

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

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A PROGRAM FOR 1940

The Executive Council of the AFT

WHAT SHOULD OUR CHILDREN INHERIT?

J. Abner Peddiwell

TEACHERS IN THE CRISIS

Goodwin Watson

EDUCATING THE ADMINISTRATOR

Ralph Tyler

DEMOCRACY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

George Axtelle

Hugh Wing

Margaret Schlauch

Alban Winspear

Joseph Cohen

Dorothy Douglas

Bernhard Stern

John DeBoer

Abraham Edel

The Teachers Union in Action

KENOSHA, WIS. (No. 557)—By a vote of 5 to 2, the Kenosha School Board has cut the salaries of school employees, beginning at 3 per cent on salaries of \$1,400 to \$1,700 and ranging up to a top of 12 per cent. The cuts are part of a campaign to reduce the salaries of all city employees, which was reported by *Kenosha Labor*, local labor organ, as follows:

"With lines tightly drawn between the pro-labor and the anti-labor forces on the various city governing boards, the conservative bloc pushed forward during the past week with its wage-cutting program for city employees—a program which union leaders described as a probable prelude toward similar wage-cutting attempts in the factories."

Howland H. Paddock, president of the Kenosha Teachers, reports that all the unionized city workers—teachers, school janitors, policemen, firemen, truck-drivers, and City Hall employees—have set up a Joint Board of City Workers,

which has the support of CIO and AFL unions, *Kenosha Labor*, and the Ministerial Association. The fight waged by the group forestalled the cuts for nine months.

"Unquestioned is the fact that the original cuts contemplated have been very materially reduced," Mr. Paddock declared. "Also, the fight has been so bitter that if the wage-cutters had in mind creating new permanent lower levels of pay, they must realize how hard this will be to accomplish, if it can be done at all."

COLUMBUS, OHIO (No. 438)—Recognizing the importance of the war danger, the Ohio-Michigan College Conference of the AFT urged that teachers remain objective and aware of all propaganda. Need for a campaign to defend civil liberties and academic freedom was also cited as an immediate objective. The conference decided that teachers should work with the community and

not for it and should take the emphasis from war and armaments by stressing "more important things" such as legislation for adequate relief, old age pensions and federal aid to education.

Chairman of the meeting was D. C. Williams, president of the Ohio State University Federation of Teachers. Speakers were Professors Edgar Dale, Norman Wolfel, J. H. Coleman, J. M. Peterson and C. C. North.

Other moves the conference urged were: a tax study commission in cooperation with the Ohio Federation of Labor, consideration by other state university Locals to provide a more adequate retirement program, faculty participation

in financial problems of colleges, closer contact with farm and labor groups in order to point out the need and service of state universities.

TRENTON, N. J. (No. 437)—Labeling the procedure that led to his dismissal "a gross abuse," Herbert H. Cole, president of the Local and a teacher at Junior School No. 4, has filed an appeal with Dr. Charles H. Elliott, state education commissioner. Cole, dismissed last June on charges that he had struck one of his students with a ruler and slapped him across the face, charged that the school board, in imposing the penalty of dismissal "... abused the discretion vested in it by law." Several character witnesses for Cole were barred from the hearing which led to his dismissal.

Salaries again occupied the attention of the Union members, who are taking action on two fronts. A militant campaign to defend salary rights against pressure from city hall has been started by the Union, which, in a letter to the Board of Education, has demanded that the Board live up to the salary schedule and raise teachers' salaries to compensate for the lack of increment during depression years.

CAMDEN, N. J. (No. 449)—Restoration of pay cuts, withheld from teachers since 1937, has been made by the Court of Errors and Appeals in the cases of 221 teachers. Cancellation of the pay cut is retroactive. Mayor Brunner, director of Revenue and Finance, who just a short time ago planned to use a "surplus" of \$50,000 for the installation of radios in the schools, has warned that he will have to dismiss teachers and other employees as the city is unable to comply with the court order.

SAVANNAH, GA. (No. 207)—Extending its influence in the community, the Union now sponsors a radio program Thursday evenings over station WOTC and is planning the organization of a public forum. The radio feature, "Education and Discussion," has become an important source of information about the schools. Under the leadership of John Varnedoe, chairman of the Union's radio committee, pupils take part in musical presentations and panel discussions.

(Continued on page 30)

THE CONTRIBUTORS

"A Program for 1940" was adopted at the December meeting of the National Executive Council of the AFT. . . . It is rumored that J. ABNER PEDDIWELL is a member of the AFT, but these are poor times for "rumoring" anything. . . . GOODWIN WATSON is on the staff of Teachers College at Columbia University and is a member of Local 537. . . . RALPH TYLER is Chairman of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago and a member of Local 259. . . . GEORGE AXTELLE, Northwestern University, is a member of Local 635 and co-editor of the recent *Teachers for Democracy*. . . . JOSEPH COHEN is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Colorado and a member of Local 562. . . . ALBAN WINSPEAR is the author of *Who Was Socrates?*, Professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Wisconsin and a member of Local 223. . . . BERNHARD STERN is at Columbia University and is a member of Local 537. . . . as is MARGARET SCHLAUCH who teaches linguistics at New York University. . . . DOROTHY DOUGLAS whose field is labor economics is at Smith College and a member of Local 230. . . . HUGH WING is a teacher of literature at the University of Pittsburgh and a member of Local 646. . . . ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology at the City College of New York and a member of Local 537. . . . JOHN DEBOER is on the staff of Chicago Teachers College and is a member of Local 1. . . . GERTRUDE LUEHNING, National Vice-President of the AFT, is a teacher in the Palo Alto public schools. . . . EDUARD LINDEMAN is Professor of Social Philosophy at the New York School of Social Work.

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

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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.

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, *Editor*

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Wheeler, Marshall Rehired

The dispute between West Suburban Teachers Union (AFT Local 571 just west of Chicago) and the Board of Education of Proviso Township High School concerning the re-employment of Mary R. Wheeler and Ralph W. Marshall, officers of the Union, has been settled in conference between representatives of the Union and members of the board.

The board agreed to re-employ Mary R. Wheeler, beginning January 29, 1940, and Ralph W. Marshall, beginning September 3, 1940. Contracts to both of the teachers will be issued by the board for the school year of 1940-41, and will provide for compensation at not less than the salary they received during their last period of employment at Proviso.

The contract provides that no members of the faculty of Proviso Township High School shall be discriminated against because of membership in the American Federation of Teachers.

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Published by

The American Federation of Teachers

AFFILIATED WITH THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Further disputes between members of the Union and the Board of Education are to be handled in conference by a committee selected by the board and the Union. Any teacher having a dispute with the board will immediately report the matter to the committee appointed by the Union and selected to confer with the board for the purpose of adjusting such disputes.

Representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the AFT locals in the Chicago area, the officers of Local 571, representatives of the national office and Attorney Leo J. Hassenauer participated in the negotiations. President William Green wrote a letter to the President of the Board urging that the teachers whose contracts were not renewed last spring be re-employed.

Labor's Program for Education

The permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor has issued a five-point statement on education which has been sent to the secretaries of State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Unions urging the following program:

I. Adequate and proper enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws:

A. The compulsory school attendance laws should be closely correlated with the child labor laws, so that conflicting standards do not permit interference with continuous schooling.

B. There should be no exceptions or loopholes which would make possible a child's being kept from school "because he is too poor to attend" (our last survey showed 17 states have laws with some sort of poverty exemption); because "he lives too far from school" (our survey showed 22 states had this exemption); or for any other reason which is not in the interest of the child himself.

II. Adequate appropriations for the maintenance of schools to be administered for the social wellbeing of the students to be taught in classes not to exceed twenty-

five, in well constructed buildings, by teachers paid salaries commensurate with the great value of their service to the community.

We recognize that within certain states, under their existing laws through which taxable resources are limited, that truly adequate funds (sufficient to prevent gross inequalities of opportunities for education among the persons of all states) may not immediately be had. We therefore urge for all states the raising of educational budgets in keeping with the human and national investment involved; the amendment of state laws, particularly tax laws, wherever necessary, to make possible more adequate school appropriations. The American Federation of Labor has urged before the Federal Congress a program of federal aid for education to be allocated among the states on a basis of relative need and to be administered by the state as necessary to afford equal educational opportunities for all.

III. Professional and social security for teachers, through:

A. State-wide teacher tenure laws which can not be circumvented by subterfuge in the guise of so-called efficiency ratings or personality ratings.

B. State-wide teacher pension laws assuring the maintenance of efficiency in the system and the social security of the teacher upon retirement.

C. Provision for leave of absence for teachers for the protection and maintenance of their health and for their professional growth and betterment, with adequate compensation for such leave which would enable the teacher to avail himself of the privilege.

IV. Provision for the training for civic responsibility for all persons in the community.

The old concept of education as limited to formal academic subjects must be enlarged, and opportunities provided by law for civic training for youths and adults to help them meet the complex social and political problems of the day. The curriculum must be revised so as to make training for life in a community and citizenship in a democracy the heart of education.

V. Negatively, there must be no substantive legislation on curriculum making, and no limitations enacted into law which would prevent the teaching of social and physical sciences in our school, a principle in absolute keeping with the great tradition of free government upon which our schools are founded.

The committee points out that "at the moment drives for so-called economy threaten the proper functioning of our schools. Self-constituted "Citizens Protective Committees" join with "Tax Associations" to attack our public schools. They fight not only the giving of funds to our schools but the development through the schools of our democratic ideals.

"Labor," says the committee, "must protect our schools, its pupils and its teachers."

Free Pamphlets for Policies Work

"Schools for Tomorrow's Citizens," a Public Affairs Pamphlet, which was reviewed by Wanda Taeschner, chairman of the NEPC, in the November, 1939, issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER, may now be obtained through this office or through the office of Silver Burdett, 221 E. 20th St., Chicago, at a cost of 8c per copy. They will be sent free to the educational policies committee

chairmen of all AFT Locals. Any member of the educational policies committee of a Local who would like to receive a copy of this pamphlet can get it, without cost, by writing in to the AMERICAN TEACHER. Copies to committee members will be sent out as long as the supply lasts.

Challenge Accepted

We are happy to announce that our challenge to administrators' magazines to reprint the article, "Supervision—Theory and Practice," by Samuel Tenenbaum has been accepted by the *School Executive*; the article will appear in a forthcoming issue using some of the illustrations by Chandler Montgomery. We have also received a notice from the American Education Press that their journal, *Our Times*, will deal with race relations the week of February 26 to March 1. Some of the illustrations from the January issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER will be used in *Our Times*. Frank Murphy's article on civil liberties was reprinted in the *Epworth Herald* of February 17.

American Teacher Problems

One of the problems facing the AMERICAN TEACHER and the AFT generally is the budgetary problem. At a recent meeting of the Editorial Board of the AMERICAN TEACHER, it was clear that we might not be able to publish the May issue and stay within the budget allotted us by the Executive Council. While our mail seems to indicate that the January issue was probably the most successful issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER published within the last year and one-half, it is important that our members realize that it contained eight extra pages and a good deal of extra illustrative material; the cost of producing that issue was increased by about 25 per cent.

However, we have been forced to make an extra run of about 7,500 copies and have about 4,000 of these on hand. Three thousand copies were ordered by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'Nai B'Rith which is going to distribute these throughout the country.

For the last year and a half we have used 32 pages as the basic issue. This year we have been unable to run the "Labor Notes" in three out of five issues, the "Letters to the Editor" in three out of five issues, and in this number we were unable to run "Inside the Cover." This suggests that in the future we must think in terms of at least a 40-page magazine, if we want all the features which have heretofore been included.

Two ads appear on the back cover of this issue and we would appreciate your support of these advertisers. We especially urge the editorial committees of our various locals which order pamphlet material to mention the AMERICAN TEACHER in their orders. We would also like to call to your attention the combination offer on page 18 of the AMERICAN TEACHER and J. Abner Peddiwell's *Saber-Tooth Curriculum* for \$2.25. This offer will not be good after March 10.

The President's Page

A Sustaining Fund For Academic Freedom Cases

A central purpose of the American Federation of Teachers is the improvement of the economic, social, civic, and cultural status of the ordinary teacher. Since the only true measure of a democracy is to be found in the quality of its members, this is an entirely legitimate and praiseworthy purpose of any organization of working people. But in the case of a union of teachers such a purpose assumes a yet broader social significance. The educative process, if its object is the development of free men and women, can only be carried on effectively by teachers who are secure, enlightened, and free. The defense and advancement of the rights and privileges of the teacher, therefore, are essential to the defense and advancement of the cause of public education in a democracy.

The task which the Federation faces in this area is a colossal one. Even in the best of times teachers suffer from many and severe disabilities. Nurtured on a quasi-servile tradition that can be traced back to antiquity and committed to a conception of "respectability" that is essentially false and undemocratic, they have been reluctant to band together and assert themselves in community, state, and nation. As Howard Beale has shown, the ordinary American teacher, in both his professional and private life, is spied upon and harassed by gossips, busy-bodies, heresy-hunters, self-constituted guardians of public morals, paid agents of power and privilege, and by anyone who desires to conceal piratical designs on society under the cloak of patriotism or gain a reputation for civic courage and public spirit without danger to himself. These "normal" disabilities are an insult to the profession and a menace to democratic education. They must all be removed.

The present, moreover, is not the "best of times." Rather is it a period of severe tension—a period marked by a deepening of both the world and the domestic crisis and the consequent growth and spread of a spirit of anxiety, hysteria, and intolerance. In such times the "normal" disabilities of teachers will in all probability be considerably, if not greatly, aggravated. Already evidence is accumulating from many quarters that reactionary groups and organizations working in concert are increasing their pressure on the entire educational system for the purpose of destroying freedom of teaching and learning and of eliminating from the schools all who would strive earnestly to liberate the minds of the young. The excellent mid-year report of our national academic freedom committee, prepared by Professor Arnold Shukotoff, thoroughly documents this tendency.

In this situation we must multiply our efforts to improve in every way the status of teachers. This means first of all the continuation without abatement of our historic struggle for tenure, economic security, better working conditions, professional responsibility, and full civic rights and privileges. It means also carrying on an increasingly vigorous and effective fight against arbitrary and unjust dismissals. Not only must we endeavor to achieve the complete reinstatement of teachers who are dismissed, but we must also strive to foresee and forestall dismissals. This last will require, among other things, the elaboration of a thoroughly mature philosophy of the total role of the teacher in our democracy—a philosophy which we must carry to the community as well as to the members of the profession.

But all of this, indispensable as it is, is not enough. In spite of everything we can do, the struggle for improved status will exact its toll of individual victims. Teachers, dismissed because of the honesty of their instruction, the boldness of their activities in the community, or the intensity of their devotion to the defense of their fellows or to the cause of public education, will find themselves, at least for a period, in the ranks of the unemployed. And we know that those who bear the brunt of the struggle for the effective organization of teachers will be the most likely objects of administrative displeasure. This is all in the record.

The growth and integrity of the American Federation of Teachers will depend in large measure on our ability to deal with this situation. The individual teacher must not be asked to bear the entire cost of the struggle for better conditions for the profession. As an organization we must master, in so far as we are able, the art of securing re-employment of those of our number who go down in the common fight. And in the interval, when their normal source of income is cut off, we must find some way of taking care of them. Our demonstrated determination and ability to do this, even on a wholly inadequate scale, would strengthen the Federation more than thousands and tens of thousands spent directly on membership campaigns. It requires no gift of prophecy to see that the future belongs to the first organization of teachers that meets this challenge boldly and effectively.

The most promising proposal for meeting the challenge is that of establishing a sustaining fund for the victims of unjust dismissal. In a somewhat informal and unsystematic way a beginning in the right direction has already been made. Local and state bodies, sensitive to the needs in the situation, have provided financial assistance for teachers dismissed in the line of duty. Many are beginning to think that this function can be dis-

charged only by the national organization. Just how a sustaining fund should be created, whether through a fixed levy on the entire membership or through some system of voluntary contributions, is a question that requires the fullest discussion by our membership. Also what principles and considerations should govern the administration

of a national sustaining fund is a matter that merits thorough illumination. Both the national office and the academic freedom committee urge upon the locals that this entire subject be discussed in the remaining months of the present academic year.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

A Program for 1940

Adopted by the National Executive Council of the AFT

THE PRIMARY function of the American Federation of Teachers as of any other union is to promote the economic welfare of its members and to improve the conditions under which they work. We recognize that as teachers we have larger responsibilities to the children whom we teach and to their parents, the greater number of whom are working men and women. We believe that the security of all the people is our concern if for no other reason than that such security is essential to the welfare of American children. Thus we have affiliated with organized labor because we are sensitive to our obligation to help obtain fair pay and just conditions for all who work. We cannot sincerely teach for democracy unless we fight valiantly to preserve democracy and guarantee its economic and social benefits to all.

We recognize that as teachers we must defend the right of every child to have his health protected, his body and mind nurtured, and his individuality and personality respected. He must be assured equality of opportunity in every field of endeavor, regardless of his race, his religion, his nationality, his economic or family status or the region of his residence.

That teachers may be free and able to assist communities in advancing the rights of children, we believe that they must be secure in their person and in their thinking. The American Federation of Teachers has from its founding fought for single and adequate salary schedules. In striving to establish standards it has fought against discrimination because of sex, race, religion or political opinion. In all of our efforts we recognize our ever-growing indebtedness to organized labor for its wholehearted and active support of our program for both children and teachers.

Educational opportunity must be expanded. It is not sufficient merely to protect the securities already achieved for teachers nor to maintain only that level of education already reached. Says the American Youth Commission: "Half of the young people who have left school have not finished the ninth grade, and many of them have had far less than nine years of schooling. There are more than three million adults in this country who

cannot read or write. In America today there are nearly one million children of elementary school age who are not enrolled in any school." Such facts require every American to demand an expansion of educational services.

The American Federation of Teachers is today stronger than ever before, not only in numbers but also in experience. We have reason, therefore, to hope that, with the cooperation of all our locals, we will go forward to new achievements, and progress to new levels of understanding and cooperation for the security of the American people and their schools.

Today we face a new decade in a world torn by old greeds and new dissensions. We believe it necessary to call to the attention of all our members the problems facing us in 1940.

I. EDUCATIONAL RETRENCHMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Today we are confronted by a strong, organized drive to effect retrenchments by slashing education budgets. In the richest states of the Union, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and elsewhere those who control corporate wealth and powerful realty interests have forced dangerous reductions in school funds. Their demands have been coupled with adverse criticisms of the public school program. The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York seriously questions whether free public education should be provided beyond the elementary grades of instruction. From many sources, there comes opposition to the enrichment of curricula and the extension of educational services. At the same time, wild charges of radicalism are being made against teachers who dare to organize and to oppose the drives for retrenchments.

Notwithstanding this drive for educational retrenchment, the trend in modern society is to increase the tasks placed upon the public schools. Ages for compulsory attendance have been raised, unemployment among youths has forced more of them to continue in school, the shortening of the normal work day and enforced idleness have increased demands for educational services, and the decline in standards of living of millions of families has

thrown upon the schools greater responsibilities for child welfare. As a result of retrenchment and the increased responsibilities of the schools we find a serious educational crisis. In spite of the fact that the number of unemployed teachers is growing steadily larger and that unemployment among clerical, maintenance and building trade workers is increasing, we find the following evidences of retrenchment widespread.

(1) *Increase in Class Size and Teaching Load.* Excessively large classes are common, and full-rostered days for teachers with added extra-curricular activities are found with alarming frequency everywhere.

(2) *Reduction of School Term.* Not only has the summer vacation been extended but in some cities the Christmas vacation has been lengthened; in Toledo, during the inclement winter, children were shut out of school for six long weeks.

(3) *Reduction of Salaries.* To "balance budgets" salaries have actually been cut or threats been made to reduce them. In some cases a wholly unjustifiable rating plan has demoted teachers to lower salary schedules. The American Federation of Teachers believes that no inefficient teacher should be retained and therefore recognizes such "demotions" as a poor disguise for retrenchment.

(4) *Curtailment of Curricula.* Subjects have been dropped without any regard for community needs or pedagogical philosophy, but merely to reduce school costs.

(5) *Improper Use of Substitute Teachers.* The use of the terms "temporary employee," "permanent substitute," attempts to hide the use of fully qualified teachers at lower salaries in regular teaching posts. This wide misuse of substitutes has reached its climax in New York City where such teachers have been employed for many years in permanent positions while regular appointment lists are ignored.

(6) *Increase of Clerical Duties of Teachers.* Standard tests, multiple forms and reports which should properly be prepared by special assistants and clerks have been added to the burden of already overworked teachers.

(7) *Reduction in Maintenance of Physical Equipment and Buildings.* Repairs have been neglected causing depreciation of property value as well as the denial of employment to large groups of workers.

(8) *Decrease of Appropriations for Teaching Materials and Books.* Supplies have been cut to the minimum and below a decent level of efficiency. Text books and library appropriations, cut practically everywhere, have in some instances been entirely eliminated for the current year. The efficiency of any workman depends to some extent upon the adequacy of his tools. It is reasonable to assume that the educator's effectiveness is diminished when visual aids, books and other materials are denied him.

(9) *Elimination of Special Services.* Speech and remedial reading classes have been reduced in number or eliminated. Health services, properly a part of a school program, have been cut.

(10) *Failure to Use Federal Funds to Supplement Local*

Funds for Child Health and Educational Programs. In spite of the fact that W.P.A. funds to be matched are available to Boards of Education for evening classes and for lunches for children, few have availed themselves of these resources.

(11) *Curtailment of Nursery, Kindergarten and Adult Education.* The crisis has greatly increased the need for adult education, nursery schools and kindergartens, yet we find these services threatened as "frills."

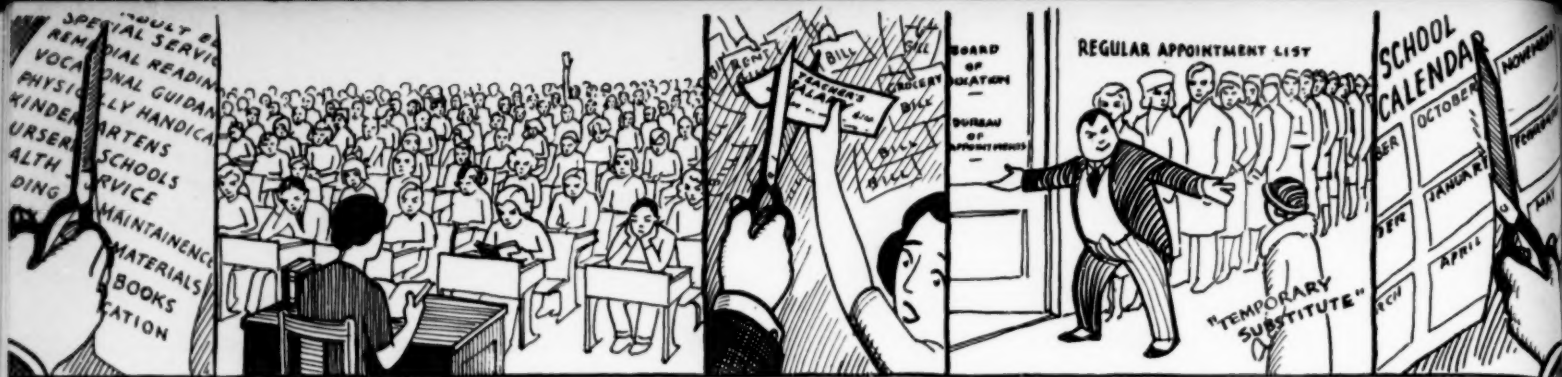
(12) *Lack of Provision for the Older Adolescent Group.* This is particularly true in the field of vocational education. Opportunities for higher education are limited, fees having increased enormously in colleges and universities. "One-third of the unemployed workers in the United States are young people fifteen to twenty-four years of age. There are about four million youth out of work. The rate of unemployment is higher for youth of fifteen to twenty-four than for any other age group. Even in fairly prosperous times, young people of the United States are having increasing difficulty in getting started at useful employment."—American Youth Commission.

(13) *Restrictions on Teacher Participation in Administration of Schools.* Teachers who must meet too many and too large classes are unable to participate effectively. Lack of such participation makes for less realistic programs and endangers teaching for democracy.

(14) *Curtailment of Voluntary Experimentation in New Methods of Teaching, etc.* With less and less time to discharge regular duties, teachers are not able voluntarily to experiment in new fields.

(15) *Increased Discrimination against Underprivileged Groups and Racial Minorities.* If there is a general trend toward retrenchment in education, curtailment of educational rights for minority groups and the underprivileged is even greater. In so called "normal" times the child "on the other side of the track," the Negro child and the child of foreign parents get the poorest equipment, the most dilapidated buildings, the most crowded classrooms. In this period of retrenchment educational services to these groups are much below the safety line.





The American Federation of Teachers is not only opposed to all forms of retrenchment but demands an expansion of education programs, commensurate with the needs and resources of the richest country in the world. We pledge ourselves to expose unremittingly the forces hostile to public education and welfare services in the local, state and federal governments. We note and shall increasingly point out those places where "economy" is directed against the schools and social services though other functions of government are untouched.

We propose the following methods of stopping the retrenchment drive and organizing public education:

(1) *Taxation.* Upon those who have the wealth shall be placed the necessary taxes to support an educational and social welfare system worthy of America. Present tax systems bearing unjustly on low incomes and with loopholes through which rich tax-dodgers may escape must be revised. A brief on taxation is being presented to Congress by our organization. The tax systems of county, city and state must be coordinated. *We urge all our locals to study the tax units in their local communities and present programs for their reorganization.*¹

In our tax program we should make clear that money must come from those best able to pay. We are unequivocally opposed to sales taxes, occupational taxes and all other means of shifting the burdens of taxation to people in the lower income group.

(2) *Federal Aid to Education.* The widespread drive for retrenchment plus the increased need for equalization of educational opportunities makes it more important than ever to carry on the fight for Federal Aid. The American Federation of Teachers proposes to continue its campaign for the Thomas-Harrison Bill with renewed vigor during the second session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress.

All locals are urged to send resolutions to their Congressmen in support of the Thomas-Harrison Bill. Where legislatures are in session during 1940, resolutions should be introduced memorializing Congress to pass the Thomas-Harrison Bill.²

(3) *State Aid.* The National Legislative Committee will shortly send to all locals a proposed program on state aid to be adapted to the needs of particular states and pressed for in their legislatures by the various locals.

(4) *Local Support of Education.* Along with our program for revision of tax laws, reorganization of tax units,

Federal aid and increased state aid, *each local must see that there is no diminution of local support.* In some cases on record increased state aid has been a signal for local communities to decrease their support of schools. The purpose of Federal and State aid is to expand educational services; they are not to be used as a substitute for local funds.

(5) *W.P.A.* There must be no curtailment of W.P.A., particularly in the educational and art fields. The Woodrum Act must be repealed, wages increased, and more unemployed teachers, artists, actors and musicians put to work on a program of cultural development for the United States. It is a duty not only for W.P.A. locals to press for W.P.A. services; all teachers should be concerned to increase cultural opportunities and employment of fellow professionals. *Individuals and locals should write their Congressmen for increased funds for W.P.A. and for repeal of the Woodrum Act.*

II. THE NATIONAL CRISIS

The American Federation of Teachers believes that we in America should have no part in the present war. Mindful of the last World War and of the propaganda then used to involve us, we urge all our members not only to avoid hysteria themselves, but, as teachers, to give wise leadership to our children, to keep them calm and clear—**TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR.** We believe that we have sufficient to occupy us at home in providing a solution to our economic and social problems here. In the face of the world-wide challenge to democracy, we re-affirm our faith in democratic principles as set forth in the American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which specifically or implicitly provide for:

(a) Universal suffrage regardless of race, sex, religion or economic and social status.

(b) Civil rights for all including not only security in person and home, but the rights to opinion and the free expression of opinion by speech in assemblage, in the press and by radio and the cinema.

(c) Freedom to work and to enjoy the fruits of one's own labor.

(d) The right to participate in economic organization to secure better working conditions, fairer distribution of work and higher standards of living.

(e) Freedom from all forms of oppression and discrimination based on the theory of racial or social inferiority.

(f) Freedom of religion including separation of church and state in all fields of public life including education.

At this time we recognize clearly:

¹Write the chairman of the Committee on Taxation (Mr. Max Diamond, New York Teachers' Union, 114 E. 16th Street, New York City) for help.

²Sample resolutions were sent to all locals by the Legislative Committee last year.

(1) *Our responsibility to the child who suffers most in war.* We realize that upon the children of the nation depends its future. We pledge ourselves to protect those children from the danger of war.

(2) *The necessity of maintaining and extending teachers' security.* Our salaries are fixed by law. In the event of a war a rising cost of living would pauperize the teachers of the nation.

Especially in times of crisis, it is important to protect freedom for teaching. Already there has been an increasing number of violations of the freedom of teachers and students. We take as a major responsibility the protection of existing tenure laws and the extension of benefits of tenure security to all competent teachers. We shall defend actively, through our National Academic Freedom Committee, all violations of tenure laws and of personal freedom. We shall fight for the citizen rights of all teachers, regardless of sex, race, religion or political opinion. *We urge all of our locals to be most vigilant with respect to violations of academic freedom and to report all cases in detail to the National Academic Freedom Committee.* We also urge them to resist the efforts of local boards to regiment teacher thought and expression under pretext of a national "emergency."



(3) *The danger of sacrificing educational and social services to the demand for war expenditures.* We insist that funds for programs of social welfare and federal aid to education shall not be halted for war purposes. We insist on the continuance and extension of social legislation initiated in the last ten years. We urge the passage of the Wagner Health Bill, the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act and the Thomas-Harrison Bill.³ We ask for the repeal of the Woodrum Bill and for the continuance and extension of the P.W.A., through which agency thousands of school buildings have been repaired and replaced in the past decade. We urge that there be an increase in the old age assistance program and that new groups such as farm, domestic and government employees, not otherwise covered by retirement funds, be included under the unemployment insurance provisions in the Social Security Act. *We urge all our locals to press their state legislatures for sound retirement systems.*⁴

We urge that no amendments be made to the National Labor Relations Act that would increase the prerogatives of the employer or invalidate any of the rights of workers. We urge that no amendments be made to the Wages and Hours Act, but that more funds be appropriated for its successful operation.

(4) *We recognize further the impending threats to organized labor and civil liberties.* In advance of a possible "M" Day, already there are attacks upon the rights of labor and minority groups. We oppose all anti-alien legislation designed to persecute aliens and to abridge the civil rights of Americans. We endorse the Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill now pending in Congress. We favor legislation to implement the Bill of Rights and to grant asylum to political refugees; and we favor the valuable work of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee and urge increased appropriations for it.

We demand the discontinuance of the Dies Committee because it has violated all the fundamental principles of the Bill of Rights which was designed to protect the individual from such inquisitions and because it has failed to accomplish the end for which it was created.⁵

III. CONCLUSION

In 1940 we face many problems testing the soundness of democracy and the ability of the American Federation of Teachers as a functioning part of our American democracy to support and extend it. We have faith in our purpose and in our members to meet the situation—to defeat retrenchment, to preserve civil liberties and to keep America out of war.

Affiliated with Labor, staunch in our support of democracy and the public school as a significant implement of democracy, we face a new year and a new decade confident of success.

³For description of bills see Legislative Report, 1939 Convention.

⁴The Model Bill Bureau of the American Federation of Teachers will send to all locals this year a model retirement bill.

⁵See "Executive Council Resolution on Dies Committee" in the January AMERICAN TEACHER, page 35.

What Should Our Children Inherit?

J. Abner Peddiwell, Ph. D.

HE FUMBLED with his Phi Beta Kappa key and peered anxiously through his thick-lensed spectacles. "I was looking for an answer," he said humbly.

"Uh-huh," said the Devil, "and *then* you were hit by a truck. That's why you're here."

"But I didn't see any truck."

"Of course not. That's how you got hit."

"Well—ah—I still need an answer."

"What do you want to know?"

"I want to know what our children should inherit."

"Humph! Funny question. What were you, a lawyer?"

"Lawyer? Were? No, I *am* a professor."

"You *were* a professor. Professor of what?"

"Professor of education. But why do you say *were*? I'm still a professor, I hope."

The Devil smiled grimly. "Not here, you aren't. Since you crossed the river back there you're not a professor. You're just a soul, a soul stripped bare of the flummery and doo-dads which men commonly use to cover up their ignorance—and their sins."

"What—why—" stammered the professor. "You mean I—I'm . . ."

"Sure," said the Devil, "you were dead before you hit the ground."

"But in that case I must be in . . ." The professor hesitated modestly. "You're here—at the gate. You aren't—are you—ah—St. Peter?"

"Oh, no," the Devil laughed. "Much obliged for the compliment. I'm the head man here—really only just a chairman, however. Thank badness this is one place where we still have true democracy. Of course we have to have an administrative head like any other organization, and I have been an administrator so long that I must take the lead in policy making and policy executing. You should see the committees we have working—committee on methods, committee on tenure, committee on the activity program, and a very fine committee on evaluative criteria—temperatures, you know—latest stuff."

The professor was visibly shocked. "You mean—you can't mean I've actually gone to . . ."

"Sure you have. Why not? It's no disgrace. We have some of the worst people here. Our entrance requirements are not so rigid as those of another place, but after all we do pride ourselves on our activities and on our democratic tradition and procedures."

The professor pulled a neatly folded handkerchief from his breast pocket and wiped his forehead. "I had noticed it was warm," he said agitatedly, "but I had no idea it was because I had gone to . . ." He paused, visibly embarrassed by his proximity in flesh and in language

to a place which he never mentioned save under appropriate stress of anger.

"Why don't you go ahead and say it?" the Devil asked impatiently. "There's nothing profane about a mere place name, is there?"

The professor jammed his handkerchief into a moist ball. "Well—er—I suppose not—at least when one is there. But isn't there any way out? Do I have to stay here? I have a number of engagements—some studies I have promised to complete—and that question I mentioned to you. I wanted that for a speech I have to make."

"Now, now," said the Devil soothingly. "Don't take it so hard. I know this place has a bad reputation. Many people think it is just a prison, but actually it is much more than that. It is a clinic, a guidance center, a testing bureau, a division of research and—well, I sometimes say, more or less jokingly, of course, that it is really a lot like an adult education center or even a university."

"That's astonishing," commented the professor. "I always thought this was a—a . . ."

"A hell of a place? I know. Go ahead and say it. You can't hurt my feelings. And in a certain sense it *is* hell here. It should be. We have to provide that service too. You will see what I mean as you go through the grind. First of all we must examine some of your basic ideas. If you were a doctor, we'd diagnose your difficulties. If you were a lawyer, we'd try you. Since you're a professor of education, however, we'll put you in a panel discussion. We do that with all men in your field."

"Ah, do they all come here?"

"Well, yes, practically all of them. Step this way, please. The panel is waiting."

"What do I have to do?"

"Just act as a member of the group. You know what a panel discussion is."

"Yes. I have served on them. In fact I have organized them, even presided . . ."

"All right, then. You know what to do."

"But—er—for this purpose—a panel discussion—isn't it liable to be—ah—vague and—maybe controversial and everyone exhibiting his pet prejudices—and no one having very many facts—and no real direction of the discussion and . . ."

"Why, certainly," admitted the Devil with a touch of asperity. "What do you expect? Remember where you are."

The Devil introduced his victim brusquely. "This man thinks he has an educational question," he announced.

The members of the panel rose from their seats around the conference table and, one by one, solemnly shook

hands with the professor.

"An educational question?" said the man with the mathematical nose. "You have come to the right place."

"If our answers will only fit your frame of reference," modestly added the man with the social expression.

"We don't know a thing—and we don't need to. All we can and will do is to feel and express," warned the man with the artistic gleam in his eye.

The stubby-faced man said nothing.

The Devil waved the professor into a vacant chair, and they all sat down.

"Well, now," said the Devil, "unless somebody else wants to do it, I'll just act as chairman to save time. What's this question you have to propose?"

The professor swallowed embarrassedly. "Why—er—I want to know what our children should inherit."

"There you are, gentlemen," explained the Devil. "That's his question, and I don't mind saying that it sounds funny to me. What should our children inherit? What *should* they inherit but what we have to leave them? That's all there is to it. That's a simple answer to a very simple question. I don't see what there is to discuss."

"Nonsense," snapped the man with the mathematical nose belligerently. "It is a very sound question and a profound one. It is not a simple question, but your answer, sir, is simple, so simple as to be ridiculous, if you don't mind my saying so."

"Oh, not at all, not at all," said the Devil beamingly. "Thank badness there is left one place where we can have free and untrammelled democratic discussion. Go right ahead and tell us what's on your mind."

"Thank you," said the man with the mathematical nose. "The question is an excellent one, and I am of course prepared to answer it. We do not want our children to inherit everything we have. We want them to inherit only our goods and not our ills. Even in the most primitive of cultures, moreover, men commonly recognize that the best and indeed the only important inheritance they can give their children is not one of material things but one of the mind and the spirit. When men become civilized they know that a trained mind, a disciplined spirit, is the best inheritance they can give. So they establish schools by which they transmit the distilled wisdom of the ages. That is the answer."

"Ah, yes," said the man with the social expression, "but the question of what this inheritance shall be is not merely an academic, a pedagogical matter. It is society itself which has to answer the question; it is society which has to transmit the inheritance, and the way in which society answers the question determines in the long run whether its children are going to have good bread or ground-up twigs to eat, whether they are going to live and learn, warm and secure, or die in mangled heaps with the grip of fear on their hearts at the moment of their extinction."

"Bosh," said the man with the mathematical nose. "Society! The next thing we know you will be talking about democracy. We must give our children the ability

to use symbols—language and mathematics. We must make them familiar with the words of the great men of the past. We must have them memorize poetry. Thus we shall discipline their minds, give them strong and keen instruments with which to order their lives. If they decide to have democracy, dictatorship, autocracy, communism, that is their look-out. We have done our part. Let them go where they will."

"But how do you know what will best train their minds?" asked the professor.

"The tried experience of the schools," answered the man with the mathematical nose. "That is why we should not teach them about current problems, the recent, the ephemeral things. To know what Plato said will help make them wise; to know the relief situation in their own city may help to make them only foolish agitators."

"It was the tried experience of the schools which perpetuated for men the worst forms of their ignorance," said the man with the social expression. "No school system which has been committed to teaching only the tried wisdom of the schools has ever escaped dry rot. The finest example of such a system was the Chinese educational system under the old empire, but the systems of Western Europe have often come fairly close to that ideal. The German *gymnasium* went peacefully on its way training boys' minds according to the tried experience of the schools, and along came an Austrian revolutionist and set up a new system of modifying German behavior, not in terms of the *Anabasis* but in terms of the treaty of Versailles, not in terms of what the Greeks did under Xenophon yesterday, but in terms of what the Germans were going to do under Adolph Hitler tomorrow."

"You are both wrong and both right," said the man with the artistic gleam in his eye. "It is true that we must use the old experience of the race, but it is false that we must use it in a traditional school fashion. It is true that we must make our children familiar with the problems of contemporary society, but it is false that we can show them how to change that society. What we should give them for inheritance is something much greater and more useful than a mind trained to follow a traditional school pattern, however, or a purpose to reform society in this or that particular way. We must give them developed, integrated, many-sided personalities. We must allow and encourage them to grow freely, naturally, to express themselves in words, line, rhythm, tone, color and form not for the sake of the training in expressional skills but for the sake of the personalities which are expanded and enriched in the expressional process."

The stubby-faced man said nothing.

The professor looked bewildered.

"Let me draw a few loose ends together," said the Devil, smiling impartially as a democratic chairman should. "Can't we agree on these three points: we should give our children trained minds, we should give them an understanding of current social problems, and we should give them well developed personalities?"

(Continued on page 18)

Teachers in the Crisis

Goodwin Watson

IN TIMES like these, we confront the basic question which has concerned earnest men in every critical period of history: "What is to be done?" It is impossible to prescribe in detail any program of action. Each of us will necessarily implement our general understanding in terms of our specific abilities and opportunities. What we do will depend in considerable measure upon what our situation permits us to do. We can, however, try to come to a common understanding of the nature of this crisis and the urgency of the claims that are made upon us. We live, as a colleague of mine suggested in the opening exercises of Columbia University, in an "Indian summer of tolerance." Many of us feel that there is now a lull before a storm. We would suppress any impulse to panic, keep cool, use our heads and do the most needful things in the most intelligent way.

To most readers of newspaper headlines, the term "crisis" would seem to refer to the great European war on the threshold of which nations are poised. We shall not discuss the war to any great extent, however, because it is not in itself the crisis but only a symptom of our deeper problems. The *existence* of the war challenges us but its *outcome* need not so greatly concern us. It is true that we are not neutral in thought or action. The recent press treatment of the struggle in Finland illustrates how completely our news service is at the disposal of one side. It is probable that we are now prepared to do all that the British and French High Command really want by way of support from America. When, however, we look ahead to the probable peace, it is hard to mobilize any high idealistic enthusiasm. Perhaps a compromise may soon be found in which, for example, Hitler would retire and a government such as Schacht would create might replace him. Or perhaps the war will go through its tragic course, exhausting the German people, breaking their morale, until again they have lost faith and hope. Then a government will be set up which is acceptable to the ruling class in Britain, of which Mr. Chamberlain is a perfect symbol. Perhaps a monarch will be restored, but the power behind the throne will be such as to prevent any threat to the economic interests of the capitalistic world. Whatever the form of treaty that follows peace, whether it come early or late, we can be sure that it will not lay the foundations for internal stability in Germany or international peace in the world. It is obvious enough, I suppose, that the determination of the conditions of life after the peace will rest with those who control the great bulk of the world's resources. Brooks Emeny tells us that we in the United States have half of them, the British Empire has another

25 per cent, and if we add to the Hitler opposition, as I am inclined to believe we should, the vast resources of the Soviet Union, it is clear enough that the Germans have only the alternative of accepting a dictated peace now or later.

In the background of the war there are other conflicts which represent a more fundamental cleavage in our culture. They manifest themselves in the United States as truly as in Europe or Asia. It is with these more basic issues that teachers should be most concerned.

We may approach them through a generalization from social psychology. In physics there is a law that every action creates an equal and opposite reaction. The reaction in the field of social forces may be greater or less, but every movement of social change includes a corresponding reactionary impulse. The usual pattern of social reformation seems to be:

- (1) Inauguration of the movement by a little handful of people who have been stirred by a vision and who are regarded by their fellows as extremists, radicals and impractical idealists.
- (2) A period of slow and inconspicuous growth.
- (3) A period of popularization when the movement gathers great momentum.
- (4) At this time, the inertia of those who have been opposed to the change gives way to alarm and an organized opposition is set up.
- (5) A period of conflict ensues between the original movement and the now thoroughly aroused opposition. Success at this point depends upon carrying the middle group who have not previously allied themselves with either faction.

This social pattern probably sounds familiar enough, but liberals and progressives have often been taken unawares when the counter-movement began to show strength and the conflict loomed ahead. Often it has seemed to us that we had overcome the difficulty in starting an enterprise, had gone through the slow period of building the necessary organization, had swung into the period of rapid growth, and that at last the main problems had been solved, and that there would be clear sailing ahead. It is hard when everything is just beginning to go better than it ever has before to recognize that the opposition is being built up by this very success. It is dismaying to realize that what has looked like smooth-flowing evolutionary progress necessarily involves a transition to a period of struggle. So hard has it been for many to learn this social fact that they enter each new forward movement with the hope that at last they have mounted a social escalator which will bring steady and unimpeded

progress. The lesson of history seems to be that whether the struggle is for Protestantism, the emergence of the business system from feudalism, the founding of the American republic, the abolition of slavery, the organization of labor, or any other great social advance, the incoming tide always creates a powerful undertow.

Let us examine the implications of this thesis within education itself. Progressives may well be delighted with the advance of the progressive education movement in the United States in recent years. What began as the effort of a few struggling experimental schools is permeating the philosophy of many great city public school systems. With substantial grants, many commissions are working out materials which will help young people face the vital problems of their daily living. Many of us have been thrilled by the rapid growth in numbers and in power of the American Federation of Teachers. Are we sufficiently aware that it is just because these movements do appear to be entering a stage of rapid popular acceptance that those who imagine themselves threatened must at this time cease to rely upon the conservative nature of this and every culture to check any such innovation? As influence rises, so will a movement to take us back to the good old days.

Where do we see this today? We see it in the report of the Committee on Education from the New York State Chamber of Commerce which points out that too much culture is likely to lead to disintegration of our society and urges that the responsibility of the state for the education of the mass of its under-privileged ends with the liquidation of illiteracy. These men, like other leaders in business, finance and real estate, look back longingly to the low per capita costs of the schools of the Nineteenth Century. Allied with them in influence, if not in intent, are those leaders like Hutchins, Adler, Barr, and Buchanan who are ready to abandon objectives of personality development in education, and who seem to escape from current controversies by retreat to a curriculum of classical books. There are textbook writers who advertise today their reaction against progressive trends and their return to safe and sane essentialism. Behind all such leaders will march a rank and file reactionary movement made up of administrators and teachers who find it easier to coast in the old ruts, of manufacturers of texts and school supplies who wish to continue to market their old products and of parents who have never been helped to understand what we mean by progressive education. The ranks of the opposition will be swelled too by those who have been antagonized by our inevitable mistakes as we pioneer in new adventures.

Some battles have already been lost in this struggle. One of the more costly was the closing of the experimental program for the education of teachers which had been developed at New College. It is not at all unlikely that the movement of reaction will be joined in this country, as it was in Germany, by a political movement which is anti-intellectual. Any clean sweep of what many regard as the fantastic impractical ideals of the New

Deal will certainly include much of the "education for democracy" which we have fostered in our progressive schools.

What, then, must be our program? First we must do our job well, but we must recognize that skillful classroom teaching is not enough. Some of the ablest teachers of our generation worked in the progressive experimental schools of Germany during the 1920's. Their educational ideals were swept aside, not because of their personal incompetence, but because of the lack of an organization broad enough and strong enough to sustain their advance. Behind the program of educational advance in the United States, we would like to see an organization including all those who are concerned with the welfare of all the children of all the people. Unfortunately there is no such organization. Political parties, religious groups and educational associations commonly represent only minorities. The nearest approach to an organization which may potentially include us all in effective cooperation is that which represents those who work. The organization of labor is potentially our most inclusive American pressure group.

There are many other areas in which we might apply our fundamental thesis. The New Deal, for example, has brought many reforms with such amazing ease that those who approve them have perhaps failed to calculate the undertow. With every advance of labor has come the tendency that manifested itself in the Oregon laws to curb labor. With every advance in social security payments goes increasing apprehension over taxes and government debt. America's melting pot tradition has made it possible for minority racial and national groups to advance, but whenever they advance into positions which arouse the envy of other groups in the population, some emotional reactions are set up which would seek to swing the pendulum in the other direction. Those who backed the movements of technocracy and other blueprint utopias of six years ago little realized in their enthusiasm that the backwash would lead to suspicion and discredit the whole idea of social planning. This brings us close to another and a deeper crisis which we must consider.

Underlying the struggles in education, politics, race relations and the war programs of the world today is a crisis in our fundamental institution. One of the most eminent sociologists of our generation, Robert S. Lynd, remarked recently that the basic institution of American life is not the school, is not the church, and is not the family. Whenever there is a clear conflict between the welfare of any of these institutions and the demands of business, we recognize that making a living comes first. Ours is, as James Truslow Adams has well named it, a business civilization. We find that experimental and progressive schools and colleges can be established for girls much more easily than for boys. Why? Is it not because boys must be trained for the hard life of competitive business enterprise? There is a feeling that the newer educational programs might make them "soft," give them dangerous ideas, or dissipate their energies in competing interests. One business man put it this way:

"We know that boys have got to be fitted to go after what they want and to get it in a hard daily struggle, but we want them to act genteel in the evening."

There are other evidences of the primacy of our economic life. When we ask a child "What are you going to be?" he understands at once that we do not refer to his character, his intellectual interests, his love life, or his religion. He thinks at once in terms of his job. Business pays most of the pipers and calls most of the tunes.

Other aspects of our society may undergo change and have only a minor impact upon the structure of the whole. Not so with business. Our business civilization is immersed today in a long-term crisis and everything else in our culture from its food supply to its human life and spiritual values undergoes disturbances. I hope that the upsurge of production and profits in recent months will not obscure for teachers the fact that the basic problems of our economic life are still unsolved. Our total productive plant which might turn out 150 billion dollars worth of goods and services will not operate much above half of that level. Millions will remain unemployed or under-employed. The dividends paid from the present boom will add to the supply of idle funds which for ten long years have been waiting in vain for an opportunity to find profitable investment. The funds cannot be re-invested in new factories because our society is unable to use the output of the old ones. Even if we ship the products of our forests, farms, mines and labor abroad to be destroyed in warfare, we shall have in exchange scraps of paper or bags of gold in the hills of Kentucky, but a lower standard of living than we might have had. The basic problem is not solved until all our resources are being used continuously, in such a way as not to waste or exhaust them but to raise the standard of living.

There are, as you know, many proposals and few panaceas. Some would raise wages, others would increase public spending, and still others hope to restore consuming power by greatly increasing the incomes of the aged. Others maintain that it would be wiser to increase our

consuming power by lowering prices. Some point to the need to break up monopolies and other business forms which have maintained price levels in spite of falling demand. The real conflict is not between one of these remedies and another, but between those who recognize that the old ways will no longer work and those who want to go back and try to repeat the patterns of an economic era that is closed. In the nominating conventions of both major parties, the essential struggle will not be over which planks to put into the platform, but over the question as to whether the new rules shall be called off and we shall go back to the attempt to play the old game. On the one side are arranged all those forces which fear that any significant change will reduce their power to control economic developments and therefore political destiny; on the other hand are arranged those who have directly or vicariously suffered enough to conclude that no man may any longer be free to manipulate any part of our vast economic machinery for personal advantage when that works against the general welfare. This takes us directly into the very citadel of control, into the powerhouse of our civilization.

It is clear enough that in a struggle of these dimensions we shall have to think in terms of the contribution of the greatest social forces we know over a considerable period of time. We shall distrust the person who feels that he can work out a solution in his own head and console himself with the stupidity of the rest of the world for not adopting it. We shall have to work in organizations or accept frustration and futility. Our own wisdom needs to be supplemented by the counsel of our colleagues and our strength by their supporting arms. When the forces of progress create their inevitable reactionary pull, the issue will be determined in considerable degree by our success in building organizations of those who are ready to move forward. Sharing our experiences and insights, counseling with one another, the members of the American Federation of Teachers stand shoulder to shoulder in a union which replaces the neurosis of individual lamentation by the creative strength of cooperation in a common cause.

Educating the Administrator

Ralph Tyler

IT IS MY INTENTION in discussing administration to emphasize the educational function of the school as the central factor. The co-ordination of educational activities has as its central purpose more effective educational achievement and not merely a smoother-running machinery. The provision of resources, finances, materials, and personnel has also as its guiding purpose the facilitation of the educational program. There is nothing inherently

desirable in spending more money or less money for the schools, or having budgets handled in one fashion rather than in another, or in planning the schedules in one way rather than in another, except in so far as each of these procedures improves the educational program of the school. Fundamentally, administration has no standards excepting educational standards. The organization and co-ordination of activities, the obtaining of funds, of personnel, and

the formation of schedules are necessary and important school functions. However, they are to be judged in terms of their effect upon the educational program rather than in terms of material efficiency or financial economy as ends in themselves.

I find it helpful to review the mass of writing which has accumulated over the centuries relating to the ideal of democracy. In these statements, four characteristics appeal to me as the most significant aspects of a democratic process. The *first* of these is the emphasis that persons as individuals are the ends of human activity and are not to be conceived as means, as pawns to be moved about on the chess board of life. There is always temptation to become engrossed in the system so that the smoothness of the action of the organization becomes in itself a satisfying goal. Democratic leadership re-emphasizes the importance of considering the effect of every activity upon each human being involved. In the case of school activities this means a primary interest in the effect upon individual teachers, individual pupils, individual parents, and individuals within the community who are involved in one way or another with the work of the school.

A *second* essential characteristic of democratic procedure is the opportunity for wide participation of all the interested persons in the formulation of purposes, in the planning of activities, in the execution of the plans, and in the appraisal and replanning. Persons grow and live more satisfying and fuller lives as they have opportunity to participate more widely in various social groups and in all of the phases of the activities of these social groups. When one is assigned a particular job for which all of the duties have been specifically laid out, for which one bears no responsibility in planning and in appraising one's efforts, the possibility of growth is greatly diminished. Furthermore, one's interest in the process is likely to diminish through the years rather than to increase. On the other hand, participation even in a small way in planning and appraisal gives one a continually broader vision of the significance of his work, of its complexity, and of the possibility of further improvement. It gives greater zest to the job and an increased satisfaction in carrying such work forward. Democratic leadership therefore seeks continually to provide opportunities for wider participation on the part of teachers, pupils, parents, and other interested community members in the varied activities of the school—in its educational philosophy, in its objectives, in the curriculum, and in the processes of evaluation and appraisal of the educational outcomes.

A *third* characteristic of democratic procedure is the encouragement of variability—that is, of individuality or uniqueness. There is, of course, a certain kind of satisfaction in living in a homogeneous group in which every one has the same standards of value, the same ideas, the same interests, and holds the same prejudices. However, I believe this to be the antithesis of democracy. In some respects it may be more uncomfortable to live with people who hold various views, to listen to persons who are always conceiving novel ideas, and to be continually sub-

jected to influences which require a reconsideration of one's own patterns of values and methods of work but the potentialities for improvement of any group lie in the degree of freshness, of originality, and of the uniqueness of its members. Some degree of uniformity and standardization of action is necessary for survival but within wide limits individuality should be encouraged and conflicting ideas presented for examination, for reconsideration, and for tentative trial. This is, perhaps, the most difficult aspect of democracy to safeguard. The Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to our federal constitution, represents one important effort to safeguard some of the fundamental ways in which individuality may be expressed, that is, through freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly.

As a school system becomes larger, the desire to organize the activities of the school in such a way that they may run more smoothly and be administered most "efficiently" conflicts with this ideal of individuality which would give teachers and pupils a considerable degree of initiative in experimenting with a variety of approaches.

Society's ultimate safeguard against disintegration when variability and uniqueness are encouraged lies in the *fourth* essential characteristic of a democratic procedure, namely, faith in human intelligence. An undemocratic society seeks to control human activities through the formation of rigid standards and through a hierarchy of authorities. The truth of ideas, the rightness of conduct, and the desirability of procedures are judged in terms of these standards and in terms of their acceptance or rejection by the constituted authorities. In a democracy we believe that the truth of ideas, the desirability of human conduct, and the worth of procedures can be determined by intelligent examination of their implications and of their consequences; that by the encouragement of critical thinking on the part of its members, by increasing the understanding of relevant factors, and by continued reflection and re-examination of basic ideas and values, men can solve their problems. This means that continued education is essential to any democratic society.

This concept of faith in intelligence entails a continuing program of education of teachers and of community members. Educational problems are best solved not by a set of rules and regulations to be rigidly followed but by conscious efforts to help every one concerned to get a more intelligent understanding of these problems, by encouraging the re-examination of the educational philosophy of the school, and by providing opportunity for an intelligent study of school procedures.

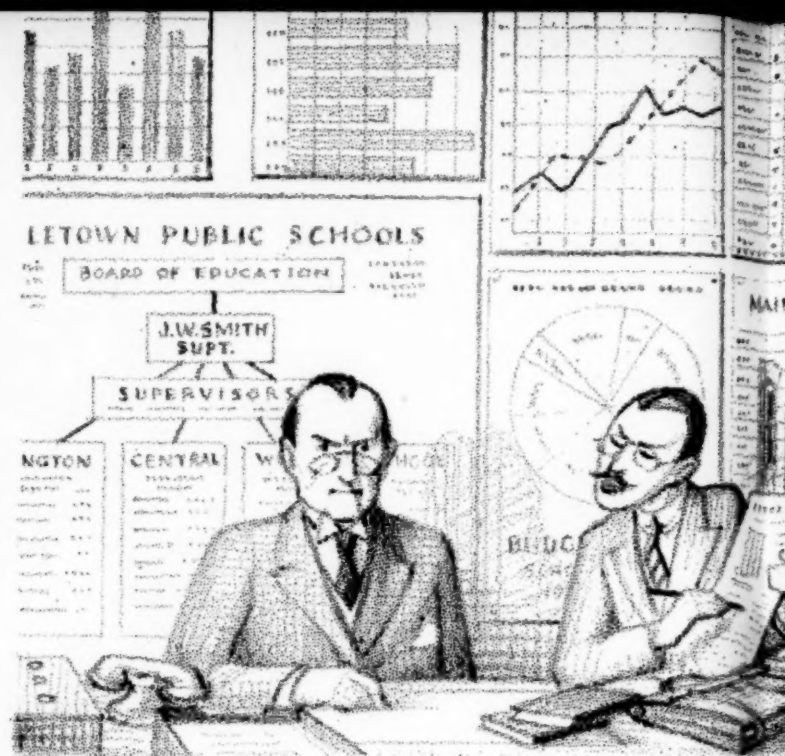
This concept of democratic leadership and administration for the education of administrative officers leads me to discuss elements not usually included in the training program for school administrators. Of the main elements which seem to me neglected in the usual training program for administrators, I should like to mention *four* which seem worthy of emphasis. The *first* of these is derived from the fact that administration is so largely concerned with human values. I realize that school administrators must deal with many material aspects of their work. To

obtain financial resources, to make budgets, to purchase materials, to plan and build buildings, and to distribute supplies and equipment are problems which administrators must learn to solve, and their training must touch upon these matters. Basically, however, the solution to these problems is not acceptable unless it promotes the schools' educational effectiveness and has a salutary effect upon the human beings concerned. Hence, basic in the training of administrators for democratic leadership must be the study of human beings: how they develop, their abilities, their interests, their motivation, and the relation of physiological factors, of social factors, and of emotional factors to their development. A training program for administrators, it seems to me, should include ample opportunity for the study of human growth and development through a study of both children and adults. A laboratory school and a child development laboratory are as essential to the education of administrators as they are to the education of teachers. With an understanding of child development and of human beings, administrators can provide opportunities for the continued education of teachers in service. Otherwise there is danger that the teachers will be unable to utilize what ideas they have about child development and that there will be little opportunity for them to continue to develop in this field.

An interesting application of this idea is available from the experience of the Kellogg Foundation, which is devoting a portion of its resources in helping to develop the educational programs in some seven rural counties in Michigan. A survey of these counties revealed the fact that many of the schools were not vitally affecting the children and it was inferred that much of the difficulty was due to the lack of understanding of children upon the part of the teachers and of the administrators. The Foundation arranged for a training period one summer in which administrators from a number of the schools were brought to the University of Michigan, where for six weeks, under the leadership of Professor Willard Olson, these administrators participated in the work of the child development laboratory observing children, discussing and interpreting what they had observed, reading reports of other child development studies to assist them in this interpretation and understanding, and finally discussing the implications of what they had learned for the administration of their own schools. The foundation reports that these administrators were uniformly enthusiastic about the experience and that its effect upon the schools in these seven counties has been marked. Of course, the Foundation also arranged to have such experiences made available to teachers, but it is significant that the initial training program was set up for the administrators.

At the University of Chicago we have excellent facilities for the study of child development and of human growth and development at the adult level. These facilities can and should be made available for the training of administrators so that they in turn will be able to deal more effectively with the human aspects of their work.

Administrators would also benefit from an opportunity,



under leadership, to reconsider their whole scheme of social, educational, and personal values. Probably this might be thought of as the study of educational and social philosophy but it is not the usual sort of philosophy in which one traces historically the development of systematic philosophy. Perhaps we might refer to this experience as the study of functional philosophy.

Since democratic administration is based upon a faith in human intelligence and in the belief that the better one understands the implications and the consequences of his activities the better they will become, it would seem that a *second* major element in the education of administrators involves the study of those fields which give a better understanding of some of the basic problems of the school. Some of the basic problems faced by administrators cannot be adequately understood without a comprehension of the material which does not usually fall within the department of education. In the field of sociology, for example, a good deal of material is available regarding the community, regarding social groups, regarding social ideals, and the educational influences of agencies other than the school. Such material, if carefully selected, can make an important contribution to the administrator through the better understanding of his activities. In similar fashion, problems relating to taxation, salaries, and expenditures have economic aspects which can be better understood when one has some conception of the economic life and economic problems of contemporary society. Furthermore, the



organization of the school and its relation to other political organizations involve problems which are better understood by those who have some comprehension of public administration and of the field of political science. I am not suggesting a certain number of courses in each of these fields but I am suggesting a careful selection of material from these several fields properly organized as part of the training of administrators.

A *third* essential of democratic leadership is an extensive opportunity during the training period for the administrator to participate in a variety of educational activities with teachers, pupils, parents, and other community members. This is advisable since often administrators have difficulty in the give-and-take of democratic activity because they lack confidence in their own ability to deal with the problems that are being faced by the staff. For example, they may feel that they do not know how to attack curriculum problems and hence they fear a free discussion which might bring out their own ignorance. They believe that the respect of the staff is partly due to illusions about the knowledge and ability of the administrators. Under democratic leadership, mutual respect is built through recognizing the sincerity of the efforts put forth by those working on a common problem and from a recognition that each has something important to contribute. It is not necessary that the administrator know more than his teachers in order to have their respect. But they must be able to recognize that he has a function and that he is sincerely working with them on common problems and is interested in their development and is trying to give opportunity for every one to participate.

Difficulty in the give-and-take of democratic participation also grows out of the fact that some administrators are not interested in the problems which concern the other members of the staff, but are engrossed with problems of budget, of finance, of materials, and of politics. Democratic participation is difficult to build where there is lack of common concern and common interests.

A third reason is the sheer lack of skill in working with other people. In such cases there may be no fear

that the staff will show lack of respect or any lack of interest in common problems but the administrators do not know the ways by which groups can be most easily brought together and most harmoniously assisted to think and to work together.

These three difficulties can be largely overcome if the training of administrators is not confined to classes, to reading, and to observation but includes opportunities for various types of participation. With a little effort many of our graduate schools could provide opportunity for administrators to work with teachers on curriculum problems, on problems of guidance and of evaluation, to meet with parent groups, and to learn through such experiences how democratic processes of this sort can easily be carried on. This implies that any center for the training of administrators should also be a place where they can work with teachers, with pupils, with parents and with others.

Finally, as the *fourth* aspect of the program, I should like to emphasize the importance of a training period for administrators which begins with pre-service education and continues throughout their professional life. As suggested, the pre-service preparation can include work with child development groups, study in the field of philosophy, of sociology, of economics, and of politics and special problems of administration relating to organization, finances, selection of personnel, buildings and materials. Part of the pre-service education should be in the capacity of an administrative intern in a co-operative school system.

It is clear, however, that the training period for administrators must be longer than any pre-service program whether one year or four years. The only means by which adequate training can be provided is through a continued in-service education. Graduate colleges which provide programs of training for administrators should assume the responsibility for a continued relationship with the school systems from which these administrators come. During the school year, the graduate colleges can provide assistance in self-surveys, in helping to plan administrative programs in giving some direction to special study, and in holding periodical conferences with the administrators and with other members of the school staff. During the summer, a more intensive experience can be provided. The summer program should be planned to extend through a series of years. As summer workshops are established in which teachers may attack some of their problems, administrators can work part of the time with the teachers in the workshop and then spend a portion of the time in considering the implications for administration which grow out of the programs being developed by the teachers.

A virgin field for effective training for administrators awaits the co-operation of graduate colleges and of school systems. Representatives from both groups need to come together to consider the basic implications of democratic administration and to plan a long-time program for the better education of school administrators for democratic leadership.



What Should Our Children Inherit?

(Continued from page 11)

"You have a passion for simplicity," snorted the man with the mathematical nose. "It is this messing around with such questions as how the local fire department ought to be run that keeps the so-called progressive schools from giving the proper mind-training to their pupils. It is this dabbling with paint and projects that prevents children from knowing how to parse and diagram an ordinary sentence. Every time you try to make a world-saver of a child, you seem to produce a sloppy thinker who can't learn trigonometry because he was never taught geometry. Every time you try to turn out a free and untrammelled personality, you seem more liable to get a dope or a criminal."

"I shall not address my further remarks to you," the man with the social expression said stiffly, "but rather to our friend here who asked the original question. I have no objection to a child having a trained mind. I am merely convinced that his abilities are best developed by attacking difficulties which he and his society want and need to have solved."

"And I maintain," said the man with the artistic gleam in his eye, "that the child must not be developed at all, in fact, cannot be developed. He is not developed—he develops. He is not developed by some school master with a nice, neatly ticketed and numbered set of distilled-wisdom-of-the-ages tools and devices or even by society. He develops himself, using the wisdom of the ages, the phenomena of social existence, anything, everything he needs in the process of growth."

The stubby-faced man said nothing.

The professor looked more worried than ever.

The Devil smiled democratically and pulled his chair nearer to the professor. "They can go on like this for hours," he whispered, "and what's more, they *will* unless I stop 'em."

The man with the mathematical nose had started to repeat his arguments with a new vehemence. The man with the social expression was pretending to listen but was obviously rephrasing his next comment. The man with the artistic gleam in his eye did not pretend to listen but gazed idly about the room, waiting for his turn to make a statement which he knew so well that he did not need to rehearse it mentally.

The stubby-faced man continued to say nothing.

"Why doesn't that one man say something?" whispered the professor.

"Well, I don't know," replied the Devil. "I guess it's because he's got nothing to say."

"Is he always like this?"

"I don't know that either. This is the first time we've had him down here."

"Did he just—ah—has he just arrived from—is he like me, a . . . ?"

"Oh, no. I don't even *know* that he is dead. He was sent down as a representative on this panel from the other place up there. They always have one representative. Those other three who are doing all the talking are local boys. They know their stuff, such as it is, but this silent chap—. Of course, I don't know. You want to hear him talk?"

The professor nodded. The Devil waited for a break in the flow of argument and then cleared his throat for an opening.

"We have had a wealth of discussion here," he said, "and the issues have been clearly isolated and ably worked over. There is one member of the panel, however, who has not yet contributed to the discussion, and we all know he has a contribution to make. We'd like to hear from you, sir."

The stubby-faced man shifted uneasily in his chair and twisted his clasped hands without breaking them apart. "I—I don't rightly know the terms being used," he said apologetically. "I thought I might just listen and, you know, maybe learn a little—not that these gentlemen haven't been saying a lot but just that I was never a school master and so I can't understand everything."

"Oh, come on now," urged the Devil heartily. "Thank badness we're still democratic here, and every man has got to say his say whether he feels like it or not. Go ahead and give us your answer to this question of what our children should inherit."

"Certainly, go ahead," said the man with the mathematical nose. The man with the social expression nodded approval. The man with the artistic gleam in his eye leaned forward, waiting.

The stubby-faced man began slowly. "I have to tell the truth," he said, "without cover of even a single word that is not needed to make it truth. Where I come from there is no shelter from the glare of truth."

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

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"I will not speak of schools; they are merely instruments. I will not speak of the wisdom of the ages; it is only a mumbo-jumbo for pedagogical medicine-men. I will not speak of society; it is a false idol that demands human sacrifice. I will not speak of precious personalities developing as they may; they are the elements in an escapist game of psychological marbles.

"I will speak of men, young and old, men who can learn, men who can change their ways. For many hundreds of years they have changed their ways, sometimes with great speed and effect, sometimes slowly and fumblingly, sometimes in the direction of the stars above their heads and sometimes in the direction of the dirt beneath their feet.

"Nothing is sharper truth than that men change their ways for purposes, sometimes lofty, sometimes base, sometimes clearly seen, sometimes muddled and muddy. The greatest hoax of the last two thousand years has been that perpetrated upon the world by formal systems of education which claimed to have no purposes outside themselves. They claimed to give men education for its own sake.

"It is that kind of education today whose supporters say is not designed to prepare for citizenship in a democracy any more than in a dictatorship. Men who do not have purposes for their lives clearly enough in mind to know whether they want the masses of their fellows to order their own ways for their own benefit, certainly do not know enough to help change the ways of their fellow men intelligently. Their proposal to educate just for the sake of education is like that of the sailing master who, when his vessel was on a lee shore in a black storm, decided to go below and memorize a few more tables in his navigation textbook in the hope that it would make him a better seaman.

"By education we give our people purposes, clear-cut and unshakeable. If we do not, we cheat them to protect ourselves from the pain of recognizing and accepting goals for changing ways. Do we want children to starve because they were sent by God to the wrong side of the railroad tracks? Do we want the maternity death rate to be far higher than we know how to have it? Do we want to kill our fellow men, sometimes in dreary economic stealth and sometimes to the proud accom-

paniment of drums and banners? If we do not want these purposes, we must set up the purposes we do want and follow them in the changing of our own and our children's ways.

"By education we give our people motives, driving desires, to achieve their purposes. If we do not, we are merely playing a game for gentlemanly exercise instead of fighting to reach real goals. It is a superstition, developed by those afraid of a truly motivated changing of human ways, that education must be always coldly calm, balanced and unruffled by emotion. Learning that lasts, learning that shakes the foundation of men's accustomed ignorance, is a learning white-hot with motivation towards great goals.

"An education like this cannot be given by schoolmasters in pedagogical corners. It must be given by men, old and young, men of all callings, men of all abilities, working together. The final and most priceless inheritance we can give our children is more willingness and skill in this working together to change their ways in the direction of clearly-seen and strongly-desired goals."

The stubby-faced man fell once more into silence. His fellow panel-members spoke briskly again, battling for the chance to repeat themselves.

"He made a *speech*," apologetically whispered the Devil to the professor. "I would have stopped him, only, you know, a visitor and everything. They've got no really democratic procedures up there where he . . . Thank badness this is one place where we still have . . ."

"Certainly he made a speech," interrupted the professor testily. "*But look what he said!*"

"Ah, yes," agreed the Devil whimsically, "and that, my friend, is the hell of it."

Among the New Books

NEXT STEPS IN CONSUMER EDUCATION, Bulletin No. 1, Institute for Consumer Education. *Columbia: Institute for Consumer Education, Stephens College.* 189 pages. \$1.00.

Consumers are banding together to make themselves heard as thinking contributors on the manufacturing-marketing-consuming chain. They have found a need for information which will bring them out of the objector-doubter class into the realm of useful contributors.

Education has accepted the challenge that this need presents, and consumer education, that very new member of the curriculum family, has found its way into the educational planning of a great many communities. In the secondary schools and the colleges, in adult, vocational and workers' education, consumer education has been tackled as one of the most "live" fields in which guidance and instruction are necessary. Many departments of the schools have assumed responsibility for the task, chief among these the home economics, social sciences and the commercial studies.

To discuss the experiences gained over the last few years and to plan for the future, a national conference on consumer education was held early in April, 1939, which brought together 600 delegates from 31 states in the union. College and high school teachers, leaders of women's clubs, government representatives, business men, magazine editors and officials of testing agencies assembled at Stephens College to consider the theme, "Next Steps in Consumer Education."

The report of this first conference is issued as Bulletin No. 1, August, 1939, Institute of Consumer Education, Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri. The Institute was started a little more than a year ago under John W. Cassels as director. The work of the conference is summarized by James E. Mendenhall, educational director.

"Consumer Education, A National Necessity" was the first paper of the conference and was delivered by Alfred P. Sloan, Executive Director of the Sloan Foundation which finances the Institute. Another speaker likened consumers to "voters who cast their ballots after dark in polling places to which little light is admitted and most of that artificial." All agreed that consumers need much more "light" in the form of education.

Consumption, it was noted, can be viewed upon three levels—purchasing, budgeting and economic statesmanship. The first two include such personal matters as wise buying of goods and careful planning of family expenditures. The last covers matters of broad social policy such as chain store taxation and internal trade barriers. To be complete and most effective, a program of education must inform people on all three levels of consumption.

Much attention was paid to the schools. Consumer education, the discussion indicated, should go on from the kindergarten through the high school or college and on into adult life. It is a never-ending process through which persons learn how to use their limited economic resources to better advantage.

Speakers made an outstanding contribution through citing basic books and other materials which are especially valuable to those who are carrying on programs of consumer education. It was shown that an overwhelming proportion of available materials is suited for use only by the upper 10 per cent of our consuming population. An urgent plea was made to the

delegates to give special attention to the preparation of materials for families compelled to live on low-income levels.

The issue was raised regarding the relationship of consumer to producer groups. A number of speakers expressed a belief that consumers and producers should each form their own organizations independent of one another. One or two speakers declared, however, that no such separation should be encouraged. There appeared to be general agreement upon three points: (1) that consumers and producers have common but not identical interests; (2) that at certain points and under certain conditions it is possible and desirable for them to work together, and (3) that consumers must make certain that their organizations and actions are designed to protect their own interests, broadly conceived.

The final speaker stressed that consumers and their organizations must perforce pay much more attention to the political and social trends of our times. In the short run, consumers must take account of the fact that their welfare is bound up with matters of legislation and its administration. In the long run, they must recognize that the political trends may serve either to promote or to retard or even to destroy the work they are doing or are planning to do.

GERTRUDE LUEHNING

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY, Proceedings of the Congress on Education for Democracy. *New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College.* 466 pages. \$2.50.

In another essay I have classified the current literature on democracy—the flood of which, by the way, threatens to swamp interested reviewers—into three groups, namely, sermons on democracy, democratic misconceptions and confusions, and genuine contributions to the theory and practice of democracy under modern conditions. It seems to me that this volume, *Education for Democracy*, contains all three varieties. Of the thirty-three separate essays included it appears that eight or ten may be considered as serious contributions to democratic thought. Among these are addresses by Charles Beard, Frank P. Graham, T. V. Smith, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Henry Sloane Coffin, Chris L. Christensen, Karl W. Bigelow, Mildred H. McAfee, and Josiah Stamp. The foreign participants were, on the whole, uncreative and dull in their presentations. Some speakers, while making no contribution to democratic conceptions as such, aided in clarifying certain basic issues. Thus, Anton Charles Pegis added some clarification to the position of the Roman Catholic Church with respect to the struggle for democracy, and Mr. H. W. Prentis, Jr., speaking as a representative of industry, revealed the great distance between his idea of democracy and that, for example, of Charles Beard. These are helpful distinctions and, if considered reasonably, they will also play a part in our emerging concept of democracy in the modern world.

There seemed to me to be a somewhat nervous quality attached to this Congress on Education for Democracy, a kind of urgency which comes from crisis. I recall, for example, that I was lecturing at a teachers' college far away when the president of the institution received a telegram inviting him to participate; the telegram arrived fully five months before the conference was held, but I still remember the grimness with which he set his teeth as he determined to attend, come

what may. I am happy to say that very little of this nervousness has found its way into the present volume. The conference was called for a sober purpose, namely, to sensitize educators to their responsibility for conserving and enhancing democracy in the United States. The formal addresses were intended, I presume, to do the sensitizing whereas the smaller seminars were designed to indicate what educators (and their lay colleagues) could and would do about it. Hence, from the educator's point of view the seminar materials are more important than the speeches. Since many of the topics utilized by these seminars may find their way into textbooks, syllabi and educational discussions, it may be worth while to include them here. The seminars discussed the meaning of democracy, the influences which are changing democracy, education for citizenship, for economic life, for personal and family life, the adaptation of education to individual differences, freedom of teaching, freedom of teachers, education and government, minorities, education by non-scholastic agen-

cies, the study of foreign systems of government, population changes and ethical and religious education in a democracy. The sixteenth seminar made proposals for implementing the congress, and its members formulated a generalized affirmation concerning the purpose of education in a democracy, outlined seven "next steps" in education and suggested four ways by which the Congress is to be projected into the future.

These are familiar themes; the questions which lie beneath these considerations will, no doubt, haunt democracies so long as there is belief in human progress. No advance will be made, so far as education is concerned, until we learn how to translate our democratic protestations into democratic behavior. This cannot be achieved in conferences; if it happens at all, it will take place in administrative situations, in faculty meetings, in classroom exercises, in student self-government councils, in autonomous bodies of organized teachers (teachers' unions) and in school board or trustee meetings.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN.

Democracy and Higher Education

*An Educational Policies Committee Panel which was
Presented to the AFT Convention at Buffalo, N. Y.*

George E. Axtelle
Northwestern University

THERE ARE two points I would like to make in introducing this panel. First, I would like to suggest that in its origins as well as its subsequent history, higher education has been vocational in character. What were the special preoccupations of the early European universities? The University of Salerno was devoted to the study of medicine. The University of Bologna to the study of law, the University of Paris to the study of theology. Similarly Oxford and Cambridge were devoted to theology. Other medieval universities were likewise professional schools devoted to training for medicine, the law or the priesthood. A study of our early American universities will reveal much the same story.

How then, it may be asked, have we come to associate the university or college with the broadly cultural? Why have we come to think of them as so remote from the world of practical affairs? The British universities are commonly looked upon as a sort of finishing school for gentlemen. How does this fact accord with the propositions that Universities have been primarily vocational in character? The answer seems clear. What is practical for "gentlemen" is obviously not practical for "the many," and since the word practical is associated with the activities and needs of the common man, it has acquired a negative value, particularly in the circle of "gentlemen." The "gentleman" had an occupation, the occupation of ruling, of maintaining vested interests and privileges. We should therefore study his education in terms of his practical functions in fulfilling that role. Closer examination will reveal that the regimen and life of the British as of other universities were admirably designed to serve the vocational needs of a ruling class and their professional associates, soldiers, lawyers, doctors and clergy.

With the advent of the sciences and advanced technology based upon the sciences we find higher institutions grudgingly giving place to them in their program of studies. In America

we find other occupational needs receiving more ready acknowledgment.

The second point I would make is to call your attention to the great inertia of human institutions. I might use our Constitution as an illustration. Created to serve specific needs and functions peculiar to late eighteenth-century America, a sparsely-settled agrarian society, largely located along a thin strip of the eastern seaboard, it and the doctrines which it expressed continue today to dominate our political life under circumstances and needs as widely different as could be easily imagined. So with our institutions of higher learning. Established to serve the rather narrow occupational needs of ruling classes in a highly authoritarian and aristocratic agrarian society, their successors in America, a highly industrialized, urban, technological society dedicated to the democratic ideal, maintain much the same outlook and habits of thought. The administration, organization, program of study and methods of teaching appropriate to an aristocratic society and the needs and interests of their ruling classes carry over and dominate instruction in twentieth-century America. It should be obvious that under such circumstances our higher institutions betray the interests and needs of a democratic society.

It is my conviction therefore that there is no more important movement in higher education than the growing consciousness of identity with the rest of society on the part of college university teachers. The finest expression of this consciousness is the growth of the College Section of the American Federation of Teachers. We have on this panel representatives from various fields who will discuss very briefly certain changes in outlook and procedure which occur when workers in higher institutions become conscious of their democratic responsibilities.

The idea that higher education is merely "cultural" in the sense of not being practical has fostered an isolation of intelligence and appreciation from the main streams of the culture. Its apparent "disinterestedness" has actually often served as a cloak for aristocratic and non-democratic bias, and has done so in ways that were difficult to get at. Its insistence upon the "cultural" as opposed to the practical has resulted in the

drawing off of interest and systematic intelligence from the more urgent practical necessities of a democratic society. Its preoccupation with "culture" has usually been in the interests of cultures and groups far removed from the more urgent necessities of the modern scene and at the actual expense of what is *vital* cultural.

This panel can do but little more than state the problem of higher education in a democracy and democracy in higher education, citing implications in specific areas. When higher education takes seriously this problem it can stop nothing short of rebirth.

Abraham Edel

City College of New York

MY PROBLEM may seem rather preliminary to the panel, but I think we will see very readily that the question of the administrative organization of colleges and universities is not purely an administrative question. It is bound up everywhere with educational issues.

As you know, we are in the midst of a movement in this country for the democratization of institutions of higher learning. This movement is gaining in force and strength. It is not a chance phenomenon but expresses certain insistent needs of the rank and file of college teachers today. On the one hand economic hardships and violations of their rights as teachers and as workers lead them to seek a share in the determination of their working conditions; on the other hand, the recognition of the needs for changes in the very structure of traditional education prompts them to seek a share in the determination of educational policies. They realize soon enough that their reflections on students needs, educational requirements and even teaching methods will provide merely idle dreams where the government of higher education is a hide-bound aristocracy or even a benevolent despotism. Their ideas and plans can be efficacious only in a system of cooperative consideration of problems and democratic decision and execution of policies. It is the double character of the whole issue—the needs engendered both by economic and educational considerations—which makes the question of democratic reorganization of American colleges so insistent today.

You are no doubt familiar with some of the successes that the movement for democratizing college administration has achieved. At the city colleges in New York this last year the new system has been on the whole very successful. Embodying in departments the election of department chairmen for a three-year period and the control of policies by the department as a whole, including instructors, it has thrown initiative into the hands of the teachers themselves. Curricular revision has been growing; interdepartmental cooperation is increasing; and there is a new spirit of constructive freedom. In the new and enlarged faculties (and their faculty councils) with their democratic committees, the new attitude is such as to break forever the conception that faculties are capable of dealing only with trifles that do not matter. The strains in the new system have occurred chiefly at the point of budgets and relations of faculties and trustees. The former is a wider problem; the latter difficulty may be diminished by the setting up next year of regular faculty-trustee relations committees. In addition there has grown up the practice of having a faculty committee aid in the selection of college presidents.

We have found in discussing these questions in the College Section at this convention that there are going on throughout the country numerous attempts, formal and informal, to democratize various institutions. The very breadth of these attempts, from Kansas to Colorado to Northern New York,

shows the need for concerted formulation of problems and exchange of experiences and hypotheses. It is to be hoped that the newly set-up College Section Committee on Democracy in Higher Education will fulfill this function. It is, I think, a fair estimate that there is embodied in these experiences a full-fledged program on the way in which the internal administration of colleges should be carried on, a program sufficiently clear, sufficiently attractive to the mass of college teachers to enable our locals to develop campaigns, gathering eventually tremendous strength.

On one question we have not as yet a well thought-out program, although the direction is clear enough. I refer to the composition and constitution of boards of trustees, an issue raised in the case of Dr. Fisher which was discussed here the other day. The importance of challenging eventually the autocratic control of higher education at its very source is clear to us all. The solution lies, as Dr. Fisher said, in restoring the colleges to the people. This must be given concrete form by the elaboration of a definite program. I am happy to announce that Dr. Fisher has consented to serve on a special committee which shall be set up to explore the problem and recommend a program. Where advisable, as it seems to be in Washington, this will be incorporated into legislative proposals as part of a political campaign.

I think that I have said enough to indicate that we are embarked upon a task which will eventually tax our full strength, but which we cannot avoid if we are to be faithful to our trust as educators. Putting it in its broadest terms, it is the restoration to teachers of the creative role in higher education which rightfully belongs to them. It is a restoration to higher education of the creative energies of teachers whom an autocratic administrative system has left only the privilege of pedantry. Finally, where the movement gains momentum, it will lay the groundwork for a restoration of higher education to the people.

Hugh Wing

University of Pittsburgh

DEMOCRACY, if it is to work, depends on two principles: first, the right of every man to make his contribution to the general group knowledge and decision; and second, the right of every man in a democracy to hear the truth. We in the Federation, because of our special occupational emphasis, tend to forget that in the final analysis, free speech and free enquiry are valuable only because they are the first requirements if everyone is to hear the truth. For democracy demands of every citizen the utmost of participation both in fact-finding and in action.

This puts the teacher into a special dilemma. When a teacher stands before a group, he exerts a power which forces them into dependence on his integrity. Because he usually knows so much more than they do, and because through the hidden pressure of marks, tests and credits he can and usually does more or less compel his students to accept his conclusions, he exerts a power of persuasion and conviction far beyond what is to be found in any other situation in life. Therefore the conscientious teacher, aware of his power, feels a heavy obligation not to coerce his students into passive acceptance of his ideas and attitudes.

On the other hand—and this is a danger too often overlooked—in trying to be fair, scientific, open-minded and objective, he runs the risk of training a generation of students who believe that the mark of the scientific intellect is a refusal to make up his mind and act.

One of the finest intellects I know, one of the most courageous men I know in the field of education has been misled

this way and has misled his students. Again and again outside of the classroom he has risked his career and under pressure stood up courageously and delivered himself of his final convictions. Yet, when through his reputation for courage and scholarship he drew the cream of the student body into his classes, he gave them a magnificent training in fact-finding and research but left them with the feeling that because they knew all the answers they were exempt from ever doing anything about them. All they do is stand on the sidelines of society and explain to themselves and each other why these things are happening. In some ways these students would be better off without their training, for in the social field we study and analyze facts in order to act; fence-sitting is a form of inertia which stultifies.

In my opinion, if a man does not give his conviction, and give it forcefully, the person who listens does not have the complete truth. For the intensity of feeling with which one regards a conclusion is also a measure of its value and therefore an aspect of truth. Only by giving our personal convictions, then, can we give our students a complete picture of democratic teaching in action and develop in them a desire for participation in the educational process.

This principle applies with peculiar force in the field of literature. In the arts and literature, values are not fixed and cannot be fixed. There is no scientific yardstick to make sure that *Grapes of Wrath* is a great novel. We may think so in ten years. But even then we shall not know. This generation will not know. John Donne was the rage in England about the time of Shakespeare; but fifty years later he was read by only a handful. From then until our time he had hardly any readers at all. Even when I went to college, the anthologies of literature we studied had only three of his poems, and these we skipped over. Then about 1925, interest suddenly began to rise, and in no time he had become the most popular Elizabethan poet after Shakespeare. Between 1700 and 1900, who would have said Donne was a great poet?

Nevertheless, it is precisely for this very reason that we teachers of literature must give our convictions. If we do not have intense convictions about literature there is little point in urging others to read it. Certainly only by making plain our feelings will we arouse the student's interest in literature. And only when our personal attitudes color our lectures can we rouse our students to bestir themselves to any consideration of their own of literature and its values for them. Standards of value are matters of emotion.

Unless the student is used to finding strong convictions in teachers who expect the student likewise to have strong and individual convictions, he is not prepared to participate in the work of democracy. It is dangerous now to train students to a habit of studied indecision. We are living in a period of grave crisis, apparently in the twilight of the most magnificent system of productive economy the world has yet seen. In the last 150 years man has raised his standard of living more than in the previous 50,000; he has increased his control over nature perhaps more than in the whole previous history of the race. Yet the depth and tenacity of the present crisis suggests that the system we have known is cracking up.

If this is true we must find a new form of social, political and economic organization. We have the resources, the tools and the skills by which to create a society of abundance in which democracy can really mean the "pursuit of happiness." But if our values become meaningless, if our relationships break down and our economy falls into paralysis, we shall not have the opportunity to work out the answers. For breakdown means starvation, violence and chaos; out of that situation would surely come dictatorship.

History moves swiftly. We cannot wait. Indecision, passivity, silence or cowardice now in this time of decision

mean disloyalty to democracy. Every man who thinks he has an answer must give it. But he must give it in such a way that it is perfectly clear that he is one man and that there are other men with other answers. The problems of our society are complex and continental in scope; therefore the more points of view that get heard and the more seriously each individual in our society puts forth his claims to consideration, the greater the chances that the impending changes in our social structures will be just and workable for everybody.

This lays a heavy responsibility on us teachers. We must constantly stress that democracy is a system of society in which every interested party says his say, everyone has a right to listen freely and then, on the basis of this pooling of information and judgment, everyone participates in making those decisions upon which the welfare of the group depends. Then we must teach our students how to talk in a free democracy—honestly, personally, boldly, without cowardly reservations. A teacher with powerful convictions and frank manners, eager to give his own point of view and eager to hear others, willing to admit that no individual in a democracy can have the final answer—such a teacher will encourage students to believe in democracy and live it.

Here is the real problem of education for democracy, and we Union teachers, progressive leaders of the teaching profession, must face that problem and solve it with honesty, self-control and courage.

Margaret Schlauch

New York University

IN ADDRESSING YOU on the subject of modern foreign languages and the linguistics, I speak for a group which is seriously threatened with technological unemployment. At the annual meetings of the Modern Language Association there is a constant wail of lamentation concerning the threats to the august citadels of Old High German, Anglo-Saxon, Old French and Spanish and Old Church Slavonic. It is true that these languages and their more recent descendants are losing ground to a certain extent in the curricula of the institutions of higher learning, and I think that is partly due to those who teach these languages themselves.

I mean that these teachers have not perhaps seen as sharply and as clearly as they might that they are functioning in a democracy and they owe a certain obligation to that democracy. You see, without realizing it, these people are competing with the tutors, the governesses and nursemaids who rear the aristocratic young of Europe. Generally the students of European universities have already learned modern languages, prattling them at the knees of governesses long before they begin advanced studies. Our professors, on the other hand, have had to be tutors, nursemaids, philologists, pedants, scholars and everything in one, and to compete with that is admittedly a difficult job.

If they should see where they stand economically and how our institutions differ from the European ones, they might function more effectively. In the undergraduate colleges we have unfortunately seen much of the instruction in the hands of persons who are trying to live up to the ideal of the be-whiskered professor, very learned about rhotacism in early Latin or the disappearance of digamma in a Greek dialect, but not quite realizing that the students are frequently the sons of working people.

I think that the problem that faces these teachers very concretely is to place at the disposal of this new type of university student the treasures that have come down in the

modern and ancient languages; and in order to do that, all sorts of new devices must be used.

One of the members of this organization, Dr. Holland Roberts, has published some very suggestive and interesting articles on the subject of revised curricula in modern foreign languages. He has a number of suggestions concerning techniques. May I mention just one thing, the advisability of having even the most learned and polyglot of our professors give occasional courses based very largely on translations. This is already done in many places. In the graduate school of the University of Chicago, for instance, a course on the modern Scandinavian novel has been given in which it was possible for the student to read every novel required either in English or in German; and yet that was a graduate course. Nevertheless, as Dr. Roberts points out, the high-school teachers and often the undergraduate professors are a little squeamish about doing this.

To be sure, I think we ought to require of the professor giving the course that he at least can read the language of the original so that he can say to his students that such-and-such a novel has been badly translated or that another has been noticeably abbreviated. But there is no reason at all why he cannot open up to much larger bodies of our university students the thrilling syntheses of modern culture which are represented in some of the outstanding achievements in novels, such as Thomas Mann's *Zauberberg* and Romaine's *Men of Good Will*, even if they are unable to read the original languages. It is a suggestion of a possible reorientation of attitude among the teachers of modern languages, and they might remember that those European children who do learn to prattle three or four languages at the knees of their governesses are not necessarily more intelligent than our handicapped students.

Perhaps philologists could make use of a little humility in considering their work. I recall that when I was studying at the University of Berlin, the woman who kept the pension where I lived seemed to be afraid that members of our profession might be conceited, and as warning she told me of a man who had lived there: "Er beherrschte siebzehn Sprachen und war in allen dumm." (He commanded seventeen languages and was dumb in all of them.) That is a little *caveat* for learned pedagogues.

I want to spend just a minute or two on linguistics. The study of language for its own sake might seem remote from the problems of the day, certainly not as close as the study of outstanding monuments of literature, whether in the original or in translation. Even here, however, there is a definite social responsibility involved on the part of persons giving the philological training. One very conspicuous example is the fact that the moment you begin to introduce students to the discussion of the relations of families of languages, you have a marvelous opportunity to clear up all sorts of vicious superstitions on the question of race. You cannot give a course on Indo-European philology without running up against the word *Aryan*, and the moment you explain to your students that technically the word *Aryan*, refers to those who spoke Ancient Persian and Sanskrit, you have an opportunity to inoculate them against all kinds of racial prejudice.

Even in undergraduate courses in the introduction to the science of language, one can use a few weeks to introduce the students to the structures and the grammatical problems of languages quite remote from the ones spoken in Europe, which in our own concepts appear all too often as the only possible bearers of the cultural ideal.

Again to cite an example from the classroom, I have found it most salutary in a course on general linguistics to include the study of a dialect spoken on the West Coast of Africa. Mende was presented to the students at the time when Italy

invaded Abyssinia. I had an ardent young Italian in that course. I suspect from things I heard that he believed Il Duce could bring a higher type of civilization to the inhabitants of Africa, but when he had discovered some of the musical qualities and flexibility and possibilities for new formations of words in this language, he emerged with a new respect for the latent possibilities of any language in the world, including those which he might have originally tended to despise.

Therefore, even in such a remote subject as linguistics we philologists have an unparalleled opportunity to do the one thing which is our major job in a democracy and that is to inculcate respect for and a desire to learn of the highest achievements and contributions of all groups of humanity to those human ideals for which we all stand.

Alban Winspear

University of Wisconsin

I AM REMINDED of a friend who moves in such circles who tells of an instance that happened around Lady Astor's fireside. There was an argument going on between George Dawes and Bernard Shaw. Bernard Shaw was putting forward one of his extremely subversive theories—I think it was vegetarianism—and finally in a burst of anger Dawes, who couldn't stand it any longer said, "Shaw, you make me sick, undermining the morale of our young men in this way."

With a quizzical smile, Shaw said, "At last, the voice of the Middle West."

As an authentic voice of the Middle West and professor of Greek and Latin, I get a great deal of ribbing from my friends that I should also be an active trade unionist. It seems to them funny. Perhaps it seems funny to you. In seven minutes I am not going to be able to put forward a complete *apologia* for my life, but I would like to suggest one or two ways in which the study of ancient classics, and particularly Latin and Greek, can be of profound importance in helping us to face the problems of democracy.

When you are studying the Greek and Latin classics you are studying literature in its context. It is highly coherent; it is highly organized, a rather neat little society. You are doing something very different from the kind of thing which is rather popular in some quarters at the present time, making a kind of general survey of literature, taking these monuments, each of them, out of their context and doing a sort of sweep over all time. That may be a valuable thing. I don't know.

What I want is quite different. I want to see in its particular context why a man thinks and feels and writes in a particular way—why, for example, a man like Plato should put forward the rather curious ideas he put forward in his immortal *Republic* and why a book of that sort should be so influential. What, in other words, are the specific social, economic, political forces which go into the molding of the thinker, which go into the molding of the artist? Once you begin to look at your monuments of literature in that way, I think you begin to see them in an entirely new perspective. You see the *Republic* in its time, in its place, in its context, and you begin suddenly, I think—I know this is the experience of many students—to realize the forces by which the thinker, the artist, is moved. That is one definite consideration.

The second general consideration which seems to me even more important has to do with the origins of some of our institutions. In the early Greek world you are dealing with the break-up of one great organization of society which has been very widespread in the history of culture—the tribal or gentile stage. You can see it in the Greek world breaking up. You can see why it broke up. You can see the effect of that

break-up on human institutions; you can see the effect of that break-up on human thinking. You can see the beginnings of philosophy, the development of private property and land, and the development on the one hand of a possessing class and landed proprietors; on the other, the dispossessed.

You begin to see why for the first time man has raised self-consciously the problem of justice and what is justice, and how, therefore, we have the slow growth of self-consciousness and man beginning to think self-consciously about his own problem as man. When you realize that this period saw the birth of most of the great institutions which have predominated in western history, you realize that the study of those origins is of tremendous importance. You can see why in the Greek world mercantile culture was more important and tended to create this liveliness, this quickness of intellect which was so characteristic a mark of the Greeks. You can see why in the Roman world the landed proprietors exercised their dominance for a much longer time and how this tended to mould the specifically Roman type of mind, character and culture. The moment you approach these times realistically it will sweep away much of the splendor and glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome.

But if we stopped there we should face failure. It would give rise to something like the intellectual cynicism which too often arises as a result of the Beard school of economic determination. The third point is that when you come to the Greek world you are examining the first case of democracy in history. You can analyze what it meant, what this democracy was, why it was an expression of the interests of newly-rising mercantile and artisan groups in their struggle for control of the state against the landed proprietors. But you can do much more. You can also see something of why it failed, and it failed because it was an attempt at democracy in a slave-owning society. And students—I have seen it happen often—suddenly realize what it means to say there can be no such thing as a democracy for special privilege and that no democratic society can exist half slave and half free.

And perhaps the most important realization that a student may get out of this study of the first case history of democracy, and a democracy that failed, is a realization that if democracy is going to mean anything, it must be democracy that is genuine, thorough-going, honest and complete.

Joseph W. Cohen

University of Colorado

IT IS WITH some hesitation that I talk on such a horrendous subject for most of you as philosophy. I cannot help but notice the wince that comes over the faces of teachers here, the air of concern, and the sense of strangeness when they learn in conversation with me that I teach philosophy.

Dr. Winspear has given you a good example of what I would mean by an approach to philosophy in terms of the requirements of democracy. You know, if you have ever taken a course in philosophy, the great preponderance there of the study of its history. Necessary as historical study may be, the emphasis upon it should be curtailed. It has tended to establish an esoteric reputation for philosophy and make it seem remote from the interests of most students. And even indispensable historical treatment, like that of Plato and Aristotle, is too often approached in over-edifying fashion. Nothing could be a better example of a necessary correction here than Dr. Winspear's book, *Who Was Socrates?* and his forthcoming work on Plato which he has been telling me about this week.

The teaching of philosophy in universities today has also been befogged with too much stress upon technical problems.

Popularly, on the other hand, it has been reduced to a form of emotional massage.

I recall what Montaigne said about philosophy in one of his essays—that "there should be nothing more airy, more gay, more frolic, and I should like to have said more wanton than philosophy." And it is certainly true that at times those who have spoken in the name of philosophy have indulged in nothing but "wantonings."

Some people think of philosophy as obsessed with either an optimistic or a pessimistic world view. This reminds me that Georges Sorel in his *Reflections on Violence* says: "Perhaps philosophy is, after all, the only recognition of the abysses which lie on each side of the footpath which the vulgar follow with the serenity of somnambulists. . . ." You see when you get something like that off your chest it gives you a feeling of superiority to say the least.

But I must be brief. I could talk on forever in this way.

It seems to me that it would be a very useful thing if the combined efforts of the membership of the American Federation of Teachers in universities, summer schools and extension classes, by every available form of persuasion, could make its voice heard in the demand that philosophy return to its proper subject matter. I think that the task of philosophy is to formulate the sense of direction which men have of their civilization. When this is recognized, we see at once how deeply implicated philosophy is in democracy and in the clarification of leading matters of controversy in our social and economic world.

Social philosophy, therefore, should especially be stressed in our day—courses such as ethics and economics, which you rarely find in the curricula of philosophy departments, courses in ethics and politics. These would enable the student to relate ideals to our basic institutions which are in the process of change and the evaluation of which is far more important to us today than abstract ethics of the individual personality. Equally desirable are courses in philosophy and literature which would give the student a sense for the place of a particular writer in his time, how his work reflects or reacts toward the dominant pattern of values of the age in the way of acceptance of, escape from or struggle with that established pattern.

From direct experience I have found that nothing seems to be more illuminating to the student of literature or more novel than dealing with the work of a Milton or a Shakespeare from the angle of Protestant and Renaissance values, or with men like Proust, Thomas Mann, James Joyce or John Steinbeck from the point of view of contemporary intellectual and social ideas and ideals. You know that literary students have been far too much preoccupied with matter of technique, style, linguistic analysis to the exclusion of a concern for the thought of great creative writers. This is at least a job for the philosopher and, of course, for the critic of literature trained in serious philosophical matters.

Another important task in teaching philosophy in a democracy is the clarification of the aims of science. J. D. Bernal in his recent book, *The Social Function of Science*, most effectively brings together all the significant considerations of the role of science in our civilization and the relation of science to major social objectives which determine how our sciences will be used—whether for the destruction or the advancement of humanity. A book by Dr. Stern, who is on this panel here with me, *Technology and Natural Resources*, is likewise a significant redirection of emphasis towards the study of science in relation to society.

One other matter, it seems to me, is especially the task of philosophy today; that is, to bring before the student's mind those larger vistas of civilization which arise from an objective contrast of the place of culture in the three dif-

ferent types of society in our world—in capitalistic democracy, in fascist Germany and Italy, and in the Soviet Union—and by culture I mean education, the sciences and the professions, literature, art and religion. I think that there is no better way to bring out clearly the fundamental objectives of civilized life, and how the basic concepts of the good life are related to social institutions, than to deal with those familiar fields of culture from the very different points of view of these three contrasting forms of modern society.

Now that, as concretely as I can give it in a brief talk, is what I think should be the role of philosophy in a democracy.

Bernhard J. Stern

Columbia University

I COULD SPEND the time which has been given me, and many more minutes as well, to tell you of instances when sociologists have offered rationalizations for the *status quo*, and *apologia* for existing social systems. I could also discuss now the reasons why some sociologists find it convenient to evade reality by total absorption in methodology and in systematizations, to the extent that they have unfortunately made sociology baneful to many who have tried to study it. It was impatience with this type of *escape* sociology that led Upton Sinclair to say at one time that sociology was "an elaborate system of classification wholly without meaning, devised by learned gentlemen in search of something to be learned about." I could tell you too of how some anthropologists find their manner of escape in their exclusive interest in primitives rather than in their contemporaries, in modern savages rather than in savage moderns.

But I prefer to spend this time instead in documenting the many real contributions that anthropology and sociology have made to a philosophy of democracy as opposed to the philosophy of fascism.

The world is stirred by the effects of hereditary and racial theories. These are not new. They have served as rationalizations of ruling groups throughout centuries. They have always guided imperialist policy toward native peoples. But they have reached an especially aggravated form under fascism where racialism has become not only the dominant philosophy of the ruling classes, but the law of the ruling governments.

This development has had tragic consequences. It has led to the disfranchisement of millions, and to hostile discriminations and violent acts against minority and colonial peoples. Because the doctrines of racism are spreading in this country and threaten to affect American life profoundly, the contributions of anthropology and sociology to an analysis of their validity is particularly relevant.

Hereditary doctrines have broad implications and many underlying assumptions. One of the important of these is that race determines culture, that the cultural functioning of a group is merely the manifestation of its genetic potentialities. Hence peoples with "superior" or dominant cultures are regarded as superior biologically; peoples with "inferior" cultures, inferior biologically. The status of a race (and also of a sex and a class) is held to be an index of its biological powers. The dominant group is by the very fact of its dominance regarded as superior.

Underlying such an hypothesis is the concept of a static human nature, of a fixed, an immutable inheritance that will inevitably express itself in the same manner. Anthropologists and sociologists have provided the data to blast this concept as utterly erroneous. Through their interests in the culture of all peoples, and not merely in the provincial, narrow, circumscribed culture of the western world, they have been able

to present evidence to prove the extraordinary plasticity and versatility of human beings of all races and to show the great variety of forms of human behavior under which humans of all types have functioned. When one has surveyed the tremendous range of human behavior, the wide varieties of human institutions that have prevailed throughout history, one learns to regard as fantastic and untenable the concept of a single, stable, preformed, innate human nature which must function always as it does in our society, molded as it is by a capitalist economy and culture.

It is imperative to recognize that this is but a transient phase in civilization, that the stratifications and disparities of functioning in our society have not the seal of eternity. Most of the courses in university curriculums deal only with the small narrow, circumscribed area of our culture, and, as a consequence, not enough students are acquainted with the wider variety of human behavior with which anthropology and sociology concern themselves to the enrichment of our knowledge of human nature.

Let me review briefly, all too briefly, a few of the arguments given by sociologists and anthropologists to disprove the correlation of race and culture. Did time permit I would document these generalizations fully. Under the circumstances I can merely present them. First, closely related races have diverse cultures; second, culture and cultural leadership has shifted from area to area and from people, irrespective of biological types; third, important changes in culture are known to have occurred without any prior change in biological type, as for example, the changes subsequent to the Industrial Revolution in England, and the opening of Japan to the West; fourth, what is regarded as the "white man's culture," which he carries around when he is obsessed with the imperialist duty of "the white man's burden," is not solely the contribution of the white races but a composite of the contributions of many races and peoples. The factors which gave the white man hegemony are cultural, not racial factors. The attempt of imperialists and particularly fascists to reconstruct history in terms of race and thus to discriminate against millions of the minority peoples thus finds no support among sociologists and anthropologists.

They likewise give no comfort to such vested interests who seek to perpetuate the fiction of woman's inferiority, and thereby deprive her of full functioning, as is done in fascist societies and in no small measure in our own. Throughout history the role of women has varied depending upon the social structures and social attitudes toward them. There has been no fixed economic division of labor between men and women. What is done by men in one society is performed by the women in another. As in the case of races, so in reference to women, status is not an index of their potential functioning.

There is an even broader extension of hereditary doctrine that is of special interest to us as trade unionists aligned with labor. Fascist societies stress the concept of the elite. The masses of the people, they say, are unable to think; the masses of the people are deficient in their intellectual powers, unable to function creatively. Again status is held to be the index of intelligence. A lower class economically is held to be a lower class psychologically and biologically. The elite alone are thought to have the power to appreciate culture and to lead.

Sociologists have dispelled this great fallacy. They have shown that during the history of civilization there has been an increasing participation of a larger number of individuals in society and that there are within each individual extraordinary potentialities and a creative force which, when released, cause a tremendous upsurge in civilization. Witness first the advances concomitant with the rise of the middle class and then

the new energies released with the extension of political and social rights to workers.

Sociology and anthropology have helped to give democracy real meaning. For they have refuted the fallacious theories that would not only keep minority peoples submerged, not only keep women submerged, but also deny rights to the masses of people who, when given opportunity, can contribute significantly to the social good.

Dorothy Douglas

Smith College

IF I HAD BEEN ASKED to speak on this subject some five or six years ago, I think I should have had to paint a much more discouraging picture than is necessary today. Within the past few years, within the past two especially, there has been a very interesting increase in vital material being published in the field of economics and economic history. I think philosophers of the type of Dr. Cohen and Dr. Winspear would have no difficulty in telling us why these changes have taken place in the complexion of some of our economic and historical research. I think it is quite evident that it is because of the increasing vocalism, increasing self-expression, of popular forces that we are able to begin to produce an economic literature which is more alive, more democratic and, if you will excuse my saying so, more accurately factual than even the most scholarly researches that have been written from the aristocratic viewpoint.

Our field, unfortunately, is one that has been peculiarly subject to social limitations. The social forces that have gone to shape economic theory and even to direct the forms and objectives of economic research are the same forces that have been dominant in our social structure as a whole. This is very natural, but the effect upon the content of the material that is available to give to our undergraduate students is certainly very unfortunate.

As I was listening to the statements of previous speakers about some of the current social untruths that are combatted by the findings of their various fields, I began to think how widespread the propagation of untruth still is in our very economic literature itself. As I said, it is just in these last few years that you are beginning to get a widespread emergence of a more labor-oriented literature.

In my particular field, which is labor economics, social legislation, this has certainly been true. I don't think there is any other period of three or four years in which you could possibly have seen books like Walsh's *The C.I.O.* (written by J. Raymond Walsh who was a national officer of our Union a couple of years ago and is a loyal member of it) or Robert Brooks's *When Labor Organizes* and *Unions of Their Own Choosing*. I could go on with a list of a half dozen other books which are written on the subject of labor from a labor point of view. I am hoping very much that our organized teachers will be able further to help stimulate the people who are doing research in the social sciences to give us material of this type.

In this connection I am very much interested in the fact that the College Section is going to make an effort seriously to push AFT organization at the meetings of the learned societies. We have done something along this line before, but much more of it can readily be done, and I assure you it will come back to us in the form of a more enlightened teaching body in our institutions of higher learning.

Here are a few topics which are crying for treatment in my own particular field of labor. We need books on labor legislation from the social and labor point of view. (One

excellent piece of research has just appeared from California, *Factories in the Field* by Carey McWilliams.) We need work, a lot more work, on agricultural labor. We need work on labor in colonial countries. It is amazing how untouched that field is. And as for comparative studies, trying to draw out general conclusions that shall have validity about the nature of labor in colonial countries of different types, it is not available. It has not been done. The material is there, but it has not been handled. Why not? Dozens and dozens of books go out annually on merchandising, matters of retailing, efficiency systems, foreign trade and exchange, these types of economic study that are directly allied to the problems of the businessman, but there is a crying need for material on some of these other humanly vital subjects.

Do you know that nobody has ever made a study of the effect of the War and its aftermath upon the labor movement and labor legislation in different countries, a comparative study that could be done quite simply? It would not have to be written in a 1,000-page volume at all. It would be very suitable, probably, for group investigation. You could have three or four people get together, each man taking a country, and then all pooling their efforts, and do a nice little piece of collective research, writing on this topic.

Yes, the effect upon the labor movement of the World War and the Russian Revolution and the various rapid social changes taking place in the countries of the world immediately after the War and then the period of recession of popular forces in the twenties—that hasn't been done.

You need very much a study from the labor point of view of business methods, efficiency systems, types of business administration. Many, many books on these subjects from the business executive's point of view have been written, but not from the point of view of the worker and of general human welfare.

If I may take the time, I should like to cite to you an example of the sort of thing we need to remedy, a book that I have never seen searchingly criticized in our economic journals, although one of our speakers today, Dr. Stern, did do a splendid criticism of it in the *Journal of Sociology*. To my mind this book is a prime example of the kind of scholarship in economics that must be superseded if we are going to have vital and democratic types of economic research.

The book was written by Professor Taussig of Harvard, our senior economist today in the United States, working in conjunction with one of his colleagues, Professor Joslyn of the Harvard Business School. It came out in 1932. It was called *American Business Leaders*. It was written in fairly popular style, with dark headed headings here and there which made the busy business executive able to read more easily certain of the important points.

There was a great deal of statistical material. It was a piece of statistical research, the object of which was to answer the following question—I am quoting from memory; I have not had the book in hand for many months—"What has determined the present status of our American business leaders? Was it innate ability that raised them so far above the level of the working classes of the country in income and prestige? Or was it environmental influence? Nature or nurture?"

And the answer unequivocally was that it was due to innate ability, that the preponderance of evidence indicates this.

Without arguing as to the correctness or incorrectness of his conclusions, let me point out to you the nature of the evidence by which this distinguished senior scholar in economics in America was willing to arrive at his conclusions. He sent questionnaires, some 15,000 I think, to business executives. The questions were objective, I assure you. They were matters of fact. The facts for which they asked were

simple. They asked the following: the occupation of the man's father and grandfather; the age at which the man had entered business; what business he had entered; whether he had received assistance to the amount of more than \$10,000 in the first five years of his business experience; whether he had relatives or personal friends in the business he first entered; and as to his education, how much he had had. Those were the main things; there were a few trimmings.

The authors found the following results: first, these business leaders came in the vast majority of cases from the privileged classes themselves. Only 10 per cent of the parents of these business leaders had been classifiable as being in any form of working-class occupation. Only 2 per cent of them had been classifiable as doing actual, ordinary unskilled or semi-skilled manual labor. The other 8 per cent had been engaged in foremen's jobs or extra-skilled work.

Now Taussig and Joslyn do not draw the conclusion that perhaps these men came from the privileged class to begin with and therefore naturally found it easier to get the jobs. Their conclusion is no, that it wasn't that. The facts indicate, they believe, that the parents of these men came from the working class in such a small proportion because the working class has so little ability. Did these men, granted that they were born in the privileged class, have unusual educational opportunities? Their statistical answers, worked out in very fine tables, showed that only about one-third of them were college graduates, another 12 or 15 per cent had gone to college but had not graduated and something like, we will say, 75 per cent of them had finished high school. The last 25 per cent or so had "only" finished the eighth grade. Said Taussig and Joslyn: This is an average education; they did not have an unusual amount of education.

Now at the very time that these business leaders were getting this much education—one-third of them graduating from college, over half entering some form of college or equivalent education and the vast majority graduating from high school—the proportion in the country at large of college graduates was less than 1 per cent. Also less than one in ten children was graduated from high school.

Then they go on to say: Did these people receive any unusual advantages because of their family or because of financial assistance after they once started to go out into the working world? And again they say, Oh, no, for the following reason. Only something like 12 per cent of them received more than \$10,000 worth of assistance in the first five years after they began to look for a job! Say that eighty-odd per cent then did not receive any such financial assistance. They didn't ask how many received \$5,000, \$3,000, \$2,000 or \$1,000 and how many received none at all. They didn't say, If you didn't get \$10,000, how much did you get? And they said not a word about whether your parents had the money to send you through high school, whether you were able to work your way through college, whether you were able to get to the place where you begin to enter the business race.

Last of all, and I think most striking, is the question of whether they had personal advantages in getting into business, and again the authors say that these men did not. It turned out that only 36 per cent entered the identical business in which their relatives or personal friends were executives. So if I am the son of John D. Rockefeller and I go down to the Chase National Bank and they ask me my name and I say, "John D. Rockefeller, Jr. I would like a job as clerk at ten dollars a week," and I am "lucky" enough to get that job and they watch my job to see how I get along, that is due to my native ability!

Isn't that quite an example of a preconceived conclusion derived from material insufficient and inappropriate, to bolster up the idea of class superiority? I haven't read one search-

ing criticism of that in our economic journals; yet the men who wrote that book were very eminent.

I believe our younger scholars who have a more labor and humanitarian point of view are starting to remedy this situation, and I believe in the next five years you will be able to look about you and see a crop of new research coming out. And when you send us your children from the schools to the colleges, we shall be able to give them something better to read.

John J. DeBoer

Chicago Teachers College

IF THE VIEWPOINTS expressed by the preceding speakers were at all typical of higher education in America, I should have very little to say this morning. But there is a prevailing conception among students who come through American colleges and among teachers generally that the higher one comes in education, the poorer the teacher, that teaching is relatively effective in early infancy, that it is still very efficient in the kindergarten but becomes decreasingly so in the upper grades and high school and is almost completely lacking in efficiency in the college and graduate school. Whether that conception is correct or not, I think it is a curious fact that parallel to this alleged trend from the lower to the higher levels in education there is a progressive decrease in the affection that is expressed or exhibited on the part of the teacher toward the learner.

As we go up in the elementary school years, we find that there is a progressively decreasing amount of affection and interest in the learner as a human being. In the high school the relationship is extremely businesslike. In the college the student is often regarded as a natural enemy of the teacher. In the kindergarten the teacher exhibits a personal interest in the success or failure of the learner. In the high school the teacher is relatively indifferent to whether the learner succeeds or fails. In the college the teacher dares the student to succeed if he can.

Now I offer that merely as an allegation, but it is a fairly common charge and one that I think we need to consider. The fact is that we in the educational field are guilty of violating the very principles we constantly advocate for teaching on a lower level. We frequently advance the theory that education is not simply the impartation of knowledge, that the retention of a certain quantity of information is not the be-all and end-all of learning. But in our practices, in our lectures and in our examinations, we proceed on the assumption that the knowledge of certain information about education constitutes the bulk of the work, the core of the process. We insist that in the elementary and high school learning shall be accompanied by direct experiences which are vital and meaningful to the learner. We say that learning which consists of mere verbalism is not learning at all, and yet in schools of education we proceed on the assumption that a knowledge of educational verbalisms makes up an understanding of the educational field.

We protest vigorously against the presence of the element of competition in learning in the elementary and high schools, the existence of grades and credits as inappropriate incentives for learning, the establishment of examinations which examine the things that are not significant in learning. But our own procedure in the schools of education does not differ in any significant degree from the traditional type of repetitive teaching that we attack in the elementary and high schools.

We say to the elementary and high-school teacher that education deals as much with the emotional and social and esthetic life of the learner as it does with the intellectual life, and so we insist the program shall be broadened to include other than

purely intellectual factors; but in our own training we are not concerned with any type of growth except intellectual growth, and usually the lowest form of intellectual growth, which is the retention of information.

I think that it is time that we undertake a fundamental re-evaluation of the functions and procedures of teacher education. The problem is not so difficult; it is not so complex. The chief difficulty lies in the tremendous inertia under which we labor, the fact that we cannot throw off procedures and subject matters which are in the curriculum simply because they have been inherited from a period when learning was a badge of aristocracy, of an intellectual aristocracy, a curriculum entirely inappropriate to a period when the great mass of the children of the community are in school.

It seems to me that a good teacher is simply a person who is well educated and who understands children, and there is very little more to it than that. We Union teachers know that the causes of docility or, as Dr. Axtelle puts it, the asexuality of teachers is not to be found merely in the educational program that they have to endure. The causes may be found in part in the economic and social background in which they live, but our educational program, the program through which the teachers too have come, has provided a sheltered life. It has been a curriculum which has not exposed them to the conflicts and stresses and strains of real life. For that reason I should say that perhaps the chief difficulty in the preparation of teachers is the failure to provide them with a general education, and I should not limit that to teachers in elementary and high schools. Teachers in college are notoriously provincial. I think that we should agree here that we would accept the social judgments of any group of carpenters or plumbers or bricklayers on political questions rather than the social judgments of the average group of college professors.

The same thing is true of their reading. I was amazed not long ago to read a factual report of the reading done by college professors outside their fields. I thought only the elementary and high-school teachers confined their reading to the *Saturday Evening Post*, but the college professors are equally guilty and the teachers come out of the classes of those college professors and the pupils come out of the classes of the teachers.

In the field of special or vocational education, the education which attempts to give the prospective teacher an understanding of the growth of the children and young people, we find similar weaknesses. Education courses, as has already been pointed out, consist pretty largely of an accumulation of facts, research data, often entirely unrelated. Our courses in tests and measurements are preoccupied with the structure of tests which measure only the subsidiary and often the trivial aspects of the educational process. The difficulty, it seems to me, is the fact that in schools of education, as in most of the other departments of colleges and universities, we don't know where to go. We have no clearly conceived objectives. We simply assume that any information which is somehow relevant to our field belongs in the courses, and we have not set up for ourselves clearly defined goals.

I should like briefly to mention certain goals which I think should be basic to any intelligent educational program. The first of these is a love of children. I have never seen that objective set up for a teacher-education program before, probably because it has been assumed. It is felt that this has no place in an institution of collegiate rank, and yet if a love of children and young people is important in good teaching, it should be a first objective—an interest in young people and an understanding of how they learn and the problems they encounter.

Second, an institution for teacher education should have the

objective of concentrating upon the goals of education in a democracy, of relating somehow all of these materials and processes that constitute the program of the American school to the purposes of the school in a democracy. You can do that with any subject; you can do that with any group of subjects or with any organization of subject materials.

I believe that the present trend in the direction of labor unity or the efforts that are being made to achieve labor unity should be communicated to the educational field. We waste altogether too much time in advancing the claims of rival fields. We need to set up as an objective in a teacher-education institution a school for providing guidance to the children in the direction of democratic goals.

Fourth, we need to set up the objective of skill in evaluating achievements in the light of these goals and in promoting self-evaluation.

There is a great deal of hypocrisy in our statements of principles and procedures in education. In the teaching of literature, for example, we advance the view that its purpose is to develop appreciation for literature, and then proceed to teach literature as a body of information to be remembered. I was particularly amused, and at the same time somewhat indignant, to examine a recently published edition of *Ivanhoe* for the secondary schools in which at the end there were a series of study questions. Why anybody should study a good yarn like *Ivanhoe* I don't know, but there were study questions at the end. They inquired into the color of Cedric's tunic, the number of buttons on it, how many inches high was the dais, and so on to the point of madness. I don't know what the psychiatrist calls that disease, but it is the same disease which afflicts the person you see at the hospital for the insane who keeps walking around the yards picking up strings and buttons and sticks, putting them in a little bag and then having the keeper throw them out at night so he will have something to do again the next day.

If you were to ask the teacher who used those study questions, "What is your aim?" she would answer, "I am trying to develop an appreciation of literature."

The same thing is true of our methods of evaluating results. We test for one thing and teach for another, or we professedly teach for one thing and test for another. I think the best evidence of a teacher's real aim is in the examinations, the tests which are used. They usually have very little relation to the alleged objectives.

I think a teacher-education institution ought to train a prospective teacher in participation in democratic school administration and in curriculum making. That has been said over and over again, but I have not yet found a place where that objective has actually been set up, where an effort actually has been made to train young people in democratic school administration.

It is all very well to insist that schools should be democratically organized, but we should insist at the same time that the young people who go into our schools to teach shall be capable of assuming the responsibility for democratic management. In achieving these objectives, we ought to employ the same principles that we insist upon for the elementary and the high school; that is, we ought to give opportunity for direct experiences with these objectives, not simply from books or magazines, but through actual contacts with human beings.

In the case of schools of education there should be contact with schools and young people. The work that is being done in various places in the United States, that was done at New College before that was unfortunately closed, that is being done in Milwaukee State Teachers College and that we of Chicago Teachers College are attempting to inaugurate, gives hope that teacher education is facing a period of renaissance.

The Teacher's Union In Action

(Continued from page 2)

Purpose of the public forum is essentially to work along the same lines, but its primary aim is to formulate, with the help of the community, plans for a solid and permanent education program for the conservation of the youth of the state.

National President George S. Counts addressed a recent meeting of the Local. His subject was "Education and Democracy."

★

NEWARK, N. J. (No. 481)—George S. Counts, AFT President, will be the main speaker at the third anniversary dinner of the Essex County Federation of Teachers on March 9 at Hotel Douglas. Board members, administrative officials and a large attendance of other non-Union guests is expected.

Legislative action that may establish a minimum salary for teachers has been presented for the third consecutive year by Samuel S. Ferster. The amount guaranteed by the bill, which is endorsed by the State Federation of Teachers, is \$1200.

The teaching of tolerance in the public schools, a problem that must concern many teachers whose schools are in mixed neighborhoods, is taken up by Michael Conovitz, chairman of the department of social studies of Central High School of Newark in the February edition of the *New Jersey Teacher*. He urges not only social tolerance, but economic and political tolerance as the only methods of maintaining democracy.

★

TOLEDO, OHIO (No. 250)—Expressing his pleasure for the opportunity to be of help to the Union in its negotiations with the school board, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer of AFT, at the same time warned that the problem of Toledo's school budget had not been permanently solved.

Mr. Kuenzli in a letter to the Local declared that only the citizens of Toledo, with the aid of labor organizations and public spirited groups of men and women, could put an end to the crisis threat by voting sufficient funds to keep the educational system of that city operating on a sound basis.

Otherwise, he said, the city of Toledo can hope only for a school system on a par with the poorest rural districts of the state.

The Local expressed its deep appreciation to Mr. Kuenzli and the Toledo Central Labor Union.

That Toledo will suffer for some time to come as a result of the crisis

was indicated by the departure of David H. Patton to another post. The Union fears that many other outstanding educators will be compelled to leave should the proposed levies fail to pass.

January pay will reach teachers between March 1 and 15, the Union has announced.

★

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. (No. 61)—The psychology of the WPA teacher has been cogently expressed by the WPA section of the Local in a letter dealing with some of the organizational problems facing the Union. Fear, the letter says, is one of the most difficult phases of this work and must be overcome in the unorganized teachers if any headway is to be made.

The Local asks for the aid of labor in its move to point out the value of the Union to teachers, whether they are on WPA or not, and thanks the members and officers of the Union, the Regional Vice Presidents and the members of other Locals in the Bay area for their assistance in giving the WPA teachers status in the community.

★

BERKELEY, CALIF. (No. 349)—The University Assistants and Readers, an AFT University of California campus organization of the lower income group consisting mainly of graduate students working for degrees, is pointing its activity during this semester toward the restoration of pay cuts in effect since the early part of the depression. The group will also seek the answer to the question of a proposed university reorganization scheme to cut into the responsibility of part-time teaching and the amount of student-participant instruction.

The UAR has enlisted the aid of near-by central labor bodies and of the California Federation of Labor.

Restoration of salaries to the \$750 level will be sought on grounds that living costs have increased and also because the state appropriation for the university has been increased. Union leaders declare that retrenchment in any form constitutes a vital danger to the entire university teaching staff.

★

PALO ALTO, CALIF. (No. 442)—Clarence Brooks, member of the executive committee of the Typographical Union, declared there is no neutrality in the schools where unionism is concerned, when he took part in a panel discussion sponsored by the Local on "Why a Teachers Union?" More than eighty persons were present for the dinner and thirty-five more attended the discussion. Other members of the panel were Harold C. Hand, H. C.

Brown, former AFT vice president, Harvey Mansfield, J. B. Canning, David Harris and Gertrude Leuhning, national AFT vice president.

★

PROVIDENCE, R. I. (No. 197)—The second annual Open Forum of the Union in Plantations Auditorium heard AFT President George S. Counts present nine points in a program for democracy. He said that the real test of democracy will be made in the United States, because no country thus far has been able to solve current problems by democratic means.

President Counts declared that the nine points in a program for democracy were: faith in and loyalty to the process of political democracy; strong and efficient government, distinct from dictatorship; maintenance of police power by government; guarantee of civil liberties; exposure of political propaganda; conservation of democratic temper; avoidance of war; encouragement of organization of masses; and provision for more enlightenment of people on governmental matters.

The committee in charge of the meeting, at which former AFT Vice President John D. Connors spoke, was composed of John F. O'Connell, Local president, Mrs. Minnie A. Bassett, Alice Cox and Lillian Kelman.

★

PHILADELPHIA, PA. (No. 192)—Court action to compel the Board of Education here to restore recent salary cuts has been started by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. The case will determine whether a contract can be broken by the Board and whether "temporary professional employees" can be fired without cause as an "emergency measure."

The Board, the Union charges, ordered pay cuts of 5 per cent on all salaries over \$2500, even though a tax rate boost had been authorized and put into effect. This action was taken over vigorous protests of teachers' organizations. An alternate plan has been submitted by the Union.

★

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (No. 50)—Labor and civil rights, academic freedom, the civil rights of women and minority groups were some of the subjects discussed at the Civil Rights Conference which was endorsed and attended by members of Locals 444 and 59. Dr. Frank Baker of Milwaukee State Teachers College spoke on, "War and Civil Liberties."

School board directors Weir, Le Seur and Cunningham were guests of honor at an "economy" dinner sponsored by several Locals and the Building and

Service Employees Union. These directors voted last fall for full week's lay-off to make up partially for the pay cut which had been in effect.

★
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—The Minnesota State Federation of Teachers has undertaken the publication of a four page state-wide newspaper, the *Minnesota Teacher*, in a definite attempt to bring the various Locals in the state into closer touch with each other and to serve as an organizing aid. At least four editions will be published during the school year. In charge of the paper is a committee of five teachers appointed by the state executive council of the Minnesota Federation. Mercedes L. Nelson, AFT vice president from 1935 to 1939, is chairman of the publicity committee.

★
MADISON, WIS. (No. 223)—The Union devoted almost all of its February 8 newspaper, the *Madison Teacher*, to the report of the University Curriculum Committee. The Union Committee is advocating (1) redefinition of the aims of college education, (2) simplified and better balanced list of basic requirements, (3) continuation of present experimentation in freshman English, (4) a new freshman course in contemporary social, political and economic problems, (5) a general major, not "distributed" but integrated and (6) establishment of a standing committee on curriculum.

The Local is attacking the state Emergency Board for its "economy drive," which will seriously cripple essential state services, especially relief and education. The prospect of a powerful blow against lower income groups through the sales tax is also looming, the Union reports.

Economy is already having its effect, the Local asserts, with the departure of five University of Wisconsin professors to more secure posts in different universities throughout the country.

Hand in hand with the economy fight is the threat to tenure embodied in the referendum asking for repeal of the Wisconsin tenure law. Removal of this law would expose teachers to the whims of administrators and groups and to dismissal without cause, the Union charges.

★
HAMPTON, VA. (No. 607)—The race question and retrenchment are holding their place as important issues in the life of the Union. Under the heading of retrenchment comes the unofficial news that more than a dozen teachers will have been relieved of their duties at the end of the school year.

The Local, examining the basic reasons for these reported dismissals, asks

why high-salaried executives are retained, while teachers, the basic units of the educational system, are discharged.

March 26 is an important date on the schedule of the Local. On that day a Negro teacher in the Norfolk schools, a member of the Union, will be heard in federal court in a suit brought by him for equal pay. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is cooperating with the Virginia State Teachers in conducting the legal action.

★
NEW BEDFORD, MASS. (No. 263)—Working with other city employees for an improved pay schedule, the Union will soon announce its plans for action. Details will be revealed as soon as they have been worked out.

The Union reports that the visit of Dr. George S. Counts, National AFT President, has greatly stimulated organization and other work in the area.

★
CLEVELAND, OHIO—Gross disproportion in the type of representation of the Ohio Educational Association has been cited by the Union in its analysis of the midwinter meeting of that organization. The Union charges that the OEA is dominated by administrators, contending that while 90 per cent of the membership of the OEA is made up of classroom teachers, representation of that group comes nowhere near that figure.

That the Union's point was well taken was proved when the administrators defeated an amendment to the constitution which would have required that 50 per cent of the delegates be composed of classroom teachers. It was proposed by a group of ten Dayton teachers and endorsed by the Dayton Classroom Teachers Association. The move was killed when the administrators declared that the amendment would create an artificial cleavage between the teachers and administrators.

James Dunn, member of a Cleveland Local, battled vigorously to modify the proposed tenure bill submitted by the OEA for more protection to teachers. His suggestions were accepted. The convention again endorsed a proposal for a state board of education and has taken steps to draw plans which will eliminate objectionable features of the bill as it was presented to the recent general election.

★
ERIE, PA. (No. 337)—The Union adopted a program of activities for the coming year at its January meeting which includes a vote on the new constitution. The facts about the Donnelly campaign are being broadcast through the Local

in response to an appeal for aid in organizing the Donnelly printing plant, one of the largest privately-owned printing plants in the world.

★
PHILADELPHIA, PA. (No. 474)—Pointing the way for direct understanding of the meaning of the larger armaments budget and smaller social welfare funds, the Union has launched a campaign to prevent reduction in the WPA budget and to secure funds for 3,000,000 WPA positions. The *WPA Leader*, the Local's publication, carries as its lead story an editorial attacking the move toward heavy armament expenditures while slashing relief and social welfare services.

★
COLUMBUS, OHIO (No. 438)—Two officers of the Religion and Labor Foundation addressed a regular business meeting of the Union. They were Executive-Secretary Willard Uphaus of New Haven, Conn., and the Rev. Charles F. McLennan, of Willoughby, Ohio, mid-western secretary. Both are leaders in the important movement to promote closer relationships between labor and progressive religious groups. Mr. Uphaus is an active member of the Yale Local of the AFT, and is chairman of its labor committee and a delegate to the New Haven Central Labor Council. Rev. McLennan, active in the Farmer Labor Party in Lake county, Ohio, has publicized facts which the commercial press ignored and has testified before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on the anti-labor practices of the Ohio Rubber Company.

★
NEWARK, OHIO (No. 411)—Emerson L. Fishbaugh, president of the Newark Federation of Teachers, is the new president of the Newark Federation of Labor. A delegate to that group from the Local for four years, he is a teacher of mathematics in the Lincoln junior high school and has been active in the labor movement since the Local was formed.

The Local's publication made its first appearance recently in a new format. It contains news and articles of interest to members of the Union, with democracy in teaching as the keynote. Plans are now under way to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Union on May 27.

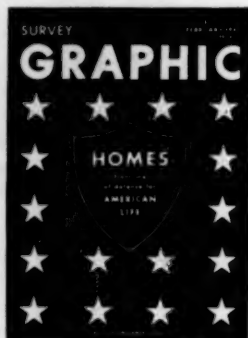
March Deadline

All copy for the March issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* must be in by March 1. All Locals are requested to send in two (2) copies of their publications addressed to George T. Guernsey, 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago.

HOUSING

IN THIS special issue of *Survey Graphic* for February nineteen experts explain in vivid and authoritative articles, charts and illustrations why a home in the very fullest sense of the word—the house itself and its setting in a neighborhood providing adequate amenities—stands far beyond the reach of millions of Americans to rent or to buy. Moreover, they point the way to a solution of the problem.

Under the editorship of Albert Mayer, architect, writer, and consultant to official housing and planning authorities and of Loula D. Lasker as associate, this number answers the following challenging questions:



How do good homes strengthen our democracy? How are builders, financiers and planners attempting to solve the problems of the family who wants a real home? What is our government doing to raise the standard of home life? What progress has been made in the fields of public housing, investment housing, home and community planning? How can we solve the riddle of taxation in relation to housing? Where will the back-to-the-country movement lead? What sort of homes and communities can we expect in the America of tomorrow?

Contributors include Secretary Henry A. Wallace, Raymond V. Parsons, Irving Brant, Catherine Bauer, Edith Elmer Wood, Ira S. Robbins, David Cushman Coyle, Charles Abrams, Lewis Mumford, Dorothy Canfield, Harold S. Buttenheim, John H. Crider, John Palmer Gavit.

Eleanor Roosevelt calls it "an extremely good number." The N. Y. Times says it "shows comprehensively the need, the difficulties, the evils, the achievements and the hopes in American home building."

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Single copies of the February issue (not generally available on news stands) sell for 40 cents. For classroom use the rate drops to 3 copies for \$1. The annual subscription price of *Survey Graphic* is \$3. For the next five issues—including the February issue—send only \$1 with this advertisement to Department AT, *Survey Graphic*, 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

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