in actual practice.

When all is said and done, is Progressive Education progressing? Compare this position with the pronouncements of five, ten, and fifteen years ago. What was new then has now a familiar sound. There is little or no evidence that the rapid transformation in world affairs has brought any commensurate growth in the viewpoint of the liberal leadership. In the foreword of the Yearbook, under the heading, "The Crux of the Problem," is written: "But whatever is done must be done quickly—with great vigor and dispatch. The chief menace is lack of time." Because this is desperately true, it may be that teachers should look for leadership to men and organizations which progress at a noticeable velocity, and even accelerate in times like these. Put up niches in the educational Hall of Fame for those who, in their day, helped to build what was then a new and progressive departure from the old textbook reciting. All honor to them! They even took us up to Nebo's height and gave us a look at the Promised Land! But we'll have to find new guides to get us there. Or even to keep us where we are.

Mental Health of the Teacher

◆ MANDEL SHERMAN

THE TITLE OF THIS PAPER does not imply that the writer believes that a particular problem of mental disease or illness exists among teachers. This paper is written, however, in the belief that the teacher's functions are intimately related to his mental stability, to his personality, and to his emotional balance. The teacher, more than anyone else, because of the continuity of his personal relationships, can transmit either desirable or undesirable qualities of personality to his pupils. Educators have long recognized that the selection and training of teachers have not been

adequate to insure the best personnel for our schools. Intelligence, education, and physical condition have been the criteria generally employed in the selection of teachers. Educators have recognized, however, the tremendous importance of personality, emotional stability, and other non-intellectual factors in their influence upon the educational capacity of a teacher, in large part because the formalistic method of teaching only subject matter belongs to a past age.

It is difficult indeed to give a precise defini-

tion of mental health in a single statement; therefore the following categories are proposed:

1. A person in good mental health must be able to face problems realistically without resort to rationalization or other subterfuges, and without evading the important elements of a problem by emphasizing the non-important.

2. The mentally healthy teacher must be able to assume responsibility for his own actions and for his relationships with others. Large numbers of children and adults have never learned to assume responsibility for themselves or their personal and social relationships. This has been due to unwise training in their early childhood, with the result that when they are unable to assume such responsibility, they tend to blame others for their own lacks.

3. He must have sufficient emotional stability so that he will not become emotionally aggressive or retiring when he cannot have his way or when he cannot adjust to a difficult situation. He should not resort to temper tantrums or excessive anger even under intense provocation, nor should he resort to anxiety or worry under conditions of stress.

4. He should be able to state clearly his attitudes and they should be based more upon intellectualization than emotionalization. Education has been rightly criticized because in spite of its laudable goals, children mature into adulthood controlled by attitudes which are based upon emotionalism and prejudice.

5. He should be able to make choices with courage and independence. His choices should be based upon reasoning and evaluation rather than upon impulsion and emotionalism. The person who understands his problems and makes a rational attempt to solve them does not necessarily make the wise choice, but he does know the basis for it and is thus able to profit by experience.

6. He must be able to face frustrating conditions and experiences without recourse to rationalization or flight into neurotic symptoms. Psychiatrists are of the opinion that a large part of the neuroses of adults and children is due to an unconscious flight into symptoms of disease as an escape from the frustrations which they cannot overcome or withstand. These flights into symptoms range in intensity from conditions in which the individual complains about his well-being to the systematized neurotic illnesses.

If the teacher can fulfill these criteria of mental health, then we can be sure that his influence upon his pupils will be desirable and constructive, and we can also be sure that he will be able to use his information and intelligence to their fullest extent.

Many factors are involved in the develop-

ment of proper mental health. It is not my purpose to discuss all of these factors but to mention several which have a direct bearing upon the role of a teacher in society. Of these direct factors, several are inherent in the social and personality growth of an individual. W. I. Thomas, the distinguished sociologist, long ago recognized given inherent drives or desires which every person attempts to attain. When these drives are not attained, personality distortions are likely to occur. At times, because of the difficulty of attaining them, undesirable forms of adjustment may occur. Of these drives or desires, the quest for security and recognition are the most important.

The problem of attaining and maintaining security is one which is especially important for the teacher if he is to be free to devote his time and attention to the education of his pupils. Unfortunately this is a problem which is especially difficult for the teacher because he is beset not only by economic insecurities but by insecurities which arise from various social and political pressures. Studies of the psychological reactions of teachers have shown that they may be in constant fear of losing their positions because of their personal attitudes or beliefs. This is especially true in these times of political pressures and dangers. Suppose a high-school student asks a teacher for his opinion about a religious problem or suppose a political or economic question arises. Theoretically, the teacher should be free to respond to any question in terms of his best information and his mature judgment. Unfortunately, however, his feelings of insecurity immediately arise because in spite of all that is said about academic freedom, questions regarding religion, social organizations, economic conditions, and political affiliations are practically taboo. Not only are these questions tabooed, but the teacher is also required to maintain the attitudes dictated by those in power if he is to maintain his status of security in the school system. It may be possible to raise the standards of teaching by freeing the teacher from the pressure of insecurity arising not only because of his economic uncertainty, but also because he is frequently in conflict regarding his real attitudes and the beliefs he transmits to his pupils. The intellectual independence of the pupils remains unstimulated when the teacher himself is in conflict and confused, and personal responsi-

bility for one's attitudes is not encouraged. The pupils are thus inadvertently taught to look to authoritarian sources for their decisions.

The factor of recognition also is extremely important for the teacher. His recognition generally arises from his professional status and from his peculiar and important place in society. The problem of the maintenance of recognition is thus intimately related to the problem of security. The maintenance of professional recognition can only be continued in a situation in which the professional problems are foremost and in which due recognition is given for professional training and ability. If the members of all school boards were professionally trained persons, this problem might be solved; but when school boards are made up of persons with very little educational or professional background or little social vision, the pressure upon the teacher is not for adequate educational or professional ability but for acceptance and adherence to given political, social, or educational principles. Theories about religion can be discussed nowhere, communism must not be mentioned because of written or unwritten laws, industrial management or mismanagement can be discussed in schools only according to the current beliefs of the dominating group, and so on. In

many cases the teacher's professional abilities have relatively little to do with his promotion in the school system, and the teacher himself frequently shows little intellectual curiosity. Members of the faculties of universities know too well that many teachers enroll in courses not for the purpose of adding to their professional understanding of educational problems, but merely to fulfill requirements for financial promotion or to maintain their places in the school system. Even the recent emphasis upon Master's degrees as prerequisites to teaching in high schools has not been entirely fortunate. Instead of this requirement calling for greater interest in education, many teachers with little professional interest are selecting institutions where degrees may be obtained easily.

It is obvious to anyone who has studied the psychological problems of teachers that communities, and school boards especially, are unwittingly interfering with the maintenance of the mental health of many teachers because they involve them unnecessarily in insecurities and conflicts relating to problems of tenure, economic uncertainties, and political pressures. When these difficulties are removed, we shall be more sure of the best type of teachers and the best training that our pupils can receive.

Democracy in N. Y. City Colleges

◆ ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF

"FOR INTRODUCING ACADEMIC DEMOCRACY into New York's city colleges," the Board of Higher Education under the chairmanship of Ordway Tead is cited in the *Nation's* Honor Roll for 1938. On the evening of January 5, the day that the *Nation* appeared on the newsstands carrying the above citation, the New York College Teachers Union, Local 537, held a regular general membership meeting. It was the first meeting following the unfounded and unwarranted attack upon the Union in the public press. I called Mr. Tead, the chairman of the Board of Higher Education, shortly before our meeting, and asked him whether he cared to make any statement regarding the *Nation's* citation. Mr. Tead issued the following

statement:

It should be a matter of gratification to the citizens of New York City that the efforts of our Board toward academic democracy have been recognized by the *Nation*. This should be a matter of gratification also to the organized teachers of the city colleges who, through their various organizations, offered helpful suggestions toward this end.

These teacher organizations acted in a splendid spirit of cooperation and the Board profited by this aid in framing the provisions that finally resulted.

Mr. Tead addressed the statement to me as secretary of the Union, and empowered me to read it at the Union meeting. The statement was most enthusiastically received. For the membership recognized in it the Board's appreciation of the role played by the Union in stim-

ulating consideration of the problem of democracy, presenting a carefully worked-out program, and arousing the staffs to support the Board's passage of the democracy by-law when the Board was under reactionary attack as "Communist-dominated" and as seeking to establish "soviets" at the city colleges. Just as those active in seeking to democratize the set-up of the University of California in 1919 were called "Bolsheviks" (see A.A.U.P. *Bulletin*, April, 1938), so those interested in the democratization of the city colleges were attacked in the press and at the colleges as "Reds." The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* of May 17, 1938, ran a story which was headlined: "Reds Back Plan to Reorganize City's Colleges."

Various colleges and universities have experimented with democratic procedures but all lack the comprehensive democratic orientation of the city colleges. For the Board of Higher Education's new by-laws not only democratize faculty organization; a functioning democracy is also established in each department. Furthermore, tenure is granted to teachers after three years of service in recognition of the fact that democracy functions best when citizens possess a sense of security.

Shorn of unnecessary detail, the new by-laws approved by the B. H. E. in June provide for:

1. In place of department heads appointed by the president for life, the city colleges now have department chairmen elected by the permanent members of each department for three-year terms.

2. Recommendations for appointment to the staffs, instead of being made by the department heads alone, are now made by an elected committee representing the various ranks in equal number—one instructor, one assistant professor, one associate professor, one full professor, and the department chairman, ex officio.

3. Recommendations for promotion to the various ranks, instead of being made by the department head, are now made either by elected committees or other democratically functioning groups. Promotion to the instructorship is recommended by the elected department committee; promotion to the assistant and associate professorship by all the members of the next higher rank. Promotion to the full professorship is recommended by a committee consisting of all the elected department chairmen.

4. Decision regarding most other departmental matters, which once were the sole prerogative of the department head, are now vested in the hands of elected committees that report their recommendations to the department as a whole. The by-law

does not specify the exact form of organization of departments, but merely states: "Each department may name such other committees as it chooses (in addition to the Committee on Appointment and Promotion) and shall have the fullest measure of autonomy consistent with the maintenance of general educational policy."

5. The faculties, which once were limited to those of professorial rank, have now been enlarged to include instructors, who acquire voting power after two years of membership in the faculty.

6. In the colleges where the faculty exceeds 100 members, a Faculty Council is elected consisting of three representatives from each department—the department chairman, ex officio, one person from the professorial and one from the sub-professorial ranks. The faculty has the right to review the action of the Council, if it so desires, and to overrule it by a two-thirds vote.

7. Recommendations made by the various departments, instead of being approved or vetoed by the president, are now examined by a Faculty Committee on Personnel and Budget, which consists of all the elected department chairmen, the academic dean, and the president.

8. Committees of the faculty, instead of being appointed by the president, are now elected by the members of the faculty. Instructors are now eligible for service on these committees.

9. Where no judicial machinery existed in the colleges previously, the Faculty Committee on Personnel and Budget has now been charged with the function of reviewing grievances brought to it by staff members.

10. Where staff members previously held their positions at the pleasure of the Board, members now acquire tenure of office on their appointment for the fourth year of service. Thereafter, they may not be removed "save by an affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Board, for cause, after due notice and hearing . . ." In specifying the causes for dismissal, the Board includes: (a) incompetent or inefficient service; (b) neglect of duty; (c) physical or mental incapacity; and (d) conduct unbecoming a member of the staff. In connection with (d), however, the by-law specifically states: "This provision shall not be so interpreted as to constitute interference with academic freedom."

* * *

Any system of faculty organization is ultimately to be judged by its effect upon the educational process. The former autocratic organization of the city colleges, like any system in which power is the monopoly of the few, produced grievous results. It destroyed staff morale by making appointment and advancement largely a matter of personal favor. It hindered the

development of proper student-faculty relationships by making students subject to arbitrary treatment. It delayed the necessary revision of curriculum by making courses and the budget a football among contending departmental potentates. Whether the new set-up will have any permanent effects on these situations it is still too early to judge. But certain positive developments have already occurred which merit statement.

That the morale of staff, student body, and even administration has been tremendously elevated is incontestable. In the first elections of department chairmen held in October, comparatively few changes were made. Of the sixty department chairmen elected, only thirteen were new; and of the thirteen, only seven involved the actual substitution of one chairman for another. But the sense of being able to choose one's chairman, which was given expression in the casting of ballots, reestablished in many staff members a new feeling of self-respect and stimulated in all a valuable sense of elation. It was only a few days after these elections that a Hunter professor was interrupted in the midst of a lecture by a messenger from the dean's office who handed him a telephone message: "Meeting in department office, Friday at 4 p. m." Shortly thereafter the same professor was interrupted by a second communication which informed him that the first message had been incorrectly transmitted and should have read: "Is it *convenient* for you to attend a meeting Friday at 4 p. m.?"

Perhaps, a more significant indication of how the new by-laws have affected the relationship of the staffs and administration is given by the following. The Faculty Committee on Personnel and Budget at the City College voted to make its deliberations regarding promotions confidential. Since most staff members felt this action was not in accordance with the spirit of the new by-laws, the Union initiated a campaign to secure publication of the Committee's recommendations. Delegations visited Acting President Mead and Dean Gottschall of the City College to inquire the reasons for the decision and to protest against it. Shortly thereafter both the acting president and the dean agreed to address an open Union meeting on the whole question of the new by-laws. At the open meeting, the acting president announced that the Committee would convey the results of its deliberations to

all staff members whose cases had been considered.

A similar free exchange of opinion and collaborative effort at mutual understanding has occurred between students and administration. When world peace was threatened by the developments in Czechoslovakia, City College students were anxious to hold a protest meeting in the Great Hall. The matter was brought before the acting president. Instead of rejecting the student request and compelling the students to meet illegally, as had usually happened in the old days, the president expressed a willingness to cooperate in the venture. The call for the meeting was signed by student leaders, the acting president, the deans and many prominent faculty members; and the meeting was addressed by students, faculty, and administration. Similar developments occurred at both Hunter College and the City College at the time of the Nazi pogroms against the Jews.

Interest in curricular problems has also been heightened by the new by-laws. Any permanent member of the department may now be called upon to make recommendations regarding new appointments, increments, or promotions. If this activity is not to become a matter of barter, there must be familiarity with the work of colleagues and an effort at formulating standards. Both these developments have occurred. There have been extended discussions, not only at department meetings but over lunch tables, as to: What constitutes competence? How much weight shall be assigned to teaching as against research work? How is good teaching to be judged? What part, if any, shall student opinion play in the evaluation of teaching? And the discussions of these problems have a vitality enforced upon them by the need for arriving at practical solutions, not merely theoretically satisfying propositions. Many departments have created curriculum committees and charged them with the function of evaluating present courses and suggesting new courses. And for the first time, the opinions of younger members of the staffs are being sought and given merited place in discussion. There have also been public examinations of the whole problem. At the School of Business of the City College, a forum discussion was held for the first time on "The Curriculum of a School of Business." Faculty members, a student, and the chairman of the Board spoke. It was the chairman of the



Board also who suggested, at meetings of each of the assembled faculties, that the time was now ripe for a definition of the educational aims of the city colleges. There was a sudden, vivid realization on the part of the faculties that the colleges had been functioning, as most colleges do, on a largely empirical basis. There has developed a definite determination to seek and find the rationale of the whole enterprise.

* * *

The recent experience of the New York city colleges with democracy holds implications for teachers in the elementary and high schools as well as in the colleges. Some features of the new organization are perhaps inapplicable to the schools. Where department chairmen are appointed from civil-service lists, to ask their election is probably inexpedient. But other democratic provisions may well be sought.

In the high schools, the creation of departmental assemblies with power to legislate on most questions now decided upon solely by the chairman is a valuable move in the right direction. Elected committees could be vested with the power to explore given problems and to report recommendations for approval by the department as a whole. Even supervision might be transformed from a private duty of the chairman to a function democratically performed by an appropriately selected committee. In both the secondary and primary schools, provision ought to be made for a council, which would consist, in addition to department and division chairmen, of representatives elected from each grade or department. This council should be vested with authority to decide most questions now settled solely by principals and other administrators. Faculty conferences should be changed from irregular lectures by administrators into regularly-meeting deliberative bodies:

I am not suggesting exact democratic forms because conditions and set-ups vary so greatly in American schools. But there is a searching here for the means by which the autocratic power exercised by department chairmen, principals, assistant principals, etc., can be turned back to democratic bodies of teachers. The experience of the city colleges suggests that such a transformation is to be initiated by converting whatever bodies now exist, such as faculty conferences, into policy-making instrumentalities. This requires merely courage, initiative, and consistent activity by teachers. Few set-ups are so autocratic that the process of democratization cannot be begun within them.

* * *

Democratic as the set-up of the city colleges has been made, there is recognition by the College Teachers Union, by the staffs, and by the Board that further changes may be desirable. In truth, within the past few weeks new procedures have been introduced as a result of Union and staff activity, though there was no specific provision in the by-laws for such procedures. As adopted in June, no provision was made regarding the choice of presidents. The Union had urged even before the by-laws were adopted that a vacancy in the presidency of Brooklyn College be publicized widely and that a committee of six (three Board members and three faculty members) be created to survey the candidates. Within the last week, the Board has announced the establishment of such a committee to act on the vacancy. No provision was made in the by-laws as adopted for open hearings on the budgets, although the Union had requested such procedure. Within the last week, after much staff and Union activity, the Board has announced that all future budgets will be submitted to open staff hearings and the present budget is open for inspection by the staffs.

If education is to be a bulwark of American democracy, it must itself be an example of democracy in action. The New York city colleges have in this sense become a beacon light in higher education. It is not without its appropriateness to indicate that the lighting of this beacon was a joint enterprise. Without the cooperation of education, labor, and progressive government in the form of the La Guardia administration, the city colleges would still be a stronghold of Tammany Hall, educationally and politically.

The National Resources Committee of the

PLANNING IS NOT NEW to us in this country, either in our national, state, and local governments or in our personal lives. We all plan our daily programs—the housewife plans her meals and the arrangement of her table, the farmer and the businessman plan their work. Just as a family plans, or a business, so must a community plan if it is to be able to live and develop without waste in efficiency and with comfort and beauty. Without careful planning there is no security, no stability, no assurance of orderly community growth; there is no assurance that the inhabitants of a town, city, or state will enjoy the good things of life in the future.

The most important national plan that the American people have is the Constitution of the United States. The plan of our government provides a democratic form for our institutions—freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and press. Furthermore, it provides within itself the plan for making orderly changes—a necessity in all good plans.

A plan for education was early adopted. Our ancestors wanted free educational facilities for every child. That policy was later buttressed by the national program for the disposition of the public domain which provided that land in every township would be set aside as a kind of endowment for public education.

We have long had a national land plan—the homestead policy—a notable feature of national policy. Nor is planning of our national resources new. We have had a national plan started by Alexander Hamilton to protect and foster the growth of industry. Hamilton called it a “Plan for Manufactures,” and its chief feature was a protective tariff. We still have such a plan for industry which culminated in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930. Today we are making amendments to that plan through the Trade-Agreements Act.

We have had a national plan for public works since the days when Albert Gallatin was secretary of the Treasury. During recent years, public-works planning has given assurance that

the projects constructed are true assets of our national economy—real investments.

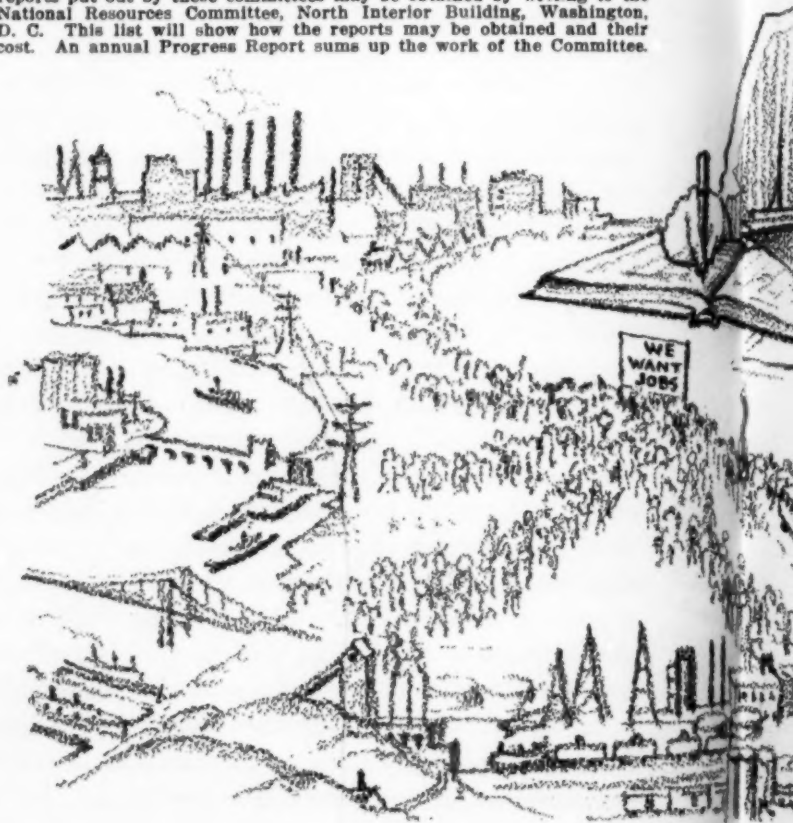
The National Resources Committee was established by President Roosevelt, June 30, 1934, and operates under instructions:

(a) To collect, prepare, and make available to the President, with recommendations, such plans, data, and information as may be helpful to a planned development and use of land, water, and other national resources, and such related subjects as may be referred to it by the President.

(b) To consult and cooperate with agencies of the federal government, with the states and municipalities or agencies thereof, and with any public or private planning or research agencies or institutions, in carrying out any of its duties and functions.

To carry out these instructions the Committee operates in several ways. It acts through Technical Committees¹ and its staff, as a clearing-

¹These committees are at present: Land, Water, Public Works, Local Planning, Industry, Science, Energy Resources. A complete list of reports put out by these committees may be obtained by writing to the National Resources Committee, North Interior Building, Washington, D. C. This list will show how the reports may be obtained and their cost. An annual Progress Report sums up the work of the Committee.



house in the federal government for the forty-five state planning boards and the several regional planning commissions, and also as a coordinator of programs for other federal agencies concerned with various resources. The membership of the National Resources Committee is made up of Messrs. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, chairman; Frederic A. Delano, Harry H. Woodring, Secretary of War; Harry L. Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce; Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; Col. Harrington, W. P. A. Administrator, and myself. The burden of the work falls upon the Advisory Committee consisting of Messrs. Frederic A. Delano, chairman; Henry Denison, Beardsley Ruml,



and myself, members of the Committee.

Other federal departments concerned with resources plan programs of work in their own particular fields. In some respects these fields overlap. For example, there are twenty-three federal agencies in some way concerned with the nation's water problems. The Resources Committee ties these plans together through representation of the different federal agencies on technical subcommittees of the N. R. C. together with outside experts. Meeting around the conference table, these representatives are able to bring to problems all the technical resources of their various organizations as well as the different points of view developed by carrying out their different functions. Thus the information and experience of the federal government are brought together for purposes of planning.

It should be remembered and emphasized that the National Resources Committee is an advisory agency only. It has no administrative power and has stated that it should have none. Its function is to act as a special advisory agency to the President and the Congress. The President and the Congress may accept, modify, or reject these recommendations. The appropriate government departments, as usual, administer any recommended programs put into action by the Executive or the Congress.

The Committee's studies of land, water, and mineral resources; of public works, population, and technological trends; of urbanism and of regionalism; of consumption and production factors and research have brought together for the first time basic facts about these resources as a foundation for recommendations to the President and the Congress.

A very important approach to the problem of satisfying the needs of our people is to determine how much of the necessities of life the people are in a position to acquire through their regular incomes and expenditures.

The National Resources Committee, therefore, sought, through a study of the incomes people received in 1935-36 and of what they bought with

these incomes, to throw light on the problem of the distribution of purchasing power in this country and on how this distribution affects the demand for such consumer goods as food, houses, and clothing, the amount absorbed in taxes and gifts, and the amount set aside as savings.

Excluding people living in institutions, there were, in the United States in 1935-36, some 29 million families and some 10 million men and women living alone. Had the total annual income received by all these families and single individuals in that year—a little more than 59 billion dollars—been equally divided among them, each family and single individual would have received \$1,502.

The 10 per cent of families and individuals with incomes of \$2,600 and over received 36 per cent of this total, or about the same proportion as did the 70 per cent with incomes under \$1,540. The 10 per cent with incomes under \$340 received only 2 per cent of the 59 billion dollars, and the second tenth, with incomes ranging from \$340 to \$545, only 3 per cent. In other words, the 3,900,000 families and individuals at the top of the income scale received roughly 21 billion dollars in total income, while the same number at the lowest end of the scale received around one billion dollars.

To look at this distribution picture from another angle, one-tenth of the 59 billion dollars supported almost one-third of the nation's 39 million consumer units, made up of 29 million families and 10 million single persons—those whose incomes were under \$760—while another tenth went to one-half of one per cent—those whose incomes were \$14,600 and over.

A great many more details important to the consideration of the problem of planning ahead for the welfare of our citizens can be found in the report, "Consumer Incomes in the United States—Their Distribution in 1935-36."²

With the knowledge at hand of what American families received in income in a given year, it is possible by further study to determine what the standards of living for different income groups were in this period. This study is under way by the Committee and will be published shortly. Such information is necessary in order to know where the greatest needs are and at what points efforts to aid should be applied. Further, information as to incomes and expenditures of the American people is of inestimable

value to the producers and sellers in the world of business. More exact knowledge saves them untold sums in wasteful production and marketing.

The planning done by the National Resources Committee for better conservation and use of national resources in collaboration with other federal agencies has the benefit of knowledge and needs developed at other levels of government. The Committee has said repeatedly that "planning must come from the bottom up." The democratic way is for villages, cities, and counties to study and plan for local programs, and for these programs to be fitted with those of state and regional planning organizations. In this way no arbitrary programs are imposed by the higher levels of government on the lower.

Forty-five state planning boards advise the governors and the state legislatures, and the National Resources Committee advises the President and Congress. In no instance do the planning units possess or desire the power to put these plans into action. That power remains with the people themselves.

Over 1,000 towns and cities, and more than 500 of the 3,000 counties in the United States are doing planning work today. They plan ahead in order that their budgets may provide for playgrounds and parks this year and streets and highways in the years to come. They zone residential districts to protect home values and provide for the expansion of business and industry. They study their population growth and the needs of their citizens. In the light of their financial positions, they arrange programs and plans for the future.

The state and national governments, to some extent, do likewise. It is only recently, however, that resources planning, based on comprehensive surveys of all resources, has been tried at these higher levels of government.

It is not, however, as a result of some sudden impulse that our American states have begun systematically to organize agencies and set up programs to bring about the highest and best use of our vast state and national domain.³ This move is the outgrowth of a long series of experiments of the trial and error type through which the American states came to realize the importance of orderly development of their assets.

There are today forty-five state planning

²Washington, D. C.: Superintendent of Documents. \$0.30.

³See the N. R. C. study by Clifford J. Hynning, *State Conservation of Resources* (1939), for historical study of the growth of state planning movements. Government Printing Office. \$0.15.

boards operating either by state laws or through governors' appointments. These boards have taken an inventory of state resources. Their studies have revealed which resources are plentiful and which are lacking. They have shown, for example, whether or not the states have sufficient educational facilities, highways, charitable institutions, parks, and other recreational facilities, all with relation to the people who live in their states now and, as well, to the increased or decreased population that may live in those states in the future.

But there are many problems that do not stop at state lines. Rivers, for example, carry pollution over state boundaries and the states affected have to solve problems of this kind by group agreement and action. Planning for the settlement of such difficulties is done by two or more states acting as a region. Examples of this are seen in New England and the Pacific Northwest where the state planning boards cooperate as regional planning commissions to meet a variety of interstate problems.⁴

For all these scattered agencies—city, county, regional, state—the National Resources Committee serves as a clearing house of information, plans, ideas; and it takes a broad look at the general trends and possibilities of national resources and national policy.

Simply enormous losses are caused by unplanned use and consequent waste of American resources—of oil, of coal, of water power, of timber, and still greater losses through unemployment and maladjustment. The figures of loss in oil and gas are fantastic in amounts. It is estimated that in four years the nation lost 200 billion dollars through unemployment.

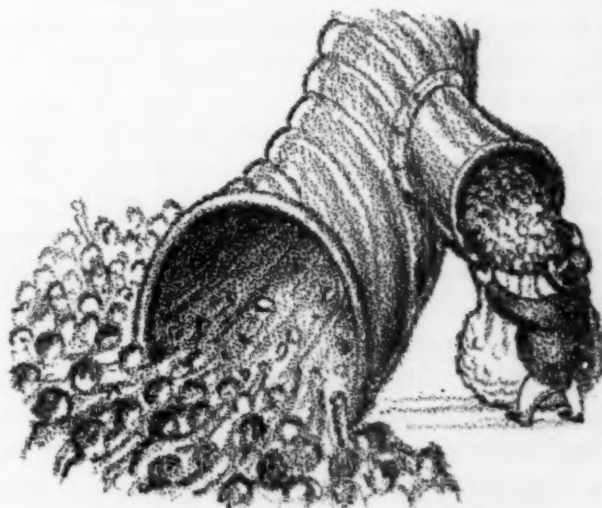
There is no doubt whatever that our national resources—the richest in the world—may be far more effectively utilized, that the national income may be increased to a far higher figure, and that the living standards of our people may be raised to far higher levels than ever before.

But this requires careful collection and analysis of the basic data, scrutiny of alternative policies, drawing together national policies so that they do not pull against each other or clash—in short, resources planning of the best type.

The conservation movement was the beginning of a notable change both in the policy of the states and of the nation as well. It is interesting and important to note that city planning began at

about the same time as the conservation movement. It was not a mere coincidence that shortly after the turn of the Twentieth Century there appeared (1) the national conservation movement, (2) the state conservation movement, and (3) the city planning movement. Supplementing this development, there have appeared in recent years the county planning movement, the state planning movement, the regional planning movement, and the national planning movement. The earlier conservation development referred, indeed, in words to the conservation of human resources, but in practice only natural resources were dealt with. Human resources were the focus of attention only in the more recent period of growth.

Those who are impatient with everything except impetuosity find little of value in the gradual growth of conservation and planning, in the trial and error method of the United States and of our many commonwealths, with widely different problems, struggling toward ideals of prosperity and liberty in a framework of free society. But to those of us who have watched the trends of American institutions, these stages of development are of the very greatest importance in the national evolution. They mark the beginnings of a form of planning which is at once democratic and decentralized, although united with a national program of national American action. They mark the beginning of a movement which will bring about the utilization in nation and state of the fullest possibilities of our national productive assets and talents. From this will emerge far higher standards of American living, material and human, in a new era where the promise of American democracy is at last fully realized.



⁴See important reports of these regional commissions.

Administrators and Academic Freedom

♦ ERNEST O. MELBY

LET US CONSIDER the problem of academic freedom a little more broadly than is suggested by the words themselves. It is through the application of the scientific method that man has lifted himself from savagery, fear, and superstition to a level of civilization in which it is at least possible that man may become master of his own destiny. In an ideal society we would constantly apply the scientific method to the problems of understanding man and his universe. Such an application of the scientific method might be expected to yield a gradually accumulating knowledge of the human organism, of human society, of technology, and of the physical world. In such an ideal society there should be satisfactory means for putting new knowledge into effect in improved living and improved social organization. Such a society would recognize the creative character of the human organism, and would always evaluate social organizations in terms of their influences upon the creative capacities of human beings.

Were we to examine this society more closely, we would discover that there are in reality three conditions for its attainment. The first is that there must be absolute freedom of investigation, of research, and of communication. More than this, there must be emphasis upon the importance of investigation and constant encouragement and stimulus for the advancement of the frontiers of knowledge. In other words, there must not only be academic freedom, but there must be academic encouragement and powerful motivation for scientific progress.

A second condition is that the society should be so organized that it can readily put tested scientific facts into operation in changing social organization and conditions of living. Since such a society has a high regard for human values, it will always exercise respect for personality in the making of social changes.

A third condition for the attainment of such a society is a system of values which gives high place to the role of creative talents. Under such a conception of humanity all human beings would

♦ This article is reprinted with permission from the January-February issue of *Educational Trends*, published by the School of Education, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

be assumed to have creative capacities, each individual being able to do something which no other individual can do. Creative ability in the fine arts, in science, in letters, in engineering, in every field of human activity comes to be looked upon as the most prized possession of the human race. Accordingly, such a society does everything it can, not only to free creative talent, but to encourage it and give it the most favorable conditions for growth and development.

Let us now consider administrative policy in relationship to such a conception of social progress. It is not enough that administrative officers shall free faculty members to carry on such research as their best thinking may suggest. Administrative officers and the entire academic organization should so operate as to place a premium upon frontier thinking and research. Investigators who discover knowledge which is in conflict with the *status quo* should not only be free to publish such knowledge, but should be *encouraged* to publish it. This means that the administration should be especially solicitous about frontier thinkers; in other words, about people with unpopular and minority points of view. Conservatives need relatively little protection.

Administrative policy and procedure should, above all, encourage staff members to maintain intellectual integrity on all occasions. This means that we must be as ready to promote and to recognize those who differ with us as those with whom we are in agreement. The atmosphere in an educational institution must be one in which it is safe to differ with the head of the department, with the dean, the principal, or the superintendent of schools. Occasionally, at least, such administrative officers should promote and give high recognition to those who are bitterly opposed to them in point of view. Every staff member must understand that it is not only perfectly safe

to differ with administrative officers, but that the administrative officers prize intellectual integrity and creative talents above anything else. Such an administrative policy as is here considered involves complete separation of professional points of view and personal feelings.

Occasionally there are those who, while adhering to the principle of academic freedom in general, insist that staff members must, in the exercise of such freedom, show high regard for good taste and common sense. While good taste and common sense are no doubt desirable attributes for all persons engaged in teaching, they are dangerous criteria when used for the purpose of evaluating the merits of staff members. I believe that we cannot create an atmosphere which definitely encourages scientific investigation unless staff members have the privilege of making fools of themselves on occasion. Another way to say it is that I do not believe that it is safe to entrust to administrative officers the responsibility of deciding when a staff member is scientific and when he is not. Most of the great creative spirits in every field of human endeavor have been looked upon with suspicion by their contemporaries. Many of them have gone unrecognized until the evidence concerning their achievements was so overwhelming that it could no longer be ignored—witness Madame Curie.

It should be borne in mind that in scientific endeavor those who defend the *status quo* are relatively useless. We shall not have a more accurate conception of our physical universe until we discover the misconceptions in our physical science and creatively develop new and more accurate knowledge of our physical world. The same is true in the social realm. We cannot build a new and better society until we recognize the weaknesses in our present society and have the inventiveness and courage to develop more effective and desirable social arrangements. Thus, in both the fields of social and physical science, individuals who represent basically different points of view are our only hope. We must have people who have a divine dissatisfaction with things as they are, an undying curiosity concerning the discovery of new and more accurate knowledge—and the requisite courage to pursue such investigation in the face of the terrific opposition which is provided by the *status quo*, including their own contemporaries. It is the function of administration not only to free such individuals but to give them every manner of encouragement.

Throughout this discussion we have made frequent reference to administration and administrative policies. It should be clear that we have reference to thoroughly democratic conceptions of administration. By this we do not mean a benevolent dictatorship under which administrators assume they hold all the power, but generously decide to extend privileges to members of the faculty. We are assuming a type of organization in which the responsibility for leadership rests with the group as a whole, and in which administrative officers are responsible to the group and are expected to serve the group. It is only under such an organization that it is possible to provide a really creative atmosphere. No administrative officer is powerful enough to protect the members of his staff so as to insure them complete freedom and simultaneously give them the required stimulus to creative effort. It must be remembered that no matter how effective an administrative officer may be, he is, after all, only one person. In an institution employing fifty staff members, organized on a democratic, creative basis, we may assume that each staff member is being creatively influenced and encouraged by forty-nine other people. It is obvious that the total influence of the forty-nine must be all out of proportion to the influence that can be created by any individual leader, no matter how dynamic he may be. Thus responsibility for the preservation of academic freedom and development of a creative educational environment must rest not on administrative officers alone, but on all the staff members.

To a large extent undemocratic procedures prevail in educational institutions because the teachers in such institutions lack the courage, imagination, and solidarity to organize themselves effectively. In a university an organized faculty could prevent dictatorships by president, dean, or board of trustees. In a public-school system, an organized teaching body could resist political influence, graft, and autocratic administration. In making these statements I am not absolving administrative officers of responsibility for democratic leadership. Much could be done by administrative officers had they the courage and the disposition to take leadership. But even in the absence of such leadership faculties could literally revolutionize educational conditions were they willing to exercise the courage and solidarity requisite for such an endeavor. Fundamentally the responsibility rests with the staff.

New Year for the Sharecroppers

♦ JOSEPHINE JOHNSON

ON MIDNIGHT OF JANUARY TENTH began a mass demonstration of human misery and courage which may change the whole history of both Swamp-East Missouri and the entire South. Seventeen hundred families carrying their patchwork quilts, iron stoves, and a few pots and pans left the shacks where they had spent years of semi-starvation and complete poverty, and came out on the highroad where the world could see and hear their story.

Behind this amazing demonstration lies the whole complicated problem of the cotton South, and no brief article can do justice to its depth. Stated as simply as possible, these hundreds of families left the land not only because of eviction notices, but because of an almost unbelievable poverty which made their remaining a slow suicide even had they been permitted to stay—as was true in some cases. “We might as well starve out here on the highway as starve where nobody can see us. We might as well get wet out here under the sky as under a shack roof . . .” So they came and camped along the highway for almost two weeks in the rain and snow, and the planters talked about outside agitators and the local papers cried out that south-east Missouri was being libelled and abused, and hinted at tar and feathering, and the Red Cross refused aid, and the local relief loudly proclaimed plenty for all and wound its assistance around with such red tape that no one could get it, and the demonstration was branded ill-advised, absurd, communistic, and unwarranted—but the fact of 1,700 families in desperate misery remained.

Prior to the demonstration the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, with Reverend Owen Whitfield as its principal organizer—a Negro of great courage and intelligence who had spent thirty years himself up and down the cotton rows—had obtained a large following in the cotton counties of Missouri, and when the yearly eviction notices were given Whitfield received hundreds of letters from desperate croppers—both Negro and white—with the old cry of “What shall we do?”

For various reasons, one being the quite frank and open intention of the planters to receive for themselves the full benefit of the government parity payment for crop reduction, many workers had been changed from the status of sharecroppers to that of day-laborers, and so were no longer eligible for the government check, and were expected to live on 75 cents a day during the working seasons, buy at the commissary stores, and mortgage their hope of any future beyond that of a tool to be used and put aside between working seasons. (“You folks are crazy to come out here in the rain and cold,” one planter said. “Suppose you get sick and die—then what’ll *we* do when we need you again?”)

Planters admit that cotton cannot be raised except under slave conditions; they admit the widespread misery (“you don’t know what it’s like to live with people who’re hungry *all* the time!” one planter said); they admit they are going to do everything in their power to get hold of the croppers’ checks; they admit that their farms have need for fewer and fewer workers; they admit the ignorance and illiteracy bred by inadequate education; they admit the impoverishment of the land, the instability of a one-crop system—and yet, admitting all this and boasting of their ability to cheat the cropper, they have almost bellowed (in a dignified way), “What have *we* done to deserve this?”

To the sharecroppers’ question, “What shall we do?” they had only one answer: “Keep still. Stay where you are (even if I evict you and put somebody else in your house).” But Owen Whitfield had another. “Go out on the hard road,” he said. “The highway’s ours. Go out and let the world know for one day what we have known for all the days of our lives!” And they went.

The history of the demonstration has tragedy and farce, considerable heroism and brutality. After a week of uncomfortable publicity in which outsiders came down, investigated, wired state officials, reporters frontpaged the news, photographed the camps, the C.I.O. sent food and clothing (and were arrested), the president of the

Southern Tenant Farmers Union was escorted out of town, and blizzards covered the blanket tents, the local authorities declared a state of emergency, the camps were condemned as a menace to public health, and state police piled the homeless families into trucks and dumped them in a swampland near the river out of sight and hearing, not omitting to scatter a few families along the way, or crowd two or three families into shanties where none of them had lived before.

Then a few days later, as a last ironic touch, when tents were released by government orders to shelter those families huddled at "Homeless Junction" in the swamplands, the local authorities again swooped down on them and scattered them further—in deserted shacks, in churchyards. Some were taken back to work under the planters' terms, some bartered to other planters to begin again the same life on a different land.

The conclusion lies with the future. In terms of immediate relief, the S. T. F. U. is trying desperately to help its people in whatever way it can.



But it knows that the solution for years of misery must come through a large-scale program of rehabilitation, a program multiplying many times such projects as the LaFarge settlement near Sikeston where 100 families are coming to know the meaning of security, of actual comfort, of hope in a future for themselves and their children, and no longer have to live under the shadow of eviction and the cry, "Where shall we go? What shall we do?"

Hollywood Runs a Christmas Party

◆ PATRICIA KILLORAN

ONE OF THE WORLD'S biggest Christmas parties, since that momentous first Christmas of 2,000 years ago, was staged in the government camp at Shafter, Calif., on the day before Christmas with 10,000 children and their parents, migratory workers, as honored guests at the party.

Designed to bring a real Christmas to the state's ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed, the occasion was marked by a gala program broadcast from coast to coast over NBC's red network with over a million dollars' worth of Hollywood star talent, as well as the workers themselves as participants.

As early as nine o'clock, long before the scheduled start of the party at 1:30 P. M., the crowd began to arrive, in dilapidated cars, in buses commandeered by service clubs and local automobile agencies, and on foot—whole families of them—eagerly bound for the first real Christmas of their underprivileged lives.

During the morning they lingered around the

two giant circus tents, donated by circuses and motion-picture studios, and at noon formed a long queue, dozens deep, blocks long, awaiting the tickets which assured them gifts and food.

Circus, movie-land, and Christmas party, all wrapped up into one, was the gala fete that followed. Clowns rollicked through the audience; Indians danced and whooped while the breathless audience sat munching peanuts and popcorn and photo flashlights popped at the arrival of each new guest star.

Then came the program, half from the camp, half from Hollywood, telling the nation that here were glamorous Americans concerned over the plight of these homeless wanderers, strangely like the two wanderers who stumbled wearily into Bethlehem so many years ago.

And half-starved, discouraged workers discovered, as did those two, that there was, after all, "room in the inn," in the hearts of their brethren who believed the precepts of that Bethlehem child, later the great teacher, who said, "Inas-

much as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

From the evergreen-hung stage came the warm welcome of Melvyn Douglas, who acted as master of ceremonies and who, at the program's close, with a migrant youngster in his arms, thanked his audience for "the very best Christmas I've ever had." Through the tent and over the air to listening America came the golden soprano of Helen Gahagan, wife of Melvyn Douglas and famous opera star, singing their own Christmas folk songs and a Christmas hosannah.

Billy and Bobby Mauch of "Prince and Pauper" fame, Gale Sondergaard, Hollywood actress, and Melvyn Douglas enacted a Christmas playlet, "Today's My Birthday," written by Hollywood writer, Emerson Treacy, a story of the boy Christ's visit to a sick migrant child.

Then came the songs of the workers, haunting sharecroppers' songs sung for years in the fields by the workers but never before heard on the air:

"Oh, we're homeless, we're pitiful, we're landless, we're hungry . . . as hungry as can be . . . for we don't get nothin' for our labor."

And then "Hello Hollywood," and over the loud speakers came the friendly voices of Dick Powell and Joan Blondell, Herbert Marshall and Ken Carpenter, Ann Shirley, Bob Hope, Joe Penner, Virginia Bruce, Walter Connolly, and Henry Fonda, giving to these "least ones" the best of their talent, gladly, unstintingly.

There were greetings from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, from Governor-elect Culbert L. Olson. On hand were American Legionnaires, Boy Scouts, state-highway patrolmen to serve as escorts and ushers, and to straighten out traffic snarls.

And then came the "eats": great stacks of meat-filled sandwiches (3,000 pounds of veal, beef, and tongue were used in their making); all the milk they could drink (250 gallons—all for these children to whom milk is for weeks on end an unheard of treat); Christmas candies and oranges; "Good Humors" (ice cream on sticks)—unbelievable luxuries in migrant camps where agricultural workers subsist on an average of \$450 per year per family of four.

Every child received, too, an animated mechanical toy and a balloon, to them the grandest of toys. And then came Walt Disney shorts and other movies in the now darkened circus tent while in the second tent the crowd still filed past the long tables where Melvyn Douglas, Miss

Gahagan, and Miss Sondergaard stood for long hours to make sure that no one hungry should go unfed.

As night came down the crowd, tired but happy, their arms filled with gifts, the children still clutching half-empty Christmas stockings, trekked homeward, looking back to the archway of the Government Workers' Camp on which was emblazoned in gleaming lights the legend, "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men."

It was Christmas Eve. Far in the East a lone star shone. To them it was The Star—hope, rekindled through friendliness and understanding.

This is the story of California's "Christmas for One-Third the Nation" party—but only part of it. For not only were 10,000 undernourished, underprivileged migrants and their families feted and fed. But in the doing the community, the state, the nation learned of a problem long ignored, often misunderstood.

Into this project were drawn forces hitherto indifferent or antagonistic to these new pioneers, primarily Dust-Bowl refugees from the southern states of Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, driven from their southern homes westward in search of work and finding themselves dubbed "tramps" and ordered to "move on" once the crops were harvested.

Young America, too, turned to. Nearly 15,000 pupils from six schools—George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Theodore Roosevelt, and Los Angeles High Schools, and the Torrence, Calif., High School—collected over 16,000 parcels of food and clothing to be distributed to needy migrant children through the local agency of the national Save the Children Fund. These necessities were secured by means of student-talent shows and Christmas trees with canned foods and clothing used as tickets of admission.

Over \$300 in cash was also collected with which the Fund will buy shoes for less fortunate boys and girls throughout the school year. Co-operating were faculty members and principals. T. W. Hughes, principal of the George Washington High School and chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Save the Children Fund, acted as coordinator. Three truckloads of food and clothing were sent, one to the Brawley Government Camp in Imperial Valley and one each to the Arvin and Shafter Government Camps in the San Joaquin Valley.

Among the New Books

THE PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY,
by GEORGE S. COUNTS. New York: John Day. 370
pages. \$3.00.

IF EVERY AMERICAN TEACHER and if every other citizen with some direct interest in the schools could read and take to heart George S. Counts's *Prospects of American Democracy*, my faith in the possibility of American democracy's survival would be greatly deepened. Professor Counts has, in a scholarly and eminently readable analysis of the career of American democracy, brought into new focus the amazing riches of our democratic heritage. In showing that economic democracy preceded and provided the indispensable basis for our early popular government, and in demonstrating that the present crisis of democracy has resulted from the whittling away of economic democracy, Dr. Counts has laid bare the very essence both of the democracy of yesterday and of the problems of the survival of democracy today. His historical illustrations are illuminating and fresh, the architecture of his analysis proportioned and beautiful, the style of his presentation clear, forceful, and at times poetical. With peculiar skill he fuses, without confusing, the history, economics, and above all the sociology of American democracy. At no point does he minimize the historical encroachments on the democracy of yesterday or belittle the dangers to contemporary democracy.

Contending that man in history is "neither wholly bound nor wholly free," that his life, "though always conditioned, is never fated," Professor Counts outlines both broad objectives and specific steps for the preservation and realization of democracy. While extreme left-wingers will dissent from his conclusion that we at this point can learn relatively little from the Soviet experiment, few realistic Democrats can take serious exception to his basic program. This includes a comprehensive solution of our basic problems, involving the rejection of individualistic economy, the social control of large aggregations of capital, the achievement of economic efficiency, and the maintenance of the civil and political rights of the individual. All these objectives may conceivably be realized through the democratic process. (Professor Counts does not think that all of these objectives can be obtained through a revolution of violence though he carefully weighs the arguments for that thesis.) Therefore specific and extended attention is devoted to an analysis of the possibilities of the democratic process here and now in realizing the democratic objectives previously specified. Here he draws, with much shrewdness, from the lessons taught by past struggles of American democracy, and this is

one of the most illuminating and original sections of the entire book.

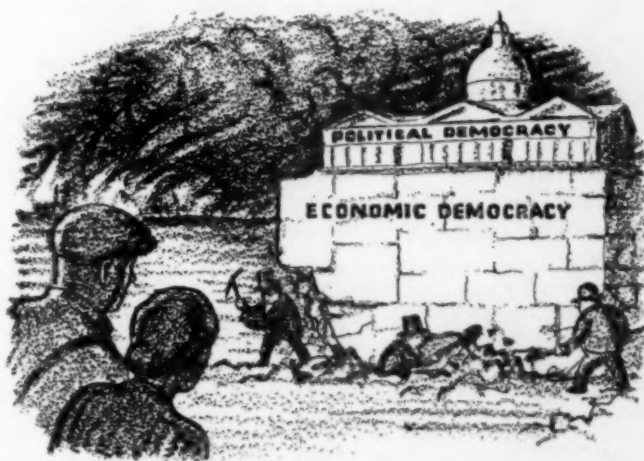
If the democratic process is to realize the new economic foundation indispensable to the future of democracy, Professor Counts demonstrates, the professed friends of democracy must have a stronger faith in political democracy; the ordinary citizen must have the knowledge necessary to function as a free man with other free men; major propaganda campaigns must be systematically exposed; civil liberties must be preserved; the great masses of people must be as effectively and completely organized as possible; popular mandates must be carried out by the government quickly and honestly; military and police power must not be even in part surrendered to private groups; and war must be avoided.

In all of these the teacher and the school may play an important part—and to that end the profession of education must be organized and allied closely to the largest possible popular organization of the masses.

"In the current battle for democracy," Professor Counts observes, "American education faces its supreme test." In elaborating the task and that of American education, Professor Counts both refines and expands his previous thought on the relations between education, politics, and social change. And in very concrete terms Dr. Counts outlines what he regards as the necessary tactics for education, both within and without the classroom. To repeat, no teacher or educator should let other "musts" keep him from reading and from thinking about this book—which may well mark a major event in the history of American education. In any case, it is one of the great books that have been written on American democracy.

Teachers College
Columbia University

MERLE CURTI



SCIENCE FOR THE CITIZEN, by LANCELOT T. HOGBEN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1114 pages. \$5.00.

THE GENERAL ORIENTATION of this truly prodigious and exciting book is best expressed in the author's own prefatory "Confessions":

Science for the Citizen is partly written for the large and growing number of intelligent adults who realize that the *Impact of Science on Society* is now the focus of genuinely constructive social effort. It is also written for the large and growing number of adolescents who realize that they will be the first victims of the new destructive powers of science misapplied. Since it is the first British Handbook to *Scientific Humanism* it has, inevitably, the glaring faults of any new thing. . . . Natural science is an essential part of the education of a citizen, because scientific discoveries affect the everyday lives of everyone. Hence science for the citizen must be science as a record of the past, and as an inventory for future human achievements. Inevitably it cannot be divorced from history. . . . The aims embodied in this statement evidently outline an ambitious and significant task. What the author had already done for mathematics in his popular *Mathematics for the Million* he now proposes to do for the whole range of the natural sciences. Generally speaking and despite some "glaring faults" to be discussed later, Professor Hogben has admirably consummated his objectives.

The emphasis on the interaction between science and society that permeates *Science for the Citizen* is of special interest to the teaching profession. Today at all educational levels instructors are urged to unify, to integrate, to give social significance to their teaching. In many cases their subjects are taught as "service" courses. Moreover, quite independently of such demands, the growing social consciousness of teachers themselves has led them, both in and out of class, to attempt to relate what they teach to the general social activity of mankind. To all such the book under review is an invaluable encyclopedia of information germane to, and in many respects a stimulating guide to self-study in these new educational activities. For here we find science closely woven into the whole texture of man's history and culture.

The author attains such a unification by rigorously adhering to one of his main theses:

Science is organized workmanship. . . . It emerges so soon as the secret lore of the craftsman overflows the dam of oral tradition, demanding a permanent record of its own. It expands as the record becomes accessible to a widening personnel, gathering into itself and coordinating the fruits of new crafts. It languishes when the social incentive to new productive accomplishment is lacking, and when its custodians lose the will to share it with others. Its history, which is the history of the constructive achievements of mankind, is also the history of the democratization of positive knowledge.

I shall return later to the important feature of the democratization of knowledge. Now, however, let us examine the author's use of the above thesis in his discussion of the fundamentals of astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology.

The general method of the book is well exemplified in the first part whose title is the "Conquest of Time Reckoning and Space Measurement." The author points out that the introduction of herding and farming many millenia before the dawn of civilization in Egypt were momentous events for the origin of science.

The sheep is an animal with seasonal fertility, and cereal crops are largely annual. . . . The recognition of the passage of time now became a primary necessity of social life . . . when man started to plan ahead for the seasons, because planning ahead for the seasons demanded an organized body of continuous observations and a permanent record of their recurrences.

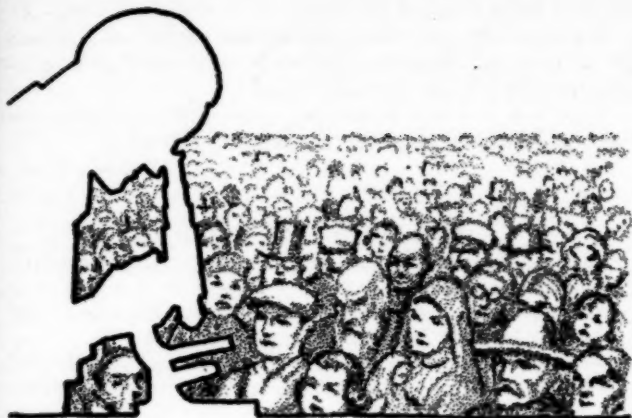
This, of course, is generally known. But the special excellence of Dr. Hogben's treatment of these facts is the thoroughness and cogency with which he shows how the aforementioned social needs and later the requirements of seafaring and printing led to the conquest of time and space and so to the sciences of astronomy, dynamics, and optics, and to the introduction and perfection of such instruments as the calendar, telescope, microscope, and clock. Newton's *Principia* studied in isolation of its background is a logical synthesis of Seventeenth Century dynamics, beautiful in its abstraction and aloof from mundane affairs. But reading Hogben discloses the myriad threads that tie this lofty product of an individual intellect to earthly origins in the social labor and social needs of mankind.

This method for connecting the historical genesis of science with the detailed examination of its content is then applied to other phases of the materialistic study of nature. The "Conquest of Substitutes" is the title of the next part and this deals primarily with chemistry. Man is specially distinguished from other animals by his power to change and control the nature of his environment. He has sought and found means for transforming the materials of raw nature into new substances or new arrangements of substances that more adequately satisfy his needs for food, shelter, locomotion, and preservation. "The search for pure substances was mainly prompted by three principal requirements of everyday life in civilized communities—metals, munitions, and medicines." In the elaboration of the story of this search we are given a picture of the growth of mining and some of the problems of mining engineering such as the ventilation of mines, of the rise of the chemical industry, of the establishing of the atomic theory, and a host of other chemical developments. But of special interest is the discussion of the work in biochemistry. Professor Hogben gives due emphasis to Lavoisier's discovery of the role of oxygen in respiration, and Wöhler's synthesis of urea in ridding biology of any vitalistic chemical hobgoblins, and thus helping to root biological phenomena in a materialistic philosophy of life.

The remaining parts of *Science for the Citizen* discuss "The Conquest of Power," "The Conquest of Hunger and Disease," and "The Conquest of Behaviour." The first of these leads to an exposition of thermodynamics, and electricity and magnetism, and the second and third to an elaboration of the biological sciences. The conquest of behaviour is especially pertinent to the interests of socially-minded people. For here the principles of heredity and psychology are critically applied to the analysis of the human aspects of the "nature and nurture," and the "survival of the fittest" controversies. It is clear from Dr. Hogben's discussion that biological science is not yet able to give a definitive solution to these problems. But it is made equally clear that socially powerful vested interests have up to now determined the nature of the conclusions to these problems in terms of what the author calls the "superstitions of our own times." The author also indicates that it will be "the social demand for detailed observation on factory welfare and efficiency, business advertisement, native administration, the prevalence of mental defect, urban neurosis . . ." that will necessitate research in genetics and psychology upon whose results scientific conclusions on these sharp social problems will be drawn.

My attempt to summarize *Science for the Citizen* is of necessity fragmentary. Space limitations make it impossible to give even a faint conception of Professor Hogben's richly faceted and novel synthesis of his material. Only a reading of the book itself can give one a proper appreciation of its scope, and of the true character of its coordination and integration of the natural sciences among themselves and with what we have been taught to consider the rather separate field of philosophy, sociology, history, culture, and human welfare.

But while these good things must be accredited to *Science for the Citizen*, there are also faults—probably not so glaring as



the author has intimated but serious enough to merit careful discussion. The difficulties arise in relation to those aspects of the book that may be said to deal with matters of educational policy and political activity—which matters, as will be seen, are intimately connected to the already mentioned democratization of education. And the root of all these troubles is to be found in the author's conception of a new social contract to which he has given the name scientific humanism.

According to Professor Hogben,

The social contract of scientific humanism is the recognition that the sufficient basis for rational cooperation between citizens is scientific investigation of the common needs of mankind, a scientific inventory of resources available for satisfying them, and a realistic survey of how modern social institutions contribute to or militate against the use of such resources for the satisfaction of fundamental human needs. The new social contract demands a new orientation of educational values and new qualifications for civic responsibility. (Reviewer's italics.)

Science for the Citizen evidently exemplifies the author's new orientation of educational values. But unfortunately the average intelligent adult will benefit little from reading the book for the simple reason that it is too difficult for him. Look at the diagrams and mathematical formulas on pages 17, 98, 140, 147, 181, 188, 210-13; examine the dozens of knotty problems at the ends of the various chapters; study the chemical formulas on pages 423-4; read through the paragraph at the bottom of page 1036, which, while discussing the social roots of the nature-nurture problem, mentions in passing Augustine, St. Paul, Ham, Pelagian heresy, Calvinism, Laudian Churchmen, Wesley, Wycliff's poor priests, and Methodist Revival—consider all these things, and many more like them throughout the book, all shining examples of Dr. Hogben's erudition, and the conclusion is inescapable that the average lay person will not be re-educated by a reading of *Science for the Citizen*. And I say this not because I lack faith in the educability of the human, but because the average human today even in the civilized world has not been given the benefit of the necessary educational preparation for mastering the worthy contents of this book. Science cannot be given to the citizenry like food to a starving population. If the demos is to be educated along Hogbenian lines, then the process must begin in the grade schools and be continued right up through graduate study. But this is not a simple task. A long-range program is involved. Widespread changes in curricula are required—and if these are to be attained in general, then democratic control of educational policy is required. We thus see that much more than wishful thinking along scientific humanist lines is necessary to realize Dr. Hogben's program. Of great help can be our own union activity. Indeed our general orientation expressed in the slogan—Education for Democracy—Democracy for Education—supplies in great measure just what is lacking in Dr. Hogben's formulation to

make the kind of education he believes in a living reality.

Now let us pass to the question of "civic responsibility"—the political aspect of scientific humanism. It is evident, referring back to the author's definition of scientific humanism, that mere "scientific investigation," "scientific inventory," and "realistic survey" are not enough to form a basis for social control. It is unfortunately too true that the hell of politics is paved with the good intentions of innumerable surveys. What we must have in addition to science to gain "rational cooperation between citizens" is a political program honestly designed to achieve such an end and democratically supported by a politically active and progressive citizenry. This, of course, is well realized by many scientists. The programs of the British Association of Scientific Workers and of the just formed American Association of Scientific Workers, and the political activity of Haldane in England, and Cannon and Urey in America, not to mention Negrin in Loyalist Spain, attest to this.

It is now clear that Dr. Hogben's deficiencies lie in the unimplemented character of his new social contract. Scientific humanism is a blueprint for an ordered society, but it lacks the directions, tools, and manpower required to build the edifice. What must be added to Dr. Hogben's proposals are progressive trade-unionism and political action, and these, what is more, not as separated lines of activity, but as much as possible mutually complementing each other. When this is done we may achieve successes, as for example, in the educational field, the democratization of the New York City municipal colleges as a result of the combined activity of the New York College Teachers Union and the Board of Higher Education of the liberal LaGuardia administration. In the absence of such implementation scientific humanism is nothing but scientific utopianism.

I have gone to some length in my criticism of Dr. Hogben's new social contract because this contract represents the crown of the author's thought on the relation between science and society—and as such it is a disappointment. Since the author has so incisively discussed many past instances of the reciprocal interactions of the changing scientific and social worlds, we are justified in having expected a more realistic program for the social activity of today and tomorrow. However, putting this aside, *Science for the Citizen* still remains a brilliant achievement in the literature of the social integration of science. It should be mastered by every teacher and its material used in his teaching. In this way we may begin the process of educational reorientation that Professor Hogben and ourselves so ardently desire.

Washington Square College,
New York University

ALEXANDER SANDOW

★ ★ ★

GROUP LEADER'S GUIDE TO PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, by VIOLET EDWARDS. New York: Institute for Propaganda Analysis. 271 pages. \$2.00.

SCIENTIFIC INGENUITY, of recent years, has created more skillful weapons for producing and prolonging human unhappiness than have ever before been the proud possession of mankind. We have long-range guns, incendiary bombs, incapacitating gases, and devilishly effective poisons. Most potent of modern instruments of war is the tool of our psychologists, or "social engineers"—propaganda.

Propaganda there has been since the beginning of time; but only within recent times has it been used ruthlessly and effectively on a huge scale. Let the sceptics look at the map of Europe and observe there the mighty changes testifying that a skillfully controlled printing press and microphone are more powerful than Maginot lines and Skoda works.

In an attempt to give us armor—or, rather, gas masks—for protection against the poison of the propagandist, the Institute

for Propaganda Analysis has come forward. In its experimental *Group Leader's Guide* it does a splendid job of showing how we can learn how the skilled special pleader makes us trick ourselves. Miss Edwards is not satisfied with mere surface factors. Her book goes interestingly and deeply to the heart of the matter that propaganda succeeds because we allow ourselves to be governed too much by unchallenged prejudices, unspoken assumptions, and emotions conditioned in childhood. If we are to evade the propagandists' wiles we must follow an ancient and very wise injunction, "Know thyself!"

The guide proceeds very carefully by presenting the many conceptions of propaganda—so careful is the Institute to avoid engaging in propaganda that it avoids forcing any single definition of propaganda upon students! After a study of the role of propaganda, the guide considers the interests to which propaganda appeals and those it serves. The last section shows in considerable helpful detail how various school subjects may contribute to propaganda analysis. Throughout the guide there are excellent questions for discussions, suggested activities, and bibliographies.

In the hands of intelligent teachers this guide will prove of tremendous service in preparing a generation which has to make democracy work. Two vagrant thoughts sum up my reaction to the book: first, I wish that I were going to school now in order to receive the benefits of the teaching advocated by this book; second, in a world where literally tens of millions of dollars are being spent annually by well-organized propaganda campaigns it is an idiot's paradox that fighters against this modern poison must do their work with less than one-thousandth as much. Perhaps some day we shall honor our propaganda analysts as we have our microbe hunters and hunger fighters.

Chicago Teachers College

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG

★ ★ ★

THE FUTURE OF THE LIBERAL COLLEGE, by NORMAN FOERSTER. *New York: D. Appleton-Century.* 103 pages. \$1.25.

THAT "THE KEY TO THE INTELLECTUAL FUTURE, so closely associated with the future of man in the world of action, is in the hand of the college," is the passionate conviction of this author. And in this book he sketches how he believes that this intellectual future can be helpfully aided through college efforts.

The quick reader will be put off by the author's zeal on behalf of a philosophical position not too clearly defined, yet a position which he sets over in too sharp a contrast to the "power and service" view (study carefully pages 86-7). In a sense, the exposition is too positive to persuade the unconvinced. Yet the emphasis is such a valiant corrective to much that passes for sound doctrine in educational circles that Professor Foerster deserves a wide and thoughtful hearing.

His strictures on the Deweyan philosophy as popularly interpreted and on the University of Chicago curriculum need saying, even though they are not the whole truth. In sum, he says of the curriculum that it "must be mainly composed of the humanities—of religion and philosophy, of history, of the fine arts, of literature—and that in the teaching of these subjects the prevailing point of view, giving integration, order and purpose, must be humanistic and spiritual."

The book, I repeat, will evoke resistance from those who will



not be at pains to get to the bottom of its writer's outlook. For it runs counter to prevailing patterns and patter. If I mistake not, it runs in a direction that more teachers are groping for than they are prepared fully to admit.

Which is to say it is stimulating, provocative, searching—and therefore eminently important to read and ponder.

ORDWAY TEAD

Pamphlets Received

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCH STUDIES IN EDUCATION 1936-1937, prepared in the Library Division by RUTH A. GRAY, Bulletin, 1938, No. 5. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.* 373 pages. \$0.35.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE OF NEGROES, Report of a Survey Conducted by the Office of Education, by AMBROSE CALIVER. Bulletin, 1937, No. 38. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.* 137 pages. \$0.20.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 1937-1938. *New York: The Town Hall, Inc.* 45 pages.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, by JOHN DALE RUSSELL and Associates, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education. *Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office.* 325 pages. \$0.40 (paper cover).

HOW TO MAKE A COMMUNITY YOUTH SURVEY, by M. M. CHAMBERS and HOWARD M. BELL. American Council on Education Studies, January, 1939. Series IV, American Youth Commission, Volume III, Number 2. *Washington: American Council on Education.* 45 pages. \$0.25.

PENNSYLVANIA PROGRAM OF EXTENSION EDUCATION, by LESTER K. ADE. Bulletin 292. *Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction.* 83 pages.

HOMEMAKING EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR ADULTS, by MARY S. LYLE and RUA VAN HORN. Vocational Education Bulletin No. 195; Home Economic Series No. 22. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.* 125 pages. \$0.15.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATION OF USE TO TEACHERS OF GEOGRAPHY AND SCIENCE, compiled by GRACE S. WRIGHT. Leaflet No. 31. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.* 16 pages. \$0.10.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF LABOUR ORGANIZATION IN CANADA (for the Calendar Year 1937), compiled and published by the Department of Labour of Canada. *Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, I. S. O.* 261 pages. \$0.50.

ADMINISTRATION OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION, revised 1938. Vocational Division Bulletin No. 113. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.* 59 pages. \$0.10.

PROFESSIONAL LIBRARY EDUCATION: Introducing the Library, by NORA E. BEUST. Bulletin 1937, No. 23. *Washington: Office of Education, U. S. Department of the Interior.* 75 pages. \$0.15.

HOW GOOD ARE OUR COLLEGES? prepared by GOODWIN WATSON. *New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc.* 32 pages. \$0.10.

PENNSYLVANIA PROGRAM OF LITERACY AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION, by LESTER K. ADE. Bulletin 293. *Harrisburg: Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.* 83 pages.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ART EDUCATION IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, A Guidance Study, by FLORENCE N. LEVY. *New York: School Art League.* 148 pages. \$1.75.

REHEARSAL FOR SAFETY, A Book of Safety Plays, by FANNY VENNABLE CANNON. *New York: E. P. Dutton.* 132 pages. \$1.00.

NEW ENGLAND HURRICANE, A Factual Record, written and compiled by members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in the New England States. *Boston: Hale, Cushman & Flint.* 220 pages. \$1.50.

On the Labor Front

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Board last month found the Ford Motor Company guilty of anti-labor practices in open and flagrant violations of the Wagner Act.

The Board directed the Ford Motor Company to end efforts to interfere with self-organization of its employees, to stop discouraging membership in the United Automobile Workers, to refrain from recognizing the Ford Brotherhood of America, Inc., and to reinstate with back pay twenty-nine employees discharged for union activities.

The proposed order also directed the company to cease organizing or supporting "vigilante or similar groups," or the members of its Service Department for the purpose of preventing its employees from joining the U. A. W., or any other labor organization; to refrain from "threatening, assaulting, or beating" union members distributing literature in the River Rouge plant; and to refrain from "interfering with, restraining, or coercing its employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed by the Act by disseminating among its employees 'statements or propaganda disparaging or criticizing labor organizations or advising its employees not to join such organizations.'"

At the same time, the order proposed to dismiss charges of discrimination with respect to six employees.

Issuance of the proposed order follows action by the Board on January 23 in accordance with permission granted by the Supreme Court in setting aside the original order in the case, issued December 22, 1937.

The proposed findings are based upon testimony offered at a public hearing in Detroit during July, 1937. Testimony is presented in the findings to illustrate the conclusion that the company evidenced an un concealed hostility toward bona fide labor organizations and fought the organization of its employees by the Automobile Workers with utter ruthlessness.

The proposed findings state that the company "... had made its antagonism to labor organizations so evident that no employee whose economic life is at its mercy can fail to comprehend it."

Citing activities of the Service Department, the proposed findings conclude that "within the respondent's vast River Rouge plant at Dearborn the freedom of self-organization guaranteed by the Act has been replaced by a rule of terror and repression."

Culmination of company hostility against union organization, as described in the proposed findings, occurred during the riots at the gates of the Dearborn plant on May 26. Temporary Ford employees, among them Detroit prize fighters with taped knuckles and others identified as having long police records, were

waiting at the Dearborn plant gates together with regular members of the Ford Service Department.

It was public knowledge that the Automobile Workers intended to distribute union leaflets. They had obtained a permit from the City of Dearborn to pass out handbills. Detroit newspaper reporters and photographers were at hand. One of them, Victor Beresford of the *Detroit News*, inquired of a Ford official whether the Service Department would take any action to prevent the distribution. A negative answer was supplemented with the remark: "However, maybe some loyal employees might resent it." Mounted police were at the scene. At a noon meeting of the union committee all its members were instructed to refrain from violence; and it was decided that only women would actually pass out the handbills.

That afternoon, when the attempted distribution was made, men identified as Ford Service Department employees brutally beat the union members, both men and women. News photographers had their cameras broken and themselves chased from the scene. The police made no real remonstrance at the violence going on before their eyes. Payroll records show that the Service Department men involved received wages from the Ford Company that afternoon.

When the union group ascended a large overpass across Miller Road at Gate 4, one of the Ford gates, they were told, "This is Ford property. Get the hell off of here." The group started walking toward the stairway. They had taken only a few steps when they were attacked. Walter T. Reuther, president of Local No. 174, U. A. W., and Richard T. Frankenstein, director of the union's Ford Organizing Committee, were singled out for particular attention. Each was knocked down and viciously kicked. They were raised in the air several times and thrown upon their backs on the concrete.

Reuther was kicked down the stairway, beaten, and chased down Miller Road. Frankenstein, beaten into insensibility for a few moments, was also kicked down the stairway.

Rev. Raymond P. Sanford, a Chi-

cago minister assigned to observe the distribution by the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, testified concerning the Frankenstein beating that: "... a separate individual grabbed him by each foot, and by each hand and his legs were spread apart and his body was twisted over towards the east, over to my left, and then other men proceeded to kick him in the crotch and groin, and left kidney and around the head and also to gore him with their heels in the abdomen, or the general range of his solar plexus."

While the beatings on the bridge were taking place a street car arrived at the unloading platform and the women carrying handbills began getting off. A number of men immediately attacked them and, calling them vile names, twisted their arms in an effort to get the leaflets. Rev. Sanford, who had walked down the stairway of the overpass as the union women disembarked from the street car, testified: "... the girls were at a loss apparently to know what to do, and then one girl near me was kicked in the stomach, and vomited at my feet, right at the end of the steps there, and I finally shot an imploring glance at one of the mounted policemen, to whom I had previously spoken, and he dashed over on horseback to the west side of the fence and in a rather pleading tone, sort of 'For God's sake' tone in his

voice, seemed to direct his remarks to this well-dressed gentleman in brown, and said, 'You mustn't hurt those women; you mustn't hurt those women'; and I was attracted by the manner in

which he spoke, because he seemed to speak as one not having authority in the situation and seemed to be pleading rather not to injure the women."

The proposed findings point out that the Dearborn mounted policemen who were present made no attempt to intervene and prevent violence.

In the fighting which took place in the vicinity of Gate 4, William Merriweather, one of the union volunteers, was knocked to the ground while one of his assailants shouted, "Kill him," "Kick his brains out," "Stomp his face in." Merriweather's back was broken during this assault. Dr. E. M. Shafarman testified that Merriweather's injuries may prove to be permanent and his future earning capacity seriously impaired.

Alvin Stickle, another U. A. W. member, was dragged by a Ford Service man into the plant office where Everett Moore, head of the Ford Service Department, told his captors, "Okay, boys," and then stood in the doorway watching while Stickle was given a severe beating.

The news photographers, attempting to film the riot, were shoved about and attacked. Bede Irvin of the Associated Press, James Kilpatrick of the *Detroit News*, and Albert Haut of the *New York Times* Wide World Photos, all had films taken away from them while standing on Miller Road.

At Gate 5, a block away from Gate 4, where Reuther and Frankenstein were beaten, similar scenes were enacted. Here the girls ran away from danger but several of the men were seriously injured. In describing injuries to Tony Marinovich at Gate 5, Dr. Shafarman described the result as a severe concussion of the brain, stating that Marinovich "may suffer from attacks and dizziness for an indefinite period to come as he is now suffering. It is possible that in the course of a couple of years he might develop an epilepsy . . . his earning capacity may be reduced to zero before a year is out."

Frederick Arnold, a *Detroit Times* staff photographer, who was attempting to take pictures of the events at the gates, attracted the attention of a man known as Tubby who shouted, "There is a cameraman. Get him. Break that camera." Three men rushed toward Arnold but before they could catch him his driver picked him up. His pursuers got into another car and started out after him. There followed a wild chase of four or five miles through crowded city streets, through red lights, and at a speed of close to 80 miles an hour. Arnold sought refuge in the Melvindale Police station where his pursuers identified themselves as Ford Service men.

At Gate 10 several men came out of the Service office and started taking the girls' leaflets away from them. When Frank Hartung, a U.A.W. organizer, objected he was hit in the mouth. Asher Lauren, a *Detroit News* photographer, had his notes taken away with the remark, "You won't need these." Near Gate 1 Percy Llewellyn, a union member, was given a severe beating. Another union member, Ralph Dunham, was assaulted at the intersection of Wyoming and Eagle Avenues and received internal injuries which sent him to a hospital for fourteen days.

Arnold Freeman, a *Detroit News* photographer, who visited the River Rouge plant two days before the riot, testified to the presence of Ford Service Department men waiting in cars at the Gate on that day. Freeman recognized prize fighters in the waiting group and was told by one temporarily hired Ford Service man, "We had a check and we got four to every union man that is coming out here." Several of the Ford Service men objected to having their pictures taken by Freeman, one saying, "You know how it is. The boys don't want their pictures taken. You know how it is." It was admitted to Freeman that a lookout for the possible arrival of Frankenstein and Reuther had been going on for a couple of weeks.

In summarizing the May 26 riot, the Board concluded that "the assaults upon union men and women on that day were part of a carefully designed plan by the Ford Company to prevent the distribution of union literature by the U.A.W. in the vicinity of the River Rouge plant."

The Ford Service Department, according to the proposed findings, has been vastly enlarged since the beginning of the year 1937. Employees seen talking together are taken off the assembly lines by Service men and discharged irrespective of the wishes of their foremen. The proposed findings state: "With Service men present and interfering with the normal operation of the assembly lines in every department, the River Rouge plant has taken on many of the aspects of a community in which martial law has been declared and in which the huge military organization, whose voice is final, has been superimposed upon the regular civil authorities."

★ MORE THAN HALF OF THE EM-

ployees of R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company of Chicago, the largest open-shop printing plant in the country, have already signed union cards in a unionization drive by eight printing-trade unions, H. M. Wicks, chairman of the Chicago Organizing Committee, announced.

In the Chicago plant are some 4,000 employees, with nearly 12,000 throughout the country in the corporation's various subsidiaries. Back in 1905 the company operated as a union shop, but since then has strongly resisted organization. Recently the printing trades undertook a nation-wide pressure campaign against publications printed at Donnelley's. Committees were set up in 200 cities.

To date, Wicks announced, fifty publications are cooperating with the unions, including *Current History* magazine, the *Young Catholic Messenger*, a monthly publication with a circulation of 250,000 copies, and 48 Indiana telephone books. The pressure drive is now centering around *Time* and *Life* magazines which are also printed at the Donnelley plant in Chicago.

★ THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE

bargaining is vital to the maintenance of the present social system, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace declared in a radio address.

"Businessmen aided by the device of

the modern corporation, have been acting collectively for a long time. Farmers, cooperating through their county conservation and cooperative marketing associations, are now on their way to gaining equivalent bargaining power. Workingmen are acquiring equivalent bargaining power through labor unions."

★ BECAUSE OF ITS RECORD OF IN-

dustrial espionage, the Railway Audit and Inspection Company has been denied renewal of its license as a private detective agency in New York State.

Protests against renewal were made by the State Federation of Labor, the regional C. I. O. office, the American Civic Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, and the Workers' Defense League.

Many labor-spy organizations such as the Railway Audit Company were uncovered in investigations by Senator La Follette's Civil Liberties Committee, whose activities may be limited this year unless Congress appropriates new funds.

★ INSIDE NEBRASKA'S \$10,000,000

capitol building, labor lawyers attacked the state anti-picketing law before the supreme court while the second unicameral legislature prepared to convene. But striking truck drivers, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, and Stableners and Helpers, A. F. of L., stole the show.

Reinforcing the arguments of their attorneys, determined union men paraded around the building and through the corridors carrying placards. Marchers were met with shouts of encouragement on all sides. Police arrived immediately after the picketing started but did not attempt to interfere.

A decision on the law which was passed in 1921 is expected shortly. Should the law be declared constitutional, organized labor will demand that it be repealed by the present legislature.

★ THE NEW YORK STATE LABOR RE-

lations Board announced the certification of the School and Library Employees Union, Local 74, Building Service Employees International Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, as the sole collective bargaining agency among custodial workers in the schools of New York City.

The action of the board was in accordance with the result of an election in which 2,384 custodial employees participated.

★ THE ADVISORY COUNCIL AP-

pointed to study the Social Security Act recently recommended additional benefits for 14,800,000 persons under the law's provisions. The council also recommended that payments be increased especially to aged wives, widows, and children, and that the federal government assume one-third of the total costs.

Under these recommendations nearly 2,000,000 employees of private non-profit religious, charitable, and educational institutions would be covered; also 400,000 seamen, and 400,000 employees of national and state banks.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

MERLE CURTI is a member of the faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University.

JEROME DAVIS is president of the American Federation of Teachers.

JOSEPHINE JOHNSON, a well-known novelist, won the Pulitzer prize several years ago for her book, *Now in November*.

PATRICIA KILLORAN is a star reporter on a Hollywood newspaper.

ERNEST O. MELBY is dean of the School of Education at Northwestern University.

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In order that the AMERICAN TEACHER may serve as a medium for the discussion of the educational problems of today, the contributors are not necessarily expressing the policies of the American Federation of Teachers.

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Executive Council Adopts Legislative Program

Union Outlines Fight for New U. S. Bills

The following legislative program was adopted by the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers at the December meeting held at the Great Northern Hotel in Chicago.

FEDERAL AID

1. It would appear that this year is most favorable for final action by the United States Congress on a bill for federal aid to education. The Executive Council at its December meeting went on record again as endorsing unanimously the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee. We plan to support a bill embodying these proposals when it is introduced. We pledge ourselves to work with all groups who will similarly support these proposals.

2. We plan also to reintroduce the Celler bill to make permanent educational services at present rendered by the WPA. Minor changes in this bill may be necessary but we support in general the idea of expanding the services of the public schools through supplementary projects in adult education, recreation, nursery schools, remedial teaching.

LABOR

1. Work to protect existing labor legislation.

2. Inclusion of teachers in "Little Wagner Acts" in those states where such inclusion is feasible.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. Support the Anti-Lynching bill.

2. Support the continuance of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee and an appropriation of a yearly budget to that committee for its work.

3. Oppose additional appropriations for the Dies Committee.

4. Oppose legislation to incorporate trade unions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

1. Taxation of state employees. As a result of Supreme Court decisions within the year, there is a likelihood that there will be proposals to tax incomes of state and federal employees. The Executive Council considered the proposals of the Conference on State Defense and reached unanimously the following position:

"We oppose retroactive taxes on salaries but reaffirm our position in favor of the principle of a graduated income tax on all groups with adequate exemption in the lower income brackets." The Council felt there was no reason why teachers should not assume an income tax burden comparable to that assumed by other citizens.

"We favor the immediate passage of a bill to subject to the federal income tax all interest on state and municipal bonds to be hereafter issued. . . . We favor also the taxation of all interest on state and other municipal bonds now outstanding provided

The AMERICAN TEACHER

In Two Parts
Part II

Official Organ of the American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIII

February, 1939

No. 5

Six Point Federal Aid Law Program for Month Urged

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1. Visit your local Congressman and Senator, urging their support of the Federal Aid Bill. Please send results of interviews to Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, 2302 Delancey Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
2. Have introduced into your City Council a resolution memorializing Congress to pass the Federal Aid Bill. It will be wise in seeking such endorsement to present evidence of support from your central labor body, various other trade unions, and the Board of Education.
3. Have introduced into your State Legislature a similar resolution. Join with other state locals so that a larger body of sup-



CONGRESSMAN JERRY VOORHIS of California, member-at-large of the A. F. of T., who has just been appointed to the Dies Committee. In his one-half minute analysis of the Committee before the House of Representatives, he said: "The bill of appeal that has been made on the Republican side

AFT Rallies Support for New Measure

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"We favor the immediate passage of a bill to subject the federal income tax all interest on state and municipal bonds to be hereafter issued; . . . we favor also the taxation of all interest on state and other municipal bonds now outstanding provided some reasonable means is devised to maintain the market value of such bonds."

"We favor the immediate passage of legislation to accomplish the above purposes and favor recourse to a constitutional amendment only if the Supreme Court holds that no other remedy is adequate to achieve the desired end."

"We favor, under like circumstances, the taxation of all interest on bonds issued by the federal government and its instrumentalities."

"We refuse to endorse the legislative program of the Conference on State Defense because of the confusion of the salary and bond interest issues."

2. Support adequate WPA appropriations.

3. Examine proposals for the expansion of the Social Security Act and support amendment that would extend benefits particularly to the youth and the aged, and increase the scope of workers covered. The Executive Council will consider amendments as proposed and notify the locals of its position on them.

HEALTH

Support the Conference on Health (Chairman, Josephine Roche) and its program for increased health service through hospitalization, establishment of clinics, etc. As teachers, we cannot be but concerned about the physical well-being of our pupils.

STATE PROGRAMS

The Executive Council urges its local bodies to concentrate this year on two items on their state programs:

1. Tenure and the defense of women teachers. Several states are planning the introduction of tenure bills into their state legislatures. Others face the protection of existing tenure laws from attack. We believe that sound tenure is one of the most urgent necessities for the maintenance and improvement of educational standards and for the improvement of the working conditions of teachers. It is most important to note that from several quarters there comes evidence of a renewed attack upon the rights of women teachers. Its chief form is an attempt to

(Continued on Page 2)

A. F. of T. Organizes 30 New Locals in 4 Months; 6 in January

More than thirty new locals in the American Federation of Teachers have been organized since October, 1938, according to a report from the national office. New locals organized during the month of January are as follows:

No. 615—Washington Township Local, Belle Vernon, Pennsylvania.

No. 616—Rochester Teachers' Union, Rochester, New York.

No. 617—South Union Federation of Teachers, South Union

Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

No. 618—Massachusetts State Teachers' College Union, Massachusetts.

No. 619—North King County Local, Bothell, Washington.

No. 620—Fort Worth Federal Teachers' Union, Fort Worth, Texas.

The Oxford Teachers Union, Local 375, of Oxford, Ohio, has been reinstated in good standing.

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2. Have introduced into your City Council a resolution memorializing Congress to pass the Federal Aid Bill. It will be wise in seeking such endorsement to present evidence of support from your central labor body, various other trade unions, and the Board of Education.
3. Have introduced into your State Legislature a similar resolution. Join with other state locals so that a larger body of support from labor bodies, City Councils, civic groups may be produced to support the resolution.
4. Check over the Legislative Plan for January and be sure you have accomplished all its points.
5. Begin to lay plans for a Legislative Conference. While this should concern itself primarily with Federal Aid, do not fail to utilize it for general legislative proposals. Too often we are accused of forgetting other people's needs in asking their help for our educational measures.
6. Send copies of all resolutions adopted and results of all conferences held to the National Legislative Representative, Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman.

Federal Aid Law Goes to Congress



CONGRESSMAN JERRY VOORHIS of California, member-at-large of the A. F. of T., who has just been appointed to the Dies Committee. In his one-half minute analysis of the Committee before the House of Representatives, he said:

"The type of appeal that has been made on the Republican side of the House for the passage of this resolution is illustrative of the thing that I fear, namely, a concerted attempt to identify every clean, decent American progressive movement in defense of the common people of this country with communism."

Reeves Addresses Wisconsin Local

Floyd W. Reeves, head of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, spoke before members of the University of Wisconsin Local (No. 223) at the January meeting. Dr. Reeves discussed "Education as a Federal Responsibility."

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In the near future Senators Harris and Thomas will probably introduce into the Senate a similar bill on federal aid for education. Except for minor changes, these bills will be virtually identical with the Harrison-Patcher Bill which was introduced into Congress last year.

CONGRESS CONVENES

By Mary Foley Grossman

The past November elections and the coming campaign in 1940 are two vital facts that affect the situation essentially at the convening of the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

On the one hand, we find the progressives with greater conviction than ever. Many are much more outspoken on the platform and in the corridors at this session. For example, Congressmen Keller, Coffee, and Voorhis have all made speeches and statements that indicate their stand as champions of the progressive forces of the country. In the middle, there is that group of Senators and Congressmen elected to Congress on liberal paper programs, who find themselves now in the embarrassing position of "delivering."

Senator Davis of Pennsylvania was placed in a tight position during the WPA appropriation vote. From one group, the largest of his constituents, came urgent demands that he vote for the appropriation specified by the President. From a smaller group, which had sponsored his campaign in the first place, came the insistence that he vote for "economy." While Senator Davis succumbed to the minority voice, he knows he has the majority with which to reckon.

(Continued on Page 8)

DO YOU WANT THIS? . . .



Courtesy of the U. S. Office of Education

Above is a schoolhouse typical of many which house our children today. To the right is the new schoolhouse which was built with federal funds to replace it. If the Federal Aid Bill—(H.R. 3517)—passes, there will be more new schoolhouses.

. . . OR THIS?



Detroit in Fight for New Budget

The Detroit Federation of Teachers (No. 231) is engaged in the annual fight for an adequate school budget, but this year under aggravated conditions.

The city's bonded debt is still excessive, running about \$400,000,000, with a deficit of \$12,500,000 in prospect for this fiscal year. The Common Council, under pressure from every department, singled out the Board of Education budget for attack. They are protesting their lack of direct supervision over the school expenses since their only control is exercised over the sum total appropriated to the board, which has the division of the money for all school purposes at its discretion. The council refers to the Board of Education budget as being "out of control."

Protests Slashes

When the school budget was first proposed to the board by the superintendent of schools last fall, it was the object of much close scrutiny by the research committee of the local. They found that not as many new teachers were requested for this year as were requested but not obtained last year. Frances Comfort, president of the local, appeared before the board and called attention to this fact, stating as the union's position that if the teachers were needed but not obtained last year, they were certainly needed this year. The board saw the merit in this position, and after questioning the superintendent and the director of finance, they increased their request for new teachers by 100, making 243 new teachers requested for 1939-40. If obtained, these additional teachers would make a beginning toward reducing the excessive class size in Detroit, at present among the largest for any comparable northern city.

Buildings Needed

There has been very little building done since 1931, although the school enrollment has increased by 15,000 in that time. While enrollment in the lower grades is shrinking, it is steadily increasing in the higher grades and college, where the facilities of 10 years ago are inadequate, nearly half the students in high schools being on half-day sessions. The local is cooperating with a citizen's committee for the schools which is also interested in obtaining adequate funds for the city's schools.

An interesting feature of the school budget situation in Detroit is involved in the fact that although state aid to Detroit schools has increased \$5,000,000 in 10 years, very little of this increase has so far benefited the schools, most of it having been absorbed into the general budget. Almost as fast as state aid has increased, the local appropriation for the schools has decreased.

Springfield Banquet

The Springfield, Ohio, Federation of Teachers (No. 296) will hold a banquet February 21 at the Covenant Presbyterian Church.

Paul B. Parker, president of the local, spoke at a joint meeting of the Antioch College professors and the Yellow Springs teachers in January. He discussed "Democracy and the Teachers Union."

A MODEL TENURE BILL

The Model Bill Bureau of the A. F. of T. has completed its draft of a model bill on tenure, the third in its series of model bills, and is having copies sent to all locals about the middle of February. Locals are urged to make a careful study of this bill and to consider at once the advisability of introducing it in their respective states, amending it, of course, in conformity with local conditions. Inquiries concerning the bill should be addressed to the Chairman of the Model Bill Bureau, Dr. Ross Thalheimer, 5603 Roxbury Place, Baltimore, Maryland.

The following table presents some of the characteristic features of the bill.

Some features of the A. F. of T. Model Tenure Bill which are either unique or distinctive	
Grants virtually the same rights to both permanent and probationary employees. (Note: Exception is made only as regards the length of the correction-period. See Section 7.)	Pennsylvania
Not only requires boards to enter into written contract with employees (as do several tenure laws), but specifies fully the provisions which such contracts shall contain.	Pennsylvania
Explicitly prevents employees from waiving any of their rights.	Pennsylvania
Enumerates in full not only the grounds for dismissal (as do several tenure laws), but also the grounds for demotion.	None
Defines not only the conditions under which salaries may be reduced (as do several tenure laws), but also the conditions under which work may be extended.	None
Makes provision not only for dismissal, demotion, and reduction of salary (as do several tenure laws), but for all other penalties as well.	None
Explicitly excludes discrimination, in the imposition of any penalty, because of race, creed, religion, marital status, organizational affiliation or activity, or the exercise of any civil or other right which may be exercised lawfully by citizens generally.	None
Provides that in certain cases an employee shall receive a written warning 30-90 school days prior to the issuance of the board's dismissal or demotion order, and shall be given an opportunity to serve 30-90 school days under another superior officer.	California, Kansas, Oklahoma, Oregon
Provides that the initial hearing shall be held, at the option of the employee, before the educational board or before an independent commission.	None
Provides that either the employee or the complainant may appeal from the initial decision to the court of common pleas and then to the superior court.	None
Establishes an educational arbitration commission for each county.	None

States whose tenure laws contain features which are either the same as, or closely similar to, features of the A. F. of T. bill.

New Ohio Union Program Maps Legislative Action

An eight-point legislative program was adopted by the executive committee of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers at its January meeting.

The program calls for the financing of the Foundation Program on a pay-as-you-go basis; the redemption of the \$12,000,000 in outstanding deficit certificate notes over a period of years with the state assuming the interest charges, and the approval of the discontinuance of ear-marking of certain tax revenues for specific expenditures provided that no departmental exceptions to this principle to be made.

Further, the program calls for a request to the Retirement Board to maintain a 4 per cent interest rate on the Teachers Savings Fund and to maintain a schedule of annuity rates based upon the interest rate of 4 per cent, and opposition to the assessing of \$1.00 annually as a contribution to the Expense Fund.

The committee also urged amendment of the present certification law to eliminate the Board of School Examiners and to limit the power of the state

CALIF. OFFICIAL A. F. OF T. MEMBER

Lieutenant-Governor Ellis Patterson, who was swept into office by the united backing of organized labor of California, is a member of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 61 (San Francisco).

director of education to revoke teaching certificates, voted endorsement of a non-partisan state board of education, and endorsement of legislation which will reduce the 65 per cent requirement to a majority vote for the passage of bond issues and tax levies. The final point on the legislative program is tenure.

The state federation also has prepared a list of school-book publishers whose publications are printed in union and non-union shops.

R.O.T.C. Unit Defeated

Mrs. Mary D. Bradford, 83 years old and a long-time leader of progressive education in Kenosha, Wisconsin, is included in the Social Frontier Honor Roll of 1938 for her leadership in the campaign to defeat a plan to install an R.O.T.C. unit proposed last Spring.

Heads Credit Union

Vernon Sigler, president of the East Chicago Teachers Federation (No. 511) has been named president of the East Chicago Teachers Credit Union. The union, an independent organization, is composed mainly of members of the local Teachers Association.

WPA Locals in National Conference

A National Negotiating Committee to deal with the Works Progress Administration on a national basis was set up at the first national conference of W.P.A. locals in Washington, D. C., on February 10 and 11.

Attended by 20 delegates representing 13 locals from all sections of the country, the Conference named the following members to the new committee: Martin Fields, Philadelphia, Pa. (No. 474); Phil La Gana, Yonkers, N. Y. (No. 572); Ida S. Taylor, Washington, D. C.; and Laura Liebman, president of the New York City Local (No. 453) and head of the national W.P.A. Organizing Committee of the A. F. of T.

Seek Transfer

Delegates also voted to set up legislative committees in all locals to obtain community support in the fight for President Roosevelt's \$150,000,000 deficiency appropriation, and to coordinate its plans with the Workers Alliance and other trade unions. Delegates agreed to exert all pressure for the bill at the deficiency sub-committee of the House Appropriations Committee, headed by Clifton Woodrum.

Delegates also were instructed to work for the transfer of the education projects to the Department of the Interior, through contacts with local sponsors and state departments of education.

In the absence of Col. Francis C. Harrington, W.P.A. administrator, delegates met with Mrs. Florence Kerr, director of professional and service projects; Dr. Louis K. Alderman, director of the emergency education program, and other W.P.A. officials.

Delegates Named

Problems discussed with Mrs. Kerr included continuation and expansion of the education and recreation projects; working conditions; and labor relations.

The proposal of transferring the education and recreation projects to the Department of the Interior is already being considered, Mrs. Kerr told a committee.

Total delegates present included Joel Seidman, of New York City, national vice president of the A. F. of T.; John P. Boldhuf, Toledo, Ohio (No. 550); Carl Harm, Cleveland, Ohio (No. 448); Anna Mae Brady, Chicago, Ill. (No. 346); Helen Asberg, Minneapolis, Minn. (No. 496); Clarence Nichols, Yonkers, N. Y. (No. 572); Herbert Wheelin, New Rochelle, N. Y. (No. 191); and William J. Kent, Denver, Colo. (No. 559).

Others were Vera M. Barnes, Washington, D. C.; Sonia Podjar, Philadelphia (No. 474); Phil La Gana, Yonkers, N. Y. (No. 572); Ida S. Taylor, Washington, D. C.; Thomas F. Higgins, Plymouth, Pa. (No. 575); Saul Gutter, Plymouth, Pa. (No. 575); Dorothy S. Srrunge, Washington, D. C.; Martin Fields, Philadelphia, Pa. (No. 474); Maurice K. Wheeler, Boston, Mass. (No. 441); Albert K. Ertel, Williamsport, Pa. (No. 535); and Hy Silberman, William Leuner, and Laura Liebman, of New York City (No. 453).

Williams Named on Labor Paper Staff

Professor Mentor Williams, of the Ann Arbor, Mich., Teachers Local (No. 284), is a member of the board of editors of a new local liberal labor monthly, *Washtenaw Progressive*, sponsored by the Ann Arbor Trades Council.

Professor C. N. Wenger, professor of English in the College of Engineering, University of Michigan, and a former president of the local, is on a sabbatical leave in Europe where he is studying the contemporary literature of the French, German, and English.

A. F. of T. Protests Budget Slashes in Pennsylvania

Pointing out the state's inadequate educational facilities, the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers recently addressed a letter to Governor Arthur H. James urging him not to slash educational funds in his proposal to trim the budget \$118,000,000.

Citing a report by the Andrews Commission on School Costs, the letter quotes its chairman, Hiram Andrews, who said, "Pennsylvania has still a long way to go before it provides what is reasonably regarded as an adequate education for all of its children of school age."

This same report, the letter points out, recommended that the state increase its financial support for the schools. While Pennsylvania appropriates only \$16.00 per pupil for state aid, New York gives \$50.00; Michigan, \$41.50, and Texas, \$32.70.

Further facts cited by the union letter from the report show that Pennsylvania is twenty-seventh on the list in percentage of pupil enrollment in secondary schools. Fifty-five per cent of the school districts are without secondary schools of any kind.

In conclusion the letter says, "Finally, we urge you to weigh judiciously your desire for budget balancing against the very pressing immediate needs and the state's increasing responsibility to train adequately its future citizens in order that they may intelligently defend the principles of our American Democracy."

New U. S. Bills

(Continued from page 1)

bar married women teachers from provisions of tenure acts. There is also evidence of a movement to re-establish dual standards in salary schedules. The Executive Council warns against this movement and urges all its locals to fight for equal rights to women in all tenure bills.

2. Social security. There are comparatively few states that have established and maintained adequate retirement laws for teachers. The Executive Council urges all local groups to study the problem of retirement and to propose and urge enactment of laws to set up good retirement systems. Where good retirement laws are in effect it is important to protect them in every way from unwise amendment or unsound financial manipulation.

The National Legislative Committee is preparing an analysis of tenure bills and will submit with this a proposed model bill to the locals. We shall similarly prepare material on retirement systems for the guidance of the locals. The National Legislative Committee through the AMERICAN TEACHER and special bulletins, as required, will instruct the locals on the matter of campaigns, national and state, for the furtherance of this program. We shall be glad to assist you in any way in helping to achieve our legislative aims for 1939.

"Negro vs. Fascism" in H.T.U. News

The December issue of the *H.T.U. News*, publication of the Howard University Local, contains a fine article on "The Negro Teacher and the Jewish Problem." Citing the persecution of minority groups in Germany and in other fascist nations, the article stresses the fact that Negroes in America must fight for the defeat of Nazism and fascism and their "anti-racism" by "uniting with organized labor and all other progressive movements."

EXTRA COPIES

Additional copies of Part II of this issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER may be obtained from the National Office at the rate of \$1.00 per hundred copies or \$5.00 a thousand. Fill out this order blank and distribute the newspaper to all schools in your area.

Name _____
Address _____
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Please send me _____ copies of Part II of the February issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Chicago Board Reinstates Cook

CHICAGO, ILL., (NO. 1). Teachers throughout Chicago hailed a significant A. F. of T. victory on February 3 when it was announced that Raymond M. Cook had been restored to his position on the faculty of the Chicago Teachers College. This action brings to a close a fight that began sixteen months ago with the summary demotion of Mr. Cook and Mr. Lyle Wolf to high-school instructorships. A partial victory had already been gained last summer when Mr. Wolf was re-instated.

The dismissal of Cook and Wolf was a particularly vicious example of interference by high administrative authority, since their departmental chairman, the president of the college, and the assistant superintendent in charge were all ignorant of the impending removal until it was made. Superintendent Johnson himself signed the transfer orders and has made all the public statements in attempting to justify them.

To followers of academic freedom cases, these statements have presented a familiar pattern of uniformly specious and occasionally reckless attempts to becloud the issue. Just as no warning was given of the dismissals, no trial or hearing was granted during the time that the two college instructors remained in high-school posts.

The first explanation given to the press, and the only statement which made the dismissal an academic freedom case, was to the effect that the men had used their position as college instructors to undermine and sabotage the program of the school administration. No amplification or slightest evidence was ever offered in support of this statement. On the contrary, letters from college students poured into the newspapers denying all charges. Changing tactics, the superintendent then informed a P.T.A. gathering that Cook and Wolf were incompetent; this in spite of high efficiency marks which the men had uniformly received under two college presidents. Later, in correspondence with the protesting City Club of Chicago, it was maintained that the work for which the instructors had been assigned to the College was now abandoned. It was promptly pointed out that the courses referred to had been abolished many months previous to the dismissal, that the dismissal was made weeks after a new semester had started, and that two uncertificated substitute teachers were immediately placed in charge of the classes which the men had been meeting.

The dreary recital of charges and refutations need not go further. It has always been clear to the entire membership of Local 1 that Raymond Cook was fired from the Teachers College in order to frighten him out of filing a lawsuit against Superintendent Johnson and the Board of Education. It has been a source of pride to the membership that Mr. Cook had the courage to proceed with the filing of the suit (which involved the disputed principals' examination of 1936) within a week after his dismissal. It is equally clear that his temerity in taking this legal action has been the reason for the long delay in reinstating him on the faculty of the now greatly expanded Chicago Teachers College.

Publicity Notice

The Publicity Committee of the American Federation of Teachers is making a collection of various types of material published by our locals. These materials will be analyzed and used in preparing detailed suggestions to aid all locals. Examples of the following are especially desired:

1. Magazines or printed newspapers.
2. Mimeographed bulletins.
3. Leaflets.
4. Material advertising meetings.
5. Newspaper clippings.
6. Booklets or pamphlets.
7. Advertising novelties, such as blotters, book-marks, cartoon strips.

Please send material as soon as possible to Dr. William W. Wattenberg, Hotel Southmoor, 6646 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

PRIEST PRAISES UNION

"If I were a school teacher, I would favor a teachers union in order to improve teaching and working conditions. If I were a schoolmaster, as most of you are, I would be tremendously interested in social justice for myself, my fellow teachers, my fellow workers, and my fellow Americans. I would want to belong to a teachers union because the United States, whose welfare we pledge to advance, is in dire need of education touching on the subject of labor and labor unionism. American labor history is a most inspiring portion of our American history."

Father Boland, chairman, New York State Labor Relations Board, to the Buffalo Teachers Union, Local 39, October 22, 1938.

Keeney-Rowe Case to Appear in Pamphlet

The National Academic Freedom Committee—chairman, Arnold Shukotoff of New York College Teachers Union (No. 537)—is planning to publish a pamphlet on the Keeney-Rowe case of the Montana State University. Professor J. P. Rowe (Local 479), who was put on month-to-month tenure at the time Professor Keeney was dismissed, has been restored to permanent tenure.

Professor Keeney's case is being considered by the Supreme Court of Montana and a decision is expected soon. The Academic Freedom pamphlet will summarize four previous violations of academic freedom at Montana State University.

Other important cases being conducted by the National Academic Freedom Committee are the Herbert Cole case of Trenton, N. J., and the closing of New College at Columbia University. Cole is president of the New Jersey State Federation of Teachers and has been denied his permanent teaching certificate. He has been teaching in Trenton for six years and previously taught for three years in Ohio, the last as a principal of a high school.

A copy of the report of the work of the National Academic Freedom Committee for the last five months may be had by writing to 235 Fourth Ave., New York City.

Springfield Union Defeats Plan for Proposed Pay Cut

A decided victory for the Springfield, Ill., Teachers Federation (No. 601) was achieved recently when the local board of education dropped its plan to urge teachers to accept a two weeks' cut in salary following protests by the union.

The action was interpreted by members of the local as the first official recognition of the union by the board of education.

The board originally proposed the plan as a means to overcome a deficit of \$45,000 which is facing the community. Another board proposal, which has been accepted by the union, calls for the issuance of teacher orders in payment of salaries.

The Springfield Federation of Labor is backing two candidates for the board at the April elections. The Teachers Federation is working through the central body in supporting these candidates.

N. Y. Local Will Mark First Year

The largest college teachers union in the world, Local 537, New York City, will celebrate the first anniversary of its founding with a luncheon at the Hotel Astor on March 4.

Speakers for the occasion will be President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina and chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, largest of the railway brotherhoods with a membership of 150,000. President Whitney's subject will be "A United Labor Movement."

Because of his appointment to the position of Deputy Commissioner of Welfare of New York City by Mayor La Guardia, Clifford T. McAvoy, vice president of Local 537 and its representative to the Central Trades and Labor Council, has resigned from the Union.

Upon resigning McAvoy said, "There is no more vital and important force in American education today than the American Federation of Teachers, of which the College Teachers Union is the local representative among the college and university people. The College Teachers Union has done admirable work in its one year of existence. The organization of 1,000 college staff members as participants in the labor movement is of greatest importance in the present drive to protect democracy against the fascist forces which have already suppressed free inquiry in the universities of the free countries in which they have seized power."

W. P. A. Local Balks at Fingerprinting

W.P.A. Local (No. 453), New York City, was successful in its campaign to maintain luncheons for 90,000 children during the Christmas week. The Department of Welfare had planned to suspend the Child Nutrition Project during this period. The local is also conducting a campaign against the fingerprinting of W.P.A. educational workers.

President Laura Liebman presented the Union Brief for granting of experience credit for work done on the W.P.A. Education and Recreation Programs to an open hearing of the Board of Education. Local 453 has printed a new bulletin, "A Union Program in the A. F. of L. Tradition," which may be secured by writing to 28 West 31st Street, New York City.

Editor Named

George Guernsey, editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER, was made a member of the executive board of the Federated Press at its annual meeting which was held in Chicago February 10. The Federated Press is a news association serving principal labor publications and metropolitan newspapers throughout the country.

New Educational Quarterly

The Professional Problems committee of Local 192 (Philadelphia, Pa.) has published the first issue of a new quarterly publication, the "Workshop for Progressive Education." Subscriptions, which cost \$1.00 for four issues, may be sent to The Workshop, Room 101, 311 S. Juniper St., Philadelphia, Pa.

The January issue contains the following articles: "Democracy—Together We Build"; "Spelling Through Cooperative Techniques"; "Pioneers"; "Break Ranks"; "Bulletin Boards Go Cooperative"; "Going to See"; "Government by the People"; "Neighborhood Problems Vitalize English"; "Take a Democratic Letter"; "A New Approach to Ancient History"; "Democratic Staff Organizations—In a Private School, in a Public School"; "An Invitation or a Date"; "Democratic Participation from the Viewpoint of a Principal"; "The Poster"; "Integration—Its Place in a Democratic Program"; "Cooperative Supervision in the Public Schools—A Report on the Book."

WHY I JOINED

"A strong, intelligent, and democratically organized labor movement is essential to the continuance of political and economic democracy. That is why I have sought affiliation with the New York College Teachers Union."

"The criticism is made that the Teachers Union has in it persons who are unreasonable, who are sectarian in outlook. No doubt this is true. I have found the same true of the Methodist Church, the Republican Party, one or two patriotic organizations to which I belong, and true also of certain educational organizations with which I have affiliation. To resign from such an organization or to refuse to have anything to do with it because it contains persons who are unreasonable is simply to show defeatism. Educators of all persons ought to do their best to bring elements of tolerance and reason to those who may be intolerant and unreasonable. That is one of the prime functions of educators."

"My observation is that the Teachers Union is more democratically run than most churches, most political parties, and most educational institutions."

Professor Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College, Columbia, in submitting his application for membership in the A. F. of T., December, 1938.

Teachers Union In Action

Tarr Elected

Mr. Burton E. Tarr, former legislative representative of the Uniontown, Pa., Local (No. 517), was recently elected to the State Legislature in Harrisburg.

The Philadelphia Local (No. 192) publishes a list of firms unfair to organized labor in each issue of its bulletin.

Ellis Roberts, teacher in the G.A.R. High school and member of the Wilkes-Barre local (No. 577), was elected president of the newly formed Pennsylvania State Federation of Teachers.

Named to Congress

Lee Geyer, former president of the Los Angeles Local (No. 430), was elected to Congress as representative of the Fourteenth District. New officers elected by the local at its January meeting are Dr. Samuel Urner, Los Angeles City College, president; Mrs. Winifred Betts, for the past eight years editor of the *California Classroom Teacher*, vice president; Marjorie Hay, secretary; Ruth Hitch, treasurer; Sarah Becker, program chairman; Joseph Goldberg, welfare committee chairman; Harry Shepro, legislative chairman; Laurens Mason, chairman of the educational policies committee; and Harold Orr, publicity chairman.

President Urner has been drafted as the temporary chairman of a group of delegates from progressive organizations in Los Angeles to select candidates for the Board of Education.

Tenure Laws

Sarah T. Walsh, chairman of the National Tenure Committee of the A. F. of T., requests that copies of all tenure laws proposed by locals be sent to her at 2315 Delancy St., Philadelphia. The National Committee will be glad to render assistance in bills proposed or in amendments that appear during the course of passage. The Committee would also appreciate recommendations from locals concerning the phases of tenure which should be studied.

Local Hears Gunther

John Gunther, noted foreign correspondent and author of the best seller, *Inside Europe*, spoke before the St. Paul Federation of Teachers (Local No. 28) at the People's Church on February 2.

LOCAL 431 GROWING

The Cambridge Union of University Teachers (No. 431) reports a total membership of 205, marking an increase of more than 100 members. The local is now the second largest college local in the country, with New York in the lead.

Repeal Michigan Oath

The Michigan Federation of Teachers is urging the repeal of the teacher oaths, a program inaugurated during the administration of Governor Frank Murphy.

Because of the loyalty oaths, union members point out, Michigan teachers have suffered the loss of thousands of dollars. Under the statute, teachers' contracts have been voided by the courts because of failure of employing boards to administer the oath in accordance with exact requirements of the law.

During Governor Murphy's administration, repeal of the oath was approved unanimously by the state senate, but was defeated in the house by five votes.

Both Governor Fitzgerald and the state superintendent of public instruction are on record as favoring the repeal of the act.

Davis Tours

President Jerome Davis will conduct his annual "Town Hall in Europe" trip which will include visits in 11 European countries and interviews with some of the leading government figures. The itinerary of the trip is planned so that A. F. of T. members will be able to return in time for the national convention. The trip will start on June 27. Persons interested may secure more information by writing to the Bureau of University Travel, Newton, Mass.

Local 474 Works Against W.P.A. Layoffs

The Philadelphia W.P.A. Local (No. 474) has been active in the campaign against W.P.A. layoffs and has been cooperating with the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, Workers' Alliance, National Negro Congress, and A. F. of L. unions in sponsoring a mass-meeting and a delegation to Washington demanding adequate W.P.A. appropriations.

Local 474 has been helping the newly chartered W.P.A. local in Delaware County. Its Negotiating Committee is waging a militant fight against the firing of Eleanor Parrish, president of the newly-formed local. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, through its president, James L. McDevitt, is cooperating in this campaign against the anti-union practices of the Delaware County W.P.A. Administration.

U. S. Public Schools Require Federal Aid

Pupils in Many Areas Given Poor Education; Children Suffer from Lack of Opportunity

by Paul T. David

Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education

WITHIN A MONTH' the Seventy-sixth Congress of the United States will be in session. Important proposals on numerous subjects will be under consideration by that Congress. In view of the number and importance of the legislative proposals to be considered, it is difficult to predict the amount of attention which will be given to any single topic. It now seems likely, however, that the coming session of Congress will give extensive and serious consideration to proposals for federal aid to education, based upon the report of the Advisory Committee on Education.

The *Report of the Committee* was prepared in response to a letter which the President sent to the chairman of the Committee in April, 1937. In that letter, the President stated that he had been giving much thought to the general relationship of the federal government to education. He referred to the numerous matters then pending in Congress and to the considerable amount of information on the subject which the Committee had already collected. He requested the Committee to give extended consideration to "the whole subject of federal relationship to state and local conduct of education" and to prepare a report.

The committee which received this request is composed of twenty-one members. Five of the members are officials of the federal government. The others come from outside the government, serve as members of the Committee without compensation, and have widely different backgrounds in education, business, agriculture, the labor movement, and other fields. The chairman of the Committee, Floyd W. Reeves of the University of Chicago, is by profession an educator, although he has also achieved distinction in other fields. A majority of the members, however, have approached the work of the Committee rather definitely with a layman's point of view. As a group, the members of the Committee are exceptionally well-informed, independent but progressive in their thinking, and intensely interested in the assignment they were given.

Preparation of Report Is Large Undertaking

The preparation of the report requested by the President proved to be a large undertaking. To get the facts about existing conditions, a staff of more than seventy consultants and professional employees was assembled and put to work during the summer and fall of 1937. Subsequently the Committee met frequently and for several days at a time during the late fall and winter in order to consider staff findings, to discuss the many problems, and to reach agreement on the recommendations to be made. Finally the report was completed, transmitted to the President, and sent on by him to the Congress on February 23. Printed copies of the report were made available the following month and have been widely distributed.

The major part of the Committee's report is devoted to the presentation and discussion of its recommendations. The Report is prefaced, however, by a statement of the existing situation which, although brief, is certainly authoritative. On the basis of its extensive studies, the committee concluded that the outstanding impression to be gained from a survey of the schools throughout the United States is one of very uneven development. In this country we have many of the best public schools in the world. Unfortunately it is also undoubtedly true that we have far more than our share of the worst schools.

The least satisfactory schools now exist, address given at a conference and luncheon meeting "Federal Aid to Education," held at the Women's City Club in Detroit. Organizations which sponsored the luncheon were: Michigan Federation of Teachers; Detroit Federation of Teachers; Michigan Association of Labor; American Association of University Women; Michigan Division of Detroit Teachers Association; Michigan Education Association; Michigan League of Women Voters; Michigan Teachers Association; National Association of Teachers Clubs; National Association for Advancement of Colored People; N.E.A. Michigan Committee on Federal Aid; and Southeastern Michigan Associated Teachers Clubs.

without more than average effort. Three states which together contain more than 2,000,000 children of school age can raise as little as \$15 per child for education only by putting forth considerably more than average effort.

The estimates of ability prepared for the Committee were compared with the amounts actually being spent. Only three of the 33 states of less than average financial ability were found to be spending less than the estimates indicated as feasible; the other 30 were in most cases spending considerably more than might be expected. Michigan is one of the states of somewhat less than average financial ability which makes more than average effort to support education.

On the other hand, of the 15 wealthiest states, which also average large in size, California, Wyoming, Montana, Ohio, and Illinois were the only ones found to be spending more than could be expected with average effort. The other 10 wealthy states were mostly spending considerably less than the amounts they could have raised with average effort.

The estimates used by the Committee were made with care and with the benefit of several years of intensive research by various groups and individuals. Exception may be taken to the details of the estimates for any single state, but the entire showing is impressive. It bears out fully the contention

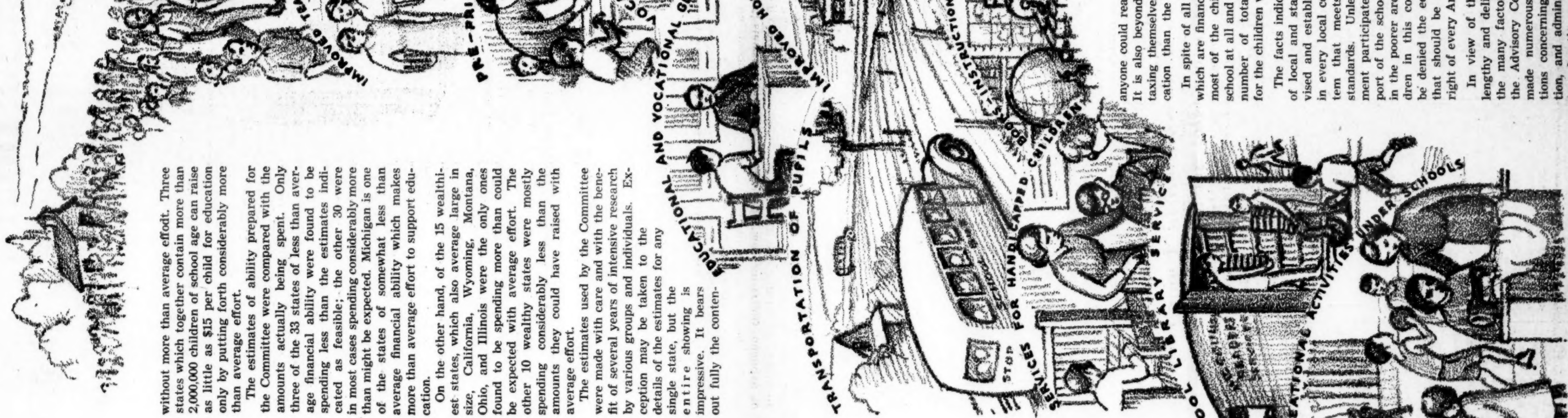
Quality of School Service in Poorest Rural Areas

In the most depressed rural areas, such as the cut-over lands of the Great Lakes region, the drought areas of the West, and those parts of the South where the natural resources of soil and timber have been most depleted, such schools as exist are often hardly worthy of the name. Many of the children are not in school at all. The exact number of children not in school has not been determined since the 1930 census, but the indications are that nearly a million children of grade-school age are not enrolled. Most of these children live in the poorest rural areas.

The unsatisfactory condition of the rural schools is not due to any lack of desire upon the part of the rural people for good schools. Studies for the Committee show conclusively that the states and areas that are predominantly rural are the ones which make the greatest effort in proportion to their resources to support schools.

The Committee made an intensive investigation of the financial ability of the various states to support schools. Financial ability was measured in terms of the ability of the states to raise funds through the kinds of taxes that can be levied and administered by state and local governments, and that may appropriately be used to support social services such as education.

The results were highly significant. Seven states were found which with average effort could raise more than \$75 for education per child of school age each year. Twenty per cent of the children of the United States are fortunate enough to live in these states. On the other hand, 20 per cent of the children at the other extreme live in states which could not raise more than \$25 per child



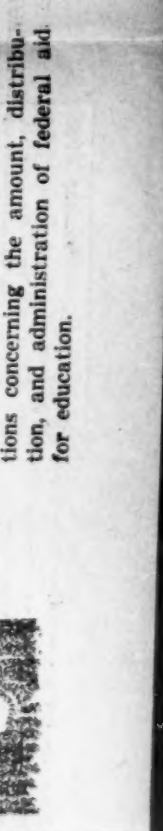
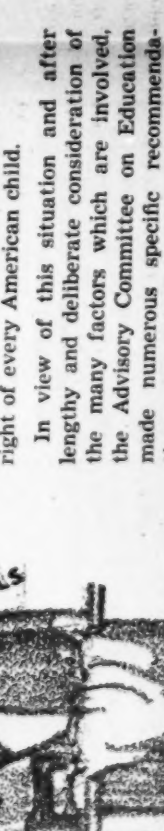
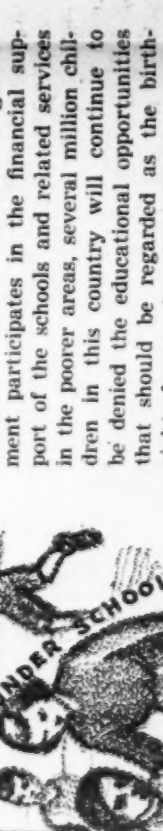
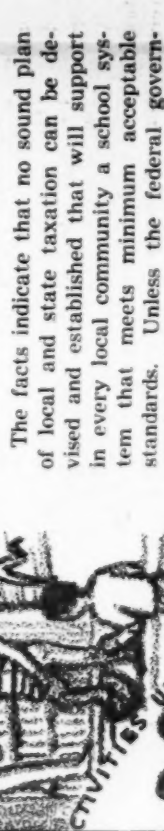
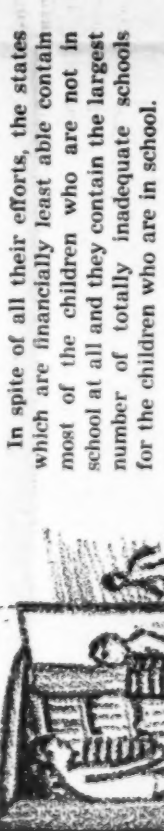
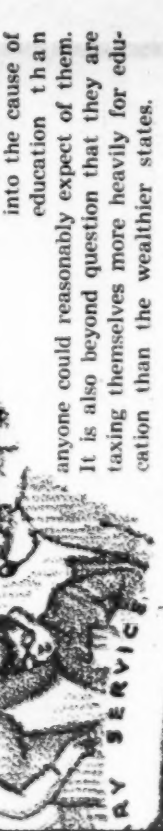
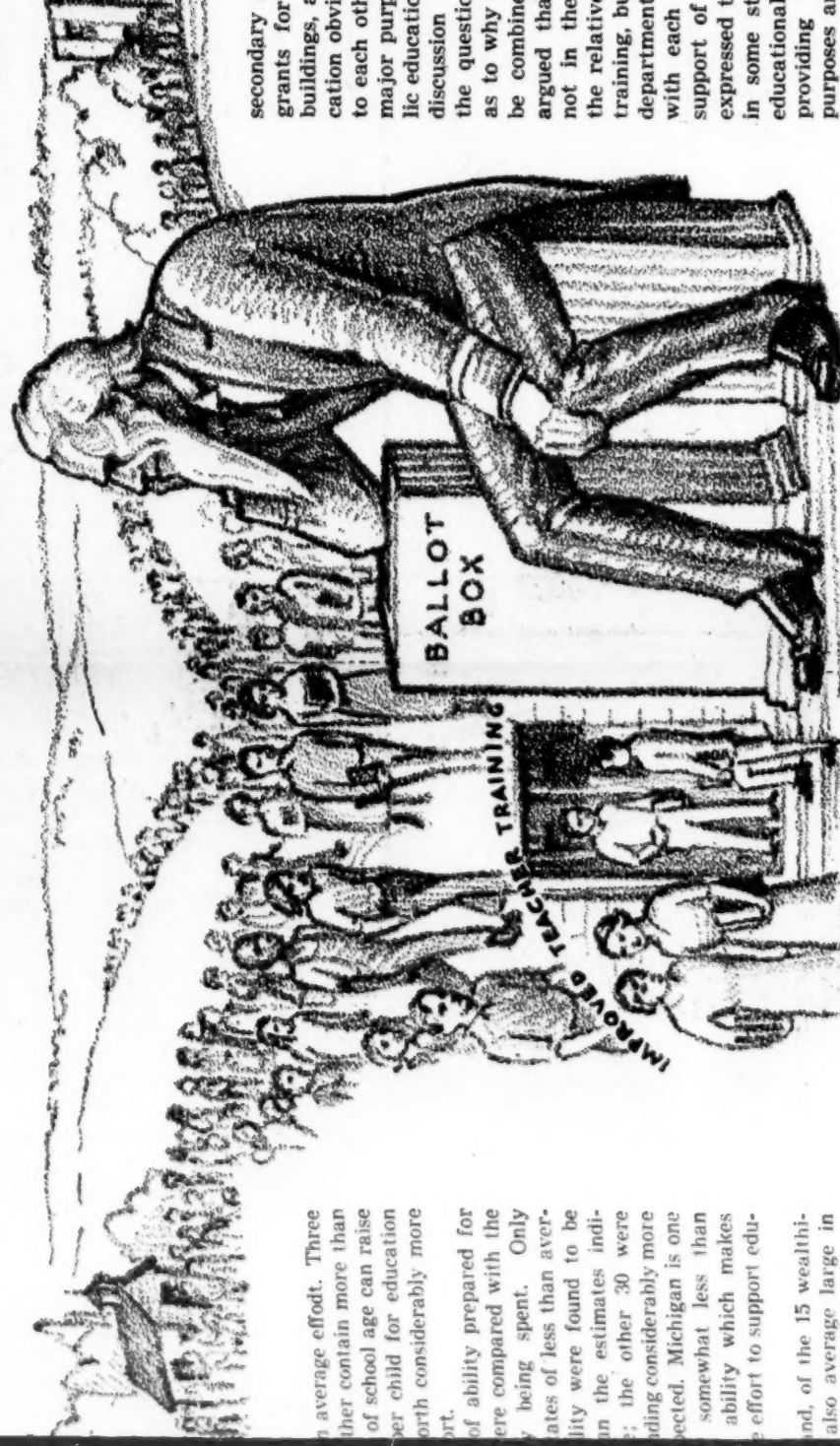
anyone could reach. It is also beyond taxing themselves to the extent of education than the state. In spite of all which are financial, most of the children of school age at all and number of total for the children. The facts indicate of local and state and established in every local community that meet standards. Unless the participation of the school in the poorer areas of the children in this country be denied the education that should be right of every American child. In view of the length and delay of the many factors the Advisory Committee made numerous recommendations concerning education, and administration, and administration for education.

average effort. Three of school age can raise per child for education worth considerably more

of ability prepared for ere compared with the being spent. Only ates of less than aver- lity were found to be in the estimates indi- e; the other 30 were ding considerably more ected. Michigan is one somewhat less than ability which makes effort to support edu-

nd, of the 15 wealthi- also average large in Wyoming, Montana, were the only ones ing more than could average effort. The y states were mostly rably less than the uld have raised with

used by the Committee are and with the bene- s of intensive research and individuals. Ex- taken to the mates for any the is ars en-



A six-year program of federal aid was recommended. The proposed appropriation for distribution among the states would begin at 70 million dollars next year, increasing annually to a total of 199 million dollars in the sixth year.

The largest single item for which these funds are recommended is for aid to public elementary and secondary schools. The amount recommended for such general aid starts at 40 million dollars and rises to 140 million dollars the sixth year. The purpose of this grant is primarily to raise the level of educational opportunity where it is most inadequate. In the words of the Committee, the grant "should be based fundamentally upon the proposition that neither the individual states nor the federal government can continue to tolerate conditions under which a substantial number of the citizens of tomorrow receive inadequate preparation for effective living." In accordance with this purpose, the grants for general aid should be distributed among the states in accordance with their needs, to be determined by a carefully worked out procedure.

Necessary Freedom Given to States and Communities

In order that states and communities may have the necessary freedom in developing programs suited to local needs, federal legislation should not specify the particular phases of elementary and secondary education for which the federal funds must be expended. To prevent any misunderstanding as to the breadth of the school program for which federal aid was recommended, however, the Committee listed a number of activities and services in addition to regular instructional programs for which the funds should be available. School libraries, services for handicapped children, educational and vocational guidance, provision for books and other instructional materials, and the transportation of pupils were among the activities and services which the Committee considered appropriate for support from federal funds, although in every case with the thought that the amounts expended for such services, if any, should be determined by the states and local school systems.

In addition to the general-aid fund, the Committee recommended a number of other smaller grants to the states. Three of these grants are supplementary to the general-aid fund.

The first special fund would be devoted to the improved preparation of teachers and other educational personnel. The second fund would aid the construction of school buildings, to facilitate the desirable reorganization of attendance and administrative areas. The third grant would be provided to facilitate improvement in the administration of the departments of education in the various state governments.

The general aid for elementary and

secondary grants for buildings, education obvi to each other major public education discussion the question as to why be combining argued that not in the the relative training, bu department with each support of expressed t in some st educational providing purposes a

Committee Issues Inv

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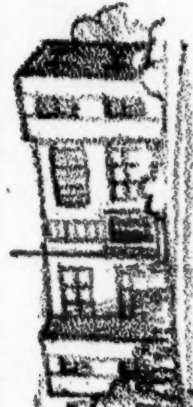
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Need Is C for Adult

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Advisory Committee Sees Growing Wants

Various Services Denied Thousands Would Be Furnished Through Government Help

ndary schools and the three special ts for teacher preparation, school ings, and state departments of edu- on obviously are very closely related ach other. They each have as their or purpose the improvement of pub- ducational facilities for children. In sion of the Committee report, question has therefore been raised o why these four grants should not combined into a single fund. It is ed that the federal government is in the best position to determine relative amounts needed for teacher ing, building construction, and state rtment administration as compared each other and with the general ort of the public schools. Fear is essed that the effect of these grants ome states will be to throw their ational budgets out of balance by iding too much money for some oses and not enough for others.

Committee Recognizes Issues Involved

ne Committee was fully aware of the ss involved in this question. In the run and under ideal conditions, Committee was certainly in favor ne utmost unification of educational is and their administration. In the ediate situation, however, the Com- saw great danger that the pro- n of a single large fund would mere- ake it easy to continue many exist- ound practices.

ne three special grants were there- recommended to provide a direct ulus for improvement. Each of them serve to concentrate attention for ne upon factors in school improve- t, that are universally admitted to f the utmost importance. Certainly dvadverse effects may be anticipated n the establishment of the special s, in view of their small size and temporary period for which they are mended.

dition to the four grants just ewed, the Committee recommended other federal grants to states. One ese grants would be to provide an expansion of educational services adults; the other would be for rural ury service.

ne amounts recommended for adult eation begin at \$5,000,000 and rise to 00,000 a year. Since the major ose of these grants would be to stim- e the development of services which elatively undeveloped in all parts he country, allocation among the s in proportion to their respective t populations was recommended.

Adult Education

ne proposed grants for adult educa- e are not difficult to justify. Many ne 75,000,000 people who now consti- the adult population of the United es had only limited educational op- nities in childhood. More than 36,- 000 of them did not finish elementary ol. At least 3,000,000 are completely rate. Of the 4,300,000 resident s, large numbers need elementary ation, and almost all are in need urther training in American prin- es and practices in order to become ens.

ne proposed fund for rural library ice is relatively small, beginning at 00,000 a year and increasing to 00,000. These grants would be allo- d among the states in proportion to r rural populations.

udies for the Committee indicated nearly 40,000,000 people in rural s do not have access to public li- ies. In a few instances, promising e-a-wide systems of library service e developed. The grants proposed the Committee should make this t of progress more general. They n likely to fill one of the most glar- gaps in the educational system

Although the Committee's recommen- dations for new federal grants have ceived more attention than other parts of the report, the Committee reviewed at some length the experience with exist- ing educational grants, particularly in the field of vocational education.

The Committee realized early in the course of its deliberations that problems of vocational education cannot be dealt with in isolation from problems of general education. It recognized that education is a unitary process, and that there is no clear-cut line between voca- tional education, to train for work, and general education, to train for all phases of living. Every pupil in the secondary school needs some form of vocational education just as every pupil needs gen- eral education. All expect some day to engage in occupations and all need ap- propriate training for the occupational side of their lives.

For more than twenty years, voca- tional education of an intensive and special- ized type has been promoted in the public high schools by special federal grants to the states. Grants have been made for vocational education principally in three fields: home economics, agriculture, and trades and industries. Beginning last year, training for the distributive occu- pations was also included.

Deficiencies in the Existing Program

The Committee found much to com- mend in the program of vocational educa- tion but it also found a number of deficiencies. Some of these deficiencies seem to arise from the fact that the federal statutes authorizing the grants provide for a large amount of detailed federal control over educational aspects of the program. Provisions of this kind have increased the difficulties in admin- istering high schools and have brought about some tendency toward the creation of a dual school system.

Another type of deficiency in the exist- ing program of vocational education re- sults from the fact that the authorities responsible for vocational education in many states are not as expert as might be desired in dealing with labor and in- dustrial problems related to vocational education. In some areas, the schools have organized programs of vocational education in industrial plants in such a way that vocational pupils working without compensation have served as factory operatives. Other unsatisfac- tory situations have developed in connection with the placement of voca-

tional pupils in industry for part-time employment.

The Committee's report was completed before the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. It now seems probable that many of the worst situa- tions of exploitation of vocational pupils will be cared for by the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act with re- spect to child labor and the employment of learners and apprentices. The Com- mittee's recommendations will have to be reconsidered in the light of that Act, but since the Act is far from universal in its coverage, the general objective of the Committee is still valid. What- ever is necessary must be done to pre- vent the commercial and industrial ex- ploitation of children under the guise of vocational education.

Clarifying the Proposals for Aid to Private Schools

Although most educators have support- ed wholeheartedly the federal aid plan proposed by the Advisory Committee, a few have expressed opposition to certain of the recommendations. The ink was hardly dry on the press release announc- ing the report and the report itself was not even printed before a vigorous attack started on certain recommenda- tions of the Committee which were in- terpreted as proposals for aid to private schools. The attack was largely based on misunderstanding of what the Com- mittee actually recommended, and the controversy has receded in importance as the report has come to be more clearly understood.

In its report, the Committee pointed out that when a broad type of public- school program is provided, many of the services of the public schools should be available to children regardless of wheth- er they are enrolled in public schools for instruction. The schools are being used increasingly as agencies for services to children other than, and in addition to, in- struction. Schools may, and in many localities do provide physical examinations and other health services, hot lunches, placement services, and various other types of welfare services for children and youth. It is obvious that these services might be provided through other types of governmental agencies, such as health departments, child-welfare serv- ices, and public employment offices. It is equally obvious that if the services were provided through these other agencies, there would be no basis in law or otherwise for discriminating among (Continued on page 6)

TEST YOUR I. Q. ON FEDERAL AID

Prepared by the Michigan Federation of Teachers

1. Is a program of Federal Aid a new idea?
2. Will Federal Aid shift control of education to Washington?
3. What are the possible benefits from this proposal?
4. How much is being asked for? For what purposes?
5. What organizations and promi- nent individuals have endorsed the idea?
6. How much would Michigan get if the proposed bill were passed?
7. To what extent does the bill pro- vide for equalization of educa- tional opportunities for Negroes and for residents of rural areas?
8. What part has the American Federation of Teachers played thus far in the campaign?
9. What is the status of the Federal Aid Bill at present?
10. Are you acquainted with the recommendations of the Presi- dent's Advisory Committee on Education with respect to Fed- eral Aid?
11. What are the prospects for ade- quate school funds from the coming session of the Michigan Legislature? Why may Federal Aid be especially welcome?
12. What weaknesses are there in the latest bill? Who was responsible for many previous improvements?
13. What Congressmen (and women) have been very active for the bill?
14. Are present methods of financing public education adequate?
15. Why should every progressive teacher know all the answers to these questions—and much more?
16. How can one learn about Fed- eral Aid?

(See References on Page 8)

Trade Unions Fight for Better Schools

by Irvin R. Kuenzli

Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers

HERE IS no more thrilling story in the development of our great nation than the part organized labor has played in building the public-school system of America. A little more than a century ago organized workers fought, bled, and many died in the fight to secure educational facilities for the children of the poor as well as for the children of the rich. In those early days education itself was a controversial matter and many of those who could well afford to send their children to private schools argued that universal public education would tend to "make servants insubordinate to their masters." Those who first advocated free public schools were called radicals and anarchists.

Today public education is generally recognized as an essential and integral part of the structure of our democratic society. The educational philosophy expressed in the first convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 has become an embodiment of our national philosophy. In this convention the American Federation of Labor declared, "We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate to the proper understanding of such demands."

No large and responsible organization in America today dares openly to attack the principle of public education supported by general taxation. Every citizen of the nation is dependent upon the public schools to produce a society in which he may be guaranteed the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Candidates for public office speak in glowing terms of their loyalty to the public schools. Enemies of education no longer directly attack education itself but attempt to undermine the financial structure of the public-school system.

Labor Recognizes New Demands on the Schools

As America has passed from the pioneer day of the log cabin and ox cart to an age of unprecedented mass production and streamlined automobiles and airplanes, education has been faced with new problems. As declared by the American Federation of Labor in its last convention:

"Labor recognizes that the changes in our contemporary society have made new demands on the schools. The simple one-room school is no longer adequate. Today education is one of the major functions of the state. The more complex our democratic society becomes, the greater the need for education as a protection for democratic government. The spread of totalitarianism is accompanied by a suppression of knowledge, the complete subservience of the individual to the state; democracy demands the diffusion of knowledge and the training of the citizen for a full and free participation in the affairs of society. Labor is alert and is thus vitally concerned to see that funds allocated for school purposes are efficiently and properly expended, and that the school program reflects the genuine needs of the community."

Education has, therefore, become a national matter as well as a local and state matter. Rapid transportation has created a highly transient population.

The boy of the hills of Kentucky may be the lawyer of Chicago tomorrow.

Mr. George Googe, one of the members of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education recently declared:

"The American Federation of Labor, my friends, was the first group in America to demand that the federal government give federal aid to education..."

"We are confident that at the next session of Congress there will be established the principle of federal aid to education, distributing the federal funds on the basis of need, not on the basis of the ability of communities and states to pay, because members of the American Federation of Labor and any other true believer in public education knows that discriminations in opportunity for education of the children of this country must be wiped out if democracy means anything in America. If democracy does mean anything in America, it means that our children, no matter in what section of the country they may be so fortunate or unfortunate as to be born, shall be entitled to equal educational opportunity. This proposed legislation which has the President's approval in principle will place aid to the school system on identically the same basis as federal aid in the construction of highways."

National Educational Problems Must Be Integrated

"Highways are important, my friends. This government of ours has spent through federal aid hundreds of millions of dollars annually for the construction of highways, and it is high time that we put children on the same plane."

The Committee on Education at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor declared in its report on the subject of federal aid for education:

"With the changes through which our nation grew from world colonies to a world power together with unparalleled technical change revolutionizing our work customs and standards of living, has come need for adapting our practices in dealing with public and social problems. A nation even with far-spread boundaries has been able to integrate its public life by rapid transportation and quick communications even with mass groups. A nation functioning as a unit naturally thinks of its educational problems as of national concern and is mindful of the necessity for maintaining equal educational opportunity for all the citizens of this democracy. Education lays the basis for overcoming economic and social handicaps in backward states. Only federal grants can overcome existing obstacles in those areas where average incomes are lowest. With this fundamental thesis the American Federation of Labor is in full accord. We are equally convinced that federal grants should in no way interfere with local determination of local educational policies. The Advisory Committee's recommendations rest upon this premise also, leaving to the states the determination of what is a public education institution as well as control over educational policies."

A. F. of L. Urges Adequate Vocational Training

The American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned with the basic philosophy of vocational education as related to federal aid. So important is the problem of providing adequate vocational training, free from political control, that it is probable a separate bill will be introduced making specific improvements in the Smith-Hughes Act and subsequent acts, and providing proper safeguards against industrial exploitation. The new program of vocational education will tend to eliminate federal control of vocational education and place a larger responsibility on state departments of education.

With the decentralization of control in the field of vocational education it will become necessary for the state of Illinois to provide proper safeguards in the use of vocational funds. It has been argued that strict and detailed specifications should be handed down from Washington in order to protect the vocational schools of Chicago from political domination. To

(Continued on page 8)

ADVISORY COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

Education in the Forty-eight States. Payson Smith, Frank W. Wright, and associates.
Organization and Administration of Public Education. Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore.
State Personnel Administration: With Special Reference to Departments of Education. Katherine A. Frederic.
Federal Aid and the Tax Problem. Clarence Heer.
Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education. Paul R. Mort, Eugene S. Lawler, and associates.
The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds. Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey.
Selected Legal Problems in Providing Federal Aid for Education. Robert R. Hamilton.
Vocational Education. John Dale Russell and associates.
Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Disabled. Lloyd E. Bauch.
The Land-Grant Colleges. George A. Works and Barton Morgan.

Library Service. Carleton B. Joeckel.
Special Problems of Negro Education. Doxey A. Wilkerson.
The National Youth Administration. Palmer O. Johnson and Oswald L. Harvey.
Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration. Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey.
Public Education in the District of Columbia. Lloyd E. Bauch and J. Orin Powers.
Public Education in the Territories and Outlying Possessions. Lloyd E. Bauch.
Education of Children on Federal Reservations. Lloyd E. Bauch and William L. Iversen.
Educational Service for Indians. Lloyd E. Bauch.
Research in the United States Office of Education. Charles H. Judd.

Information as to which studies have been issued, prices, etc., may be obtained from the Advisory Committee on Education, North Interior Building, Washington, D. C., or from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Nation's Public School System In Dire Need of Federal Aid

(Continued from page 5)

the children served on the basis of their religion or of the school of their enrollment.

It would therefore seem that if schools are to broaden their functions beyond instruction, they may be called upon to make their non-instructional services more widely available. This is a matter which the Committee thought should be left to determination by the states and should not be foreclosed by the federal government.

Other Services to Be Offered at States' Discretion

The Committee also recommended that states using part of the federal grants for books, transportation, and scholarships be authorized, if they wish to do so, to make such services available for the benefit of pupils attending both public and non-public schools. The states would determine in every case the conditions, if any, under which they would make these services available for pupils attending privately controlled schools. It was assumed, of course, that if the states did decide to make any or all of these services available to such pupils, they would do so through public agencies. No funds would be turned over to private institutions for expenditure.

One of the most compelling factors to which the Committee gave consideration in formulating its recommendations was the practice now prevailing in a number of states which permits the provision of reading materials or transportation for pupils attending non-public schools. It seemed to the Committee that to prohibit the use of federal funds for such services would be a particularly unwarranted encroachment upon the authority of the states when in some cases they had already decided to use their own public funds for such purposes.

The Committee was fully aware of the importance of the issue of federal control. It faced the issue frankly and discussed it in a thoroughly rational spirit, yet on the basis of deep convictions.

In the course of the Committee's studies, every member became convinced that some federal aid is essential if educational services throughout the country are to be brought up to a minimum adequate level. Every member also became convinced that if federal grants are made, there must be a limited amount of federal control, directed primarily at honesty and legality, i.e. the expenditure of federal funds. On the other hand, every member of the Committee was convinced from the beginning that local control of the actual administration of schools has value that it is imperative to retain at all costs.

The problem was to arrive at a plan of federal aid to the states consistent with these convictions, one which would recognize both sides of the problem—(1) the safeguarding of the funds to assure that they would be spent for the purposes for which appropriated, and (2)

the preservation of local control over educational policies.

In preparing its plan, the Committee therefore gave careful attention to audits and reports and to the procedure by which the allocation of funds among the states and within the states would be determined. In connection with these matters it recommended that the authority of federal officials be restricted to the barest essentials. It then went on to add one of the most vital paragraphs of the report:

"In order that local initiative and responsibility may be maintained, all federal action should reserve explicitly to state and local auspices the general administration of schools, control over the processes of education, and the determination of the best uses of the allotments of federal funds within the types of expenditure for which federal funds may be made available. The federal government should in no case attempt to control the curriculum of the schools or the methods of teaching to be employed in them. In those fields, however, it should carry on research and make the results widely available."

Education to Be Improved at Crucial Points

The report of the Advisory Committee on Education deserves public attention. It is the result of the mature thinking of twenty-one representative Americans. Most of them were not even acquainted with each other when they first met. Without hope of financial gain and without any assurance as to how the product of their labors would be received by the President, the Congress, or the public, they labored together over a period of months until they reached a degree of unanimity which no one would have considered possible in the beginning.

The program finally formulated and recommended by the Committee provides means by which federal aid can be so applied as to improve education at the crucial points where it is most in need of improvement.

The program is designed to help the departments of education in the various states to perform their functions with increased efficiency. It attacks directly what is the greatest need of the educational systems of the states, namely, the need for better prepared teachers. It provides a stimulus for the correction of the obsolete organization of school districts in many rural areas, which has come down from a period when communities were isolated and transportation was of a primitive type. It puts the larger share of federal aid where it is most needed, in the parts of the country where the child load is heavy and the financial resources are small.

Finally, the entire program has been constructed with the utmost respect for, and a desire to make more secure, the autonomy of the states and localities in the administration of their schools and the determination of their educational programs.

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Public Schools Must Educate for Democracy

by Goldie Ervin
Chairman of the Educational Policies Committee of Local 192

IN THIS DAY OF the heroic struggles of the people of Spain and China, the infamous Munich betrayal, and the growing waves of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro propaganda, the cry of all democratic-minded persons is, "What can I do to ward off this force that has destroyed democratic rights and privileges in large sections of the globe, and whose aim is to hurl the world into fascist bestiality?" The American teacher asks herself not only, "What can I do," but also, "What is the task of the public school?"

Clearly in our United States, founded on the principles of democracy, the public school must serve as a training ground for democratic living. And the teachers of America must be the bulwark against the infiltration of ideas foreign to our basic ideals. J. W. Studebaker, commissioner of education, sounded the keynote when he said: "Educators today are challenged as never before to deal realistically with this iniquitous blood theory which poisons the springs of civilization. The answer to barbarism has always been enlightenment. And this is still the answer."

Importance of Democratic Procedure Is Stressed

The members of the Professional Problems Committee of Local 192 realized that only in a school system where democratic procedure is exhibited daily before teachers and pupils is it possible to develop a respect for democracy, and so they set for their task the calling of a conference of teacher organizations to discuss democratic participation. As a result of a series of conferences and panels the teachers of Philadelphia began to plan ways to democratize their classroom activities.

The Professional Problems Committee realized that these experiences should be put into concrete form and so they decided to publish *The Workshop for Progressive Education*.

Early in the year we felt the necessity of setting up a special committee on democracy. This committee program is to bring before the teachers of Philadelphia the necessity of teaching racial and religious tolerance through:

1. Vital changes in school curricula
2. Establishment of forums
3. Radio programs
4. Issuing of holiday letters

As a result of this meeting Dr. Louis Nusbaum, acting superintendent of schools, issued a very fine statement in regard to the celebration of Armistice Day. "In the guarding of these fundamental ideas which lie at the basis of American life, the public-school systems throughout the country are faced with a vital and ever-increasing responsibility. It is not sufficient to count and recount our blessings, important as that may be. There must be developed a dynamic attitude, even a militancy, in the matter of holding fast our spiritual inheritance both for ourselves and for our children. Our chief danger lies in the direction of the growing intolerance for groups whose only offense may be a difference of race, creed, or of social status."

Radio Broadcasts Dramatize Program

A few weeks after this meeting a series of radio broadcasts dramatizing each week the contributions of the various racial groups—Negroes, Poles, Italians, and Jews—was started.

American schools need a firm and new educational policy, the core of which must be democracy. The American Federation of Teachers should through its locals give leadership in communities throughout the United States for school programs that will foster racial, religious, and political tolerance and the democratic method.

U. S. Editors Most Interested in Education, Survey Shows

Committee Finds Labor Second Topic

by William W. Wattenberg
Member of the National Educational Policies Committee

SUGGESTIONS FOR LOCALS regarding topics in which public interest is high are the result of a survey now being completed by the National Educational Policies Committee. It is recommended that these topics be made the subject of meetings, talks before labor unions and civic organizations, radio programs, and magazine articles.

Replies to letters of inquiry sent out by the National Educational Policies Committee show wide interest in discussions of how our schools may contribute to the solution of crucial issues. A form letter was sent to a number of publications in all sections of the United States which appealed to specific groups. The letter described the campaign being launched by the Educational Policies Committee, asked for suggestions as to questions with which articles should be concerned, and inquired as to whether the publication would be interested in publishing such articles. Affirmative replies were received from thirty-seven periodicals, representing a reader audience of over 4,000,000.

As editors view the contemporary scene, what are the crucial issues with which teachers should be concerned? Somewhat surprising is the fact that education, itself, was the topic most frequently mentioned. The publications seem to feel that their readers are "up in the air" concerning development in the schools. There appears to be widespread dissatisfaction with traditional schooling, and especially with that phase preparing students to understand the contemporary world.

Other Frequently Mentioned Topics

The second most frequently mentioned topic is labor problems. Several editors want to know what schools are now teaching concerning organized labor, and they want our views concerning what the schools could be doing.

The next most frequently mentioned subjects cluster around the central theme of making democracy work. Specific items under this head are: dealing with propaganda, avoiding fascism, fighting religious and racial intolerance, the nature of democratic procedures.

Other topics mentioned by editors are: consumers' problems, apprenticeship training, peace, enriching everyday life, cooperatives, relationships between farmers and labor, using our productive facilities, moderation in use of alcohol, politics, health, and social legislation.

Excerpts from some of the letters will show the enthusiasm which greeted the announcement of the Educational Policies Committee campaign and the helpful spirit in which specific suggestions were advanced.

From the International Typographical Union, came the following thoughtful comment:

"Your letter was laid aside so that I might give the matter some thought. I realize the important position our teachers hold with regard to the education of our children. It does seem to me that there is more room for some guidance as to the mechanics of our democratic form of government while teaching, of course, would necessarily have to fall short of any particular political activity."

"It seems to me also that there is great need for considerable stress to be laid on the matter of accepting or establishing a code of ethics with regard to the consideration of controversial matters which are to be handled by the vote of the people."

The Union, official organ of the Central Labor Union and Railroad Brotherhoods, declared:

"We . . . feel that your efforts are of considerable worth. While it is pretty

POLICIES COMMITTEE

This page is devoted to the work of the Educational Policies Committee which is now a little more than a year old. Other articles relating to the important work which this committee has been doing can be found in the November and January issues of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* and in the September-October issue of the newspaper. Wanda Taeschner, chairman of the National Educational Policies Committee, will appreciate reports from the various locals on the work they are doing.

hard to say which topic would be best for you to prepare, we think that such subjects as the part Labor has played in formulating the present public-school system, outlines of apprenticeship training, current events and modern history applied to the labor movement, the one-sided educational systems prevailing in the totalitarian states, consumers' problems, and general adult education would be the most practical."

An old friend of the A. F. of T., *Kenosha Labor*, which has materially assisted the young Kenosha Teachers Union, wrote:

"We should like to see the American Federation of Teachers foster a discussion of: (1) How United States productive facilities may be adequately utilized to provide a comfortable standard of living for every family; (2) How education itself can be protected from continuing curtailment as the American economic system continues to contract; (3) How the principles of democracy, including free speech, tolerance, etc., can be extended to economic relations and protected in the political sphere; (4) How education may be freed in so far as possible from its formalism and made a vital thing to adults as well as children."

The *Federated Press* replied as follows:

"The program of the American Federa-

Summarizes Study in A. F. of T.'s Poll

tion of Teachers for stimulating discussion sounds good indeed.

"To interest the labor unionist (by far the majority of Federated Press readers are members of unions) the best bet would be subjects that apply directly to his own problem."

There was a group of editors, whose readers often are victims of prejudice or discrimination, who answered somewhat as did the *American Hebrew*:

"The *American Hebrew* of course is interested mainly in the promotion of better understanding between Christians and Jews, and thus any discussion of the most practical method of achieving such understanding would be of prime importance to us."

Interest in education, as such, was exhibited in such letters as the following, from the *Philadelphia Tribune*:

"What the public needs to know, as I see it, is what the public-school system, from the senior high school down, is attempting to do for youth; how the

Finally, from the National Child Labor Committee came a suggestion which will be immediately applauded by any delegate who attended the banquet at the last annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers:

"It might also be interesting to have a couple of articles by senior, and perhaps junior high-school students, expressing their own ideas of what they want and how it should be done, with full freedom on their part to be critical of education as now presented to them."

Our locals will be rendering an important public service if, in their own localities, they follow the suggestions made by editors. In many cases, they will find local publications willing to give publicity to well-prepared articles. Public meetings on the topics listed and along the lines recommended can increase our effectiveness in establishing a democratic procedure for the making of educational policies. This is the big job ahead of us; for the welfare of school children, we must do it well.

New York Local to Give Award for Greatest Aid to Democracy

by Irving Adler

Chairman of the Educational Policies Committee of Local 5

THE ACTIVITIES OF the Educational Policies Committee of Local 5, New York, will culminate in the Annual Conference and Luncheon scheduled for April 29. In ten forums being held simultaneously, 3,000 teachers will meet with representatives of parent, student, labor, and civic organizations to discuss the key problems of education for democracy today. The climax of the Conference will be the presentation of the first annual Teachers Union Award to a person who has made an outstanding contribution to the practice of education for democracy.

At the present time the Educational Policies Committee does its work through four sub-committees.

The Elementary School Committee organized a conference on "The Child and the Curriculum" at the beginning of the school year. At present this committee is contributing considerably to the success of the activity program experiment in the city through its popular courses on "The Activity Program" and "The Child and the Curriculum."

The High-School Committee, last year, made a study of the relationship between the vocational and academic schools. It recommended measures to eliminate the distinction between the two types of schools and to improve the curricula of both. This year, through conferences with Associate Superintend-

ent Ernst, through meetings with the high-school Union groups, and through a seminar during the spring term, it is encouraging curriculum revision on the basis of a critical evaluation of curricular trends of the past.

The Social Studies Committee, co-operating with leaders of other teachers associations, is working on a proposed four-year social-studies syllabus.

The Committee on Labor Courses is now beginning its third successful semester, offering courses on "The American Labor Movement" and "The World Since the Great War."

The Educational Policies Committee has about fifty teachers active in its sub-committees. Through conferences, courses, articles in the *New York Teacher*, and meetings of school Union groups, it seeks to "implicate the people and excite their interest in the problems of democratic education."

Our work for the future will be guided by three objectives:

1. To stimulate participation by all teachers in the curriculum-revision movement.
2. To combine curriculum revision with those administrative and budgetary advances without which the best curriculum would be smothered to death.
3. To arouse widespread popular support for needed changes, so that through united efforts for the realization of a unified school-improvement program we may make our schools strongholds of advancing democracy.

A. F. of L. Backs Federal Aid for Education

by WILLIAM GREEN, President of the American Federation of Labor

MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO our nation declared for a public-school system. Organized labor was a leader in that movement. Workers of that day wanted equal educational opportunities for their children who were to become the voters of the next decades. Organized labor is again at the head of a movement to provide the means to make possible equal educational opportunities for all in conformity with the best standards.

As a nation we have to think of our citizens as a whole, not as citizens of the several states. Workers move freely from one state to another following their jobs or seeking employment. No state or section can be sure of a uniformly educated citizenry unless there is uniformity of opportunity throughout the nation. Federal allotments to states where low local incomes have deprived children of educational opportunities equal to those of more prosperous states are essential for assuring anything like real equality of educational opportunity as a basis for democratic government and way of life.

A legislative proposal for this purpose was introduced in the last session of Congress and will be considered in the coming session. This measure follows recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education which came into being as a result of Labor's demands. Mistakes and abuses with respect to vocational education roused our indignation to petition for redress. The result was an

Advisory Committee on Vocational Education which found it impossible to make recommendations with regard to that field without considering all of education. The President widened the scope of the Committee's inquiry and made it responsible for recommendations for the whole field. In the main, Labor concurs in the Committee's findings and in sponsoring the bill to put them into effect.

We have drafted amendments which follow the directions of our last convention. In general these amendments would insist upon the same democratic principles for federal relations to public schools as we have found necessary for local schools-representative citizen control. For the administration of federal grants to the states there should be a citizen board or commission to advise the Commissioner of Education just as there are local school boards all over the country. For the federal administration of vocational education, there should be a federal advisory committee consisting of equal representation for labor, employers, and vocational educators with similar committees at every administrative level within the states. Such committees, truly representative, are necessary to keep vocational education constantly serving workers in a changing industry.

Labor believes federal aid to state educational plans is the most important move toward real equality of educational opportunity for all.

Grossman Urges Support of U. S. Bills

(Continued from page 1)

How shall we preserve legislative gains that we have made in social, labor, and educational legislation, how press forward for further enactments? One thing is important to know—the programs upon which the various new legislators in Congress campaigned. This in order that we may press them to uphold those programs. Another thing we must know is the definite needs of our people in the various states for specific legislation.

The program for 1939 has been outlined by the Executive Council at its meeting in December. To what extent do you, as an individual, your local, and your community, feel the necessity for a sound federal aid law, a sane program on health, decent labor laws, social security, and protection of civil liberties? If you will indicate to your representatives and senators on the basis of their election promises and your community needs, your desire for good legislation, they must respond.

You received within the last week some important suggestions on legislative action. In the last issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* a program on federal aid for January was outlined. Have you as an individual acted on these suggestions or seen to it that the responsible committee in your local has taken appropriate action? Will YOU assume responsibility for it now? We list again the important needs and call your attention to the program for February listed elsewhere in this issue.

1. Have your Central Labor Union endorse the Federal Aid Bill.
2. Reach as many individuals, unions, parent-teacher groups, etc., as possible with a description of the Federal Aid Bill and get action from them to the House and Senate Committees.
3. Have your City Council, your State Legislature memorialize Congress to pass the Federal Aid Bill.
4. Write to your State Senators and to Senators Alben W. Barkley and Elbert D. Thomas that the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee be continued with an adequate appropriation.

Your Comment Welcome

The *American Teacher* will gladly welcome your comment on the articles appearing in the current newspaper supplement. This is the second time this year that the newspaper format has been used in addition to the regular magazine published each month.

Federal Aid Bills Are 'Must' Legislation, Says A. F. Whitney

by A. F. Whitney

President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen

ORGANIZED LABOR is united behind the national program of federal aid to education. We support the program unsolicited for we are in the habit of being in the vanguard in the educational movement.

We unionists are proud that America's first labor movement was the outstanding champion of the public school system. We are proud that labor sponsored the land grant colleges after the Civil War; proud that labor supported laws compelling school attendance; proud that labor led the move for free textbooks; stimulated the program for vocational education; contributed to the adult education movement; is now cooperating in the extension of workers' education; and, finally, has brought into the fold of the organized progressive movement of America many of our teachers and professors, who, because of their status as union members, have more security and better tenure of employment.

Why, you may ask, are workers devoted to the cause of extending educational opportunities to all sections of the population? The answer was given 100 years ago by the workers of Pennsylvania, who asserted:

"All history corroborates the melancholy fact, that in proportion as the mass of the people become ignorant, misrule and anarchy ensue—their liberties are subverted, and tyrannic ambition has never failed to take advantage of their helpless condition . . . Let the productive classes, then, unite for the preservation of their free institutions, and by procuring for all the children in the Commonwealth Republican Education, preserve our liberties from the dangers of foreign invasion or domestic infringement . . . Our government is re-

publican, our education should be equally so."

It is not without significance that where freedom no longer rings, there trade unions are abolished and education relegated to the Dark Ages. In Hitlerland the aggressive labor leaders were killed outright or tortured in concentration camps; the best of German literature was burned or segregated from the "Aryan" stuff. A "German" physics was substituted for a "Jewish" science. A minor official in a slaughter-house became Rector of the University of Berlin. And with what result?

William E. Dodd, Jr., who made a first-hand study of the conditions in Nazi universities, gives us these findings:

"In 1924 the total spring registration in the universities was 69,300. By 1931 it had grown to 131,000. In 1933 when the Nazis seized power, it was 130,000. But by the winter of 1935 it fell to 77,000 and 76,800 in the spring of 1936. Thus fascism drives German education back to pre-war standards."

We can apply the lesson learned from these happenings overseas to America today. The call for increased federal grants to the various school systems must be answered. The Federal Aid to Education Act of 1939 is "must" legislation. Government spending in this direction is right in line with the President's recovery program.

Let no one be startled by any manifestation of vigorous opposition on the part of the Liberty Leaguers and their reactionary cohorts, out to cancel the people's mandate of 1936. We expect fascist-minded individuals to oppose much-needed improvements in our educational system. But this time no filibuster must thwart us. For organized labor is united eight million strong behind this program.

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 6. November 1938, pp. 9, 10.
- The *National Education Association Journal*
 1. Jan. 1937, p. 2.
 2. March 1937, p. 69.
 3. May 1937, p. 133.
3. Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education.
4. Hearings on S419 (1st. session, 75th Congress) before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education.
5. N.E.A. leaflet entitled, "Federal Support for Public Education." This is an excellent summary of the most relevant points; it is obtainable free, even in quantities.
6. Research Bulletin of the N.E.A. of January 1937 entitled, "Financing Public Education."

Trade Unions Led Fight for Schools

(Continued from page 6)

demand such standards from Washington for the sake of Chicago is to admit that Chicago and the state of Illinois are unable to handle local school affairs and to protect the schools from political exploitation.

The American Federation of Labor at its last annual convention at Houston, Texas, pointed out the important service which Union teachers may render.

"We recommend that the American Federation of Teachers endeavor to develop a plan of cooperation between its members in the vocational fields and the local committees on education. Teachers can materially assist in helping the workers' committees, upon which workers are competent to speak as experts, with technical aspects of education. Your Committee recognizes the important service which organized teachers, in cooperation with labor, can play in protecting the schools from political control and in providing proper standards of education."

The total amount of money allocated for public education in the proposed bill is pitifully small. Citizens, unaccustomed to thinking in terms of federal expenditures, are confused by sums running into millions. The bill provides a sum of \$40,000,000 for public schools in 1939 increasing to \$140,000,000 in 1945. These figures seem like tremendous sums of money. Yet the total amount per citizen in the United States is only approximately 30 cents to \$1.10 per year. Recent studies indicate that the annual bill for crime and delinquency is 15 billions of dollars; and that criminal tendencies in children often result from over-crowded classrooms, unsanitary conditions, inadequate equipment, lack of vocational guidance, and maladjustment to antiquated curricula.

It is estimated that 200,000 children now in the public schools will be inmates of prisons in a few years. If federal aid could reduce the crime bill by 1 per cent, the saving would be larger than the largest amount specified in the bill for 1945.

The bill to be presented to Congress, by freeing employees in state departments of education from political control and placing them under the merit system, should make possible definite progress in reducing crime and delinquency in all the states.

We of the present generation can be none too proud of the chaotic society we have produced in America. Let us give the children of today every facility for correcting the mistakes we have made and for building a more prosperous nation tomorrow.