

SUN. MON. TUES. WED. THURS. FRI. SATURDAY



The

24:3

Education

November, 1939

AMERICAN TEACHER

In Two Parts—Part I

Propaganda and Indoctrination

Two Articles on AFT
by Students

•
"THE SCHOOLS—WHOSE
RESPONSIBILITY"

•
"STUDENTS AND THE
TEACHER'S UNION"

William H. Kilpatrick
Leif Thorne-Thomsen
William Gellermann
Louis M. Jaffe
Frances Comfort
Clyde R. Miller
Ray Lussenhop
Hazel Murray
Frank E. Baker
Walter G. O'Donnell
Joseph Ehrenreich
Edgar Dale
Kenneth Burke

Published by the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS



Inside the Cover

THE NEW YORK TIMES OF NOVEMBER 7

gave about 14 inches of its valuable front page to a story on "one of the most dramatic shake-ups . . . in modern football history." Nine first-team players on the Yale team were demoted by Coach Poud. The New York Times has assigned Arnaldo Cortesi to Mexico as its correspondent. It is charged that Cortesi is not an impartial reporter in the present Mexican situation. . . . Edgar A. Guest employs five secretaries to answer requests for poems which he reads during his weekly broadcast over CBS. (What is it the English teachers teach these days?) . . . After John Garner was denounced as an "evil old man" he received a telegram from Governor Chandler of Kentucky saying, "I consider you one of the great Americans of all time." . . . It can happen here: The Southern Tenant Farmers Union had a twenty-five-year-old planter, Jim Henderson, arrested in Concord, Mo., for trying to break up a union meeting. Henderson was fined \$45. . . . One of the most important documents published by the United States Senate in recent years is the report of the

workings of the National Association of Manufacturers published by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. . . . War conditions will prevent Denmark and Norway, neutral countries, from participating in the New York World's Fair next year. The Czechoslovakian exhibit, however, will continue. . . . A Ford lawyer participated in the recent Civil Liberties Conference in New York City but was not denounced by Dies. . . . The Philadelphia Bulldog Club cabled the British Bulldog Club and offered to take care of all thoroughbred bulldogs for the duration of the war.

★ RETAIL MILK PRICES CAN BE brought down as much as 4 cents a quart in almost every American city, *Fortune* magazine says in its November issue.

The milk enigma can be solved through use of cheaper distribution methods already available, the magazine declares. After careful inquiry, *Fortune's* editors say that:

"If fluid milk is 5 cents to farmers and 12½ cents to housewives, then with adjustments that will do no violence to present economic beliefs milk can be distributed so as to bring the farmer the same 5 cents or better and cost the average housewife from 9 to perhaps 10 cents at the outside. In fact, one large chain of stores is in a position to sell milk 4½ cents under the average home delivered price and still make a profit."

The magazine points out that the \$3,500,000,000-a-year milk business is one of the biggest in the country, far exceeding the \$2,000,000,000 auto business and even surpassing the \$2,800,000,000 meat-packing industry. Milk accounts for 19 per cent of farm income and 5 per cent of the total national income.

"The trouble with milk is price," *Fortune* says. "From 1929 to 1936, per capita

consumption of milk in the United States dropped 6.8 per cent, and it would be vain indeed to look elsewhere than to the steady high price of milk to the consumer for an explanation.

"The important point to keep in mind is that the present price of milk is set by the cost of home delivery, a service that many people cannot afford.

"Stores now make over half of all sales of milk in a few big city markets, and the trend to stores is apparently on the increase."

★

OUR OWN BOX SCORE: OF 21

American vessels seized since the start of the European war, 18 were held by British and French authorities, according to a list made public by the State Department. Two ships were held for five hours by Nazi submarines. The twenty-first ship was the City of Flint.

Among the ships held for a time by the English (probably some British Admiral who couldn't forget the Revolutionary War) were the "Ethan Allen" and the "Patrick Henry." Both ships, we are happy to report, were released.

★

SURVEY GRAPHIC HAS PUBLISHED

the propaganda section of its November issue as a 16-page reprint and is selling it at the price of 15 copies for \$1.00 as long as it lasts. The special section by Clyde Miller and Louis Minsky is on the Williams Institute of Human Relations, 1939. Other materials which might be used by progressive teachers are: the special twenty-fifth anniversary issue of the *New Republic*, which contains a number of good articles on "The Future of America"; "The Farmer's Share of the Consumers Food Dollar" (Leaflet No. 123) published by the Department of Agriculture; *Building America's* latest issue on the subject of "Community Planning"; RCA Victor Studios' recording of the most dramatic moments from Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" on three 12-inch records (price \$3.50); materials which Frank Gannett's National Committee to Uphold the Constitution will send you for your classes on civics; and for 25 cents a year "Consumer Education," a news letter published by the Institute for Consumer Education, Stephens College, Columbia, Mo.

★

SOME YEARS AGO A SHIP NEWS

reporter interviewed J. P. Morgan upon his return from a Mediterranean cruise with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"I have seen conditions in other countries," answered Morgan, "and on the whole, I am more than ever convinced that I like America best."

"Well, Mr. Morgan," said the reporter cheerfully, "any time you get tired of this country, you can always give it back to us."

P.S.—He lost the job.

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY

Propaganda

ADOLF HITLER
NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN
FATHER COUGHLIN
HENRY FORD
FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT
COLONEL LINDBERGH
JOSEPH STALIN

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The AMERICAN TEACHER

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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.

Drawings by Chandler Montgomery

THE EDITORS of the AMERICAN TEACHER request that no material be reprinted from this magazine without an accompanying credit line stating the source and the issue in which such material appeared.

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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A GAIN THIS ISSUE of the AMERICAN TEACHER is published in two parts, the second part being a newspaper devoted to news from locals and some of the national problems which the Union faces. This issue of the newspaper stresses academic-freedom work, which is rapidly becoming Problem No. 1 for the teachers of America. The fine article on the Mon-

tana case is worthy of wide distribution to non-Union teachers, and the newspaper itself tells the story of what the AFT locals are doing in their month-by-month meetings.

We should also like to call your attention to the symposium on "Propaganda and Indoctrination" which starts on page 18 and includes William H. Kilpatrick. In our December number we are hoping to get a short article from Dr. Kilpatrick on the comments which appear in this issue and then to reprint the symposium as a 12-page pamphlet, selling it at the rate of from 15 to 25 copies for a dollar, depending on the cost of reprinting it. We would like to receive a postcard from any local or teacher interested in having copies of this reprint made available.

We are also planning, because of the number of letters we have received, to publish a rather inclusive article on the retrenchment drive against the public schools. In order to do this we will need the full cooperation of all our locals. We would appreciate letters from AFT members who have any information on their area. Please include newspaper clippings.

The editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER is also interested in getting short articles, approximately one thousand words, from classroom teachers, which deal with experiences in democratizing the school system or some specific case in which the Union's motto—Education for Democracy—was applied in the classroom. We hope to run a number of these in the next few issues.

★ ★ ★

GOOD NEWS for those interested in the children of America came recently when the Supreme Court affirmed the legality of ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by states which have previously rejected it, thus paving the way for ratification by the eight additional states needed.

The case came before the Court from the State of Kansas after the state legislature had refused ratification of the Child Labor Amendment proposed in 1924 and later ratified it. It was contended that too long a time had elapsed since the Amendment was proposed and that the state was without power to ratify the Amendment after having first rejected it.

Opponents of the Amendment now are peddling the argument that the child-labor provisions of the Wages and Hours Act are sufficient. According to the National Child Labor Committee, approximately 75 per cent of the employed children are working in intra-

state commerce and do not come under the Act. This includes children in industries like industrialized agriculture, hotels, restaurants, beauty parlors and garages.

★ ★ ★

WE ARE PREPARING some special combination offers for those who would be interested in using a subscription to the *AMERICAN TEACHER* as a Christmas present. While we cannot release these now, members interested in such offers before our next issue is published may secure them after November 20 by sending us a postcard.

If every member of the Teachers Union gives one such subscription as a Christmas present to a non-Union teacher, we may see a rapid increase in membership during the coming year!

★ ★ ★

THE AMERICAN RETAIL FEDERATION (not out of the goodness of its heart) recently made a study of the growth of the consumer movement in this country. Some of the conclusions of this survey were as follows:

From 1937-38 there was a sizable growth in consumer education. In at least 20 states there are new courses of study in the public schools. In the State of Washington the number of courses rose from 41 to 52 during the year and the number of students increased from 8,550 to 10,575. In 1936 the total membership of consumers' cooperatives was estimated at 677,750, not including 1,695,000 members of credit unions and other cooperative service associations. The estimate in 1939 was 835,000. Multiplying this number by three, the average number of people in a family, we can estimate that probably more than 2,500,000 individuals are indirectly benefited by consumers' cooperatives.

★ ★ ★

SOME TIME AGO we intended to start our own "It's an Ill Wind That Department" to take care of some of the many ironies which continue to crop up in the present crisis.

Our own prize winner thus far is the full-page ad in one of the British educational magazines headed "Books for the Crisis—Our New Nature Study Series."

Under the same heading comes the recent statement of the Agricultural Advisory Council which pointed out that war in Europe would help restore the balance between farm and city prices and bring about more normal business and employment in the United States. The same Council pointed out that "consumers need have no fear of shortage or runaway prices." In connection with this, Farm Research, Inc., an independent organization, indicated that profiteers are using the war in Europe to boost prices arbitrarily and blaming the increase on "hoarding housewives" and "greedy farmers." The organization stated that "government figures indicate that prices paid to farmers have not gone up in keeping with retail prices or with

the 15 to 35-per-cent advances on the exchanges."

The spotty character of increases in prices reveals the extent to which price-gouging is taking place, according to Farm Research, Inc. Lard prices increased 65 per cent in Denver, 45 per cent in Boston and 21 per cent in New York. Sugar prices rose 31 per cent in Detroit but only 4 per cent in Denver. Potato prices went up 27 per cent in Scranton, 25 per cent in Buffalo, 22 per cent in Houston but dropped 5 per cent in Boston and 2 per cent in Savannah. Navy beans cost 61 per cent more in Cleveland, 28 per cent more in Savannah but only 2 per cent more in Boston and 3 per cent in Detroit.

"These major increases in retail prices usually have little or no relationship to wholesale prices," the survey asserts. "The wholesale price of grains and edible meats actually decreased for the country as a whole during the week of September 9 to 16, falling 2.3 per cent and 2 per cent respectively."

★ ★ ★

WHILE AS YET the Moral Rearmament movement has not been captured by anti-labor industrialists of the world, the recent MRA world assembly at Monterey, Calif., was attended by T. S. Mitsui, brother of Japan's chief industrialist, Baron Mitsui; Farrar Vickers, president of Vickers Oil, Ltd., England; A. E. Jukes, president, Vancouver Stock Exchange, Canada; Fred Carter, president of National Lead Company; and George L. Eastman, former president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

The movement has been given the solid support of the Los Angeles newspapers and the MRA people are distributing full-size reprints of a long and laudatory article on the movement that appeared last April 30 in Hearst's *American Weekly*.

★ ★ ★

TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRESENT war boom into a permanent recovery that will furnish jobs at decent wages for millions of American workers was urged by the American Federation of Labor in its September-October survey of business.

"Much will depend on constructive action by unions to (1) raise wages in proportion as labor costs are reduced and (2) to help prevent undue price increases. Increased buying power is essential to make this a permanent recovery," the AFL declared.

The federation noted that tremendous increases in production resulted from the outbreak of war and declared that such increases were the result of expected orders rather than actual orders.

"We have no way of knowing what the demand from abroad will be. If belligerents continue the 'war of waiting,' demands for heavy materials will probably be very much below expectations.

"We can only count surely on our own home market, which depends on the buying power of American wage-earners."

The President's Page

AFL Reaffirms and Enlarges Its Faith in Education

THE HISTORICAL RECORD shows that the organized working people of our country have played a central role in the establishment, the defense and the extension of our system of public education. This highly significant fact is insufficiently recognized by ordinary citizens, by students of education, by public-school teachers and even by members of the American Federation of Teachers. For such deficiency in knowledge and understanding there is no longer the slightest justification. The long and uninterrupted struggle for public education on the part of the American Federation of Labor is reported in a pamphlet of 77 pages prepared by the Workers' Education Bureau. This pamphlet, published under the title of *Labor and Education*, presents a "brief outline of the resolutions and pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor in support of the general principles and practices of education from 1881 to 1938." This unadorned account of labor's efforts in the cause of education is without parallel among the organized lay forces of the United States. With that account every citizen and every teacher should be made familiar. Here is a responsibility of our membership.

At its recent convention in Cincinnati the American Federation of Labor continued the record of the past. In terms of highest statesmanship it continued its long fight for the equalization of educational opportunities for "all the children of all the people," pointing to the absolute necessity of federal aid in the realization of this purpose. It continued its long fight for a program of vocational education adequate to the needs of a great industrial nation and sensitive to the welfare of children and the long-time interests of the working people of the country. Also, pointing to the fact that "there were in 1937 approximately 3,900,000 unemployed persons between the ages of 16 and 25," it asked for a "revision of the curriculum of secondary schools" and urged a comprehensive solution of the "youth problem." In addition it introduced certain new emphases, three of which will be touched upon here: larger labor representation on boards of education, more definite defense of the tenure rights of teachers and clearer recognition of the necessity of bringing teachers into the labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor has long contended for representation on the boards controlling

public education in the United States. In Cincinnati it moved to a more advanced position. Declaring that "the time has come for broadening this principle of representation so that Labor shall have representation proportional to its needs and its interests," it urged "every central labor union to initiate a campaign for adequate representation of Labor." In the prosecution of this campaign the American Federation of Teachers should play an active part. Before the public school can devote itself fully to the task of educating for democracy boards of education must be democratized. No longer should they be composed chiefly of businessmen and the spokesmen of business. Rather should they be composed of persons drawn in proportionate numbers from the diverse ranks of our people. The time seems to have arrived, moreover, for applying this principle to the boards controlling colleges and universities in the United States. This move should be urged upon organized labor everywhere. The social and moral patterns propagated in the institutions of higher learning inevitably have a profound influence upon the elementary and secondary schools.

In its defense of freedom of teaching and tenure rights for teachers the Federation took a vigorous and unequivocal stand. Besides lending general support to the principle of "academic freedom," it passed, at the request of teacher delegates, two important resolutions. In response to the mass dismissal of forty teachers in Jacksonville, Fla., because of union activity and effort to establish a tenure law in Duval County, the convention adopted unanimously the following resolution presented by the Education Committee of which Mr. Kuenzli was secretary: "Since the regimentation of the labor movement and control of the public-school system are two of the first steps in the destruction of democratic governments, and since mass dismissal of public-school teachers without specific charges is an undemocratic procedure and not in the public interest, we recommend to the convention emphatic condemnation of such action and urge all labor bodies of Florida to rally to the support of these teachers who have been unfairly treated." In the case of the arbitrary dismissal of four professors from the University of Montana the convention resolved that "President Green and the Executive Council give all possible support to the American Federation of Teachers and to other labor bodies seeking reinstatement of teachers in such cases as are exemplified by these mass dismissals." This second resolution is of particular significance because it marks a growing concern on the part of labor regard-

ing the conduct of higher education—a concern which the American Federation of Teachers should do everything possible to foster.

A third emphasis in the convention which should be of special interest to the readers of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* was the clear recognition of the necessity of bringing teachers into the labor movement. This point of view was apparent, not only in the general interest in the work of the American Federation of Teachers, but also in the discussion of the excellent report on workers' education. Carl H. Mullen, president of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, in speaking on the subject of labor institutes put the

matter this way: "The teachers must be organized and must become trade-unionists themselves before they will be capable of instructing the labor movement." Here is an insight of the first order. Moreover, the role of labor in society will scarcely be given its appropriate place in the education of the young until the teachers of the country abandon their false tradition of "gentility" and "snobbishness" and identify themselves fully with the common people. Also until such identification is achieved they will be psychologically incapable of conducting a truly democratic program of public education.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

The Schools--Whose Responsibility

Mildred June Janusch

WHAT I AM GOING TO SAY is very unscientific. It is personal opinion, based on personal observation in a very limited although, perhaps, representative area. However, since many of my friends agree with me and since there must be many other students in the city who have the same point of view, it may be of some interest.

In any discussion about the responsibility of the schools it is customary to ask parents, teachers, public officials, citizens for their opinions. Usually the most important group, those to be educated, the students, are ignored. Of course, when asked what the students think about our schools, the cynical answer is that 99 per cent of them don't think—about anything, least of all, school. The tragedy of such a situation lies in the fact that these same students are the people to whom we are going to intrust our most complicated government tomorrow. Obviously, therefore, a point must be made of teaching us how to think, how to make our own government work. It is quite as important that we have the opportunity to practice democracy, to make vital decisions, and to stand or fall by our decisions. We must practice what you preach.

We must share the responsibility for our education if we are to be able to share in the responsibility of our social system. In general, we have little idea of what it means to take our place in a democracy. A student of my acquaintance, backed almost unanimously by his classmates, recently stated that an ROTC unit would be a fine thing because it would develop character in students by training them to take orders. Since we live in a democracy, I think that training in giving and planning the orders would

be quite important. Obedience to the orders should not have to be forced. It should, in general, be the pleasure of those who have made the rules.

Because the faculty and administration are frequently inclined toward this point of view, it is decided periodically that a responsibility should be given to the student. But we don't want that. We do not want responsibilities dosed out to us in reasonable quantities at reasonable intervals, like spring tonics. We want the opportunity, the privilege, of taking responsibilities. We should like to share the responsibilities for the school as a whole as well as for our individual classes.

One of the responsibilities given the students has been the student police force in operation in the halls during classes. They are told when, where and how to operate. By the student body? No, by the administration. The unfortunate "stool pigeons," call them what you will (we have many names for them), are either pitied or heartily despised by the rest of us and are constantly torn between their loyalty to their fellow students and to a duty the school imposes upon them.

Students are quick to feel and resent teacher domination, however subtle. Student government, for instance, would require almost as much training of teachers as of students. From one of the high schools under fire we hear, "Oh, yes, we have a student council. The students run the school, but the teachers run the students." After a theoretically equal discussion between teachers and students, we recognize and resent conclusions drawn up by the teachers, presumably representing the group, but in reality representing the teachers' ideas of what should have been thought.

Although the germ of revolution stirs among us students, an appalling proportion of us have what might be termed the "unconscious fascist attitude": "Oh, well, what's the use? It's less trouble to take orders anyway." Our passivity is the unconscious admission that the only freedom we want is the freedom from worry over what must be done next—à la Mr. Hitler. This attitude on the part of those whom we expect to carry on our democratic traditions cannot be lightly ignored.

Perhaps the student might be allowed to take a concrete share in the responsibility of running his little world, the school. We admit that we would make mistakes. That's obvious. But every lesson we learn in school will be just one more thing we will not have to learn by hard, expensive experience out of school.

As for the classroom: we students are finally beginning to realize that, in general, we are merely machines, keyed to respond to certain word-group stimuli if they end in a question mark. In all other instances we look perfectly blank and are completely lost. Of what earthly use is knowledge if we cannot use it to carry on a decent, human, conversational discussion in the classroom? Have we assimilated anything if we have just learned the answers and are tongue-tied unless the right questions are asked?

When we are out of school, those right questions will obviously not be asked. We must be allowed

the responsibility of asking the questions, of learning to ask questions, as well as of answering them. We should like our classes to be managed democratically so that we could become acclimated to the system and learn to handle our knowledge.

We think that the teacher should not be a machine that pushes buttons and gets answers he knew all the time. He should be counsellor, adviser and lecturer, on occasion. He should be primarily interested in seeing that his students are thinking clearly and logically. He should be able to bring the world of today into the classroom and keep it ever before his students' eyes for analysis.

At the same time, it should be the responsibility of the student to plan the daily lessons—and students would be more merciless (if I may use the word) than teachers. We should be responsible for raising questions, looking up facts, following discussions through to a logical conclusion, or if the issue is controversial, we should be responsible for a thorough discussion and a friendly departure. As for the school as a whole, students should share organization problems as well as disciplinary problems. If the students were responsible for the latter, the problems would probably diminish sufficiently to be handled effectively by the student body.

It would be, at least, enlightening to try the schools as the student's responsibility.

Students and the Teacher's Union

A High School Student

LIBERAL EDUCATORS engrossed in activities for progressive reform and democracy in education, may sometimes overlook the actual effects on the student arising out of the establishment of a teacher's union in a school. The student is, after all, a rather important element in the teaching profession and cannot be ignored.

A few might claim that a teacher's union does *not* affect the lives and thinking of the student. This is like saying that progressive reform and democracy in government, issuing from the Constitutional Convention, had no effect on the lives and thinking of the colonists; like saying that the Teacher's Union asserts the rights of the teacher but not the student. The student is at least half the reason for creating the instrument of the Union.

Being half the reason for the Teacher's Unions, the student is affected by them in a very comprehensive manner, probably far more than most educators

realize. I believe that it takes a student to picture the full extent to which a teacher's union may influence his scholastic experiences; into this picture there enter many things which cannot be discovered through surveys, analysis or surface expressions. One must be in the midst of it, feel it, see it, and report what he has seen to obtain a real understanding. Having experienced the others, I shall attempt to do the reporting.

This school system is probably typical of many. The school board is made up of one or two liberals and labor sympathizers while the rest of the representation is mainly in the interest of the local bank and the chamber of commerce. This body stands at the "top" of the system.

Next in line is the superintendent of schools who is interested in keeping his job. He burns his candle at both ends and the end near the business interests burns brightest. Beneath him is the high-school

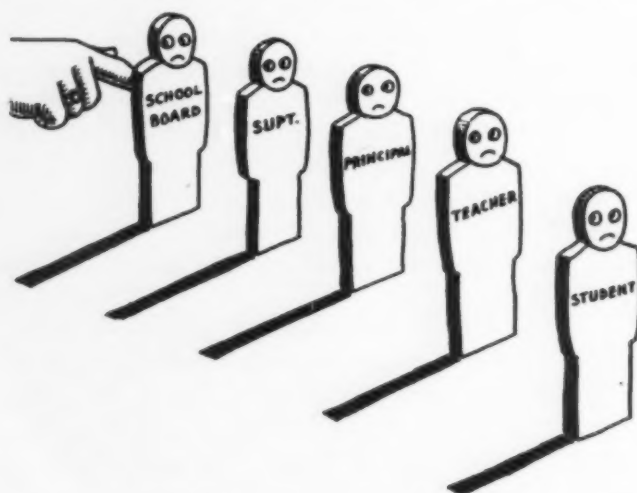
principal who is also very interested in keeping his job and who seems a quiet but smooth politician, playing at all times to the public. Following is a large faculty composed of those who know where their interests lie and those who are surprised at threats of pay cuts. The reason for all this organization, the raw material which flows through the educational machine, the high-school student body, forms in an impressionable mass at the "bottom," a full 2400 strong.

Previous to the introduction of the Union, the old "army" game had been played from the school board on down the line to the student. As the school board was mainly composed of the more "vested" interests of the city, the student had received mainly that type of viewpoint in his education, even though his family might happen to be on relief. Bank failures in town were never discussed in classes. Of course, this does not take into consideration other views smuggled in by some very phlegmatic-looking science and social-science instructors.

This was the heredity and environment into which the Union was born. In its midst a small band of self-asserting men and women organized for their mutual benefit and for the benefits which they hoped to give their students—to work toward a realization of their motto, "Democracy in Education—Education for Democracy."

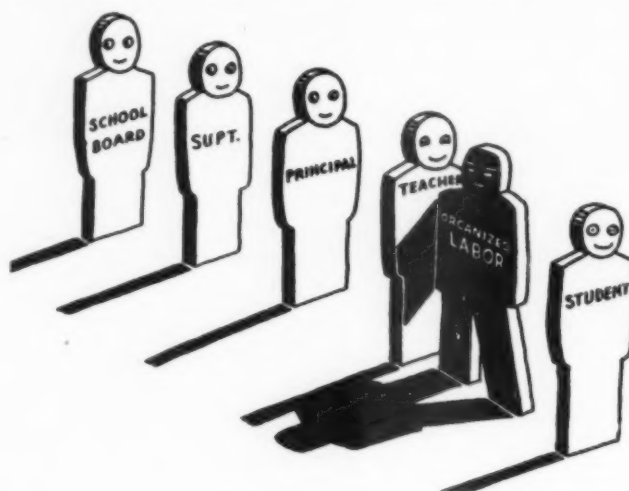
As editor-in-chief on the school paper I was able to feel the Union's presence, probably, before most other students. And one *had* to "feel" its presence as it crept in and was "there" a long time before most people realized it. Some aren't wholly conscious of it yet. But whether conscious of it or not, its influence is felt and was felt on the school paper very early.

A typical description presented by George Seldes in *Freedom of the Press* and *Lords of the Press* might



apply to the school paper on a smaller scale. Censorship was to be expected and anything an editor could get away with toward even mentioning a liberal idea was just pure "gravy." One of the more mirth-

provoking gems of wisdom handed down by one of the administration members was that "the school paper should never discuss controversial issues." It apparently didn't occur to the venerable gentleman



that even the most platonic statements can sometimes cause an argument.

Our paper *did* discuss controversial issues at every opportunity which seemed proper and whenever it looked as though it might be risked. In incidents where the editor was being chastised for the heinous "crime" of mentioning a controversial subject, he found allies in the Union who not only gave moral support and some sound advice, but who would stand up and fight for an issue they found important.

Criticism of ROTC, an especially touchy spot on the administration's anatomy; mention of the National Youth Congress against War; and editorial comments urging students to analyze and study the "isms"—things of this type—began appearing in the paper more frequently. The "powers that be" had discovered, for one thing, that when something was prohibited in the school paper, having a circulation of about a thousand, the self-same article was quoted in the labor paper, having a circulation of over ten thousand.

Gradually the school paper printed a little more of what its editors considered important for the student and less of what a few other people "liked" to see.

Aside from being able to breathe a little freer on the school publication, the effects of the Union were to be noticed in many other places. In possessing more of their personal rights and integrity, the instructors of the school began to assume more the proportions of human beings and less the proportions of "yes" men who did only what they were told. This was reflected in the students.

The students became often more willing, and able, to stand up and challenge a statement handed out from a not-too-reliable source. A good discussion on politics or economics was less an uncommon event in the hall corridors. Demands for a better student government cropped out all over the place and talk

of a student union was on more than a few lips. The student body found that it could get very much aroused over high-handed methods of vacation cuts or over the way some of the affairs of the Student Cooperative Association were managed. The work of the Propaganda Analysis Institute became almost an established part of study in some of the social-science classes. And a student might notice other desirable manifestations of Union influence.

He might notice an increased interest on the part of his fellow students in contemporary history and how they took a closer, and more critical, look at their daily paper. Better assemblies were demanded by the Union and are gradually beginning to appear. The reading material made available to the students seems to be of a better and more comprehensive quality. Some students have made the discovery that it is important to familiarize oneself with the various brands of "isms" in the world today and that it is really interesting as well as vital education. Perhaps a few more were able to figure out a little practical economics, with local applications. Undoubtedly many educational fairy stories were spoiled.

This is not implying that there is any attempt to present a one-sided picture of the other extreme now that the Union has a foothold in the city schools. Far from it. The Union members lean over backwards to be impartial and they will, many times, refuse to discuss in detail, in the classroom, questions on which they feel they might offer undue influence or prejudice to the students. A reading shelf of one instructor may give a fair indication of what I mean. One may find a copy of *Mein Kampf* nestled in between copies of the *Red Network*, *America's Sixty Families*, and the *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*.

Both sides of the question are, indeed, offered to

the student by Union members in our community.

To one looking for such things, with the arrival of the Teacher's Union it seemed as if someone had released a clamp on free thinking. Though the "powers that be" certainly couldn't have approved, many students became willing to take the risk and speak and think for themselves, even though it may have meant a frown or a horrified lecture. Several students began giving voice to their thoughts; and most important of all, some students began having thoughts.

There is an even more untraceable, but none the less important, effect that the Teacher's Union exercises on the student. In fighting for the benefit of the student and for the protection of its members and by the causes which it supports, the Union creates an important understanding in the mind of the average student, an understanding which allows the student to see his instructors as human beings who have somewhat the same troubles, even with Master's Degrees, as "dad" has.

The precaution must be taken to warn that our high school is not heaven for progressive-minded students and faculty members. A terrific amount of work and struggling remains yet to be done. And as the Union has just recently celebrated its first birthday, it may well consider itself as having done a lot for such a tender age. Plans, reaching far into the future, have been made, and I, for one, am certain that with the type of membership that the Union has those plans will materialize.

On the whole, from the standpoint of the student, the establishment of a teacher's union has had an effect that may be compared quite favorably with the effect on a backwoodsman of a first encounter with a bathtub—some of the odor and dirt are gone.

Education and Labor in 1939

Irvin R. Kuenzli

EVERY MEMBER of the American Federation of Teachers should be deeply interested in the activities of the American Federation of Labor during the past year in the various fields of education in the United States. The education program of organized labor has always been, and must always be, an intensely practical program. The very practicality of the program emphasizes its importance. It is significant to note that the AFL through its annual convention and its permanent education committee has been in touch with and influenced many

phases of American education—federal aid for public schools, federal aid for vocational education, the program of the National Youth Administration, revision of the high-school curriculum, apprenticeship training, unemployed youth, teacher training and so forth.

In the field of federal aid the AFL has played an important part during the past year. At the 1938 convention at Houston, Texas, the general principle of federal aid was approved and the Education Committee was instructed to draft a bill in accordance with the philosophy of organized labor. Dr. Floyd

Reeves, chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Education was called into conference and the Federal Aid Bill of 1939 was drafted and presented to Congress. President William Green appointed two members of the Education Committee and Mr. George L. Googe to testify in favor of the bill. It should be noted that the AFL was responsible for the creation of the President's Advisory Committee on Education; was represented on the Committee by George L. Googe; cooperated with the Committee in drafting a federal aid bill; and appointed three representatives to testify in favor of the bill. The bill was voted favorably by the Senate Committee with only one dissenting vote.

In the field of federal aid for vocational education, the AFL assumed a leadership which was shunned by other organizations because of the uncertain and controversial status of vocational education at the present time. The Committee again held a conference with Dr. Floyd Reeves, chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, in order fully to understand the recommendations of this Committee. Later, on April 20, 1939, one of the most significant education meetings in the history of the nation was held at the national office of the AFL when officers of the nation's leading educational organizations met to discuss vocational education. Among those present were: Dr. R. H. Wood, president, American Vocational Association; Dr. Quigley, ex-president, American Vocational Association; Dr. Ben Graham, president, American Association of Social Administrators; Dr. Floyd Reeves, chairman, President's Advisory Committee on Education; Dr. George Zook, president, American Council on Education; Mr. Sidney Hall of the National Education Association.

There were present also a number of state directors of vocational education. A sub-committee representing these organizations was appointed to cooperate with the AFL Committee. As one of the prominent members of the group stated, no other organization in America could have got together such a group of educators except the AFL. At this meeting a wide divergence of views was expressed regarding the need for revision of the Smith-Hughes and George Dean Acts. The controversy centers around the desirability of increasing the minimum age for apprenticeship training from fourteen years to sixteen years and the question of decentralizing control and placing responsibility for vocational programs in the hands of the states rather than in the Federal Government. A sub-committee consisting of officers of the various organizations represented was appointed to iron out these difficulties. Meanwhile, in order to stimulate action, the AFL introduced a bill (S.B. 2460) providing a minimum age of sixteen years for apprenticeship, advisory committees on national and state bases, a national committee on labor standards, and a large degree of decentralization in standards for

vocational education—giving to the states responsibility of adapting vocational education programs to their respective needs. At the recent convention of the AFL in Cincinnati, Ohio, this bill was studied by both the Committee on Education and the Legislative Committee. After considerable deliberation and debate the matter was referred back to the Executive Council and the Permanent Committee on Education for further study. Much progress has been made in clarifying the issues involved and the Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL will probably call a conference in the near future to determine a program of action in the field of vocational education. The general philosophy of vocational training was set forth at the Houston Convention in 1938, and the immediate problem is a practical, functional program of writing that philosophy into legislative enactments and into the curricula of the schools of the nation.

In the field of curricula revision the Permanent Committee on Education has been interested beyond the scope of the Smith-Hughes Law and the George Dean Acts. The Committee called into conference Dr. Charles H. Judd, former head of the Department of Education of the University of Chicago and now consultant in the National Youth Administration. Dr. Judd, after an extensive survey of youth problems in the CCC and the NYA requested the cooperation of the AFL in revising the high-school curricula in order more adequately to meet the needs of youth in an age of mass production. While approving the general plan of making necessary changes in the high-school curriculum, labor insists that there shall be no system of class education and that all students, whether training for professions or trades, shall have an opportunity for a general academic education in terms of their ability and interests. Labor also insists that there shall be scientific guidance and investigation of the possibility of actual employment in the various trades before students are enrolled *en masse* in the various apprenticeship courses.

The Committee on Education has, in fact, been deeply concerned with the whole problem of youth—especially the problem of some 400,000 youths who are unemployed and out of school. President Green requested that the Committee draw up some statement to serve as a "youth charter"—a guide for labor in dealing with the many perplexing youth problems. After many hours of study and discussion the Committee has been unable to write an answer to America's youth problem. One reason for this has been the constantly changing scene in the national and international drama. In the chaotic conditions of the past year no man could say whether youth was headed for peace or for war or whether youth should be trained in the art of living or the art of killing.

In this connection labor has watched with anxious eyes the recently adopted program of the NYA in

training thousands of young men throughout the nation in temporary schools of craftsmanship. Labor was deeply concerned in determining to what extent the NYA was being used as a part of the national defense program and to be assured that the nation would not be flooded with thousands of half trained young mechanics to replace heads of families in industry. The Committee, therefore, called into conference Dr. Aubrey Williams, NYA administrator and Dr. Mary H. S. Hayes, assistant administrator. It was agreed: (1) that the NYA vocational training program should be exploratory and pre-apprentice in nature; (2) that projects should be arranged as far as possible so as not to compete with private industry and employment; (3) that only those with definite skill and aptitudes should be chosen for apprenticeship training in the defense program or elsewhere. The last stage of training in skilled craftsmanship was not clearly defined but it is understood there will be an opportunity for chosen youths to enter the military service. Since it is probable that a large number of these youths will be directed into the air service, it is particularly important that the training result in highly skilled union craftsmen. Both pilots and passengers of our aircraft want to be assured that the planes have been serviced by highly trained experts and not by apprentices. Labor insists that national emergencies and even war crises shall not be used as a means of lowering educational standards in vocational training.

In the whole field of vocational education the AFL has watched carefully the administration of this phase of education in the federal Office of Education. The attempt, in certain states, to use plant training programs as a means of securing labor practically without cost—in the name of education—met with emphatic condemnation from organized labor. Labor cannot countenance child labor disguised under the name of vocational education. Because of the protests of labor regarding this flagrant misuse of federal funds, the administration of this department was reorganized and a special representative appointed to investigate instances of maladministration of federal vocational funds. C. N. Fullerton, who occupies this new position, met with the Committee on Education to discuss the proper functioning of the Smith-Hughes program and needed changes in the vocational curricula.

It should be stated in passing that the President's Advisory Committee on Education has recommended that students in the vocational departments should be given courses in trade unionism. Leaders in the field of labor and education have pointed out that the first step in such a program should be union membership on the part of the teachers themselves. Carl Mullen, president of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, pointed out at the recent AFL convention at Cincinnati that there can be no real pro-



gram of workers' education until the teachers themselves are organized.

In the field of teacher training the Committee on Education has, on numerous occasions, been advised of the fact that labor's contribution to education is almost wholly neglected in teacher-training institutions throughout the nation. Yet John Dewey, noted American educator, has pointed out that the American Federation of Labor has made a greater contribution to education in America than any other organization or movement. The Committee, therefore, called into conference Dr. Spencer Miller, Jr., director of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, and requested that a book be published giving a complete history of the actions of the American Federation of Labor in the field of education from 1881 to 1938. This book has recently been published by the Bureau under the title *Labor and Education*. Dr. Miller and President Green of the AFL have agreed to make the book available to libraries and teacher-training institutions throughout the nation. The interest in this book displayed by delegates at the recent AFL convention is wholesome demonstration of labor's genuine interest in education. It is hoped that the publication of this book will assist in giving organized labor its proper and long neglected place in the history of education in America.

Copies of Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzli's report to the AFT national convention which dealt with the same subject may be secured by writing to the national office. Copies of *Labor and Education* published by the AFL will be available as soon as another printing can be run off.

MRA and the World of Reality

Franklin Fearing

SCIENCE, not as a body of facts but as a method, seems to be man's most effective instrument for coping with a world of social, economic and physical reality in which change is the central fact. Although filled with awe for the results of science, the man-on-the-street has little understanding of the uses and implications of its methods. In spite of a more or less prolonged exposure to educational procedures in which science plays an important role, he is frequently unable to distinguish between illusion and reality, between magical incantation and scientific law. Most civilized persons do not believe that the weather may be controlled by verbal spells, but many appear to believe that social, economic and political phenomena are controlled by supernatural forces which may not be understood, but only propitiated by verbal rites.

The human animal possesses an extraordinary capacity for symbolic manipulations. He not only controls his world through the use of machines which he has made with his hands, but he creates systems of beliefs about how things were, are and ought to be. With whatever ideological material is at hand he constructs verbal systems which provide comfort and security for himself and his class. These systems tell him where and what his problems are, and how they may be solved; they confer order on his world; and, most important of all, they provide assurances of the rectitude of himself and his group and affirm the essential malevolence of the opposition. They are, in effect, the ideological tools which assist individuals and groups in understanding and hence controlling the environment. What, if any, are the limitations on their use and how are they related to the phenomena which they represent?

In times of stress when social change is accelerated and the hard-won and long-established securities and, particularly, the privileges of entire classes are undermined, some of these familiar verbal formulae lose their potency. Those which have become rigid and stereotyped no longer "fit" the world of social reality. Many persons because of inadequate education and class-limited social experience are unable to renovate and reorder their systems of belief to meet the demands of a changing reality. The result is the appearance of anxiety and near panic in large segments of the population. These individuals seek to escape the situation by minimizing or simplifying their problems. This avoidance reaction may even

ONE OF THE MOST important problems which American teachers face is the problem of the behavior of the products of our public-school system after they enter adult life. Have we as teachers any responsibility for the circulation of the Hearst papers or the *Saturday Evening Post*, for the kind of movies which many of our former students support, for the growth of the "chain letter" prosperity and the Moral Rearmament movement which Franklin Fearing examines in this article? Have we taught children "how to read" when our worst newspapers continue to thrive, or have we taught them to "accept words"? Have our students been taught, by and large, to accept the Leader's (textbook's or teacher's) answer without a critical consideration of all answers and an examination of the interests involved in these answers? Have our schools, too often, by the very character of their methods, their program and the content of their courses prepared students for the first demagogue who comes along?

EDITOR'S NOTE.

take the extreme form of a denial of the existence of the factors which precipitated the catastrophe. It is then that individuals and groups search desperately for those affirmations, however superficial, which will appear to re-establish order in a world which seems to have gone mad. It is then that individuals and groups crave yea-saying rather than nay-saying, and require soothsayers who will declare that God is in His Heaven and that prosperity is just around the corner.

It is in some such terms as these that the student of social change may appraise any system, creed or organization which appears in times of social stress and attempts to command the allegiance or orient the point of view of the general public with reference to impending social issues. Buchmanism, or the "Oxford Movement," may be so considered. This movement, as organized by Dr. Frank Buchman, under the current designation of "Moral Rearmament," has offered a program and a solution for practically every human problem, including war, industrial conflict, unemployment and race prejudice. In Europe, and recently in the United States, this movement seems to have gained a large following from persons in the middle and upper income brackets who are, apparently, attracted by the simplicity of its solutions (submission to a "God controlled leadership," "absolute" honesty, purity, love and unselfishness

in individuals) and the superior social and financial status of its promoters.

We do not examine this movement as a religion (if it is a religion) or as a body of doctrine designed to provide solace and consolation to the individual in time of trouble. Our concern is solely with its social philosophy and implied program of action. Movements of a similar character have appeared—and disappeared—before. MRA, however, exhibits a certain psychological pattern which, appearing at a particular time and under a particular sponsorship, gives it an import that, considered merely as another “ism,” it would not have. In spite of what seems to be a studied vagueness, this pattern emerges with surprising clearness. It is our purpose to examine that pattern from the point of view of its social and psychological relevancy to the current American scene.

It has been pointed out that the functional significance of the verbal strategies which we find so comforting lies in the sense of order—and hence security—which they confer. They prepare the individual to meet the exigencies of disease, poverty and death. They may range from the precisely articulated formulations of the professional philosopher and scientist (not to mention the lawyer and economist!) to the snap judgments of the man-on-the-street. Penetrating or superficial, sophisticated or naive, they define a specific situation so as to enable the individual or group to deal with it.

For example, the catastrophe known as the depression could be defined as (a) the result of “purely psychological” causes, (b) the result of sinister machinations of Men from Mars who, in a manner known only to Martians, were able to disembodied themselves and set earthbound inhabitants by the ears, (c) the result of the evil manipulations of “international Jews,” who, seeking world domination, were deliberately attempting to destroy existing society, or (d) the result of the operations of an inadequately coordinated system of consumption and production. The first formulation implies that no material reality was involved, that the whole business was “in the mind” and could have been avoided or eliminated by simply convincing everyone that their difficulties were, after all, imaginary. The second formulation deals with the problem in a similar vein of unreality. However, it does suggest that the depression actually had a cause, but that the cause was beyond human intervention. The third formulation places the whole matter in this world—the “international Jews” are inhabitants of this earth—but it makes use of a scapegoat device and orients the solution towards an aggression on persons rather than towards an analysis of relations. The last formulation places the problem in the here and now and suggests that material phenomena are involved

about which tentative hypotheses may be formulated and tested. This, of course, is a tedious and time-consuming process. It lacks the glamour and drama of conflicts with mystical forces, disembodied Martians and international Jews. Perhaps the most important characteristic of the first three formulations, however, is that they direct attention away from the underlying realities of the situation. They serve, in fact, to conceal those realities.

It must be emphasized, in other words, that not all the strategies or verbal formulations are equally “true” although all may afford, at least temporarily, the same sense of security. It is essential to distinguish between those which, within the limits of human intelligence, direct attention towards relationships among material phenomena and those which “solve” problems by ignoring the relevant factors or by shifting the basis from reality to unreality. The first is one of man’s most essential methods of achieving rationally conditioned action. It is exemplified by the theories and hypotheses of science. The second, although it may provide a comforting sense of security, is conditioned by wishful thinking and results in a cult of unreality. The distinction

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“It has given me new confidence in dealing with labor agitators.” *J. R. Sludge*
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between these two methods is not always easy to make but must be made if human society is to survive on a rational basis.

In times of stress there is a demand for ready-made systems of the second type which afford an immediate escape from confusion and contradiction by denying the existence of the problems or discrediting man's capacity to solve them. MRA, for example, insists that "human wisdom has failed" but that "God has a plan." The troubled industrialist is comforted to find that after all there really is no labor conflict, that he and his employees have precisely the same—but somewhat vaguely defined—ends. There are only (a) a misunderstanding and (b) sinister, subversive "forces" in the form of "agitators" who, because of the evil inherent in their satanic natures, are bent on destroying the beautiful unity between master and man.

Note that through the magic of words the conflict is caused to vanish, and in its place there appears an evil spirit. If you, as an employee, *still* want more pay and shorter hours, it must be because of satanic influences. This, somewhat simplified, seems to be the transcendental mechanism by which an economic problem (and human problem) is turned into a "moral" problem.

The extent to which this is honest self-delusion or a deliberate attempt to conceal relevant but unpleasant facts does not concern us here. The point is that a frame of reference is established as a basis for analysis in which certain factors are identified as causal, with the result that the problem is transcended; and the *status quo* is maintained.

Psychologically, the closest approach to this method of dealing with the problems of life is found in the behavior of children who play games in which roles are arbitrarily assigned, not only to other children, but even to inanimate objects. "You *be* the mamma." "You *be* the papa." "This block of wood is a train." Professor Brady has pointed out (*The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*) the extent and uses of this method of dealing with social problems in fascist countries, where the acceptance of such dicta as "There is no conflict"; "Human problems are not economic"; "The Jew is the cause of all our troubles," is compulsory. In non-fascist countries the acceptance of such statements is, as yet, based on persuasion.

Those who believe, for example, that employer-employee conflict is real and that any analysis looking towards its resolution must regard as primary such underlying material factors as standards of living, wages, hours and profits rather than mystical absolutes, will find MRA unsatisfactory and inadequate. These problems may not be solved by playing at transcendental games. The unpleasant realities involved may no more be legislated out of

existence by these processes of secular prayer or religious acts of faith than can the phenomena of the weather.

It appears to be a characteristic of all cults of unreality that the individual is placed in a position of artificial isolation. Buchmanism seems to involve a curious contradiction in this connection. On the one hand, the individual is regarded as central in the sense that no social change is assumed to be possible except as a change is wrought in each person. On the other hand, the individual is regarded as hopelessly incompetent to solve his problems except under guidance.

The social psychologist can emphatically reaffirm that social institutions have no existence apart from the behavior of individuals. The institutional patterns, however, may not be understood merely as the sum of the behavior of so many isolated human atoms—a purely mechanical conception of society. The behavior of the individual is shaped and determined within a given institutional framework in terms of the social ends which that institution serves. If an industrial institution is organized primarily to give a certain financial return in the form of profits to a particular group of people, those who work within its framework must, willy-nilly, direct their activities to that end. Their individual honesty, purity and unselfishness cannot change this basic reality. There is, to be sure, a margin within which both the primary purpose of the institution and the private moral or immoral motives of individuals may be served without overt conflict. Under stress, this margin will disappear, and the primary purpose for which the institution was designed will determine the behavior of all those who function within it. In a word, institutions determine behavior, not because they have an existence apart from the behavior of persons, but because they exist as a network of relationships—economic, political and social—among persons. The individual within this network is constrained to follow the purposes for which the institution exists. Kind husbands and fathers (within the institutional framework of the home) may be brutal taskmasters within the framework of factory management.

It is possible, of course, that institutions may be fundamentally changed or destroyed, but MRA contemplates nothing so drastic. The existing social institutions—including even fascism—are to remain as they are. The individual man, presumably living in some sort of a social vacuum, is to become unselfish and pure. A fascism based upon absolute love is a bit difficult to imagine—except in the world of phantasy.

The "guidance" which the isolated individual is to receive is perhaps the most mystical aspect of

the MRA movement. The literature of the movement constantly stresses the necessity for such guidance in the form of a "God-directed" leadership. We are informed that democracy is impossible except through such leadership, or, rather, God-directed dictatorship. In these days any social or political philosophy which stresses leadership may well be subjected to the sharpest scrutiny and deepest skepticism. When such philosophies stress, in addition, the complete incompetence of man, without God-directed leaders, to solve his problems, the conclusion seems inescapable that we are in the presence of a system which, whether its supporters know it or not, is more fascistic than democratic. This psychological pattern contains the germ of an extremely powerful appeal, however. It is the appeal upon which all autocracies must rest. "The problem is too big for you; I, as God directs, will decide. Safety and security reside in me."

The writer of these lines yields to none in his respect for truth, honesty, unselfishness and purity (with or without the adjective absolute)—he is even willing to take a moderately firm stand on mother-love—but he does not regard them as things or ends in themselves. Rather they are qualities which occasionally may be recognized in the behavior of some individuals who are confronting and attempting to solve real problems in a real world by the timeworn method of searching for all the relevant factors.

We need not be impressed by the fact that huge stadiums are filled by MRA mass meetings. Movements far less pretentious than MRA have done that. We need not be impressed by the names with which the movement is bespangled. It is probably significant, however, that the captains of industry and the moguls of business seem to be somewhat disproportionately represented: it is, after all, their world which MRA seems designed to save. Finally,

we need not be impressed by the anecdotes of businessmen who, as a result of divine radiograms, are directed in the consummation of exceedingly profitable business deals. The literature of 2,000 years of transcendental healing is filled with stories of miraculous "cures" for the edification of the faithful.

It may be worthwhile to note at this point, however, that it is characteristic of the field situation from which fascism emerges that the individuals in it are (a) in a state of insecurity, anxiety and even panic induced by economic and social disturbances for which their education and social experience had not prepared them, (b) disposed to make material sacrifices in order to maintain, if only on a temporary basis, the social order which provided privileges and apparent security, (c) willing to submit themselves to the domination of a single personality who symbolizes the power which in some manner is destined to lead them out of the confusions which beset them, and (d) disposed to accept mystical formulations which will artificially simplify problems by a denial of their material basis. MRA seems to fulfill these demands. Whether it has been consciously designed to do this or whether it is but another cult which, quite fortuitously, serves these ends cannot at present be determined. In any event, herein lies its significance for American education, for organized labor and for the democratic conception of the social order.

We may wonder, however, to what extent the native hardheadedness of the American man-on-the-street is affected by these persuasive but wholly temporary "solutions" of his life-and-death problems. That is a crucial question. MRA weeks may come and go. A well-oiled publicity machine grinds on. The persuasive Miss West has her picture taken while looking alluringly at Dr. Buchman. Is it, then, as *Time* said in a recent shrewd analysis of the movement, just another Monday morning?

Success, Welfare and the Schools

Percy E. Davidson

THE AMERICAN GLORIFICATION of pecuniary success of the self-made variety is only slightly impaired in influential circles in spite of depressions, wars and current discouragements. Those who have had occasion to collect occupational histories among the successful have noticed the relish—once barriers are down—with which these histories are

recounted, as well as the persisting belief that this country remains a land of equal opportunity for all able and energetic youth, intimations to the contrary notwithstanding. Success stories are still good copy for American newspapers, wherein Success is pictured not only to the great credit of those who succeed, but as convincing testimony, as well, to the merit of the

social system that encourages it—the American way.

While this idealizing of personal success is perhaps characteristic of all pioneer lands, it is undoubtedly true that historical conditions in this country have been peculiarly favorable to its emergence. The popular democratic tradition of the nation has counted the right to rise above the level of one's origin as one of its most significant, if not its supreme, tenet, while the chances for the resourceless which have been associated with a long frontier history and a rapidly expanding industrial economy have done much to validate the principle. The net effect of these conditions has been to fix in the American mind the conviction that climbing the social ladder is the one authentic way of succeeding.

It is consequently not surprising that the American school system has been chiefly prized as an approach to the higher occupational and income brackets, especially on the part of the less well-to-do, whose profound faith in its value to this end has led to great and even pathetic sacrifices. The grade system itself seems to be thought of by many as a vague counterpart of the social hierarchy itself, progression on which from grade to grade is fraught with prophetic significance; and it may be that the monthly report card derives some part of its high significance in American life because of its supposed adumbration of the future social-economic fortune of its bearer. Perhaps the most astonishing thing in the higher education of America, to visiting students from more settled lands, is the elaborate system of scholarship units, grade points and summed numerical minimums for graduation, etc., by which one's status as a more or less successful student is meticulously measured in terms of quantity—measures which are gravely scrutinized by appointment officers in reply to inquiries from employers in need of new hands.

No one will question the merit of seeking the blessings of the higher welfare levels when one has been born on the lower, or of using the schools to this end. Any society, even the most democratic, needs ability at the top, and the schools may well continue to assist ability to find its appropriate place on the social hierarchy. But as conditions change these values may be affected for the generality and ideals of success may change with them.

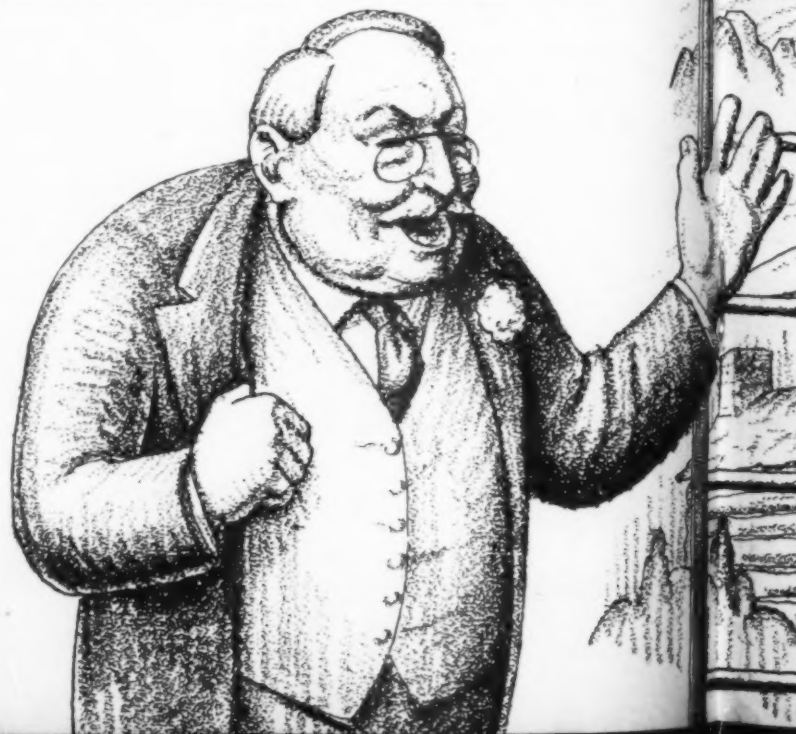
As a new country settles into greater stability under modern conditions, movement on the social ladder necessarily diminishes. Property gathers into the hands of certain families and descends by inheritance to their children and their children's children. Credit likewise becomes less accessible to the resourceless, while openings for private enterprise are restricted by the emergence of giant organizations largely in control of industry. With lessened opportunity to carve out a career for one's self or to attain position by one's own efforts, greater weight is placed on the exchange of influence and favors in behalf of their

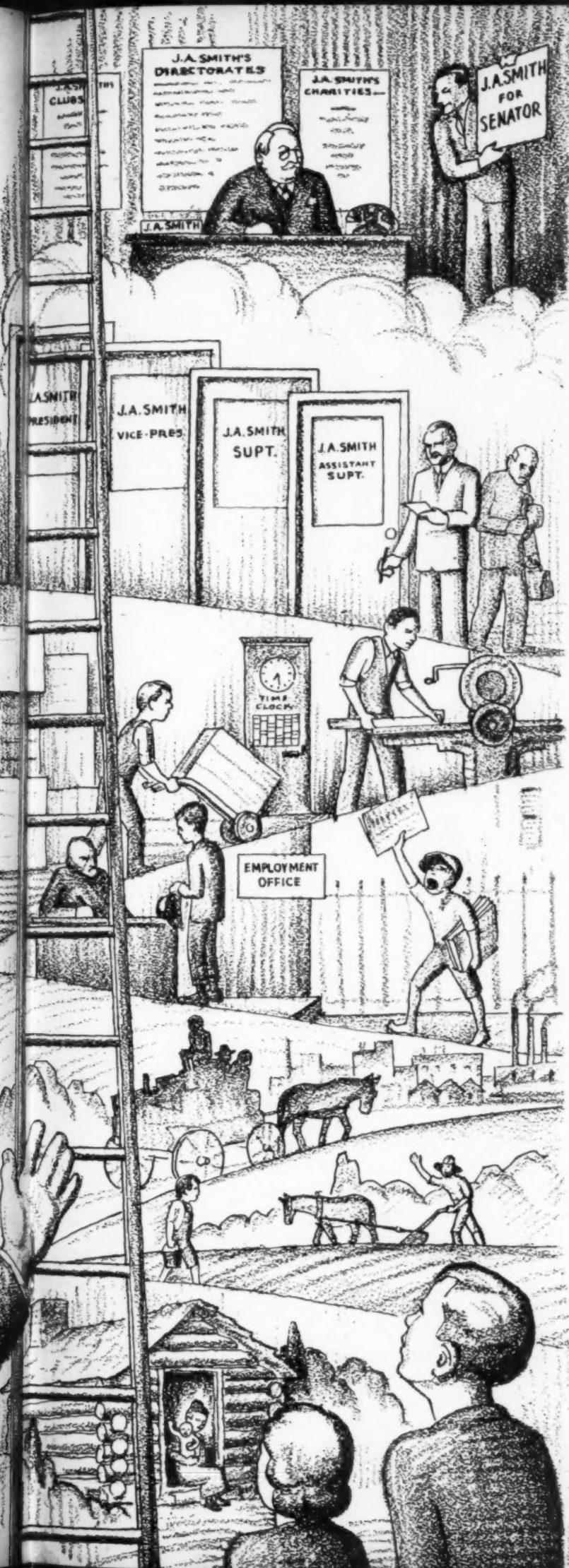
youth among solicitous parents on the more fortunate levels. Admission to training for the higher occupational brackets grows more difficult and costly. Beneficiaries of the relative scarcity of labor in the preferred occupations, with their better incomes, increasingly seek the aid of the state by way of the examining and certificating provisions of state boards, which raise standards in the services concerned and incidentally limit the expansion of supply of those qualified to render these services. Legislators yield to these demands in the interest of a superior service, without realizing that higher standards and the expansion of supply are not incompatible. The over-all development of a modern machine and power economy, while creating new jobs at the technical and professional level, more than counteracts this effect by degrading much skilled labor to the level of the semi-skilled.

Data confirming the existence of this general trend are not as yet abundant, but such as are available certainly suggest it. In a typical California city 53 per cent of a professional sample of workers had fathers in proprietary or professional status, averaged three years of college education, preponderantly entered labor at the professional level, and remained there. A corresponding 63 per cent of the unskilled sample were found to be derived from unskilled, small farmers, and some skilled fathers, for the most part took a grammar-grade schooling or less, entered the labor market at the unskilled level, and spent their working life at this level. Such vertical movement as was evidenced was chiefly confined to contiguous occupational levels.

Additional confirmation comes from a study of American business leaders, and especially from the youth surveys, which have much to say of the "vicious circle"—the circle just illustrated from the status of father to that of son on the same welfare level.

This damming of the channels of approach to the higher social brackets must in the long run have a damaging effect upon the orthodox ideal of personal success in terms of climbing the social ladder, and so





turn attention to the possibility of improving one's mode of living in some other way. If one's children cannot hope to rise to the better planes of living, the one obvious alternative is to achieve the same end by improving the welfare structure as a whole, to the benefit of all. Such a change of mind is already in evidence in recent drastic proposals for government-made purchasing power, in rebellious youth movements, and in numerous crusades for general security.

One need not command the particular expressions of such movements. Many or all of their specific proposals may be misguided. But the common intent is unmistakable, and this must be recognized as a loss of faith in an economy which had originally built up a sanguine hope of indefinite individual improvement. This hope has diminished where it has not been destroyed among great numbers of the less well-to-do as a consequence of trends in technology and economy leading to chronic depression beyond which few see the likelihood of a revival of the characteristically American type of prosperity and opportunity.

A change in the public mind of this character is bound eventually to touch popular expectations from the services of the American school system. The schools will undoubtedly remain as an important channel of approach to the upper rungs of the social ladder for a minority of the children of the land. And if this service is to be rendered effectively, much more must be done in the way of providing ample opportunities to train for the more exacting occupations. But the greater task will still remain—that of increasing the capacity of the great majority to lead a good life at the levels of living on or near those on which they are born. This task the schools have *never* faced frankly and energetically. Consumer education in the broadest sense must be greatly expanded—a type of program not limited to the more economical use of the dollar, but one which will refine taste for and understanding of the better existing opportunities of every kind. The schools must affect for good every item of the family budget, from food, clothing and shelter to recreation and the use of the better culture. They must somehow prepare some 50 per cent of the children of the land for a mode of living that must be conducted at the level of semi-skilled and unskilled labor on a family income of \$1200 or less. Beyond all this, since the welfare structure as such is to be improved through political effort necessarily, a civic program must be devised which will animate and enlighten American youth to employ their ballot and their political influence in a constructive way for the improvement of their own circumstances along with those of the great majority. Any such program challenges the best wisdom and resources of the teaching personnel, who must be enlightened far more than they ever have been in those social-economic realities which affect all levels of welfare from the lowest to the highest.

Propaganda and Indoctrination

William Heard Kilpatrick

HOW THE TWO INTERRELATED IDEAS of propaganda and indoctrination stand in relation to democracy is the question here under consideration.

Propaganda, to begin with that, is a word of ambiguous meaning. Or perhaps more exactly, it is a term of varying meaning. At one extreme it has a good reputation. From this it varies through many intermediate gradations to the other extreme of a very bad reputation. Just now in this country it more usually carries a bad reputation.

The word, it appears, began its career as a term during the Counter-Reformation when there was organized at Rome the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, or society for propagating the faith, or society for the spread of the Christian gospel. It goes, then, without saying that those who first used the word meant by it good and good only. A century or so later when revolutionary ideas sprang up in various parts of Europe against the established governments, the term took on in governmental and other *status quo* circles a subversive and sinister character. Propaganda for these meant the effort to overthrow what (they thought) ought to stand.

In general the term propaganda means any large-scale effort to effect thinking and consequent action, specifically to induce people to think and act in a desired way. As such, we who apply the term may use it with either a good or a bad implication. If we accept the efforts as aimed at a worthy end and conducted in a proper way, the implication will be good, or at least not bad. If, however, we think the aim an unworthy one or the means used improper, the implication will likely be evil. How these things may thus be, and how democracy is concerned, we proceed now to consider.

An instance of good propaganda can be found in recent medical history when a few years ago the profession set out to make our people more intelligent about cancer, especially to induce them to bring incipient cases of cancer early to expert attention for identification and treatment before it was too late.

The primary aim of the medical profession, we need not doubt, was the good of the people concerned. The reasonably pertinent facts were made known; nothing was hid. The specific aim was to make people understand better so they might act more intelligently, might see what was good for themselves and act accordingly.

Now quacks and charlatans, in contrast, seek to make people believe what is not true. They exaggerate ills and cover up contrary considerations—all to the end of profiting selfishly by the fears they have thus wrongly stirred. In the language of ethics, the charlatan seeks to use the people so stirred as means to his own selfish ends, while the doctors in their cancer drive were treating the people as ends. The crucial difference lies in this: The medical profession sought honestly to make the people intelligent about their own welfare, as intelligent as they reasonably could, hiding or covering nothing pertinent to be known. This is treating people as ends, as persons who by their greater intelligence will now be freer from ignorance and prejudice and so better able to decide, each for himself, where his welfare lies. Charlatans exactly do not try to make people intelligent, but precisely the opposite. Instead of trying to lessen ignorance and prejudice, they seek to exploit both in a way to benefit themselves. Instead of seeking the welfare of the people concerned, they do the contrary. They try to profit themselves at the cost of the welfare of the people. They try to use the people as means merely to their own selfish ends.

How democracy is concerned, it is now easy to see. The essence of democracy is regard for the human individual that each one may live best; specifically, that each one may live well himself and at the same time so treat others that they too may live well; that each one of all together may always be treated as an end in himself, and never as a means merely; that each one may become as intelligently self-directing as possible and so better able to help determine his own and the common good. Democracy and ethics thus become very nearly two names for the same thing, the ultimate regard for personality.

The essence of respect for another personality lies in increasing his ability to judge for himself. It becomes then a basic criterion of conduct that I as I deal with anyone shall so treat him to make him, as best I can, a better judge, a more independent judge, of his own welfare (always in relation also to the welfare of others). And if I put information before him to act on, I must, as far as possible, give him not only reliable data, but as well all the pertinent facts that he will need for good judging. And if I comment on the facts, I must so comment—if I deal ethically—that he by my remarks becomes a more intelligent judge of such matters. That this is a high

standard we cannot deny. Some may say it is too high. But it is no higher than our best morals has taught for some thousands of years, and it is no higher than scientists now sternly exact of each other.

Also we see now how education is involved; or better, how education is essentially demanded by ethics and democracy alike. If democracy and ethics are concerned for each person, to help him become as intelligently and considerably self-directing as possible, this is but saying that they must help educate him as the best means of respecting him as a person. And in this we get a new insight into education (in any full sense), that it is concerned to free each one from ignorance and prejudice so that he may be and live his best self and see more surely where his true welfare lies (in keeping always also with that of others). Propaganda of the good kind is then, as far as it goes, good education; it tries to educate people to decide wisely for themselves. While propaganda of the bad kind is an intentionally inadequate kind of education, as cruel as it is effective, selfishly effective for the benefit of the bad propagandists.

With all this before us, let us examine as an illustration of propaganda the effort of the utility companies, as disclosed a few years ago before the congressional inquiry, to prevent and avert public ownership. It was clearly a case of propaganda. What kind was it?

Did these companies primarily seek the welfare of the people? Or did they primarily seek their own welfare, even if need be at the expense of the people?

Did they tell the people all the pertinent facts? Specifically, did they make public their own names as those who were directing the propaganda? Or did they hide their connection with the one-sided professional opinions published to the world and with the one-sided debate materials distributed to the high-school and college students?

Did they try to make the people better independent judges of the matter under consideration? Or did they "cook up" evidence to make the people come out to a pre-arranged (power company) answer?

Did they treat the people concerned primarily as ends or primarily as means, means to the power companies' selfish ends?

These questions answer themselves and show clearly the difference between the doctors' propaganda on cancer and the utility companies' propaganda on public ownership. On these various counts we conclude that the propaganda of these power companies was underhanded and unethical, contrary to any decent ethics and opposed to any proper democratic standards and procedures.

The term indoctrination has a history very similar to that of propaganda, and the essential discussion is the same. The use of the term began when the prevalent philosophy was authoritarian. Men pro-

fessed to have such access to God, the author and maker of the universe, as gave them absolute truth. St. Augustine, for example, is quoted as saying to a pagan official: "I am right, you are wrong. When you are in authority it is your duty to tolerate me, for I am right. When I am in authority, it is my duty to persecute you for you are wrong."

Modern recognized authority is different. It does not claim to be absolute. It recognizes simultaneously three things: (1) the continual accumulation of greater and more accurate knowledge; (2) the factor of continual change, partly predictable, but partly not; and (3) the necessity of the free play of intelligence as our surest basis of increase of knowledge for the better control of our precarious affairs.

Under such circumstances it must be expected that better study will upset cherished ideas. Fifty years ago Newtonian physics seemed almost the last word of certainty, but Einstein and Rutherford and Planck have together upset most of what was then counted certain in this our most dependable science. It was of course no defeat for science, but a victory; for the upset came about by the better application of better scientific methods. But in a world where such things have happened to what seemed the most reliable thinking—in a world where every older person can see important social changes continually taking place—in such a world we have no absolute knowledge. We must expect to change our ideas—which ones, we know not—and accept instead ideas of which, perhaps, we have as yet no full conception.

Those in the middle ages and afterwards who believed as did St. Augustine counted that they had final right on their side when they were dealing with the young or the ignorant. When they taught they felt free to fasten in their doctrines as irrevocably as they could, so that if possible no subsequent experience could change them. They so taught that never in the future (so far as they could effect it) would there be open-minded study of those doctrines. It was under such circumstances that the term indoctrination came into use.

But all conscious teaching was then more or less of this kind. The prevalent theory of knowledge until quite modern times was that somehow knowledge is absolute, and accordingly that teaching is properly a handing-down from above to below, from those who know to those who do not know. Something like this, in fact, remains as the prevalent presupposition of much if not most of our schooling to this day. Some who read these words will right now be wondering what else teaching could be or do.

However, in a changing world knowledge is not absolute—painfully far from it. Better insights, hitherto unobserved facts, new developments in both fact and theory, novel developments in the stream of affairs—all these mean that ability to adjust to

changing conditions is an inevitable necessity. To fasten in our present ideas—from whatever source derived—so that they can never be open-mindedly reconsidered and, if need be, revised, so to teach is to build prejudices. And to teach a child our prejudices is simply to maim him, mentally and morally, as long as these prejudices hold him.

On the contrary, since we have no absolute knowledge and things will change, the only decent treatment of the child is to seek to make him intelligently self-directing. And here all that was said above about ethics and democracy again becomes applicable. So to teach that the child is bound finally to his teachers and their limited outlook and insight is exactly wrong, a clear and direct violation of any just ethics and of any adequate conception of democracy. And if it be done with intent to perpetuate the teacher's doctrine, it becomes a case of exploitation, of using childhood, helplessly, entrusted to the teacher, primarily as means to the support and perpetuation of the teacher's ideas. That the teacher himself believes the doctrine, and believes it to be vital to the welfare of the child and of society, does not make the procedure right. The child must be respected as a personality. This is the foundation of both ethics and democracy. This is the crucial difference between democracy and the authoritarian state and outlook. The cleavage is clear-cut.

The term indoctrination, if we trust the dictionary, has followed about the same course that we saw with propaganda. In fact, most of the dictionaries, as they define indoctrination, seem never to have considered that teaching could be anything other than a handing-down of authority, or at least have shown no fear of danger in that connection. But most current writers on education in the United States use the term indoctrination, as most use the term propaganda, with the implication that the process is unfair.

The discussion above used to distinguish between propaganda (bad sense) and education (full sense) can be repeated here as regards indoctrination. If teaching is of the kind to build prejudices, we count it wrong and call it indoctrination. If the teaching is of the kind to foster open-minded study, both as a means for present independent choice and as the most useful future attitude, we count that teaching proper and call it education (full sense).

In the light of the present world situation some are saying that democracy is seriously threatened, and that we must, therefore, take pains to teach it to our young and teach it so strongly that subversive anti-democratic ideas can never appear among us. In other words, considering things as they are, these people raise the question whether we shall not indoctrinate in democracy. Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Stalin in Russia, each indoctrinates in his position. Shall we not in self-defense indoctrinate

our youth in democracy in the United States?

For this writer, with the foregoing discussion before us, the answer is no. To indoctrinate (in the sense here under discussion) is so to teach that the person thus taught is less likely either now or later to review the matter with reference to possible revision. But, as was brought out above, conditions in this world are continuously changing. We must then expect that, in keeping with other changes, the content and boundaries of democracy will also change and ought under such circumstances so to change. The indoctrinated democrat will, insofar, not only be unintelligent regarding such possible changes, but he will (in tendency) be incapable of noting and studying open-mindedly the need for possible change. He has, then, insofar as these things are true, been mistreated, maimed, made artificially unintelligent, rendered unfit to discharge the duties properly demanded of democratic citizenship. As brought out above, such treatment, such indoctrination, is ethically wrong and essentially anti-democratic.

But, some will ask, is it not inevitable, considering that life begins in a state of helpless infancy, that some indoctrination will come? Does not the culture by its inevitable action indoctrinate youth to its ways and beliefs? Can we, as intelligent parents and teachers, wait to teach our children, our pupils, what they must meanwhile do? Can we in justice wait until they have grown sufficient to judge for themselves? From all such considerations, is not indoctrination an inevitable result of growing up in a given culture? And if so, why kick against the pricks? Why oppose what we cannot avoid? Why not take it and use it?

We have to admit much of what has just been said. Try as we may, we cannot avoid a certain amount of indoctrination. But even so, the argument against indoctrination still holds. It is like friction in a machine. No engineer can make a machine entirely without friction. But he does not, therefore, welcome friction. Instead of being indifferent to what he cannot totally prevent, he works positively to prevent as much as he reasonably can. So with indoctrination. I must begin from the first to teach my children or my pupils the best I know, and a good deal that I first teach them will take on much of the character of prejudice-building. It cannot be otherwise. But I shall, beginning as early as I can, help them to understand the why of what they do. I shall aim as best I can to make each one as intelligent as I reasonably can about what is going on. And as soon as possible I shall trust certain things to them, helping them here as best I can to see and accept all proper responsibilities in connection. Chief among these responsibilities which I shall help to build is that of acting on thinking. In season and out I shall work for this.

I shall know, however, that in spite of all I do to the contrary, a certain amount of indoctrination, of positive prejudice-building, will come in. It will, therefore, be a defined part of the later, adolescent education of each youth to help him go back over what he has earlier learned inadequately and review it critically so that now he may better see and choose what he will think.

Throughout the whole process, then, my preference for education over indoctrination is clear. It guides my child-rearing or my teaching at each point. I work always as best I can to develop toward independent judgment. I so act because I know that the time must come when my child will leave me and strike out on his own. When that day shall come, my hope must be that he has learned how to think for himself, and think for himself even to the point of improving on me and on what I have thought.

Am I then as parent or teacher not free to advocate to my child or my pupil or my student what I believe? In a certain measure, yes; but only on the basis laid down above. My primary duty with them is not to make converts to my cause, but to foster independent

thinking and decision on the part of all whom I touch, independent it may be, even to the rejecting of my cause. This is my duty whether as parent or teacher.

The essence of the whole matter lies in the interrelated aims of respect for personality and the free play of intelligence. It is of the essence of democracy to accept these aims and ideals, even to the degree of letting them change the way democracy has hitherto been conceived. It is of the essence of dictatorship, on the contrary, that it keeps the final decision with the dictator. If intelligence and respect for personality are found in opposition, they must yield. The ultimate in the dictatorship is the will of the dictator, intelligence or respect for personality to the contrary notwithstanding.

For these reasons, propaganda (bad sense) and indoctrination are inconsistent with democracy. Education, on the other hand, as full education as we can get, is an indispensable necessity. For in democracy it is reliance on intelligence and respect for personality that constitute the ultimates. We must build for these qualities and then trust the future to what they say.

Comments on Dr. Kilpatrick's Article

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THE TIME NEVER WAS MORE RIPE for a discussion of this subject than it is now. The problems that have faced us as teachers as well as citizens for the last ten years—unemployment, poverty, illness, industrial strife—have been augmented by the problem of actual war in countries close to us. In order to arrive at some basis for action in meeting these problems we must, ourselves, as well as the children we teach, somehow extract the truth that lies imbedded in the ore of propaganda news. And we must take into account our own prejudices and biases, our own faulty funds of information which are the result of a kind of indoctrination imposed on us. So an article aiming to clarify the subject is most welcome.

In treating the subject of propaganda, Dr. Kilpatrick makes clear that in spite of prevalent misuse of the word, propaganda may be either good or bad depending upon its aim; whether it is worthy or unworthy. He cites examples from the history of the medical profession and of private industry to make his point clear. Groups have a right to use propaganda, he implies, provided it is used for desirable (i.e., the welfare of the people) goals. Now here is where we must be specific on many issues. The cases cited are relatively simple. What constitutes desirable viewpoints and courses of action with regard to socialized medicine, the rights of labor to organize and strike, unemployment, government ownership of the utilities, the role of our government in the war in Europe? The

consideration of propaganda means little until we are willing to be specific on these and other vital problems of public welfare.

An aspect of "good" propaganda which needs further probing is its effectiveness. Like "bad" propaganda it may be blatant, oversimplified, and lead to action that results in disappointment, or evoke either needless fear or false optimism. An example of technically poor propaganda for a worthy cause, such as making people more intelligent about cancer, would be placards and signs that result in panic on the part of large numbers of people because not enough information about the facts is conveyed to them; because the selection of details does not compare favorably with reality. So we need to appraise and use propaganda with an eye to its effectiveness as well as to its goals. This is important when we consider indoctrination and its part in the teaching process.

According to Dr. Kilpatrick, "good" propaganda is synonymous with education "(full sense)" and the same line of reasoning may be used when considering indoctrination. In other words "good" indoctrination is education. Then, using the word in a general way, he tells us indoctrination is a bad thing and admits that it can't be avoided entirely. Like friction in a machine it is inevitable and like an engineer with a machine our duty as teachers is to minimize it. There is a contradiction here. We can speak of good indoctrination—indoctrination that results in socially desirable attitudes and behavior. We can indoctrinate for a recognition of the interdependence of human beings and recognition that the welfare of one individual is dependent on the welfare of others. Dr. Kilpatrick seems to feel that indoctrination must deal with absolutes (perhaps because of the origin of the word). That is not necessarily so. We can indoctrinate for the democratic method

of attacking problems (referring them to the people; obtaining as much group discussion as possible) and at the same time make qualifications and point out that democratic procedures can and do change; that the areas where they operate change; and that on certain occasions, such as on the battlefield, they may even be suspended. The indoctrinated democrat whom Dr. Kilpatrick cites, is at a loss not because of his having been indoctrinated, but because he was badly indoctrinated—conditions were made to appear to him too simple, too static, so that when confronted with reality, which is complex and in flux, he is unintelligent.

"Good" indoctrination as well as "good" propaganda is a part of education. As educators we cannot take refuge in the generality that "the only decent treatment of the child is to make him intelligently self-directing." We must have some criteria for what is intelligent, for what is self-direction. "Intelligently self-directing" can characterize the Wall Street operator or the member of a cooperative. Surely we have some judgments about the kind of intelligence and self-direction we wish to foster. As with propaganda, we must be sure of the desirability of the goals of our indoctrination and exercise care in our method so that contact with reality bears out our indoctrination and does not result in confusion.



Dr. Kilpatrick's article leaves one with the impression that teachers should strive to be more neutral, more objective, less partisan; that they should somehow stand back and by presenting all sides expect some alchemy to guide the growth of the children they care for; that rationality will finally win out.

No, rationality alone will not win out. If we are to influence children that will further desirable (for the many) social change, we must make clear what that change can be, take sides with those who feel the same necessity, and plan our program. We as teacher members of the labor movement have taken sides. It remains for us to fulfill our function in the program that we plan.

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DR. KILPATRICK'S ARTICLE illustrates several propaganda techniques. Color words, such as "selfish," "charlatan," "underhanded," "unethical," and "authoritarian," give bad odor to the opposition. The opposition teaches "doctrines" and "prejudices." It is guilty of "exploitation." Children taught by the opposition are "mistreated, maimed, made artificially unintelligent, rendered unfit to discharge their duties." On the other hand, Dr. Kilpatrick's position is "honest," "ethical," "democratic," "modern," "open-minded," "decent," "just," and "adequate." It is identified with "education," "acting on thinking," "all proper responsibilities," "critical review," "independent judgment," "independent thinking and decision," and "intelligence and respect for personality." Here are glittering generalities and the transfer device. "Good" propaganda, to be sure, but I might not think so if I did not agree with Dr. Kilpatrick's fundamental assumptions.

Dr. Kilpatrick tells us that democracy consists of "reliance on intelligence" and "respect for personality." He insists that the school should be so conducted as to foster these "ultimates." But he does not consider this "indoctrination." If it is assumed, however, at the very outset that the constituent elements of democracy are "ultimates" and should determine all educational practice, there is no need to indoctrinate in democracy-as-such. The child has been given a slant toward democracy such as he would have toward aristocracy if he were taught to con-

form to the station in life to which he was born, to respect his betters and to accept authority without question. Indoctrination by any other name would smell as sweet.

If children are educated in schools which are conducted democratically they are being taught democracy in the most effective way. Belief in democracy is implicit in the democratic way of life and we should recognize that when we employ democratic methods we thereby preclude the simultaneous use of aristocratic methods and the promotion of aristocratic ultimates favored by men who may be every bit as sincere, intelligent and capable as those who believe in democracy.

Louis M. Jaffe

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PROFESSOR KILPATRICK'S PROVOCATIVE ARTICLE has clearly presented the objectives for the teacher today—respect for the personality of the child and fostering open-minded study with the end of enabling the child to decide wisely for himself.

We would like to see the following questions discussed at greater length. A teacher finds that his pupils are anti-Semitic. Keeping the above objectives in mind, he attempts to rid the children of their intolerant attitude. He fails because the outside "educational" forces have indoctrinated them too well. Knowing the susceptibility of youth to fascist slogans in times of crisis, is the teacher justified in teaching democracy strongly? Or we can put it in a series of questions, accepting the assumption that indoctrination means violation of the above objectives.

Can we assume that there are forces today working actively and rapidly to destroy our democracy?

Can we assume that the schools can play an important if not decisive role in the fight against these anti-democratic forces?

Should the schools make this struggle one of their main objectives?

At the present time is teaching for the above objectives sufficient guarantee against the totalitarian menace?

Is respect for the child's personality to prevent teaching for democracy strongly, assuming that such a procedure will aid in staving off the anti-democratic forces? Or is this an utterly false assumption to make?

Does the time element in the race of "education against catastrophe" permit temporary disregarding of the child's personality? Or will such disregard, even though temporary, inevitably serve as a boomerang?

Finally, is it fair to pose the question as intensive education for democracy now with some disregard for the child's personality or totalitarian education later with no regard for the child's personality?

Frances Comfort

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DR. KILPATRICK IN THIS ARTICLE practices what he preaches. Instead of insisting on his own definitions and arguing the validity of the conclusions he derives therefrom, he aims at "increasing the ability (of the reader) to judge for himself." I myself, in commenting, fall into more partisan exposition, constrained by lack of space and of conclusive information and also, I may say, for want of confidence in my own conclusions.

Questions of classroom procedure, in relation to this whole problem of propaganda and indoctrination, concern me primarily. Teaching, by whatever name, which leads to a closed mind is bad; but so also is teaching which leaves the mind open to the four winds of heaven. Too long suspended judgment leads to

a kind of suspended animation. Those who advocate indoctrination for democracy are moved by recognition of the attractiveness of ideologies which claim infallibility and of the social effectiveness of their adherents.

At least those values which Dr. Kilpatrick regards as ultimate in a democratic society ("reliance on intelligence and respect for personality") may justifiably be implanted in our pupils. Moreover, failure to do so, it seems to me, places young democrats at the mercy of young fascists and communists, both in thought and action. Since the child is primarily his own teacher, those values which underly a "full" education as opposed to "mere" indoctrination need to become part of the individual at an early age, to allow for intellectual growth and guard from exploitation.

The crying need, it seems to me, is to teach people how to make up their minds—tentatively enough to allow reopening of the question on the appearance of new evidence, but at the same time confidently and sincerely enough to direct their action. Otherwise they lack either the integration of the doctrine or the flexibility of the realist, or both.

What seems indicated is more classroom practice in the actual process of arriving at valid judgment. We do try to teach how to muster the factual data, but we assume that school children are too immature to weigh the evidence and come to sound conclusions. Actually, the adult population is often little better equipped to make the decisions democracy demands of it. Not the immaturity of children but the failure to adopt criteria of judgment is responsible primarily for the inconclusive or faulty judgments pupils make in our classrooms. If teachers and pupils assume as postulates the basic democratic values, the classroom discussion will do more than train in the application of abstract principles to actual situations; it will "teach" democracy through unfolding its full implications in all our social relationships.

We need not indoctrinate for democracy, but only practice it and insist as well as we can that others practice it too. Democracy as a way of life sells itself; as a social theory it is unassailable. The threat to democratic government lies in our timidity or ineptness at putting democracy to work. "Fundamentally," Commissioner Studebaker has said, "self-government is being undermined by its failure to solve the crucial problems of the technological age. Education for democracy, therefore, is basically concerned with the social and economic issues which have been put up to us by the machine empire." The challenge of the totalitarian governments to democracy is that they have picked up these red-hot issues and even "solved" them, in their own fashion, while we hesitate. Free men must also know how to be decisive.

Clyde R. Miller

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PROFESSOR KILPATRICK WISELY SHOWS that propaganda can be good as well as bad. These terms, of course, are relative. To Professor Kilpatrick and all who believe in the democratic realities that propaganda is good which honestly as well as effectively is propaganda in behalf of democracy. In a democracy it is essential that decisions be based on full knowledge and free discussion of relevant facts involved in issues affecting public welfare. Many of these relevant facts, as a result of propaganda and of censorship, which is a form of propaganda, are hidden or distorted.

It becomes necessary, therefore, in the educational process, to recognize and analyze propaganda if one is to have knowledge of relevant facts. The process of analysis is nothing more or less than critical thinking. It should not be feared but rather should be welcomed by an honest propagandist who is working

in behalf of democratic realities. He should be willing to place all his cards on the table.

Secret treaties secretly arrived at are a contributing cause of the present world crisis. Secret understanding secretly arrived at among individuals and groups affecting our domestic welfare are a cause of many of our troubles at home. Whether the propaganda concerns foreign policy or domestic policy, or issues in our own communities, analysis serves public welfare by bringing relevant facts and forces into the light of day.

The public schools are justified only in terms of public welfare. Public welfare means the welfare of the individuals making up the public. Their welfare is involved in all manner of issues with which are associated all manner of propagandas. Discussion of these issues and analysis of the associated propagandas is not only a proper function of the school but an essential function if democratic realities are to be maintained and extended.



Ray Lussenhop

CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

WHAT IS EDUCATION? Dr. Kilpatrick defines the process as the freeing "from ignorance and prejudice so that" each one may "see more surely where his true welfare lies." Teachers of the social studies would readily accept this definition as well as the distinction between good and bad propaganda. We realize, however, that grave dangers face democracy today. Practically every social or economic problem with which we deal calls for an examination of existing conditions. Persons interested in maintaining the *status quo*, or what they think the *status quo* should be, too often assume that realistic and scientific presentations of social facts are of "subversive and sinister character." Such attitudes are just as prevalent today as a century and a half ago. How can we make use of Dr. Kilpatrick's definitions in the face of modern prejudices?

A good many philosophical absolutes may never be realized in practical life. So with Dr. Kilpatrick's definitions. As an ultimate goal they deserve loyalty. As a practical guide they must be used with caution and a sense of relativity. Given time, freedom and unlimited material we might enjoy the task of true education. Yet school terms are being restricted; in many localities freedom has never amounted to much and growing war hysteria threatens academic freedom everywhere; and materials to place in pupils' hands are meager enough unless we are to exhaust our personal finances providing supplementary reading. To add to these shackles upon the educative process, we must cope with administrator after administrator who believes, and acts upon this belief, that the schools must have nothing to do with the solutions to modern social problems!

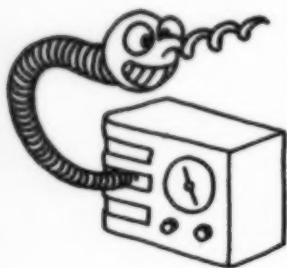
It matters not that we have presented the information and allowed the pupils to think through to a logical conclusion. The students' beliefs have been created. We have selected the material, or directed the activities, upon which these beliefs are based. Therefore, we have indulged in propaganda, and, what is worse, subversive propaganda! We didn't tell the pupils where they were going! That is propaganda (bad) to many an administrator. These academic leaders would, at this point, use Dr. Kilpatrick's definitions and accuse us of loading the source material and activity. The issue would



then revert to the validity of our sources. Where is the academic court of appeal for this impasse?

Shall we, then, use only that information which is considered *safe* by administrators and *sound* by the community's economic leaders? Shall we desist from all action that might be construed as bad propaganda by someone or other? Shall we hesitate when not certain in our own minds that pupils have reached their conclusions unaided by reliance upon authority or belief? What would happen if we acted with this extreme caution? Erika Mann has accused the schools of Republican Germany of following such a path. In her *School for Barbarians* (Modern Age) she writes: "One subject, political propaganda, was missing from the curriculum. The German Republic refused to influence its citizens one way or the other, or to convince them of the advantages of democracy; it did not carry on any propaganda in its own favor. . . . The State was the people's servant; it served in quiet, believing that its master, the people, would be thankful. But the State was wrong." (Page 45.)

Even while we hesitate we fail to shield the child from indoctrination in the school. Political parties, churches, newspapers, fraternal organizations, social groups of all types are too often perpetuated by means of indoctrination. The ideal of success inculcated by our modern press and our political parties may be too strong for any education for social reasoning to counteract. When school boards and school administrators represent these very ideals we find a conflict within the school's structure. We are not a world apart. Both the good and evil forces of our civilization find their places within our educational system; and both forces compete for the loyalty of youth. The adherent of the one way of life welcomes propaganda and indoctrination and has all the prestige of success. The adherent of the other way must be faithful to his ideals of true education but must not make a virtue of weakness. When the time comes to resolve the issue he must be ready to strike blow for blow and not be willing to hide behind a philosophical absolute which too easily renders him impotent.



Hazel Murray

CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

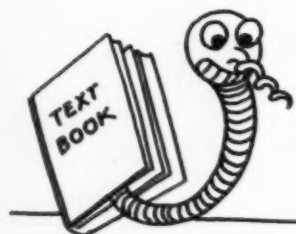
IF I UNDERSTAND DR. KILPATRICK CORRECTLY, indoctrination implies the inculcation of a set of ideas as desirable, permanent and infallible; education involves the choice among all available ideas, based upon an examination of all facts connected with them.

With this I can substantially agree, believing, or wanting to believe at least, that democracy can stand the test of examination if all facts with reference to its origin and development are fully and freely available and its relation to the sanctity of the individual is made clear.

I am conscious, however, of something like a reservation, based upon the assumption that intelligent decisions depend upon the understanding of permanent and ultimate values—values often obscured or even opposed by immediate considerations.

Can a youth be expected to see far enough ahead to choose wisely, when present values seem most real, and since he is at an age to which emotional rather than rational factions appeal more strongly?

Can a youth be expected to make a choice grounded upon ethical principles when he sees about him "right forever on the



scaffold, wrong forever on the throne"? Will he not, in a society which still is far from justly rewarding ethical conduct, choose to succeed rather than to be right if he cannot do both?

I would not imply that the results inferred above to be desirable are impossible of attainment without specific indoctrination, but I am aware of the delicacy and difficulty of the task.

The solution lies, perhaps, in the careful and concrete *practice* of democracy in the schools, a procedure which ought to produce more effective results than a mere passing on of ideas and which cannot fail of ready acceptance.

The necessity of a practical as well as a theoretical democracy is forcibly brought to attention these days when every kind of group and organization is rushing to the defense of democracy, offering in many cases lip service only. They are denying, right in the schools upon whom the defense of democracy really rests, the right of freedom of contract, freedom of speech and other supposedly inalienable rights of the teacher.

When autocratic policies and procedures are a thing of the past in the schools and the teacher is free to *practice* what he preaches, then the advantages of democracy should be so obvious that they will need no special indoctrination nor skillfully directed propaganda.

Frank E. Baker

MILWAUKEE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

I AM IN ENTIRE ACCORD with the author's arguments and conclusions on propaganda, but I cannot accept as sound the rather arbitrary distinction between indoctrination and *full* education. Just as we all agree that propaganda is not inherently either good or bad and that its dangers lie in its purposes and its control, similarly indoctrination must be measured by its aims. To label all indoctrination as bad, which the author seems to have done, is an implied contradiction of the statement that some indoctrination is socially necessary. If some indoctrination is necessary in the molding function of education, then from the social standpoint it is not bad.

Furthermore, I cannot agree with the author's negative answer to the question, "Shall we not in self-defense indoctrinate our youth in democracy?" We not only should, but must indoctrinate them in the fundamental principles of democracy, which to me are unchanging. While the practices of democracy have and will continue to change, the fundamental ideals of personality, freedom, rationalism and equality are unchanging and must be indoctrinated.

Walter G. O'Donnell

CLEVELAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

DR. KILPATRICK'S CONCLUSION that propaganda and indoctrination are inconsistent with democracy cannot be accepted without substantial qualifications. Under favorable conditions, quite unlike the present state of affairs, the theories set forth in his theme would be almost logical enough to warrant indoctrination; but when a theory, however attractive and worthy of promulgation, runs head-on into the concrete world of reality, the theory requires some revision if it is to survive. While granting the social dangers involved in the abuse of either propaganda or indoctrination, both are not only inevitable, but necessary, under present conditions in a democratic society. Theoretically, it is probably a sound educational ideal to reduce indoctrination and eliminate what Dr. Kilpatrick calls "bad" propaganda, but one accords scant credit to the vitality of democracy when it is inferred that the preservation of this system of social control hinges upon the elimination of these two

factors that enter into the moulding of public opinion. If they are inevitable, destructive to democracy, then democracy is inevitably destroyed. Such a conclusion marks a radical departure from the rugged facts of realism.

Proceeding from a sufficiently inclusive definition of propaganda, Dr. Kilpatrick immediately narrows the whole conception of the term by a rather vague distinction between "good" and "bad" propaganda, introducing an ethical element that adds to the uncertainty of the concept. Every influence entering into the formation of public opinion constitutes propaganda. The free play of intelligence, which is one of the essentials of democracy, according to Dr. Kilpatrick, is impossible without the organized influence of propaganda. We are living in a highly organized modern world in which the influence of individuals, acting singly, is overshadowed by group action. In order to influence the minds of many people effectively and obtain action on matters of public policy, large-scale propagandist operations are required. The function of the individual as such, in a democratic state, is to appraise and select alternative policies presented through the channels of group action.

It is the function of the state to compromise and compose the conflicting interests in the crucible of free public discussion, arriving at sound public policy without depriving any group of the right to propagandize.

While it is possible to distinguish between logical and illogical propaganda, and judge propaganda according to the fairness of its methods, Dr. Kilpatrick's over-emphasis upon the distinction between what he calls "good" and "bad" propaganda is likely to give rise to an attitude of intolerance that would endanger the whole structure of libertarian government, introducing a superficial discrimination against certain kinds of propaganda to which the ethical label "bad" happens to be applied. To expect large numbers of people to distinguish between "good" and "bad" propaganda upon the basis of the worthiness of its end, the unselfishness of its sponsors or its absolute connection with general welfare is to assume that ordinary men can solve what experts shun. It is the tendency of each group to regard their particular brand of propaganda as "good," identifying their special interest with the general welfare, while condemning that of the opposition as "bad." The next step is to suppress the "bad" propaganda, and, with it, freedom of speech and the "free play of intelligence" which Dr. Kilpatrick rightly regards as vitally important in a democracy. With absolute truth so elusive in the realm of social science, it would be practically impossible to judge the "goodness" of propaganda from the standpoint of ethical ends, yet this is the basis of judgment in the minds of most persons. All that remains, and Dr. Kilpatrick has made the best of this, is to train individuals to judge the methods of propaganda upon the basis of rules of sound reasoning and objective evidence, enabling individuals to choose intelligently between various forms of propaganda. But to prepare "good" and "bad" labels for various kinds of propaganda, with definitely ethical implications, would seriously impinge upon the main function of organized interest groups—the exertion of influence upon public opinion—and would set one group against another in an intolerant struggle to lay claim to having the *righteous* propaganda. Free speech would be the victim of such contention. Propaganda, then, good or bad, is not only inevitable, but quite necessarily tolerated in a democracy in order that greater evils may not follow. Our problem is not to segregate and suppress "bad" propaganda, but to teach a more enlightened generation to avoid its influences.

The other phase of Dr. Kilpatrick's thesis, setting forth the incompatibility of democracy and indoctrination, is equally commendable from the theoretical standpoint and equally objectionable from the practical standpoint. For those select few who are trained and capable of critical thinking, indoctrina-

tion is an obstacle to development, but every teacher, including Dr. Kilpatrick, is frequently obliged to resort to indoctrination. Because of the press of time and the natural limitations of mental capacity among those with whom we work, little would be learned if much were not accepted upon the basis of authority.

The problem of educators, then, is not to attempt to eliminate indoctrination entirely, but to determine, upon the basis of a democratic philosophy of education, just what ideals and attitudes are worthy of indoctrination. We are too inclined to take democracy for granted and listen to the attack upon its principles with a smug complacency hardly warranted by the conditions of our time. The creed of democracy, enlivened by freedom of discussion and subjected to the critical tests of the scientific method, is deserving of indoctrination. To this extent, democracy needs indoctrination.

Joseph Ehrenreich

PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

IN THIS BRIEF SPACE I can best comment on Dr. Kilpatrick's article by raising some questions. Some of these questions are rhetorical; others might not be asked if I were more certain of Dr. Kilpatrick's meaning. Can an overburdened teacher teach a class of forty-five the art of "independent thinking and decision"? Should teachers really and truly be fair to both sides of a question? For instance, should every school play which teaches tolerance be immediately counteracted by another play which arouses racial prejudice? Or does the new philosophy imply that we should have no teaching that arouses emotions; that all teaching should be impartial and at a cold intellectual level? Will enemies of organized labor, of peace or of democratic rights withhold their blows until our millions of personalities make up their individual minds, after impartial and thorough discussion, to defend democracy? Is a common social purpose no longer one of the aims of education? Cannot an individual, within the framework of a common purpose, retain his personality and his critical faculties?

Edgar Dale

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

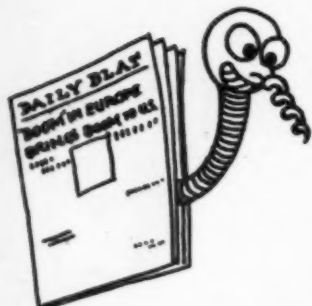
I SHOULD LIKE TO SET FORTH a series of assumptions about propaganda which carry Dr. Kilpatrick's arguments one step forward.

1. There is far less danger of the American people succumbing to war propaganda from abroad than many people imagine. The propagandas which we need to fear most are American products.
2. Propagandas adverse to democracy feed upon the present insecurities, fears and frustrations of the American people.
3. By removing the threat of economic insecurity through active effort on the part of our citizenry to solve the dilemma of poverty in the midst of plenty, we de-vitalize or eliminate dangerous anti-democratic propagandas.
4. We need to develop in our children, our pupils, our citizenry an intense devotion to the worth and dignity of all individuals, to the need for solving our problems cooperatively and to the method of science in the solution of problems.



5. We must learn to recognize our own prejudices—get them out into the open where they can be examined.
6. We must constantly analyze all attempts to get us to make up our minds in a predetermined direction.

Let's suppose that we carried out this last idea in the field of the movies. What would we do about it next week?



First of all, we would not surrender our minds at the box office of the movie theatre. We would realize that the critical barriers that we may ordinarily set up are lowered under the conditions of heightened susceptibility in the movie theatre. We would not accept uncritically the movie assumption that the best people live lives of swank and suavity, that one is really living when he is driving a big car, wearing tails or an evening gown. We would recognize that the skillful dramatist is now, perhaps unwittingly, pressing the button of racial

prejudice, now nationalistic superiority, and making us respond accordingly.

Second, we would ask ourselves some critical questions about current treatment of the European war. For example, in the treatment of the current war is there danger in the fact that in the last month 50 per cent of all the items in the five leading newsreels dealt with war or the preparation for war? Is there danger that in the past few years the ratio of such items to peace items has usually been about twelve war items to one peace item?

Or more basically, is there danger that in radio dramas, movies, comic strips and fiction stories such heavy emphasis is put upon violence as a method of solving problems? Shall we blandly accept the proffered explanation that violence thus vicariously entered into actually acts to prevent real violence, or what shall our attitude toward it be? My basic objection is not that violence is portrayed, but rather that too little attention is given to the dramatization of non-violent methods for solving human problems.

To exercise discriminating taste in the viewing of movies, listening to the radio or the reading of newspapers is of course to cut through this whole problem of propaganda. Indeed, one of the basic tasks of the school is to develop the art of discrimination in regard to all communication—printed, pictorial or spoken.

Nor should we see our task merely in the light of a negative approach. We need the positive approach of radio, movies and a press which tell us the truth about the world in which we live—radio programs like "Americans All, Immigrants All," which informs us about the rich contributions of the various nationalities of which America is made; foreign news sections like that of the *Chicago Daily News*, which helps the reader to make up his mind about foreign affairs with the assistance of able foreign correspondents; movies like the story of Dr. Carver, which portrayed the struggles of Dr. Carver of Tuskegee in winning international success as a scientist.

An approach to this problem of propaganda which does not rest merely with analysis and detection of propaganda but which goes forward to the development of a program for understanding the reality of America can be put into effect right now in American schools. No new subjects are necessary, no new arrangements of schedule, no new courses of study. All that we need is a conviction on the part of teachers that they will educate for critical-mindedness, not for the gullibility that inevitably comes from the memorizing of what "authorities" in science, history or other fields have said. What we must realize is that boys and girls, young men and women, must be helped to arrive at thoughtful answers to all significant problems which they are facing not only in school but in the home and community as well.

Kenneth Burke

AUTHOR OF *ATTITUDES TOWARD HISTORY*

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME to participate in the discussion of Dr. Kilpatrick's engrossing and stimulating article, embodying a spirit so sensitive and humane that one could have full confidence in a world educated in its image. And in commenting on so valuable a statement, I should dare to tinker with it but slightly.

In a few spots the argument seems to be settled by epithet. Where "propaganda (bad sense)" is pitted against "education (full sense)," all men of goodwill must necessarily vote for the second. But though Dr. Kilpatrick occasionally treads about the edges of this temptation, his essay as a whole is obviously concerned with much deeper issues. To approach those, I should begin by adding one more term to his "education-ethics-intelligence-personality-freedom-democracy" equation (as against the "propaganda-indoctrination-authoritarianism" equation). This added term would be "dialectics." In conformity with Mead, as I understand him, I take democracy to be a device for institutionalizing the dialectic process, by setting up a political structure that gives full opportunity for the use of competition to a cooperative end. Allow full scope to the dialectic process, and you establish a scene in which the protagonist of a thesis has maximum opportunity to modify his thesis, and so mature it, in the light of the antagonist's rejoinders.

I wish I knew in advance whether Dr. Kilpatrick concurs in my proposal that "dialectics" be added to the benign side of his *agon*. For I believe that the addition might make a slight but important difference in the nature of his argument. Hence, I should properly not proceed until I had assurance that he consented to my offer (particularly since the offering is made with mildly Trojan-horse designs).

For I should want to insist that the all-important desirability of full opportunity for the enacting of the dialectic process *should be absolutely affirmed and indoctrinated*. In fact, is not Dr. Kilpatrick in effect doing precisely this in pleading so persuasively for "the free play of intelligence"? Yet he is unnecessarily handing advantages to the enemy in trying to avoid the "charge" of indoctrination, for he thereby gives the impression that the educator would retire from his proper role as guide to the uninitiated in offering them the fruits of his greater maturity and knowledge.

I should contend, therefore, that the dialectic process *absolutely must* be unimpeded, if society is to perfect its understanding of reality by the necessary method of give-and-take (yield-and-advance). And on the basis of this absolute, I should next absolutely and undeviatingly place dictatorship as an imperfect medium whose imperfections are heightened to a maximum by organizational efficiency. Only if all reports were in and if there were no vital questions still unanswered, could a social body dispense with the assistance of a vocal opposition in the maturing of our chart as to what is going on, which social functions are helpful and which harmful. Dictatorships, in silencing the opposition, remove the intermediary between error and reality. Silence the *human* opponent, and you are brought flat against the *unanswerable* opponent, the nature of brute reality itself. Insofar as your meanings are incorrect, and you spawn them and maintain them by organizational efficiency without the opportunity of correction, you are hurled without protection against the unanswerable opponent, the opponent that, not speaking, cannot be quashed by the quietus. This "unanswerable opponent" is the actual state of affairs that is of one sort while the authority would decree it another. Let the gradual sifting and selection of persons best fit for pivotal roles in the authoritarian situation progress sufficiently, and the dictator that began by saying only what he would like most

to say ends by hearing only what he would like most to hear—whereat of a sudden the fatal heckler enters, and he must hear what he would like least to hear.

With so much affirmed absolutely, as gospel, I should next move into the area of "complicating factors." Such an area would be exemplified by Dr. Kilpatrick's observations about the propaganda of the public utilities. This would be placed as an instance of the way in which our doctrinal absolute is violated. One could note other violations. Thus, when our press, radio and newsreels play up the doctrines of some factions and play down the doctrines of others, we are again confronting the dictatorial function, with its risks. And insofar as these dictatorial functions gain organizational efficiency, making partial truths act as whole truths, they too move us closer to the unanswerable opponent.

As part of the dialectic process, this unanswerable opponent takes social embodiment in the vessel of a *counter-dictatorship*. Two forms of efficient over-emphasis break into dissociates—the debate, being balked on the parliamentary plane, moves to the plane on which an interchange is still possible, the plane of force (with its own dialectic of parry and thrust, and its ramparts "disputed").

I do not flatter myself that, by repeating this old story here, I am informing anyone of anything. My point is simply to emphasize that, from this approach, got by the addition of "dialectics" to his cluster of terms, the educator's message can be presented in terms of positive indoctrination (with all the psychological advantages of such a mode) as against the tonalities of tentativeness in Dr. Kilpatrick's strategy of presentment. And its affirmation is based squarely on a body of thought and information, that is, on a *tradition*. Yet, though affirming his position as a doctrine, to be indoctrinated, the indoctrinator need not encumber himself with the claim that his doctrine is a finished product as regards accuracy and scope in the filling-out of its implications and the tracing of its ramifications (the road to further development thus being left open).

Dr. Kilpatrick would even concede that democracy may, at some future time, need to be abandoned, or at least to be so modified as to have a radically different meaning from the meaning it has for us. But need he make this concession, through fear of "indoctrination" and its absolutes? Even if times were such as to convince a reasonable man that, within the dialectic process as institutionalized in a given structure of property, parliament and publication, a large degree of dictatorship had arisen in function (regardless of what it might be called in name) and if he felt that, within the limitations of the scene, this error-breeding function could be removed only by the act of a counter-dictatorship, he could still, as an educator, acclaim as his ideal directive the reestablishment of full dialectic opportunity. And thus, even in raw times, he would affirm a *doctrine*, grounded in *tradition*, that tugged in the direction of maturity, towards the abating of the rawness.

And where he could not do this greatly, he could do it somewhat.

There are several passages in Dr. Kilpatrick's essay that implicitly embody this position in favor of doctrine based on tradition, for all his reluctance

to subscribe explicitly. Thus, having equated democratic freedom with ethics, he observes that his ideal "is no higher than our best morals has taught for some thousands of years, and it is no higher than scientists now sternly exact of each other" (whereat we see a past tradition and a contemporary tradition merged). Or when he speaks of "decent ethics" and "proper democratic standards," he is again referring to public, or traditional, matters that impose restrictions upon the individual. Nor, if this tradition, or doctrine, is a good one, need we consider its restrictions as an infringement of an individual's liberties; hence we need not feel that an educator would be imposing his will upon the educated in indoctrinating it—a free act, a good act, and a rationally motivated (i.e., *induced*) act being the same. Dialectically, the individual's freedom depends upon the traditions of the collectivity.

What, in brief, is the function of doctrine? Doctrine is employed in the attempt to coach or induce a reasonable act which, without doctrine, could take place only through spontaneous illumination on the part of the individual. And without either doctrine or spontaneous illumination, the act could be induced only by force or threat of force (which impairs the freedom, or full rationality, of the act). The doctrinal device, as localized for particular scenes, does to be sure become irrelevant in proportion as the scene undergoes change. Or the doctrine remains relevant, too relevant, relevant malignly, as it is employed by authorities consciously or unconsciously to block the development of doctrine more socially useful (doctrine better suited to chart the scene). But to attempt eliminating the problem of bad doctrine by eliminating doctrine *per se* is like trying to eliminate heart disease by eliminating hearts. Only by doctrine could one "act on thinking," for only by doctrine could one describe the nature of the scene in which the act is to take place. However, the dialectical, historical processes by which good doctrine becomes bad doctrine should certainly be studied, and the results of this study patiently indoctrinated, as a "doctrine of doctrines."

A perennial embarrassment in liberal apologetics has arisen from its "surgical" proclivity: its attempt to outlaw a malfunction by outlawing the function. It is happier when in the sign of "emancipation" than when in the sign of "control." But since it has so many just claims to its role as the repository of much "good" doctrine, why should it take on unnecessary handicaps by allowing "bad" doctrines to enjoy alone the strategic advantages that go with the doctrinal act?



Among the New Books

SCHOOLS FOR TOMORROW'S CITIZENS: Public Affairs Pamphlets Number 30, by MAXWELL S. STEWART. New York: Public Affairs Committee. 31 pages. \$0.10.

WHAT KIND OF schools do we want? What kind have we had? Are they of all the people for all the people? How effectively have they prepared their population for citizenship in our modern scientific-technological society? Are they worth what they cost? How shall we determine their worth?

All these and other issues involving our schools are raised and discussed in the short 30 pages of *Schools for Tomorrow's Citizens* which is based mainly upon the findings and recommendations of the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Education in the state of New York. The schools, like other social institutions of modern America, are characterized by a failure to adjust themselves to the demands and possibilities of our rapidly changing scientific and technological society. As in other institutions, this social lag is due to vested interests within and without the institution, general social inertia and the absence of well defined, charted and agreed upon goals. Although teachers of the American Federation of Teachers have been aware of many or most of the shortcomings of our public schools, few will be prepared for the startlingly revealing findings of the Inquiry. All local educational policies committees received the call of the National Educational Policies Committee which asked that all Locals re-excite the interest of the American people in our schools, to implicate them in the examination of the purposes of our schools and to help the community in the formulation of broad educational policy.

During these years of deepening domestic and international economic crisis apologists for the schools have replied to the criticism—that youth has not been prepared for or aided in obtaining jobs—that to teach students to make a life and not a living was the first aim of the school. Teach men how to live together and all else will follow, they said. Now if there is anything demonstrably true about our democratic life, it is that its fullest realization demands greater insights and skills in working and living together than ever before.

What have been our successes in reaching the goal to which we have dedicated ourselves and our profession? What did the tests of attitudes, knowledge, insights and skills about group relationships and demands reveal? That students will make *little* if any personal effort or sacrifice for the things they say they believe in! That most jobs involving civic responsibility and cooperation are left to George!! And further, that the longer our youth stay in school the more extensive these traits become!!! In other words in reply to the question, "Should a student volunteer to help clear up the school yard during the lunch hour?" one of three seventh graders said "yes," while only one of six twelfth graders said "yes." In reply to the question "Should a businessman accept nomination for mayor if loss to business and social interests is involved?" one of four seventh graders said "yes" but only one of seven twelfth graders said "yes." Would society have benefited more by their graduation after the seventh grade?

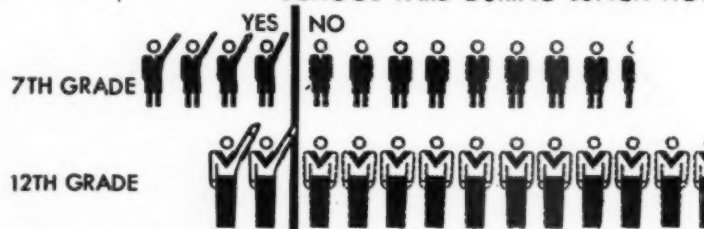
For the educators to acknowledge these shortcomings is not, of course, to accept full responsibility for them. However, it does not assuage the conscience of the thoughtful teacher to be able to point out that many undemocratic attitudes are developed by the emphasis on pecuniary values in our movies, histories, press and business civilization in competition with the school. The report does not, of course, place full responsibility for these and other shortcomings on the shoulders of teachers, supervisors or administrators alone "who have been more anxious than any one to make the school fill a vital place in American life. The difficulty has lain rather with the organization of aims of the schools which have never been fully adjusted to our streamlined industrial age—a failure which is squarely up to the public as a whole."

The encouraging note of the report is not in the last quote but in the fact that of all the 45,000 persons interviewed in the two years during which this inquiry was conducted all agreed that our schools needed changing, all were eager to see improvements, all believed "America does not want a caste system of education in which children, except under unusual circumstances, rise above their parents. America believes in giving everyone a chance, and in giving special opportunities for those of special abilities. . . . It wants them not only to believe in democracy but to play their part in making it work. It wants them to know the happiness to be derived from hard work, as well as the joys of a profitably invested leisure. In short, it expects the school to develop rounded, balanced lives, to contribute to the students' personalities, and to the enrichment of society."

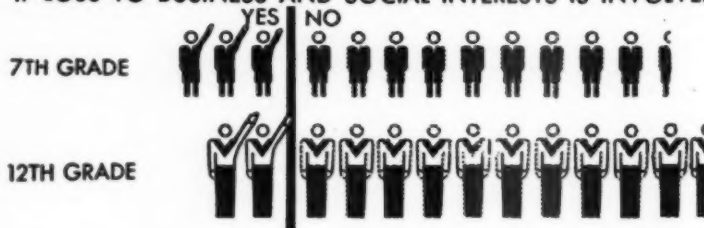
In this report lies a challenge and an opportunity for our profession and especially to the local educational chairmen of the AFT. The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost

PUPILS ATTITUDES

SHOULD A STUDENT VOLUNTEER TO HELP CLEAR UP THE SCHOOL YARD DURING LUNCH HOUR?



SHOULD A BUSINESS MAN ACCEPT NOMINATION FOR MAYOR IF LOSS TO BUSINESS AND SOCIAL INTERESTS IS INVOLVED?



Each symbol represents 8 per cent of all students.

From *Schools for Tomorrow's Citizens*.

PICTORIAL STATISTICS, INC. for
Public Affairs Committee, Inc.

of Education in the state of New York can and probably will be a significant milestone in the history of American education. (Various volumes were reviewed in last year's issues of the AMERICAN TEACHER and completed in the last issue.)

Its significance will lie, however, in who uses it and for what purpose it is used. If we allow the opponents of our public schools who oppose a people powerful because of their knowledge of their rights as free men and women of the instrumentalities for retaining and extending this freedom to assume leadership in the use of this report, its significance is clear. There will be excuse for an intensification and extension of the drive to curtail and redirect American education.

If, however, the educational chairmen of the Locals of the AFT use the full report as a basis of study with their committees and the pamphlet, *Schools for Tomorrow's Citizens*, as a basis of study with labor, fraternal, civic, religious, parental and service groups of the community, hope lies ahead for American education and American democracy. Here again is a chance for the American Federation of Teachers to demonstrate through their educational chairmen a realistic professional approach to the problem of American education.

★ ★ ★ WANDA TAESCHNER

THE SCHOOLS CAN TEACH DEMOCRACY by GEORGE S. COUNTS. New York: John Day. 32 pages. \$0.25.

DR. COUNTS ENTITLES his pamphlet *The Schools Can Teach Democracy*. By implication he suggests in his title that they have not. With this thesis there is little disagreement. In the body of his dissertation he argues that unless the schools do teach democracy there is little hope for the survival of our liberties and our peculiarly American institutions. With this contention there is also little disagreement.

The schools of America are the hope for those who wish to preserve our civil liberties, our free institutions and our opportunities for creative experimentalism. They are the bulwark of our democracy, Dr. Counts rightfully insists.

Teachers assent to this thesis. On the whole all of them believe they are teaching democratically and thereby strengthening the American way of life. Nevertheless, it is here the danger lies, for it is the exceptional teacher who is capable of inspiring her boys and girls to a nobler life and of rising above the dull routines of the classroom which, by their very nature, regiment life. This is particularly true in our large cities where line and staff administrative practices prevail and where school teachers are so markedly influenced by the society of which they are a part. Teachers who see that idealism does not pay are often prone to sell out for their own advancement and are too often willing to give only the demanded time to their task.

It is at this point that the reviewer wishes that Dr. Counts had put more emphasis, for unless the spirit of democracy is maintained in the classroom itself and the techniques of democracy are strengthened in the schools and in society, there will be little opportunity in the future for those who believe in its philosophical implications. To be even more specific, teachers must be functional citizens both within their organizations and in society without. Merit systems must be protected, civil-service laws enforced, examinations honestly given and promotions fairly earned. Stated in another way, teachers who participate in the struggles of their own organization, in party politics and in government itself are helping preserve democracy because they are maintaining the public faith in it by raising the levels of leadership and of civic efficiency. Furthermore, teachers as well as pupils learn by solving their problems, by

making adjustments in the tough struggles of everyday life. We in America need democracy in the market place even more desperately than in the ivory tower and only by teachers becoming active as citizens can democracy in the schools continue.

This point is emphasized, for those who live differently think differently and act differently. Dr. Counts, as a great teacher, knows that boys and girls in school and adults with whom we live are influenced more by our attitudes and activities than by our theology. It is for this reason that Dr. Counts' position is so significant both as an author and as president of the American Federation of Teachers. The American Federation of Teachers has many advocates of democracy today. It is through the implementation of these expressions of faith that the American Federation of Teachers will significantly indicate its real position. It is through the American Federation of Teachers organization of the teachers of America and its protection of the pioneers who lead the way that democracy will be best served.

This pamphlet should be read by every member of the Teacher's Union because Dr. Counts deals with the problems which they face. Of course, Dr. Counts is not expected to produce a blue print. It is only that we who are facing specific problems feel the need for handles to take hold of.

KERMIT EBY

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STAFF STUDY NUMBER 12, SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF NEGRO EDUCATION, prepared by DOXEY A. WILKERSON for the Advisory Committee on Education. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 171 pages. \$0.25.

THE PURPOSE OF *Staff Study Number 12*, prepared by the national vice president-at-large of the American Federation of Teachers, as stated in the introduction, is to do three things: (1) To determine the relative adequacy of public education for the white and Negro populations in those eighteen states which require complete school segregation on all educational levels; (2) to evaluate the present status of the Negro separate school; and (3) in the light thereof, to suggest measures for making more nearly adequate the public education of Negroes in states which maintain separate schools.

According to data presented, which cover the years 1933-34 and, to some extent, the years 1935-36, there is a relatively low standard of education for Negroes in the southern states. The situation is summarized thus: "In general, and especially in rural areas, Negro elementary pupils attend extremely impoverished, small, short-term schools, lacking in transportation service, void of practically every kind of instructional equipment, and staffed by relatively unprepared, overloaded teachers whose compensation does not approximate a subsistence wage. The vast majority of pupils progress through only the primary grades of these schools. The few who finish the elementary grades find relatively little opportunity, especially in rural areas, for a complete standard secondary education. Opportunities for education in public undergraduate colleges are even more limited, and opportunities for graduate and professional study at publicly controlled institutions are almost nonexistent. In most special and auxiliary educational programs and services—public libraries, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, agricultural research, and agricultural and home economics extension—the same low standards obtain. Only in case of one or two Federal emergency programs is there an approach to proportional provision of public education for Negroes in these states."

The recommendations which are made by the Committee for equalizing racial opportunities are based not only on recognition of the fact that justice demands an improvement in the social effectiveness of the Negro but on an understanding of the relation which any large group of uneducated citizens bears to the security of the nation as a whole.

EDMUND HOOSER

For special rates on "The Schools Can Teach Democracy" by George S. Counts in lots of ten or more, write to George T. Guernsey, Editor, the American Teacher, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

On the Labor Front

Edited from the Labor Press
and the Federated Press

ORGANIZED LABOR'S BATTING

average before state legislatures during 1939 was one of the poorest in many years, the Department of Labor reveals in its annual digest of new state laws affecting workers.

Forty-four legislatures held sessions, but only a handful enacted measures favorable to labor, the report showed. Some of them put over statutes drastically restricting labor's rights, and in other states unions had to wage terrific fights to forestall equally repressive laws.

One of the blackest records was chalked up in Pennsylvania, the digest disclosed. The Keystone state was described as having completely "reversed its 1937 policies on labor relations," which were laid down during the administration of Governor George H. Earle.

Under the new Republican regime, Pennsylvania passed a sweeping anti-labor law which strait-jacketed unions in strikes, picketing and other activities. On top of that, it emasculated its workmen's compensation and occupational disease laws, which had been among the most liberal in the country, the Department's summary set forth.

Wisconsin, through its legislature, and Oregon, by referendum, were listed as having adopted equally stringent "labor relations" laws, which wiped out liberties unions had won after many years of struggle. Somewhat milder laws, limiting labor's rights in strikes, were put into effect by Michigan and Minnesota.

Many states went backward in other respects also, the report pointed out. New Hampshire took away from employees in canning industries and in telegraph and telephone offices the benefits of a state law requiring that workers be given one day's rest out of seven.

New Mexico was cited as having abandoned its law which limited employment of women workers to six days a week. Colorado, Minnesota and Rhode Island weakened state labor departments by shifting some of their functions to other agencies.

In over 30 states, "little wage-hour acts," modeled along the lines of the federal law to cover local industries, were introduced, but not one passed. Seven states, however, voted to authorize their labor departments to cooperate with the Federal Government in enforcement of the national act.

The state legislative picture wasn't entirely black, the Department of Labor explained. There were some bright spots, among which the Department named these:

Arkansas, Idaho and Maryland enacted laws covering compensation for occupational diseases.

Utah and Montana improved their

maximum laws for women.

California, Nevada, Minnesota and North Carolina authorized establishment of state councils to promote apprenticeship training.

West Virginia and California clamped restrictions on industrial homework.

Connecticut and New Mexico put through laws curtailing the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

PAID-UP MEMBERSHIP OF THE

AFL for August, 1939, was 4,006,354, representing an increase of 383,267 in the past year, according to a report to the Cincinnati convention.

As in 1939, the teamsters reported the largest membership of any affiliated union—350,000, a gain of 30,800 during the year. Thirteen other unions reported gains of 5,000 or more members, the increases being: operating engineers, 28,800; electrical workers, 25,300; retail clerks, 18,600; stagehands, 14,200; bakers, 10,900; butchers, 10,800; laundry workers, 9,800; hotel and restaurant workers, 8,900; hatters, 7,500; hod carriers, 6,700; state, county and municipal workers, 5,700; maintenance of way employees, 5,300; and brick and clay workers, 5,000.

Expenditures for organizing declined from \$1,174,014 to \$889,549. Receipts for the year ending August 31, 1939, were \$1,800,249, as against \$1,844,203 for the preceding 12-month period.

DECISIONS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE

to organized labor are likely to be handed down before the nine justices of the U. S. Supreme Court, who gathered for the Court's one hundred and fiftieth session in Washington, D. C., on October 2, hang up their black robes next summer.

Pending before the Court is the National Labor Relations Board's certification of the Pacific Coast longshoremen in a geographical unit. The case is being contested by the American Federation of Labor.

Also coming before the Court this year will be the Ford and Republic Steel cases against the NLRB, it was expected. At present both cases are pending in the courts after decisions in favor of the unions by the Board.

It is thought likely that the wage-hour law will be brought before the Court during the present term for a review of its constitutionality. In the one decision handed down on this subject so far the law has been held constitutional.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

Labor will soon start an intensive organizing drive, with more than 800 local committees in every industrial community in the country designated to

seek out unorganized plants in their sections and prepare the way for organizing campaigns, the Federation stated today. The local committees will be named by the city central labor bodies affiliated with the Federation.

THE TWO AFL PAPERMAKERS'

unions ended successfully a three-week strike at Gouverneur, N. Y., which granted them a contract with an immediate 5-per-cent wage increase and another 5-per-cent increase on November 24. . . . Kenneth Thomson, secretary of the Screen Actors Guild (AFL), has urged movie actors to resist any pay cuts which the producers may propose because of the European war. . . . The new Typographical Union contract for New York City includes paid vacations for the first time—also wage increases of \$1.85 per week and the continuation of the 5-day week and 7½-hour day. . . . The Teamsters Union (AFL) at Tucson, Ariz., recently won a wage increase for unorganized cowboys who were serving as movie extras. . . . The Baldwin Locomotive Works signed the first union contract in its 130 years of existence. It was with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) at Eddystone, Pa. . . . A union-shop contract providing \$300,000 in annual wage increases for 1,500 clerks in New York City's small retail stores has been signed by the Retail Drygoods Employees Union (CIO) and the New York Retail Drygoods Association. . . . The SWOC is demanding a \$5.00 daily minimum wage effective immediately in all Bethlehem Steel Corporation plants. Present minimums are \$4.48 and \$4.64. . . . Production workers of the Warner Gear Company, Muncie, Ind., struck in order to take a \$20,000-a-year wage cut so that their non-production brothers could have a \$40,000-a-year boost. All workers are members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO).

DURING ITS FIRST YEAR THE

wage-hour law increased wages to the 25-cent hourly minimum for 300,000 low-paid workers and shortened the work-week to 44 hours for 1,400,000 over-worked employees. Effective October 24, the required step-up from 25 cents to 30 cents will raise wages for an additional 250,000 workers, while the shortened work-week of 42 hours will benefit 400,000 more workers.

Fifth in the New Deal unpopularity contest in *Fortune* magazine's recent Forum of Executive Opinion, the law was favored in its present form by only 29.8 per cent of employers, with 47 per cent voting for an emasculated measure and 21.4 per cent voting for none at all. Despite their opposition,

the majority of employers have complied.

A number of efforts to amend the law failed in the last session of Congress. Exemptions were unsuccessfully sought for white-collar workers, telegraph messengers and all handlers of agricultural products. The only workers exempt under the original provisions are seamen, agricultural workers, executives and canning and packing workers "in the area of production." Although the law has affected the unorganized far more than the organized, it has benefited the unions by eliminating sub-standard competition to the advantage of employers operating under union conditions.

In 27 of the 47 criminal prosecutions made during the first year of enforcement, employers pleaded guilty and fines totaling \$80,000 were imposed. In 39 of the 43 injunction suits filed by the administration, employers agreed to pay back wages due under the law.

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THREE MILLION UNION MEMBERS OUT OF 8,000,000

are now covered by closed-shop agreements, according to the U. S. Department of Labor. . . . President Reid Robinson of the **International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO)** has charged that 50 out of 500 claimants have died of silicosis while waiting for the decision on NLRB charges against the Eagle-Picher Company in Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma. The case has been pending for four years. . . . Leona Atherton told the **State Industrial Commission of Colorado** recently that after graduating from beauty school she landed a job which netted her from 80 cents to \$3.00 a week and was allowed 20 cents for carfare. . . . The **wage-hour administration** is seeking an early court test on the practice of the majority of railroads of deducting redcaps' tips from the legal 25-cent (now 30-cent) hourly minimum wage. . . . Violators of the National Labor Relations Act would be barred from Government contracts for three years under the terms of an amendment to the **Walsh-Healy Act** adopted recently by the Senate. . . . The **Screen Actors Guild** has raised \$220,000 for the Motion Picture Relief Fund Home for Aged People through the Screen Guild show which is broadcast over CBS. . . . Although an investigator for the **Connecticut State Labor Department** found 6-year-old children tying strings in tags for the Dentner Manufacturing Company at wages of only a few cents an hour, the firm escaped conviction for violating the state child-labor law. . . . An NLRB election at **Armour and Company** will be held November 21 at which 7,000 workers will decide their bargaining agent. . . . The **Employers Association of Chicago**, which includes the anti-union **R. E. Donnelley Company**, and the Pinkerton Agency issued a letter to all Chicago employers urging them to join "the Association" in an open-shop offensive against labor unions.

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THE WORKERS' EDUCATION PROGRAM OF WPA HAS

been hit by the recent reduction in the WPA program. At one time the workers' education program reached 75,000 workers in 35 states. Nine hundred teachers were employed. In 25 states there were full-time supervisors of workers' education. Since the curtailed program went into effect only 16 state superintendents are left. In New York City no more classes are to be held in union centers and labor is no longer to have a voice in formulating the educational program. Leaders of AFL, CIO and independent unions, including Max Zaritsky, Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky, protested this change. In Wisconsin more than 150 workers' education classes are in operation. These include courses in most of the towns throughout the state.

Best new crop **TREE RIPENED ORANGES** and **GRAPE-FRUIT** for the teacher.

Fifty-pound box \$2.88 express prepaid. Cheap, isn't it? Let us send a Christmas Gift Box to your friend under your name.

Recipe for making Orange Marmalade 20 cents. Address: **NICHOLS AND COMPANY, Kingston, Ga.**

Contributors to This Issue

Mabel June Janusch ("The Schools—Whose Responsibility") submitted her article to the **AMERICAN TEACHER** through a member of our Detroit Local, while "Students and the Teacher's Union" was submitted by a member of another local. After pondering over the matter we decided it would be much better for the author of the latter article, especially if he is still in school, to remain anonymous. . . . **Franklin Fearing** is a member of Local 430 and teaches at the University of California at Los Angeles. . . . Another West Coast representative is **Percy E. Davidson**, School of Education, Stanford University, who is a charter member of Local 442. . . . **William Heard Kilpatrick's** article is based on a talk which he gave this summer for the North Shore Teachers Union (Evanston, Ill.). He has promised to write us a short article on the complete symposium. . . . **Wanda Taeschner** (Local 1) is chairman of the National Educational Policies Committee. . . . **Edmund Hooser** is a teacher in the Chattanooga, Tenn., schools. . . . **Kermit Eby**, consulting editor of the **AMERICAN TEACHER**, is executive secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union. . . . **George S. Counts** is, of course, president of the AFT. . . . **Irvin R. Kuenzli** is secretary-treasurer of the AFT and a member of the Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL. . . . **George T. Guernsey** is editor of the **AMERICAN TEACHER**. . . . All the contributors to the symposium on "Propaganda and Indoctrination" are members of the Teachers Union except **Kenneth Burke**, who is a student of propaganda and semantics.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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Secretary-Treasurer
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EXTRA COPIES AVAILABLE

Extra copies of the **AMERICAN TEACHER** for organizational purposes may be obtained at the cost of 5c each. Only a small quantity of each issue is available. If orders are given before the magazine is printed, the special price of \$4.00 per 100 can be secured. Copies of the September newspaper are still available at \$8.00 per 1000, \$4.50 per 500, or 1c apiece for quantities under 500.

Maybe it's the subversive in us

THE business world is all agog about the consumer movement. As we write, the Association of National Advertisers is devoting half of its thirtieth annual meeting to the subject.

A Gallup poll has been taken to get the low-down on penetration of consumer doctrines among the public.

Erwin, Wasey & Company, a large advertising agency, is setting up a new "technological division" to test products that are to be advertised. (The president of the company argues that this will "offset much of the adverse criticism of advertising by consumers' groups." We'll wait to see.)

The National Better Business Bureau, in what *Printers' Ink* calls "one of the most significant developments in the consumer movement," is expanding its operations so as to "serve more actively as a cooperating medium" between manufacturer and the consumer.

And in our "better" magazines, articles and editorials are beginning to touch for the first time on consumer activities.

Not in many a moon has the poor, benighted consumer experienced such a glittering interest in his problems.

Through all this hullabaloo, we at Consumers Union intend to go on making unbiased tests of products to find out their comparative value, criticizing advertising where we find it misleading or false.

Maybe this is the subversive in us. One of the articles mentioned above—"Guinea Pigs, Left March!", in a recent issue of *Readers Digest*—thinks so. It says, in effect, that our activities are "aimed to destroy the American economic system."

Well, we don't think that the American economic system is going to collapse from having abuses of it pointed out. We don't think it's that weak. So long as advertisements continue to appear which are unfairly misleading, so long as products are marketed which fail to live up to the claims made, we think consumers have a right to know about them and we think an organization of consumers has a right to find out about them and report its findings. If this constitutes an attack upon the American economic system *Readers Digest* will have to make the most of it. 85,000 American consumers, who know better, are already making the most of it as members of CU.

To us, our work seems based in plain common sense. To those readers who agree, we extend an invitation to join Consumers Union and to share in the benefits.

CONSUMERS UNION of United States, Inc. 17 UNION SQUARE W., NEW YORK, N. Y.

I hereby apply for membership in Consumers Union.
I enclose

☐ \$3 Please send me CONSUMERS UNION Reports for one year and the annual BUYING GUIDE.

☐ \$5 for two years. ☐ \$7 for three years.

I agree to keep confidential all material so designated.

SIGNATURE

ADDRESS

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CU PREVIEWS THE 1940 CARS

Consumers Union's expert automotive consultants have made technical comparisons of the new cars as displayed at the 1940 Auto Show. They have spent endless man-hours examining mechanical specifications point for point. The results of their analyses appear in a preliminary survey of the 1940 automobiles in the November issue of *Consumers Union Reports*. This survey gives a car-by-car description of the new models. It evaluates the new features and it gives provisional recommendations for those who want to buy a car right away.

Following further examinations and driving tests, a second and more detailed report will give complete technical data and ratings of the 1940 models as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable."

Both these reports should be read by anyone contemplating the purchase of a 1940 auto. They will help him to make substantial savings not only on the initial purchase price but on operating costs as well.

MILK: Is Grade A milk worth the three extra cents per quart that you pay for it? With milk prices scandalously high, this long-debated question assumes special importance. New light is shed on it by laboratory analyses which compare the bacteriological and butterfat content of Grade A and Grade B milk. More than 130 samples of 20 brands distributed in Greater New York were tested.

MEN'S SUITS: Before long, marked price advances may be expected in men's suits. Those who buy now will find this report helpful in determining which suits in which price ranges will give the best value for the money. Fifteen brands are rated.

SMALL RADIOS: This report discusses and rates by brand name a number of small 1940 radios ranging in price up to \$30. It will be followed in an early issue by a report, with ratings, on higher-priced 1940 models.

WAR & PRICES: Continuing CU's policy of advising members on the special problems created by war, this report covers the latest developments in the price situation and, as before, indicates what consumers may best do about it.

DENTAL DECAY: CU's Medical Section offers a discussion of the factors involved in dental decay. A brand report on dentifrices is scheduled to appear in next month's issue.

LABOR: For the guidance of those who wish to be assured that the goods they buy are made under satisfactory working conditions, reports on wages, hours, and employees relations in the radio and men's suits industries are included in this issue.

UNION FLASHES

AFT Locals in Action

Dismissed because he helped to organize the Teachers Union in Seymour, Ind., Albert Judd, Shields High School teacher, has been reinstated by the School Board. This action comes after a bitter struggle and the demand for the resignation of Superintendent Lasher by the Seymour Central Labor Union.

Celebration of the twentieth anniversary of Local 111, Portland, Ore., was held in the form of a first-of-the-season roundup. Members congratulated President Clarence E. Oliver upon being named head of the education committee of the Oregon State Federation of Labor; for his election as vice-president of the Affiliated Council, an organization of representative teaching groups of Portland, and for the awarding to the Jefferson High School newspaper, published under his direction, an all-American rating by the National School Press Association.

Vernon Sigler, president of the East Chicago Teachers' Union, East Chicago, Ind., has been appointed to membership on the Lake County Board of Tax Adjustments. Mr. Sigler won national attention two years ago when he ran for the state legislature despite the opposition of the local board of education, which passed a rule forcing him to take a payless leave of absence for the duration of the campaign.

Dr. Dorothy Wolff Douglas of Smith College spoke at an open meeting of the Simmons chapter of the Boston Federation of Teachers on November 3, outlining the program of the AFT and emphasizing its significance to college teachers.

The West Virginia legislature has passed a "continuing contract" law which adds to the tenure protection of teachers. The law establishes a regular procedure for terminating contracts of teachers. It requires advance notice of dismissal and specifies that a written list of charges be submitted.

Teachers of Anderson, Ind., were restored to their proper places on the salary schedule at the end of a three-year period, according to an agreement between the Anderson Teachers Union and the Board of Education. This will involve a \$50,000 addition to teachers' remuneration.

C. P. Titus, member of the Gladstone Teachers' Local 407, Gladstone, Mich., was elected president of the Michigan County School Commissioners for 1939-40 at a recent meeting. Titus is commissioner for Delta County,

and succeeds Lynn Clark of Grand Rapids.

Also a member of Local 407, Raymond Nadeu, French and Latin teacher and debate instructor for Gladstone High School, applied for a year's leave of absence in order to use a scholarship received from the Knights of Columbus national headquarters entitling for study at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C.

J. C. Harger, president of the Indianapolis Teachers' Union, Indianapolis, Ind., has been appointed a member of the Resolutions and Legislative Committee of the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis.

Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, AFT national vice president of the Pennsylvania, New Jersey area, has been made a member of an executive board of seven for a newly formed organization known as the Pennsylvania Committee on Public Education. Its purpose is to make a complete survey of Pennsylvania's educational needs and financing, and to eventually act in an advisory capacity to the state and to cities. The permanent chairman is Dr. Luther A. Harr, former state banking commissioner and now city treasurer of Philadelphia.

Members of Local 411, Newark, Ohio, are conducting an active campaign in favor of the renewal of the three-mill tax levy for the benefit of Newark City School District. House to house canvasses, speakers addressing local unions and service clubs and newspaper articles are being used in the campaign for the November elections.

This year for the first time Local 438, Ohio State University, sent delegates to the convention of the Ohio Federation of Labor. The delegates were David Williams, local president, and Gordon Price. Of special interest to teachers were resolutions advocating labor candidates for school boards and demanding genuine tenure legislation.

Eighty-seven per cent of the candidates for the New York city council and the state legislature favor restoration of the curtailed school funds, according to a recent survey.

Making its bow in October, The Gary Teacher, a two-page news letter, is being published at intervals by the Gary (Ind.) Teachers' Union, Local No. 4. The Local also announced the election of a labor representative, E. T. Doyno, as president of the Gary Board of Education.

(Continued on page 2)

The AMERICAN TEACHER

IN TWO PARTS

PART II

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

VOLUME XXIV

November, 1939

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No. 3

AFT Changes Organizing Procedures

Various new techniques and methods for organizing teachers' unions are being worked out by the National Executive Council of the AFT in line with the discussion of the post-convention meeting of the Council.

Strong state federations are being emphasized as the organizing centers for the future growth of the Union. No nationally paid organizers are being used during 1939-40. The national office is carrying on a study of deceased locals of the AFT and has sent out a 21-point questionnaire. Secretary-Treasurer I. R. Kuenzli has prepared a mimeographed statement on methods of organizing teachers' unions.

Special Rates Set

Special bundle rates of a cent apiece for the American Teacher newspaper or \$8.50 per thousand have been announced by Editor George T. Guernsey. Magazines may be purchased in limited quantities at the rate of five cents apiece or \$4.00 per hundred. Special reprints of articles such as "Who Runs Our School Boards?" will also be prepared by the American Teacher staff.

A special subscription price to the American Teacher will be announced in the December issue for those who are interested in giving it as a Christmas gift. Several attractive combination offers with other educational publications are being worked out and will be available by November 25.

Joint Action

NEW YORK, N.Y.—United action by members of Locals 5, 537 and 453 will be taken against educational retrenchment at a joint board rally to be held November 17 at Washington Irving high school.

Acting President George Shuster of Hunter College and the Rev. Robert W. Searl, secretary of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, will be speakers. Representatives of other unions and organizations are expected to attend.

EXPLORER JOINS AFT

Complaining that no union exists for polar explorers, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Arctic explorer, joined Local 537 at Columbia University this summer. He expressed the need for scientists to preserve democracy. Addressing the annual summer joint meeting of AFT Locals from Columbia University, New York University and City College, he said: "Until a few years ago I took democracy for granted, never realizing the danger that confronts all of us. The written history of mankind is the struggle for freedom. The last 20 years have been like a nightmare where we take two steps upstairs and three down."

Union Helps Start Community Forum

BELLEVILLE, ILL.—Enlisting the interest of various civic, religious, professional, business and fraternal organizations, Local 434 inaugurated a community forum last year. It was so successful that the forum is now independently organized and started the season of some seven or eight lectures with an address on November 4 by Dr. Otto Rosenberg, former secretary of the Austria Bankers Union, who left Austria after Hitler's annexation in 1938. Congressman Roy Dickerson of Peoria will speak at the February 29 forum.

More Activity, Asks Youth Commission

The government, schools and all organizations concerned with the welfare of youth were called upon to expand their programs and redouble their efforts in the face of a war-torn world in a statement issued recently by the American Youth Commission.

"This country is called upon to put its house in order at all costs," said the Commission in a statement issued by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, its director. Dr. Reeves is a member of Local 259, the Chicago College Teachers Local, of the AFT.

Counts Visits More Than 20 Chapters

Since taking office as president of the AFT in August, George S. Counts has spoken to more than twenty locals throughout the country, according to reports to the AMERICAN TEACHER. Besides these visits President Counts spent two weeks at the AFL convention in Cincinnati, where he represented the AFT, as did Irvin Kuenzli, John Fewkes and Mary Foley Grossman.

In New York City on September 29, President Counts spoke to Local 5. While at the AFL convention he visited Teachers Unions at Cincinnati, Ohio, Anderson, Ind., Oxford, Ohio, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and spoke at the Lincoln Park Baptist church of Cincinnati as an AFL representative.

Speaks in Detroit

On October 17, President Counts met with the Ann Arbor, Mich., Local and spoke to a mass meeting of 450 teachers in Detroit the same evening. On October 20 he met with the board of all Minnesota Locals and many labor leaders in Minneapolis, Minn.

Teachers in Indianapolis, Ind., heard the newly-elected president on October 27, and the same evening 2,500 Chicago teachers crowded the Auditorium Hotel to celebrate their second anniversary with speeches by the national president and the local head, John Fewkes. Over the same weekend Dr. Counts met with the North Shore Locals (Evanston, Ill.), the Lake County, Ind., Locals and the Springfield, Ill., Union.

During the last two months President Counts also addressed the Cleveland teachers and the Springfield, Mass., group. He is scheduled to appear in Columbus, Ohio, for Locals 438, 538 and 411 on November 3. He will also visit the Michigan area the same weekend.

Journal Deadline

All materials for the December issue of the American Teacher must be in by November 25.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE MONTANA CASE?

The following article on the dismissal of five professors from the University of Montana was written by a person thoroughly familiar with the situation. Because of certain circumstances, the author must, for the time being, remain anonymous.

IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR the National Academic Freedom Committee published its pamphlet: *The Keeney Case: Big Business, Higher Education, and Organized Labor*. In the summary of the investigating committee's conclusions (p. 30) occur the following sentences: "Since Professor Keeney's competence as Librarian and Administrator cannot be successfully challenged . . . the American Federation of Teachers is compelled to conclude that other and unacceptable facts lie at the base of the Board's action. . . . A fourth factor, basic to the others, is the undue influence exercised by certain corporations and political interests over the affairs of the University. Professor Keeney's ouster is a flagrant breach of academic freedom.

. . . The AFT Committee is of the opinion that developments at the University since President Simmons took office in January 1936 have demonstrably borne out the adverse report of the faculty committee and of the overwhelming majority of the faculty regarding Dr. Simmons' qualifications for the presidency."

The last six months have seen no cessation of turmoil in this unhappy institution. Its lamentable history of breaches of academic freedom and tenure reached a climax on September 11 when the Montana Board of Education at its quarterly meeting approved a resolution demanding the resignations by October 15 of Professors Atkinson, Keeney, Lennes, Merriam and Mollett. All are full professors on permanent tenure; the last four are chairmen of the departments of Library Economy, Mathematics, English and Pharmacy, respectively. Their periods of service are sixteen, eight, twenty-six, twenty and twenty-three years, also respectively.

To show what is behind this latest

purge, and to show further that the NAFC did not err in its conclusions on the Keeney case, it is necessary to review the events of the last academic year.

After the pamphlet on the Keeney case had gone to press, the investigating committee appointed by the 26th Legislative Assembly to inquire into the situation at Montana State University made its report on February 28, 1939. G. M. Moss, chairman, and Ray L. Lowe submitted a majority report which was adopted. Among the eight conclusions were the following:

4. We believe that in some cases supervision has reached the near censorship stage. However, we feel that there have been no unreasonable efforts to restrict freedom of teaching or freedom of speaking.

5. We feel definitely that there has been too much downtown interference in University affairs, and also that some University connections downtown may work seriously to the disadvantage of the institution.

6. Our investigation convinced us that there is serious dissension within the faculty and administrative groups. This we most severely condemn, and we emphatically feel that a spirit of cooperation must be established and maintained or great harm to the institution will be the inevitable result.

Motion to reconsider the report was carried on March 1, and reconsideration set as a special order of business on the 60th (and final) day, March 2. At this time H. O. Ekern, third member of the investigating committee, submitted a

(Continued on page 6)

*See *The Keeney Case*, pp. 9-15, for infringements prior to Professor Keeney's dismissal.

*House Journal of the 26th Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana, pp. 597-98.

Health, WPA Fight Topics at Twin Cities

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. — A panel discussion on "The Health of the Teacher" was one of the principal features of an educational conference November 3, held under the auspices of the Twin City Locals.

Principal speakers included Dr. R. E. Ellis, of the University of Minnesota, and Dr. Fred Brown of the Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic. Participating in the discussion were Katharine Irvine and Eva Synder, and Dudley F. Parsons, of the Minneapolis high schools. Ora McLaughlin, president of Local 59, presided.

Seham Heads Committee

The committee arranging the affair was headed by Dr. Max Seham, of Local 444, and consisted of Elizabeth Nissen, Margaret Blenkner, and Paul Beck.

At the evening dinner session, a symposium was held on, "the Dilemma of American Education," in which faculty members of the University of Minnesota participated. Dr. Joseph Warren Beach, head of the English department of the University, served as toastmaster.

Aid for WPA Teachers

An appeal for aid in the defense of four WPA teachers who were indicted on a conspiracy charge in connection with a protest demonstration against passage of the Woodrum Bill last Summer has been issued by Local 496, the Minneapolis Adult Education teachers.

Already two trials have been held with four acquittals and eight convictions. A total of 162 were arrested following the demonstration.

The Minneapolis Federation of Teachers last month established a credit union. Officers are Carl Nelson, secretary-treasurer; Fred M. Curtis, president; and Dorthea Clow, vice president.

Studies Vacations

To determine how Minneapolis teachers spend their Summer vacations, the superintendent of schools recently queried all local teachers at the suggestion of Madeline Long, publicity chairman of Local 59.

The survey found that of 2,650 teachers in the Minneapolis public schools, more than 40 per cent have returned to some university at their own expense during the last three years. This situation prevailed, Miss Long said, in spite of salary cuts sustained since 1932. Results of the survey appeared in two well-illustrated articles in the Minneapolis Times-Tribune, written by Miss Long.

SUES POST



Jerome Davis, former professor at Yale University and former president of the AFT, has just entered a libel suit against the Saturday Evening Post for \$150,000 damages.

N. J. Meet Hits Propaganda, Urges Neutrality in War

TRENTON, N. J.—Strict neutrality and opposition to involvement in the war was urged in a resolution adopted during the October convention of the State Federation of New Jersey teachers. The resolution stressed that, for the welfare of the pupils, propaganda must be detected and war avoided.

In closing the two-day session, the group endorsed an appeal to the New Jersey legislature to enact a law setting \$1,200 as a minimum yearly salary for public-school teachers.

The Federation resolved to support the progressive aspects of the New Deal, to back the WPA, the NLRA and to ask for the passage of such bills as the Gavan Anti-Lynching Bill.

Official support of the Herbert Cole case, with voluntary assessments from state Locals to aid the family until Cole is reinstated and opposition to an amendment to the tenure act which is being sponsored by the New Jersey Education Association were also included among the resolutions.

Herbert H. Cole, whose dismissal case is holding the center of attention for teachers, was re-elected president of the State Federation. Frank L. Godshall of Camden, is first vice president; Elmer A. Beller of Princeton, second vice president, both re-elections. Secretary is Charles Allen of Newark; treasurer, William Long of North Bergen, and legislative representative, Lois St. John of Trenton.

Peru Teachers Test Tenure Law in Court

PERU, IND.—Suit has been filed in the Miami Circuit Court by Elder L. Moore and Robert Nash, local teachers, to enjoin the school board from enforcing the newly adopted Class E of the Peru salary schedule. Nationwide attention has been attracted to the provisions of this classification, which, if upheld by the courts, will nullify the entire Indiana Tenure Law, say legal authorities.

Class E was adopted at the insistence of the present superintendent of Peru, M. P. Crodian, long after the adoption of Classes A, B, C and D in the salary schedule. Any Peru teacher may be placed in Class E without a hearing and without warning, the decision resting with the board of trustees. Teachers demoted in this rank are reduced to the minimum state wage.

Classifications Given

Teachers placed in Class E are supposed to be classified as one or more of the following: inefficient; lacking sufficient control over technique of teaching; lacking sufficient classroom discipline; without initiative; failing to put forth a sufficient amount of effort to secure justifiable results; having a non-professional attitude; failing to carry out recommendations, suggestions or requests of principals, supervisors, superintendent or board of trustees; neglecting further training in an accepted and recognized Summer school; under-qualified; any other justifiable causes.

On Staff 15 Years

Moore, Peru high-school teacher for 15 years, was placed in Class E with a salary reduction from \$2,600 to \$1,140, and Robert Nash, Peru teacher for 15 years, received similar treatment with a salary reduction from \$1,800 to \$900. Both were denied hearings.

Under the tenure law, a teacher found guilty, after a hearing, of any of the provisions of Class E would be dismissed, not demoted.

The Indiana Council of Teachers Unions, the Indiana State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers have joined forces to bring about justice in Peru. The Division of Labor of Indiana has also announced that it will enter the case. Supporters declare that the case will be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary.

Illinois Locals Set Up Committees

CHICAGO, ILL. — Delegates representing sixteen locals of the AFT affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Teachers attended a special meeting at the Chicago offices on October 21.

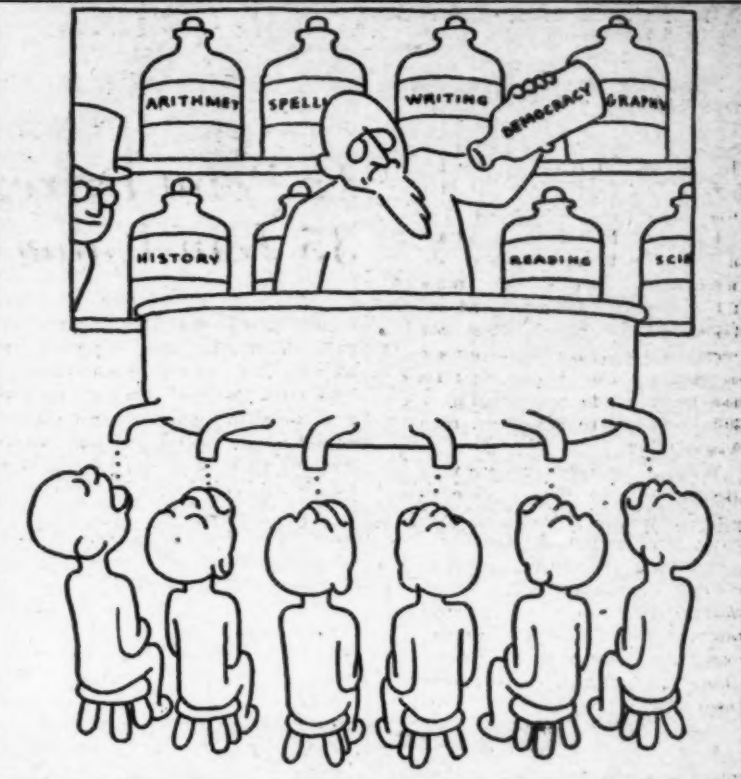
A number of committees were set up including one to organize a publicity campaign to promote tenure; another to establish an academic freedom and tenure fund; and an organization committee.

Speakers at the meeting included Prof. George Axtelle, of Northwestern University, and Miss Mary Herrick, of Chicago, both national vice presidents of the AFT.

Local 460 Plans Fund-Raising Event

EVANSTON, ILL. — To help raise a fund to assist in paying the salaries of the two Provisional teachers who lost their positions because of Union activity, Local 460 is holding an indoor and outdoor party at the Isaak Walton Cabin on Sunday, November 19. The North Shore College Teachers Union, the Private Teachers Local and the Provisional Local have been invited to join in the day's fun.

Education for Democracy? by Chan



"The Curriculum Expert"

Buffalo, Madison Locals Flay Attacks on Unions

BUFFALO, N.Y.—An attack on teachers unions by Dr. Samuel P. Capen, chancellor of the University of Buffalo, brought a challenge to a public debate on the issue of membership in a teachers' union from George W. Provost, vice president of the State Federation of Teachers Union and president of the local union.

Recently in an address before the New York State Teachers Association, Western Zone, Dr. Capen declared, "We can play no favorites. We must be absolutely impartial. Therefore, organizations of teachers cannot properly join forces with any other group within the body politic. They cannot properly make common cause with labor or capital or any other collection of citizens organized for purposes that lie outside the purposes of the teaching profession itself."

Letter Published

Provost made his offer of a debate in a letter to Dr. Capen, which was later reprinted in full in a local newspaper, the Buffalo Courier-Express. In his letter Provost declared:

"In the exercise of their duty to aid in defending the schools, with what friend of the schools can the teachers ally themselves so devoted and powerful as organized labor? You cannot be unaware of the historical role of labor in American education. Whose voice was raised loudest for the schools in the present state aid crisis?"

"Had not the labor bodies reacted in their customary way, the cut in social aid might well have been even more disastrous. Teacher affiliation with labor is a vital supplement to the equally necessary activity of sharpening the educational concepts of the entire public, the vast majority of whom are by the very nature of things potential defenders of the schools."

Elyria Local Backs Drive for Tax Levy

ELYRIA, OHIO.—A campaign for the continuation of the three-mill tax levy was conducted by members of Local 334, and directed by Mr. Maston. The levy means approximately \$120,000 additional revenue. This, according to Mr. Maston, is essential to the operation of Elyria's schools. A cut would be largely absorbed by the personnel, and in addition to reduction in salaries, would entail the possible shortening of the school year, and the curtailment of the school program, Maston said.

MADISON, WIS.—A reply to Dr. William A. Neilson, former president of Smith College, whose article "Education Can't Be Better Than the Teachers" appeared in the October issue of the Survey Graphic, has been sent by Local 223, drafted by Members Lewis E. Drake and Harold M. Groves. This followed a review of the article in the Capital Times, a local newspaper, which used Dr. Neilson's remarks as propaganda against the Union.

The Capital Times review quoted Dr. Neilson as saying: "Demands for fair compensation and decent working conditions should, of course, be insisted upon; but if the teachers' unions should produce on the public the impression that such things are their main concern rather than the successful training of the young in intelligence and character, the prestige of the profession is gone."

The policies and progressive program of the AFT were incorporated in the Local's reply, and the group offered to aid in clarifying the matter if the Madison newspaper reviewer had misunderstood and misinterpreted Dr. Neilson.

A review of this issue of Survey Graphic will appear in a forthcoming issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

Workers' College Opens 60th Term

Commonwealth College in Mena, Ark., opens its sixtieth resident term on January 8, 1940, according to an announcement by Morris Engal, educational director.

New courses on international affairs, labor and politics are being offered in the three months' intensive course, in addition to regular courses in economics, union problems, civil liberties, public speaking, labor journalism.

Minimum cost of board and tuition is \$120 for the three months. Many students reduce this to \$60 by doing 20 hours' work a week. Students' ages range from 16 to 60, and no previous education is required.

ATLANTA, GA. — Forty-nine Atlanta teachers who had completed three years of probationary service were elected to the "civil service" list at the Spring meeting of the Board of Education. In addition, a number of probationary teachers were re-elected to serve during the year 1939-40.

UNION FLASHES

(Continued from page 1)

Results of activity by the AFT Local 246 in Hamilton County, Tenn., sees the adoption this year of a minimum pay provision for teachers in their third year as they go on tenure and the first sick-leave payments ever made in the county system.

An attempted attack on the Milwaukee Vocational Teachers' Union by demoting Union faculty members and thus depriving them of tenure and retirement rights has been blocked, according to an announcement in the Wisconsin Union Teacher.

The Ohio Federation of Teachers, which for long has advocated a state board of education, opposed the amendment for a state board at the November general elections.

Miss Wenonah M. Lowell, of the Cleveland School, Chicago, and member of Local 1, is the author of a song, "Poor Little Foxes," published by Hall & McCreary. The lyrics are by Lew Sarett, poet.

ATF Locals in Action

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Protests by Teachers Union representatives to WPA administrators at a meeting in Washington, D. C., October 16, brought assurance from the administration that qualified workers who have been demoted, improperly assigned or classified will be given their proper assignments and that places on the education program will be found for all qualified persons on the relief rolls.

Dean Ned Dearborn, adult education and WPA vice president, and William Levner, president of Local 453, were present at the meeting with Colonel F. C. Harrington, national WPA administrator, and Colonel Brehon Somervell, administrator for New York City. Dr. Dearborn and Mr. Levner protested the curtailment of the quotas on education projects, the declassification of teachers and other personnel on the education projects and the attempt to eliminate the remedial projects and the recent wage cuts.

Chicago Union Slate Wins in IEA Election

CHICAGO, ILL. All candidates sponsored by the Chicago Teachers' Union were elected officers of the Chicago division of the Illinois Education Association at the annual meeting, November 4.

Frances M. Kenney, chairman of the election, reported an approximate two-to-one majority after a preliminary count of the 3,640 ballots cast. This vote is even more significant after a move to defeat the Union candidates had been made by bringing about 300 last-minute members into the Association.

Winning candidates were: president, Lyle H. Wolf; vice president, Edward E. Keener; recording secretary, Helen A. Hurley; corresponding secretary, Thelma Hicks; membership secretary, Mary S. Hunter; treasurer, Michael M. Pollack; member of executive committee, Alice McShane, and chairman of appropriations committee, Maurice Crew.

The local was successful in negotiating a revision of the maternity leave rules. The Union's recommendations were covered in the new board of education rule adopted in September, which provides that a teacher may be granted a two years' leave for maternity during which time her position will be held open for her return. Mrs. Pearl Drubeck was chairman of the Working Conditions Committee which carried through the research prior to the final negotiations.

Thanks to Union pressure, steps are being taken to eliminate overtime in the high schools. The order on the adjustment of overtime problems sent out from the board of education follows exactly the recommendations of the Union. Mr. Arthur Walz handled the details of the overtime investigation and negotiation.

Union efforts also were successful in reducing the Christmas vacation from three to two weeks. Superintendent William H. Johnson's schedule for 1939-40 called for a vacation from December 15 to January 8, and school until June 28. The present schedule provides for a vacation from December 15 to January 2, with pay for January 1.

Regular negotiations with the superintendent and his assistants were held on September 21 and October 16. Matters under negotiation were cumulative sick leave, certification of teachers teaching off their certificates, seniority, and assignment problems.

The chief matter of interest this fall has been the consideration of a single salary schedule. Mr. Raymond Cook, chairman of the Single Salary Sub-committee of the School Finance and Taxation Committee, reported recently on the activities of this Committee. A referendum will be held in the schools to determine member reaction.

The Union Teacher went to 16,500 members and interested citizens in September. The theme of the magazine was "School and Community Cooperation." Coming issues will deal with "Taxation in Illinois" and "Democratic School Administration."

Springfield Teachers Grill School Board Candidates

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—Candidates for the local school board were questioned on educational policy at a special "candidates' night" sponsored by Local 484. Eight candidates participated in the questioning.

Questions included, "Will you personally investigate every major change of educational policy?" and "Do you believe teachers should be free to question administration policies?"

Among civic groups attending

Detroit Opens 12-Point Drive; 35 Join Union

DETROIT, MICH.—Thirty-five new members are reported by Local 231, Detroit Federation of Teachers, as the group launches a 12-point program to increase its membership. One of the points, the holding of a large tea with Union officials and representatives of the Newspaper Guild and the Lawyers Guild as speakers, met with immediate success when tried recently with National President George S. Counts as featured speaker on October 17. There was an audience of over 400 teachers and friends gathered at the Women's City Club. Eleven members signed that night; many membership cards were mailed following the meeting.

Other points include contacting AFL and CIO locals to request members to influence their teacher friends to join the Union, also getting in touch with such professional organizations as the PEA and the Professional League for Civil Rights. Special vocational school and district meetings and a "School Representative" plan with a contest between schools for the largest membership increase are also included. The Local hopes to secure radio time for educational broadcasts.

Workers' Education Bibliography on Way

Preparation of a bibliography on the labor movement is underway following a meeting of the New York members of the AFT Workers' Education Committee, led by Eleanor Coit. The work is in charge of Orlie Pell.

The meeting is part of a general plan to hold regional meetings of the committee members. Reports of these various groups will be made at a full meeting to be held at the time of the Washington's Birthday Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education.

Members of the committee in various parts of the country also are planning to study workers' education programs in their areas and to work with AFT locals in planning new programs.

Local to Back Co-Op Union Paper

KENOSHA, WIS.—Establishment of the Union Co-operative Publishing Company has been assured with subscriptions for \$9,500 worth of stock already taken by 21 unions. Kenosha Teachers' Local 557 and School Janitors' Local 168 are both shareholders in the Co-operative. Sites for the new printing plant are being considered.

H. H. Paddock, a member of the Local, has been named to serve on the press committee.

SPEAKS AT LOCAL 5 MEETING



Dr. George S. Counts is shown after addressing a meeting of the AFT public-school teachers. To President Counts' left is Charles J. Hendley, president of the New York AFT Local; to the right is Dr. Bella Dodd, legislative representative of the New York State Federation of Teachers.

Local Five Fights Drive to Bar Married Teachers

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.—Running fights along the "economy" front mark the most recent activity of Local No. 5. Storm centers are the five day ban on the hiring of substitutes, immediate appointment of eligibles to existing vacancies and attacks on the right of married teachers to hold jobs.

The local is making progress in its drive to combat influences aimed at the efficiency of the schools. Protest meetings voice objections of the local to the five day ban on the hiring of substitutes, termed a "vicious practice." Teachers Union Attorney Herman E. Cooper has appealed to Commissioner Graves to appoint William Hayett to a high school English vacancy. The married teachers, seeing a threat of retrenchment in the move to bar them from teaching posts, declare that unemployment is not a sex problem. They also point to the Massachusetts firings of married women. These dismissals were not followed by the hiring of men or unmarried teachers.

The local sent a letter addressed to Franklin Delano Roosevelt requesting the President to "use every influence at his command" to insure the defeat of the several anti-alien bills (the Reynolds Bill, the Starnes Bill, etc.) which would "reduce non-citizens within the United States to a status distinctly similar to that of residents in one of the foreign dictatorships."

Suburban Local Fights Dismissal of Two Teachers

CHICAGO, ILL.—Local 571, comprising the teachers of the western suburbs of Chicago, is furthering plans to continue the fight for teacher rights.

The most serious controversy facing the Local is with the Proviso Township Board of Education of Maywood, Illinois, which refused to renew the contracts of two qualified teachers last May because of AFT activities. Repeated attempts at arbitration have so far brought no results. In the meantime Local 571 has voted to pay the salaries of the two teachers.

The Local consists of four separate councils, Morton High School of Cicero, Proviso High School of Maywood, Cicero grammar schools, and North Berwyn grammar schools. There is also a scattered membership among other suburban schools.

The teachers of Morton High School as well as those of the Cicero grammar schools were placed on salary schedules for this year, largely because of Union activity.

Howard Union Stops Firing of Professor

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A new era in teacher tenure was inaugurated at Howard University when the board of trustees, at their October meeting, refused to approve a dean's recommendation for the dismissal of Dr. M. Wharton Young, assistant professor of anatomy and a member of the Howard Teachers Union.

Dr. Wharton's case was the first to be considered according to a new procedure for review of recommendations of dismissal by an elected faculty committee, which was recommended by the Liberal Arts Faculty Committee on Tenure and Retirement and approved in principle by the trustees last year. The board of trustees based its decision on the findings of the faculty committee which examined the case and found evidence did not warrant the recommendation of dismissal.

Calls Dismissal
The Howard Teachers Union's activity in behalf of another medical teacher, Associate Professor Henry A. Callis, was the initial step in winning the present victory. In April, 1938, Prof. Doxey A. Wilkerson, AFT vice president, informed a Liberal Arts faculty meeting of the circumstances of Dr. Callis' dismissal, which was made without proper and formal hearing or even a statement of charges. The faculty, unanimously voiced its desire for protection against such abuses of tenure and gave its tenure committee a mandate to that effect.

Campaign Against Budget Cuts

SEATTLE, WASH.—School budget reduction of \$250,000 for the year, with public-school teachers of the city receiving a 4½ per cent salary reduction effective October 5, brought immediate action from Seattle Local 200 and protests from the Central Labor Council, trade unions and the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

A campaign for the restoration of the salary schedule has been organized by Local 200. Figures from the county assessor were quoted to prove that no reduction was necessary and that actually the Board of Education had a small increase in funds over the previous year.

Fight for Tenure

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.—Four distinct problems, a fight on the city tenure law, the use of state aid funds to city education as replacement instead of supplement, a new hearing on the city salary suit, and sick pay and minimum salaries for county teachers, are on the slate of activities of Local 246, Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Federation.

One of the "pleasanter" activities of Local 246 is the sponsoring of a lecture by H. V. Kaltenborn, popular radio commentator on European affairs, who will "edit the news" for a Chattanooga audience on December 16.

Plan Drive

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.—Western Massachusetts Teachers Federation met October 10 with Robenia Anthony, vice-president of the AFT for New England, as special guest. Plans were made for an open meeting in November to be the first step in the annual membership campaign. Reports of the AFT convention in Buffalo and the Massachusetts AFL convention were given.

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Nine Indiana Locals Plan State Membership Drive

GARY, IND.—Nine locals of the American Federation of Teachers were represented at a conference in Gary, Indiana, on Saturday, October 28. The meeting was called by Jesse Stutsman, of Anderson, president of the Indiana Council of Teachers' Unions, to formulate a policy of expansion throughout the state of Indiana.

The conference, which held a morning and an afternoon session, preceded a banquet at which 350 teachers and guests filled Hotel Gary's ballroom in the evening. Dr. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers, delivered the principal address.

Others Address Group

Carl Mullen, president of the Indiana Federation of Labor; Miss Mary Herrick, AFT vice president of the Indiana-Illinois district, and Stutsman were among the other speakers. Also in attendance were members of the Gary school board and a representative from the mayor's office.

At the afternoon session delegates and officers attended from Frankfort, Anderson, Hammond, East Chicago, Indianapolis, Peru, Seymour, Michigan City and Gary. Plans were formulated for the launching of a drive to establish Locals in Fort Wayne, Marion and Richmond.

Michigan Schools Hit by Republican Legislature Cuts

LANSDING, MICH.—Shortening of the school year, curtailment of special classes and reduction in teachers' salaries are included in reports already coming in from districts as initial results of the effect of the action taken by the Republican majority in the state legislature cutting aid to schools \$8,000,000 below maintenance needs, National Vice President Arthur Elder reported.

According to surveys, reductions are out of proportion to the curtailment in state aid in many cases, and re-emphasize the need for a revision of the state aid set-up so as to ensure that local communities meet certain definite educational standards. John Reid, secretary of the Michigan Federation of Labor, has sent out communications to all central labor bodies emphasizing the concern of labor in seeing that progressive educational policies are adopted in the state.

A warning against the activities of many tax-dodging groups that are springing up in Michigan was issued recently by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research. The Bureau points out that the "reduce tax" slogans adopted so readily by such groups are frequently based on little knowledge of governmental needs or sound tax policy.

Seek Reelection of Labor Candidates

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—Organized labor forces conducted a vigorous campaign for the return of three labor candidates to the board of education in the November elections. The candidates were Edwin J. Bradley, Thomas J. Martin, and Frank T. Jamieson.

In outlining the accomplishments of the present board, the union found that the amount of funds for classroom supplies had been doubled and \$100,000 annually had been provided for free textbooks; that wages had been restored to the standard wage schedule; that the eight-hour work day had been restored as had the prevailing wage for all classes of school employees; that a \$4,500,000 school building program had been undertaken; and that the right of collective bargaining had been recognized by the board.

STOMP IT OUT



This challenging poster against war was drawn by Joseph F. Bertrand, Polytechnic High, San Francisco, Calif.

Culpeper Union Works With NYA in Aiding Schools

CULPEPER, Va.—Co-operation with the National Youth Administration in the work it is carrying out in Culpeper County has been included in the activities of members of Local 645, the Culpeper County Teachers Association.

T. L. Spraggins, president of the Local and principal of Culpeper County Training School, stressed the benefit to the Negroes in the community who have received employment and training through NYA projects.

A one-room Negro school has been built at Atlantus, Va., with NYA labor. A playground was started at the Culpeper Training School, with 28 workers used at the employment peak. A tennis court was built on the community playground where some 200 Negroes played tennis this summer. A volley and basketball court will be erected during the winter. A similar playground project was carried out at the Eldorado school.

Union officials declare that "Of all the 'New Deal' agencies the NYA has been the most pertinent factor in reducing the employment problem in Culpeper and the Negro citizens have been benefited as a result of these projects."

Minnesota Teachers Plan Drive at State Labor Meet

DULUTH, MINN.—Seventeen teachers representing seven teachers' locals were delegates to the convention of the Minnesota Federation of Labor at Duluth, Minn., in September.

Appointed to the Education Committee were: Walter Loban of Local 444; Helen Conway, Local 28; Verna Neprude, Local 59; Peter Fugina, Local 469; Ruth Bergquist, Local 28; Mary McGough and Mercedes Nelson of the State Federation. Miss Nelson was elected secretary of the Committee.

Ask Federal Aid

Resolutions passed stressed the importance of labor electing its members to school boards, the need for courses on labor problems in the University and teachers' colleges; urged the continuance of workers' education and the establishment of a bureau of education by the executive council to acquaint the public with the achievements of labor and developments of all vital issues.

The delegates endorsed the Wagner Health Bill, urged the maintenance of high standards already achieved in education and the

Trenton Local Aids in City Election Drive

TRENTON, N. J.—Mercer County Teachers' Union, Local 437, was an integral part of the recent local political campaign, backing Labor's Non-Partisan League candidates, which swept a progressive majority into Trenton City Hall as commissioners. Elected on a New Deal platform and pledged to a nine-point program of Labor's Non-Partisan League were John A. Hartmann, Leo Rogers and Bernard J. Walsh.

Members of Local 437 active during the campaign were Addie L. Weber, secretary of LNPL, and Bernard Forer, publicity director for the campaign. Both AFL and CIO unions backed the progressive candidates.

Teachers Aided

Of importance to teachers is the pledge of the three commissioners to restore salaries to all public employees.

The Trenton Board of Education, sensing the teachers' opposition to waivers, has maintained a cut of 5 per cent for 1939-40, but has worded contracts so that teachers may sue for the remaining 5 per cent.

Charging discrimination, the Local last month demanded that the Board of Education place all teachers involved in the recent salary test case on a regular salary schedule "in such a manner as will render their salaries equivalent to those of teachers who waived their legal rights." The demand was contained in a letter sent to the board over the signature of Bernard Forer, secretary of the Union.

Attend Educational Meet

Members attended the conference on "Education for Democracy" held in Trenton the last of May. Sponsored by prominent local persons, including clergymen, businessmen, jurists and teachers, the conference featured three panel discussions. Topics were "Democracy and Racial and Religious Tolerance," "Democracy and the Curriculum," and "Democracy and the Administration of Education."

New officers are John Kelsey, president; Maude VanNatta, first vice-president; Julian B. Honeycutt, second vice-president; Mrs. Mary Inman, third vice-president; John Tregurtha, treasurer; Mrs. Elizabeth Hankinson, guide; Reuben Jones, recording secretary; Bernard Forer, corresponding secretary; Arthur S. Hancock and George Krall, trustees; Wallace L. Larrabee and Austin LaVigne, delegates to Central Labor Union.

WOMEN MAY WORK, STATE COURT RULES

BOSTON, Mass.—Legislation prohibiting the employment of married women in public service sustained a blow when the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts advised that such measures would be unconstitutional if enacted into law.

Declaring that proposed legislation against public employment of married women would be arbitrary, the majority decisions stated that "married women are not, by reason either of being women or of being married or unmarried, excluded from citizenship."

The court declared that women, whether married or unmarried, are members of the State and therefore are subject only to constitutional and valid statutory limitations. As such, they share with all citizens "the duties and privileges of citizenship," and "like other citizens they are entitled to the benefit of the constitutional guaranties against arbitrary discrimination."

Budget Approved

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—Approval of the school budget without change was made recently by the Marion County Board of Tax Adjustment. In contrast with previous years, few attacks were made on the budget. Last year a continuous battle was directed against the budget, although it had already been lowered by the school board.

N.Y.C. Local Plans Forum December 9

NEW YORK, N.Y.—An impressive list of speakers and leaders will conduct the annual educational forum of the New York College Teachers Union, Local 557, on December 9. The theme of the seminars is "Scholarship and Democracy."

President Frank Kingdom of the University of Newark and President Harry A. Gideonse of Brooklyn College will address the general meeting, and President George S. Counts of the AFT will preside at the tea.

Speakers Listed

The speakers include: Clyde Miller, Teachers' College; James McDonald, Brooklyn Institute; Paul Tillich, Union Theological Seminary; Max Lerner, Williams; Goodwin Watson, Teachers' College; Stringfellow Barr, president of St. Johns College, Annapolis; Emmanuel Chapman, Fordham, and Granville Hicks.

Other speakers are: Louise R. Rosenblatt, Brooklyn; Charles H. Fisher, Eda Lou Walton, N.Y.U.; William Rafsky, C.C.N.Y. student council; William Kilpatrick, T.C., emeritus; Arnold Shukotoff; Jerome Davis; E. J. Hollis; Ned Dearborn; Max Yergan, C.C.N.Y.; Bella Dodd of the State Federation of Teachers' Unions; J. H. Randall, Jr., Columbia; Clinton Keyes, Columbia; and Philip Foner, C.C.N.Y.

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AFL PROMOTES EDUCATION

By **PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN**
(Excerpt from Address to 1939 Convention)

FROM the first convention of the American Federation of Labor to this hour labor has placed the subject of education as one of its central concerns, because education was so central to the future welfare of America. Moreover American labor believes firmly that one of the criteria by which to judge of the level of civilization attained by a people is reflected in the proportion of public funds expended on the education of the citizenship. Education is not for democracy but is in the highest sense *democracy*, because the full growth and development of individuals can take place only in a society of free men.

In the year that has just closed since the last convention the Permanent Committee on Education has given careful consideration to various educational bills before the Congress of the United States and has given invaluable aid to the formulation of

labor's policy toward such legislation.

This committee has addressed itself to such matters as vocational education, the representation of labor upon school boards and boards of trustees of public libraries, federal grants-in-aid, the youth problem, and on the extension of apprenticeship programs.

It is the considered opinion of the Permanent Committee on Education that the time has come for the broadening of the principle of representation by labor on such local education boards in accordance with labor's interest and responsibility for the sound administration of these agencies. The Committee has urged upon every central labor union the task of undertaking such a campaign for adequate representation. It also urges the need for wise planning by labor to bring its maximum contribution to bear in the development of vocational education, juvenile placement and adult education.

YOUR DOLLAR

by Consumers Union

War and Prices

ON the basis of price trends to October 5, CU can offer a few buying hints. Price changes may have altered the picture somewhat by the time this column appears.

1. Don't stock up on foods. Present high prices may recede.

2. Buy wool clothing now—but shop around to get it at the pre-war price. Retailers bought their fall and winter stocks before the price of wool advanced, and there's no justification for higher prices on these lines.

3. If you need wool blankets and rugs and plan to buy them anyway, get them now. Prices are almost certain to go up.

4. Don't stock up on sheets and cotton goods. In the face of a huge cotton surplus and reduced exports, it's doubtful if the price advances already made in some lines can be held.

5. Shoe prices will probably rise and continue rising for a time. If you need shoes, it may be wise to buy them early.

Mayonnaise

Real mayonnaise must contain at least 50 per cent edible vegetable oil, mixed with vinegar and a small amount of egg yolk. Samples tested by CU actually contained from 63 per cent to 80 per cent of oil. Products sold as "salad dressing," at about the same price as mayonnaise, have no set standards. They contain much less oil and more vinegar, starch fillers and sometimes water, which may run as high as one-third of the bulk. CU found the following brands of mayonnaise offer best value: Home-De-Lite (19c pint); Reeves' Best (21c pint); Krasdale (23c pint).

Women's Shoes

Eighty-six per cent of women wear badly fitted shoes, a university survey showed. Any shoe clerk can probably confirm the fact. Intelligent looking, carefully dressed women who would not think of buying a dress or a hat too small will accept—and even demand—5A shoes for 6B feet, pointed toes that make walking painful, high heels that throw the body into a graceless posture. If design and fit of a shoe are good, next most important are material and construction. Good quality leather uppers and insoles are points to look for, and "welt" construction is probably first choice for everyday wear.

Consumers Union rates 23 brands of women's shoes on the basis of comparative quality, as determined by laboratory tests and examinations by a shoe expert. In general, it was found that best values are in the \$5 to \$7 price range, good buys can be found at around \$4, but shoes selling at much less than \$4 are not worth buying for steady wear.

Antiseptics

"Good for Germs" should be the label on certain widely advertised "antiseptics." For when tested under conditions resembling actual use, not only do they fail to kill disease organisms, but they permit these organisms to grow and multiply.

The greater the advertising ballyhoo, the less, it often happens, is the germ-killing power. Merphenyl Borate, an unadvertised product, is vastly more effective

than such products as Pepsodent, Vick's Voratone, or Listerine. Mercurochrome, often used as a painless substitute for iodine, is comparatively ineffective. Lysol, though it is an active antiseptic, is too poisonous for use on the human body.

Iodine is still one of the most satisfactory general antiseptics. It may be used either in the 2-per-cent alcoholic solution—Mild Tincture of Iodine, U.S.P.—or in one of the relatively non-irritating watery solutions—Iodine 1.85 per cent, sodium iodine 2.2 per cent in distilled water; or the 5-per-cent Lugol's Solution. Highly effective, too, are Merphenyl Borate Tincture, 1:500; Tincture Metaphen 1:200; Tincture Merthiolate 1:1000; Mercresen Tincture.

Electric Toasters

Toasters that pop up, toasters that flash lights and ring bells, toasters that deliver your toast on a conveyor, were among the models recently tested by Consumers Union in an effort to improve American breakfasting. Points to look out for in testing a toaster were found to be: freedom from table scorching and shock risks such as excessive heat radiated downwards, or electrical connections between the frame and current-carrying parts; convenience; and ability to make good toast. Of the 34 toasters tested, 9 made exceptionally good toast, 20 were average and 5 made toast that was burned and underdone.

A fairly satisfactory non-automatic turn-over toaster was found as low as \$1.95, good semi-automatic toasters which ring a bell and turn off when toast is done on either side can be bought at around \$3.50 (Sears Heatmaster, Cat. No. 1973, \$3.29, plus postage; Procter Model 1444, \$3.95) and well made, completely automatic toasters cost from \$7.25 up. Complete ratings of the 34 toasters, by brand name, are carried in Consumers Union Reports for August.

Slips

Good fit and good wear are what a woman wants most in a slip. In spite of standard construction and comparative freedom from style changes, Consumers Union found in tests of 60 slips that it's still hard to find these simple qualities at a reasonable price. Getting a good fit is not so difficult if you try the slip on before you buy. Try to get a written guarantee against excessive shrinkage, to make sure the garment will still fit after it is washed. Look for a closely woven (or knitted) fabric, well made seams with not less than 16 stitches to the inch, carefully attached trimmings and straps. Rayon or silk and rayon fabrics can be made to give as good wear as many silks. Weighted silk is not apt to wear well.

YOUR DOLLAR is a regular monthly feature. The facts and opinions given are based on Consumers Union Reports, the monthly magazine of Consumers Union, 17 Union Square West, New York City, a non-profit organization whose main object is to safeguard buyers by testing and reporting on consumer goods.

Teachers Must Fight to Preserve Liberties

By **NED DEARBORN**
AFT Vice President

The following speech was delivered on September 6 by Ned H. Dearborn to the delegates to the first International Congress of American Teachers held at Havana, Cuba. Dr. Dearborn was the only delegate from the United States to attend the Congress.

THE madness of greed and fear and hate has been let loose in the Far East and now in Europe. It matters not whether this madness is English, French, Polish, German, or Japanese. It is a madness that destroys the spirit. Under it intellectual freedom, the arts, religion, and political liberty cannot endure. It must not seize upon the American peoples of the Western Hemisphere. Let us inoculate ourselves against this dread madness. Let us preserve for our own nations a sanity of thought and feeling so that liberty shall not disappear from the hearts and homes of mankind.

This is no small task. We have learned to our sorrow not to depend upon political leaders who represent special interests. We have ample cause to distrust the selfish ambitions of self-appointed political messiahs. We know that economic autocracy is just as untrustworthy as political demagoguery. We have seen bigotry and isolationism among social groups. We deplore the lack of unity among religious leaders in advancing the high ethical standards of their several creeds.

We see liberals everywhere fighting each other instead of consolidating their powers against the enemies of progress. Even organized labor, as in the United States, reflects the conflicts and confusions of the world. Who then can carry forward the banner of liberty? The answer is simple. We have it in ourselves—the American teachers. This is a time when modesty should give ground to realism. Who better than teachers can objectively scan the social scene? Who better than teachers can apply scientific methods to the problems of society? Who better than teachers can critically analyze the conditions of everyday life and constructively habituate the masses of our peoples in orderly thought and controlled emotions. I proudly nominate the teachers of America for this Herculean task. We can keep the Western Hemisphere free for ourselves and as a flaming example of freedom to the rest of the world if it survives this present madness. We will do these changes if only we do what intelligent teachers can do.

We in the United States have many interests in common with you of other American nations. The Progressive Education Association, which I officially represent this week, has about ten thousand members and primarily devotes its energies to research, publications and discussion conferences. The American Federation of Teachers, thirty-five thousand strong, which elected me in Buffalo two weeks ago as its delegate to this Congress, is on the front line advancing the broad social purposes of our profession and defending its members against the illiberal forces which constantly threaten free teachers.

American Federation of Teachers Fights for Federal Aid

In the latter case the American Federation of Teachers actively supports the idea of federal aid for education on the theory of equity in educational opportunity. It works for the maintenance of fair salary schedules, adequate tenure, retirement, pension rights, and academic freedom. It is launching a campaign for a membership of one hundred thousand. It has an active organizing committee, planning committee, program committee and many others. It publishes the AMERICAN TEACHER as its official journal and hopes to extend its publications by special studies and committee reports.

The American Federation of Teachers is allied with organized labor the American Federation of Labor, for reasons obviously defensible. Organized labor from its inception about seventy-five years ago has been friend and supporter of public education. Its strength contributes to the strength of organized teachers. Its alliance, however, is based upon more than gratitude and immediate advantages. It is based upon ethical grounds. The greatest good for the greatest number of people is the basic creed of the American Federation of Teachers. The workers of the United States constitute by far the largest percentage of

our population. Workers are those who produce either goods or services for the welfare and advancement of society. Numerically there aren't many others besides workers. Therefore teachers, being workers, through the American Federation of Teachers identify themselves with organized labor as the only articulate expression of the workers' needs in terms of the advancement of our democratic society.

The American Federation of Teachers stands for unity within its own ranks and now enjoys a laudable degree of it. The American Federation of Teachers stands for unity in organized labor and although affiliated with the American Federation of Labor hopes to see at an early date a unified labor movement in the United States. The American Federation of Teachers stands for unity among liberal groups throughout the country and makes no discrimination in its policies or action against any social, religious, political or racial groups. There is room for all, freedom for all, in a liberal democracy.

I, therefore, representing these ideals urge upon this First International Congress of American Teachers the careful consideration of a permanent International Federation of American Teachers based upon a program of unity. We need each other's idealism and experience. We need the strength and power that comes from solidarity. We must unite in our common interests which are the interests of civilization. We must keep the faith of freedom. We must advance our several cultures in the nations of the Western Hemisphere to the everlasting glory of mankind throughout the world. Once more I proudly nominate the teachers of America represented in this Congress as the indomitable leaders of our evolving liberties. Long may the teachers live in the faith of a new federation under everlasting laws of liberty.

HOLLYWOOD SHORTS

By Federated Press

THE SEASON'S best and most democratic film has just been previewed: "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." By all odds the Academy Award winner for 1939, it is the story of a naive young man who gets appointed to the Senate and moves heaven and earth to break through the bureaucracy and the complacency of the Senate in the face of graft, frameup and corruption, to succeed finally in restoring some respect for true American democracy in the minds of the solons. With Sidney Buchman's crackerjack script, Frank Capra has made a film that has extreme importance for its defense of our great progressive traditions.

Hollywood's Motion Picture Democratic Committee's banquet, originally scheduled for September 7, has been indefinitely postponed. Attorney General Frank Murphy was to have presided at the function, but the European situation has necessitated his remaining in Washington. When the banquet is held, it will be the occasion of a first annual award to the film which has made the greatest contribution to the cause of democracy. Some 12,000 film workers have voted in this rank-and-file Academy Award ballot, and leading contenders are believed to be "Juarez," "Confessions of a Nazi Spy," and "Young Mr. Lincoln."

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has definitely shelved Sinclair Lewis' anti-fascist novel, "It Can't Happen Here." The story was bought by the studio four years ago and abandoned at the time under pressure from the dictator nations.

Charlie Chaplin has made an official announcement on his "The Great Dictator." "I'm making," he says, "a comedy picture on the lives of dictators which I hope will create much healthy laughter throughout the world." After several days' shooting, he called a halt to polish some more on his script. But United Artists is definitely promising the film for release before 1940.

"Time in the Sun" is the title of a new film cut from some of the excess footage which Sergei Eisenstein shot six years ago for "Thunder Over Mexico." Marie Seton salvaged the film, which is to be previewed shortly.

POLITICS RUN MONTANA U., SAYS NAFC REPORT

(Continued from page 1)

verbal minority report and moved that a ninth section be added to the majority report, to read as follows:

9. That the State Board of Education ask for the resignation of Dr. George Finlay Simmons as President of the State University, effective July 1st, 1939; and that the said State Board of Education appoint a President to fill said vacancy not later than July 1st, 1939.

After seconding, Mr. Ekern's motion lost, and the majority report was again adopted. Immediately afterwards a resolution was introduced and carried, reading as follows:

Resolved, That the special sub-committee selected to investigate affairs in the Greater University of Montana, consisting of Moss (Flathead), Ekern and Lowe, be continued as a committee during this biennium, with instructions to report to the State Board of Education as to any findings coming under their notice; said committee to serve without pay or recompense of any kind.

Difficulties Arise from State Board's Inefficiency

In addressing the Assembly, Mr. Ekern made these revealing remarks: "My personal opinion is that we do not need to go to Germany to find a Hitler, we have one at the State University at Missoula. . . . The report of the committee without (my) amendment would simply mean this: Go ahead Dr. George Finlay Simmons and raise all the hell you want with our students, faculty members and the taxpayer's money and nobody is going to bother you until the next two years when the next session of the legislature meets." In concluding, Mr. Ekern recommended: "The chief cause for the difficulty at the State University seems to come from the inefficiency of our State Board of Education. The Board consists of three members as ex officio, composed of the governor, the attorney-general, and the superintendent of public instruction. The eight appointed members are appointed by the governor. As the Board is organized, you cannot prevent it from becoming a political board. If only the ex officio members could have exercised their voting power, and the appointed members acted in an advisory capacity, this trouble might not have arisen. Some solution should be arrived at to restore confidence among the faculty and take away that jittery feeling now existing within the faculty. I do not believe this can be done by the continuation of Dr. Simmons as President."

In support of his strictures against President Simmons, Mr. Ekern cited letters written in 1935 to the faculty committee in Missoula which was considering candidates for the presidency. P. M. Rea, former director of the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, wrote:

"Simmons Is Intensely Ambitious . . . a Flair for Intrigue"

"Answering your letter of November 14, George Finlay Simmons is, as you have found, a man who makes a very pleasing first impression. He is intensely ambitious, has a quick imagination in conceiving grandiloquent schemes, and a real flair for political intrigue. . . . As far as I know, he has left every previous position under accusations of intrigue and disloyalty."

And Harold L. Madison, director of this Museum, wrote:

"Mr. George Finlay Simmons resigned his position here at the Museum at the request of the Trustees. There was a definite disagreement between Mr. Simmons and Mr. Paul Mr. Rea. . . . I, myself, can testify that Mr. Simmons invited me to participate in a plan to force his superior out of office. . . .

"So far as I know, Mr. Simmons has no administrative experience that would make him valuable for the position he seeks. It is true

that he had charge of an expedition sent out by this Museum to make collections in the South Atlantic; that he was in constant difficulty with his associates; that in spite of the fact that he was often in ports where he could do so, it was only after repeated letters and telegrams that reports were secured from him. He has the ability to spend large amounts of money with which he gets small results. Among the members of this Museum's staff he was known as 'Alibi Simmons.' It is my opinion that he would handle other people in a militaristic manner. At any rate, it is a method to which he himself responds."

Ex post facto evidence confirms the estimates of these gentlemen as to Dr. Simmons' qualifications for the presidency of Montana State University. In the debate in the House following Mr. Ekern's remarks, Chairman Moss of the Sub-committee admitted "that the state board of education made a mistake when it hired Simmons. . . . but since the act has been accomplished every cooperation should be given the president in his task."

School Newspaper Biased, Backed the Administration

In view of the fourth conclusion of the majority report of the legislative investigating committee ("we feel that there have been no unreasonable efforts to restrict . . . freedom of speaking"), it is pertinent to mention here the role played by the *Kaimin*, the official student newspaper. During the censorship controversy of 1936 (see *The Keeney Case*, pp. 19-20), the *Kaimin* covered the situation quite fully, publishing many communications from students and statements of the principals. Since that time no reference, up to the autumn of this year, has ever been made in the columns of the paper to the serious issues involving academic freedom which has arisen on the campus. When one recalls that the *Kaimin* is edited by students in the School of Journalism, one has reason to question the sort of journalistic ethics taught by the School. An editorial which appeared after the reports of the legislative investigating committee stated: "Editorially the *Kaimin* is backing the administration, because it is our opinion that in this course lie prospects for improvement of the university. However, we have done our best to keep our news stories free from our editorial opinion, and in no case has one side or the other attempted to dictate what we print."

After Professor Keeney was illegally dismissed in April, 1937, his name was not mentioned in the *Kaimin* until April 11, 1939, when a front-page story was carried concerning the faculty salary cut which had been approved by the Board the day before to pay Keeney's back salary in case he won in the Supreme Court. (This ingenious method of turning faculty members' resentment against Keeney, who had already been victimized by the Board, was later found to be unconstitutional.)

On June 17 the Montana Supreme Court handed down a four-to-one decision upholding the judgment of the First District Court which on March 22, 1938, had ruled that Professor Keeney had been "unlawfully precluded" from performing the duties and services of his office as librarian and professor of library economy on September 1, 1937. In the statutory period allowed him President Simmons applied for a rehearing. This was denied by the Supreme Court, and the case was thereupon remitted to the District Court for execution of its writ of mandate of March, 1938, commanding members of the Board of Education and President Simmons to admit Professor Keeney to the full use and enjoyment of his duties and to pay him back salary from the date he was unlawfully precluded from performing them. The Board at its quarterly meeting on July 10 approved unanimously the motion of Attorney-General Freebourn that the order of the Court be complied with. Professor Keeney returned to his duties on July 17.

Merriam Accused of "Failure to Cooperate with Simmons"

Meanwhile the Board had appointed a

¹Daily Missoulian, March 3, 1939, p. 2.
²The Kaimin, March 7, 1939.

sub-committee to investigate the much-investigated campus at Missoula. Board members Borton and Gosman visited Missoula in April when they held private conversations with a few people, but made no effort to conduct an impartial inquiry. On July 8 they were again in Missoula, when a seven-hour discussion was held in President Simmons' office between the Board members, the president and Professors Lennes and Freeman who appeared for the faculty. At this time the president made accusations "of failure to cooperate" against Professor Merriam, whom the Board members had not seen in April or July, and charged that Professor Atkinson had absented himself from the campus without leave in order to appear before the Appropriations Sub-committee of the Legislative Assembly in Helena where he had complained that "the administration of the University was in a 'mess,' that funds had been misused, and suggesting that no appropriations should be made for the University until the Legislature had investigated Simmons." Professor Atkinson later wrote to Judge Borton, categorically denying this charge.

When Professor Keeney returned to his duties on July 17, he found the door of the librarian's office locked and was told that the only key was in the possession of the president, who was out of town. The two members of the library staff who had been added during his absence were not introduced to him, and he was asked not to use a typewriter in the outer office because such use interfered with the routine. When the president returned on the 19th, he and Professor Keeney had a two-hour conversation during which the former stated that Keeney would be from now on a "fifth wheel" in the Library. What sort of treatment was in store for him, Professor Keeney learned from the president's letters, excerpts from which follow:

Keeney Told He was to Be Library's "Fifth Wheel"

July 19, 1939

"In view of the fact that the Library plans have all been drawn up very carefully for the summer session and the interval until the beginning of the fall quarter on Tuesday, September 26, and that this plan has been carefully checked by the Library Committee and by me and approved for this period, it will not be necessary for you to do any of the routine service work in the Library at this time. Miss Winifred Feighner is quite familiar with the arrangements made for duty assignments and vacations and will continue to supervise these internal administrative details. Miss Feighner will also continue for the present, until further plans can be made in detail and checked with Dr. Deiss as chairman of the Library Committee, to serve as my representative, as custodian of the books and collections and in charge of Library personnel. Will you, therefore, refrain from making suggestions direct to any of the Library staff, rather make the suggestion to Miss Feighner in writing as a matter of record for her to determine as to whether it fits into the plan we have laid out for this current period. Miss Duncan and Miss Peterson are going to be particularly busy, and I prefer at this time not to have their attention diverted from the schedule, already laid out for them. . . ."

July 20, 1939

"In order that you may receive your personal mail without delay, we have asked the University Post Office at Main Hall to assign you a box. . . . Dr. Deiss has issued instructions that Mrs. Sandvig is to handle all official library mail. . . ."

¹From stenographic transcript of the discussion in the president's office.

²The Legislative Assembly, on recommendation of the Appropriations Sub-committee, included in the Appropriations Act for the Greater University clauses which forbade the construction of any more buildings and the raising of any salaries at Montana State University at Missoula, during the next biennium (1939-1941).

³Miss Feighner had been assistant librarian throughout Professor Keeney's incumbency as librarian. Dr. Deiss is a geologist; as chairman of the Library Committee, he drew an extra stipend of \$500 annually for managing the Library during Professor Keeney's absence.

July 21, 1939

"I neglected to suggest to you that you might secure stenographic supplies you need by calling at the central stenographic department and securing them from Mrs. Schroeder. In view of the fact that our budget is particularly tight, we do not have student assistants or messengers to deliver these supplies, and I would suggest that you secure them when you call at Main Hall to get mail. . . ."

Since supervision of the staff and handling of the library mail are two of the main functions of every college and university librarian, it is obvious that it was by no means President Simmons' intention to admit Professor Keeney to the full use and enjoyment of his position as librarian, despite the court order. The second part of the writ of mandate, relating to the payment of back salary due Professor Keeney, met much the same treatment. The claim was submitted in due form on July 17, the day Keeney returned, and was sent at once by the business manager of the University to President Simmons, on whose desk it continued to lie.

Copies of the president's letters of July 19, 20, and 21 were sent to Attorney-General Freebourn and Judge Borton of the Board's sub-committee. Although Professor Keeney believed that the treatment meted out to him was designed to force his resignation, he took no immediate action; he preferred to await the quarterly Board meeting of September 11 when the members might have an opportunity to redress his grievances.

Disloyalty and Low Pay Impair University's Value

At this Board meeting, the sub-committee of Borton and Gosman submitted eight "findings of fact," viz.:

1. That much of the discontent and trouble among the faculty members at the State University arises because the members are underpaid.
2. That there is serious dissent and disloyalty among a small group of faculty members which if not checked promptly will permanently impair the educational value of the State University.
3. That charges against President George F. Simmons have been largely based on hearsay, gossip, rumor, maliciously spread by certain members of the faculty for the purpose of embarrassing President Simmons.
4. Some members of the faculty feel that regardless how disloyal they are to the State University and the president, they cannot be disciplined because of the tenure rule of the state board of education.
5. That Professor H. G. Merriam has been a constant source of friction and trouble.
6. That since the abandonment of the chancellor system, a small group among the faculty has developed the idea that no one has any supervisory control in University affairs, not even the president.
7. That President Simmons has made no unreasonable effort to restrain freedom of teaching or speaking on the campus.
8. That the faculty is divided into three groups—(a) a small group

(Continued on page 7)

¹When Professor Keeney called at the central stenographic department for supplies, he overheard a clerk ask the secretary of another faculty member if she wished her supplies delivered.

²Charges against President Simmons' are a matter of record. See the minority report of the legislative investigating committee (*supra*), the report of the AAUP on the Keeney case (*Bulletin of the AAUP* 24:321-48, 1938), and the report of the NAFC of the American Federation of Teachers (*The Keeney Case*).

³The Board members had disregarded the tenure provisions printed on the back of every contract until forced to respect them by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Keeney case.

⁴As stated above, Professor Merriam had had no communication with the Board Sub-committee at any time. His distinguished record of service to the University is a denial of this finding.

⁵No salary appropriation for the chancellor of the Greater University of Montana was made by the 23rd Legislative Assembly (1933), but the office was not abolished. Dr. H. H. Swain, secretary to the chancellor, has remained in charge since 1933. One of the reasons ascribed for the disciplining of Professor Rowe in 1937 was his activity in securing a new chancellor. (*Bulletin of the AAUP* 24:328, 1938.)

(Continued on page 7)

¹Ibid. p. 630.

²The Greater University is made up of the State University at Missoula, the School of Mines in Butte, the State College at Bozeman, the Teachers' College at Dillon and junior colleges at Havre and Billings.

³1939-1941.

⁴Taken from official copy of his remarks furnished by Mr. Ekern.

Union Activity Caused Keeney Dismissal

(Continued from page 6)

which has constantly attempted to have President Simmons discharged from the date of his appointment; (b) a considerable group of faculty members which has been continually harassed by the small group opposing President Simmons; (c) a large group which is trying to do its work conscientiously and will do so in spite of that small group referred to."

Whitewash Simmons Reign; Demand Keeney, Others Resign

On the basis of these findings of fact for which no supporting proof was offered, the Board's sub-committee then moved the following recommendations which were approved by the Board (Attorney-General Freebourn and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Rear-don dissenting):

1. That the board of education recommend at the next session of the legislature:
 - a) That additional money be appropriated to increase the salaries of some of the members of the faculty in the lower brackets, who are at present underpaid."
 - b) The employment of a chancellor.
2. That President Simmons be commended for his fairness and patience in handling a difficult situation at the State University.
3. That the board request the resignation of Philip O. Keeney, effective at once, because of inefficiency; or that a hearing be held at a special meeting."
4. That the board request the resignations of E. A. Atkinson, H. G. Merriam and C. E. F. Mollett, effective September 1, 1940; or that a hearing be held at a special meeting."
5. That the board request the resignation of N. J. Lennes, effective September 1, 1940, or that he be put on retirement after the close of the present contract year.
6. That President Simmons and Secretary Swain be directed to look into the present assignment of deanships and chairmanships and make such changes in administrative duties, without affecting teaching tenure, as may be necessary for increased efficiency."

Admit Lobbyist, Business Leader Used Pressure

On questioning by Attorney-General Freebourn, Mr. Gosman admitted that he had been in frequent touch with George Shepard, lobbyist for the Missoula Mercantile Company, who was largely instrumental in securing Dr. Simmons' original appointment to the presidency, and that he had received a 100-word telegram from Professor F. C. Scheuch (retired) who was at the time a guest in the home of C. H. McLeod, president of this same company."

The five professors whose resignations were requested do not form a homogeneous group. They share the same fate because they are, for one reason or another, the targets of the president's personal spite and vindictive animosity on the part of forces which have degraded Montana State University for the last four and one-half years. Atkinson, Keeney and Merriam are members of Local 497, AFT. Keeney was illegally dismissed in April, 1937, partly in consequence of his having organized the Local, of which Atkinson has been secretary since it was chartered. The presumptive reasons for their victimization are set forth after their names, given in alphabetical order.

ATKINSON, professor of psychol-

ogy, was president of the Missoula Trades and Labor Council for three terms of six months (January, 1938-July, 1939), during which time the Council declared the Missoula Mercantile Company unfair to organized labor following a controversy between the Company and the Clerk's Union. Although President Simmons accused him of disloyalty in the July visit of Borton and Gosman to the campus, it seems clear that Atkinson is more the victim of the McLeods, owners of the Missoula Mercantile Company, than of the president. The request for his resignation is the price he has been asked to pay for his leadership of organized labor.

KEENEY is probably the victim of the appointive members of the Board and the president, whose right to dismiss him without charges and hearing he successfully challenged in a two-year battle through the District and Supreme Courts of Montana. His citation for inefficiency, unsupported by any specific charges and any proof, comes after he has been away from the campus for twenty-two months, and after he has been prohibited from performing the duties of a librarian.

High-handed Methods Turn Supporter Against Simmons

LENNES was one of Dr. Simmons' first supporters in the latter's candidacy for the presidency. His own explanation of his favoring the Simmons candidacy is that he considered the latter personable, that he respected highly the people who recommended Dr. Simmons for the position, and that he knew nothing to Simmons' discredit. He continued to support President Simmons for some time, but eventually turned against him because of the unfair treatment accorded faculty members and students by the president. Enmity between the two became bitter in 1938.

MERRIAM early earned the president's ill will by opposing the latter's candidacy, and by having had a part in the censorship controversy. It is a matter of public knowledge that the president fomented dissension in the English Department, of which Dr. Merriam has been chairman for twenty years.

MOLLETT'S treatment would seem to be the most inhumane. He has a continuous record of thirty-five years of service in the Greater University of Montana, twelve served in the School of Pharmacy when it was located at Bozeman and twenty-three as dean of the School after it was moved to Missoula. In two years he would be eligible for honorable retirement. He has taken no part in any of the controversies which have swept the campus of late years and appears to have been victimized solely in order to advance to the deanship a younger man in the School who is a friend of President Simmons.

Arbitrary Decision Violates Constitutional Rights

To any citizen who has reverence for due process, the hearings proposed at a special meeting of the Board must seem the most fantastic element in this critical situation. The five men whose resignations have been requested have already been indicted and found guilty by the findings and recommendations of the sub-committee of the Board, and yet this same Board will act as prosecutor, judge and jury at the only hearing offered the victims in case they do not resign. The Board is apparently determined not to allow investigation of any of these cases by the Committee on Service at the University, although such investigation is explicitly provided for in sections 7 and 8 printed on the back of every contract, and the constitutionality of all these sections has been affirmed by the Supreme Court decision in the Keeney case.

Professor Merriam resigned the first of October to accept appointment to the English faculty at the University of Oregon. Professor Atkinson resigned on the 15th, but in his letter of resignation he asks that his resignation be not accepted. At the moment of writing, Professor Keeney is gravely ill and unable to take action. He filed suit for contempt of court against President Simmons on September 12, the day after the Board meeting; hearing took place on September 24 and 25 but no decision

AFL Backs AFT Tenure Fight

(Excerpt from the Report of the Committee on Education to the 1939 Convention)

THE Committee desires to call special attention to a serious problem presented by Delegate E. C. Valentine of the Jacksonville, Florida, Central Labor Council. Brother Valentine reports that forty public school teachers of Duval County including all the officers of the local Teachers' Union have been dismissed from their positions, without presentation of any charges whatever. It is reported that some of these teachers have served as long as thirty years in the public school system of Duval County and that the average length of service is ten years. It is also reported that the only reasons expressed unofficially for the mass dismissal of teachers are (1) that the teachers had been active in the work of the Teachers Union with a membership of more than 300 and (2) that this group had been active in attempting to establish a teachers' tenure law for Duval County. It should be emphasized, however, that no official reason whatever has been given by the Board of Education for refusal to renew the contracts of these forty teachers.

The Central Labor Council of Jacksonville has given wholehearted support in seeking reinstatement of the group and President Green has sent a communication to all local labor bodies in the state urging their support on behalf of the group. The Board of Education, however, has steadfastly refused to open the case to present specific charges or grant hearings as provided in sound principles of tenure.

Since the regimentation of the labor movement and control of the public school system are two of the first steps in the destruction of democratic governments, and since mass dismissal of public school teachers without specific charges is an undemocratic procedure and not in the public interest, we recommend to the convention emphatic condemnation of such action and urge all labor bodies of Florida to rally to the support of

these teachers who have been unfairly treated.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared its position in favor of sound tenure laws for teachers and freedom for teachers to affiliate with organized labor. The convention at Denver in 1937 declared:

"The American Federation of Labor was one of the pioneer agencies in this country in the establishment of free public instruction. It has ever jealously guarded the fundamental democratic development of our public school system since its inception. It must continue to do so for it is not only true to say that the labor movement can progressively continue only under democratic institutions, but the democratic institutions can continue to progress in safety only so long as there is a labor movement."

"Your Committee recommends that Education Committees and Labor everywhere watch carefully the conditions under which our public schools are administered. The American Federation of Labor has ever and will continue to support teachers and other employees of our public school system and higher institutions of learning in their demand for complete freedom of organization."

It was also reported to the committee by President James Graham of the Montana State Federation of Labor that several outstanding Union teachers at the University of Montana have been dismissed in a highly autocratic manner and that the Montana State Federation of Labor is at the forefront in a battle to protect the State University from political domination and control by the enemies of organized labor.

The Committee recommends that President Green and the Executive Council give all possible support to the American Federation of Teachers and to other labor bodies seeking reinstatement of teachers in such cases as are exemplified by these mass dismissals.

has yet been handed down. The cases of Professor Lennes and Dean Mollett are *in statu quo*.

The one hopeful sign is that the citizens of Montana have at last awakened to the fact that their democratic institutions are imperiled by the drastic action taken against the five professors. Organized labor bore the brunt of the attack against Professor Keeney and provided the funds for the two-year court battle in his case. But now that he and four others are again put in jeopardy by the same men and the same forces which originally attacked him, the citizens are up in arms and the alumni are taking part in the campaign to save their state university's prestige as an educational institution.

The first counterblast came when an independent committee composed of three Missoula citizens of unquestioned integrity took a secret poll of the faculty on the question: "Do you approve of the action taken by the Board in dismissing Professors Merriam, Mollett, Atkinson, Lennes and Keeney?" The count was as follows:

Yes	10 per cent
No	47.5 per cent
Not voting	42.5 per cent

That 42.5 per cent of the faculty did not vote is an indication of the fear which prevails at Montana State University. But that 82.6 per cent of those who had the courage to vote, did not support the Board's action indicates that the eighth "finding of fact" of Board members Borton and Gosman has no basis in fact.

Labor Groups Throughout State Protest Action

The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council (Butte, Mont.) has set up a state-wide defense committee. Central labor councils all over the state are passing vigorous resolutions demanding the dismissal of President Simmons. The Montana Farmers Educational and Co-operative Union, at its state convention in Glasgow (Board Member Borton's home town) passed on October 19 a resolution demanding the immediate dismissal of President Simmons for the following reasons:

1. For the dictatorial powers assumed by him over the teachers and students.

2. His infringement on the academic freedom of the university.
3. Because of the fact that he goes so far with his dictatorship that he refuses to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Montana."

Aroused Alumni Demand Simmons Resignation

Alumni in the state are holding mass meetings, and those outside the state are deluging Governor Roy E. Ayers and members of the Board of Education with protests and demands for President Simmons' dismissal. The *Kaimia* began in mid-October to print short news stories concerning the protests. And G. A. Moss, chairman of the legislative sub-committee which presented the majority report to the House, stated in an editorial in his own newspaper, the *Whitefish (Montana) Pilot*, on October 27: "In our opinion, and we profess to know considerable about the situation, the recent action of the State Board of Education in requesting the resignation of five faculty members tends to make a bad matter worse. That action will destroy the feeling of independence and security on the part of every faculty member that finds himself in the least degree out of harmony with the aims and objects of the present University administration. . . . For our part, we are with considerable reluctance forced to the conclusion that Dr. Simmons, as president of the University, despite his unquestioned ability and other qualities, has failed as a successful administrator, and that the State Board of Education would make a mistake to retain his services in his present capacity, beyond the current academic year."

It is becoming more and more apparent that this has ceased to be the case of five victimized professors; it is now the case of the State of Montana which has allowed reaction a strangle hold on its university. Outside organizations can aid the embattled professors, but in the final analysis only action by the citizens of Montana can restore academic freedom and tenure in Montana State University.

²²Montana Review, Columbia Falls, Mont. Oct. 26, 1939.

²¹Findings of fact quoted from the *Missoula Sentinel*, September 12, 1939, as are the recommendations.

²²If the first finding of fact is valid, it would seem to be more to the point to raise all salaries, unless the motive for this recommendation is not to bestow favors on favorites.

²³No charges of inefficiency on the part of Professor Keeney were sustained by the AAUP and AFT investigating committees, both of which held that he was unusually competent as a librarian.

²⁴The possibilities of this recommendation, in the present tense atmosphere at Montana State University, are limited only by the number of deanships and chairmanships.

²⁵See *The Keeney Case*, pp. 18, 21, 22, 25 and 26, for the part played by the McLeods.

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Tenure and Civil Liberties

REPRESENTATIVE LEE GEYER and Mary Foley Grossman in the October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER charged the teachers with the duty of protecting democracy from those who will seize upon the world crisis for a strengthened attack upon the civil liberties and social gains of the American people. Teachers will be the first to feel the impact of this drive.

Teachers are public employees. What happens to this group sets a pattern to be applied in short order to all citizens. If the liberties of teachers, the services they give to the community, and their wages can be reduced in this new attack by the reactionary forces, the same program will speed forward for everyone at increased pace.

Teachers because of their direct daily association with the nation's children are the greatest existing medium for influencing the home. Since the teacher's truth is an apparent danger to a program of strangulation of liberties and social welfare, the teacher will be an early target for repression. Teachers have therefore a fundamental civic obligation to resist attempts to pervert the truth in the classroom, or to limit for teachers fundamental civic rights.

First evidence of this attack will be attempts to impose "gag-rule" upon teachers. This will be implemented by a drive to restrict tenure protection because with tenure civil liberties and academic freedom can be tampered with less readily. Locally teachers will note the artificial creation of a new psychology, the psychology of "cutting the garment to suit the times." Teachers will be told that now is not the time to press for tenure legislation, adequate salaries, or services. They can expect to see in addition new organizational forms devised by boards of education to hamper the activities of teachers' unions or other adherents of progressive policies in our schools.

In the short period of foreign war, attempts such as these have been made in many localities. These attempts therefore give indication of the new pattern of the reactionary forces, the perversion of the goal of national unity into a drive for national repression.

Teachers must take the offensive in the counter-struggle to preserve democracy. As teachers, therefore, we must press more vigorously for the maintenance and extension of democratic rights in our field. In this race against time, we must press forward every phase of the tenure campaign as a safeguard to our American schools and our civil liberties.

Sara T. Walsh, Chairman, National Tenure Committee.

Labor and Education

THE INTEREST of American labor in education has been a long and continuous one. Even before the first plans for a system of free public education had been formulated by such educational leaders as Horace Mann a hundred years ago, associations of workingmen in Philadelphia, Boston and New York were making emphatic their demand for the right of the children of all the people to education at public expense. "Our government is republican; our education should be republican," said the workers of Philadelphia in one of their early manifestoes. Around this agitation on the part of labor for "an open ladder system of schools" there developed widespread community support. It reflected the close cooperative relationship between school and community. Since that day labor has faithfully supported every extension of educational opportunity for all the people. The record of their championship of free public schools has been one of the bright pages of labor's history. The story of that service to education deserves to be brought to the attention of the public, as well as to the membership of labor. It was in recognition of this fact that the Permanent Committee on Education invited the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau in preparing a record of American labor's aid to education.

A pamphlet entitled "Labor and Education" of some 77 pages has now been compiled and published by the American Federation of Labor; copies of this have been distributed to the delegates at the convention. It has been widely circulated among teachers' training institutions, schools, colleges and universities and public libraries. The report has been universally commended and has already had a pronounced effect upon public opinion.—AFL Executive Council's Report, 1939.

Letters to the Editor

SATEVEPOST ON PAN

Carlinville, Ill.

SIR:

The editorial in the AMERICAN TEACHER in regard to the *Saturday Evening Post* is very interesting to me. Hit it hard.

About six years ago, while I was editor of the *Illinois Teacher*, I took a punch at the editor of the contemptible SEP myself. I wrote him a letter, and asked him to publish the letter, which was a reply to some things he had published. He declined to publish it; so I published it in the *Illinois Teacher* so our Illinois teachers, at least, would know of my nefarious behavior.

Possibly you did not see the article or letter, and under present conditions would enjoy reading it. You will find a copy inclosed herewith, beginning on page 195 of the *Illinois Teacher* of March, 1933.

With kind regards to you and your associates.

R. C. MOORE.

(Sorry, but only lack of space prevents—Ed.)

PRAISES OCTOBER ISSUE

Chicago, Ill.

SIR:

I cannot let the evening go by without writing you briefly to express my appreciation for the wealth of professional stimulation your October issue has given me. It reached me in this afternoon's mail, and although I always enjoy it, I have never read any one issue of a professional journal which struck so many responsive chords.

The article by Mr. Reeves was a poignant presentation of problems which come to my daily classroom; I am the academic teacher in a lower vocational center. To us come those who have been unhappy, rebellious, and unsuccessful in a program of formal instruction. They are retarded mentally, many have serious special handicaps, and all have been tossed aimlessly against the tide of so-called "normal" requirements which the schools have arbitrarily held as hoops through which these young people were expected to jump. Mine is the inestimable privilege of renewing the self-respect, the confidence, that so much-needed faith in themselves which Mr. Lane's statement sums up when he says "Everyone must think well of himself."

"Schools for Tomorrow's Children" has so many fine paragraphs that I started to clip certain sections for my bulletin board and ended up by posting the whole article. You see, in addition to the bulletin boards my pupils appropriate and maintain, I keep my own special bulletin board on which I post particularly vital journal articles, suggestions, and bits on teaching that are too good to miss. They serve as a constant incentive to me, and since I also keep a few copies of current journals in the same section, I find that many of the visitors who come almost daily to the room seem to enjoy participating in this little nook of mine. So I have posted articles on the board and have an uncut issue on the reading table so as not to miss any of it.

We in the field of special classes sometimes realize that the very organization of such classes is undemocratic in that it does not permit the maladjusted child to learn to live with the many varied personalities to be found in an unclassified group. It has been argued with me when I introduced the point into discussions with other teachers and administrators that such a grouping was democratic in that it provided for equal educational opportunity for all children at their mental level, but when the discussion probed further, "edu-

Lest We Forget

Baer



—Reprinted from Labor

cational opportunity" was always defined by my colleagues as the opportunity to learn academic skills. To what end are such skills valuable, insofar as they contribute to the individual's value and adjustment to society? I do not minimize the value of such skills as contributing factors, but to subordinate education in the art of living in a democratic society to mastery of academic fundamentals seems to me to lead only to the ruination of the very democracy we seek to perpetuate.

I have cited only a few of the many pertinent pieces I found in the October AMERICAN TEACHER, but I found every article therein of much value. There is nothing of value to this letter except an expression of appreciation for the issue.

This month I began my fourth year of teaching, so you see I have a long road of experience and broadening to travel, but such articles as these I read tonight help to make of every day another "teacher-training day," even though my days of actual normal college classes are over.

BERNARDINE G. SCHMIDT.

WAR AND TEACHERS

Oxford, Ohio

SIR:

I note in the October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER the communication of Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, chairman of the National Legislative Committee, in which it is stated that a letter, printed on p. 23, was sent to the President of the United States and certain key people in the House and Senate. Sent with the approval of the Executive Council, the statement, which purports to represent the point of view of the 40,000 members of the American Federation of Teachers, declares, among other things: "As teachers and trade unionists we are concerned in keeping America

out of the European War which we believe to be an unprincipled fight for power. We have definitely no sympathies in the struggle except for the American people and their children whom we teach."

As a member of the American Federation of Teachers, I wish to protest most earnestly against any such assumption by Mrs. Grossman or any committee of the AFT. By what right does a committee assume that it can speak for any individual within the Union or for the whole body of the 40,000 members? Our local union, in any case, was never polled for its opinion. The italicized portion of the statement appears to me to show a complete lack of understanding of basic issues involved in the conflict. The committee might acquaint itself with Professor Harold J. Laski's statement in his letter to the *New York Times*, on October 3 last, or in the October 4 issue of the *New Republic*. Or, perhaps even better from the standpoint of the AFT, the committee might have read President Counts' excellent communication in the October issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER. He remarked—and rightly—that "we cannot and we will not remain indifferent. Indeed, already in our hearts we have taken sides in the struggle. It could not be otherwise."

I cannot understand how the Legislative Committee can assume, without taking a vote of all members of the AFT, that it speaks for anyone except, perhaps, the members of the committee who drafted the letter.

HARRY N. HOWARD.
Local 375.

(The National Legislative Committee is the National Executive Council of the AFT, which is composed of 15 regional vice presidents and the national president elected annually at the convention, and the national secretary-treasurer. The letter to President Roosevelt was authorized by the Executive Council.—Ed.)

TEACHERS MUST ORGANIZE

CARL MULLEN, President
Indiana State Federation of Labor

WE HAVE attempted to operate in the State of Indiana in accordance with the methods of the Education Bureau and the American Federation of Labor in every instance. In the vocational educational program and in attempting to encourage the local school boards to favor the organization of the teachers in the State of Indiana, while we have made much progress, we have not made the progress which we believe is necessary before the educational program will be the success that it should be. The teachers must be organized and must consequently become trade unionists before they themselves will be capable of instructing the labor movement.