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Certain pressure groups and their effects upon the social studies in secondary schools

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CERTAIN PRESSURE GROUPS AND THEIR EFFECTS UPON
THE SOCIAL STUDIES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Scope and Limitation of the Problem. Following, in some degree, the procedure of Bessie Pierce in her *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, the writer has endeavored to set forth the manner in which various pressure groups alter or maintain social studies content. He has presented cautiously the effect of pressures upon the teachers, administrators, the curriculum, even society itself, for all of these are inextricably interwoven with the social studies. He has made a brief analysis of the techniques of propaganda utilized by the pressure groups in bringing about the changes or in maintaining the status quo. In all, twenty-six organizations have been set forth in some detail. Others have been more generally brought in.

Because of the vast ramifications of the program of even one of the national organizations, only the most obvious effects of propaganda could be taken for analysis. Moreover, the intricacies of the social sciences and the lack of accurate measuring instruments have further limited this study. For example, to what degree have the world peace organizations been responsible for the insertion of world history into high school curricula? Obviously, an exact answer is impossible.

Yet a crude form of measurement is possible even in this field of social interaction. To state that the world organizations have made *some* contribution to the spread of world
history teaching by informing the public of the need for it, is
the most primitive of measurements. As we add figures tending
to show the strength of the organizations, the power of their
voices, past accomplishments, etc., the measurement becomes
finer. The illusory fact becomes a partial measuring stick.

The number of facts must, however, necessarily be limited.
Choice then becomes necessary, and the wisdom of the choice is
limited by the knowledge and the wisdom of the writer. This
writer has chosen to study these organizations at the national
level, for at this level the events are frequently highlighted
by publicity and by the analyses and exposures of capable
interpreters. Wherever possible, this writer has set forth the
opinions of the experts rather than his own.

Objectivity in a thesis of this nature is difficult of
attainment, for in seeking to ascertain the effect of pressures,
one must interpret. Even if only facts are used, the end
result, through faulty choice, can be a distorted picture.

Procedure of the Study. A letter was sent to forty-three
different organizations, seeking to ascertain membership,
objectives, history, past accomplishments. How the group
presented its message to the public and to the schools, teachers,
boards, and legislatures was another question. Materials were
received from all but the Ku Klux Klan, and all organizations
sought to answer the questions through this material.

Besides the use of this material, the writer has done much
research to ascertain what other writers have had to say on the
problem of pressure groups.

Review of Research. Although the writer was strongly influenced in his choice of topic and in his classification of organizations by Bessie L. Pierce's Citizens' Organization and the Civic Training of Youth, he received much help from other writers of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association. Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, by V. O. Key, Jr., was another book of particular interest to the writer. Social Work Year Book proved a convenient source for the address, size, objectives, officers, and publications of the existing organizations. For more recent information on the subject the writer sought articles through the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. Encyclopedias, too, such as the Britannica, Americana, The Catholic Encyclopedia, The Jewish Encyclopedia, were useful in providing bibliography. The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, too, was of general help.¹

Definition of Pressure Group. Pressure groups, according to Bruce Raup, include "those (interests) which are obviously self-centered, such as strictly profit-making groups, and those which are in a major sense bent on service, such as religious and semi-religious groups. Both types become pressure groups on occasion."²

¹ See Bibliography for fuller treatment of books, pamphlets, periodicals.
Beale lists as sources of pressures even parents and teachers themselves, and virtually all organizations.¹ For the purposes of this study we shall define a pressure group as an organization which seeks by overt action to impose its view upon others. This overt action may be physical force, moral suasion, threat, political activity, or distribution of literature. The criterion is that it seeks to maintain or enlarge its own views, frequently in derogation of another view.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Edgar B. Wesley states that "the curriculum which best serves society is the one which reflects not only the objectives and the ideals but also the needs of that society."¹ One method of ascertaining what the current needs, desires, and objectives are in our society is to study the existent "interests" or pressure groups. Here are found elements of radicalism and reaction, progressivism and conservatism. The amazing complexity and flexibility of our society can be seen in the interaction of these organizations, as well as the manner in which these groups help to fashion mores - which in turn determines our curriculum. Thus, the study of people and their organizations should be of prime concern to the teacher of the social studies.

"Traditionally the people have tended to minimize collective organization as represented by the state while exercising the largest possible liberty in forming their own voluntary organizations."² The reason for this "joining habit," says Schlesinger, is the "advent of humaneness in the world, a new concern for the afflictions of mankind." It is a manifestation of "Christian altruism combined with democratic idealism." Moreover, organizations tend to have a binding and integrating force among the people of the nation despite their differences.

¹ Edgar B. Wesley, Teaching the Social Studies, Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1942, p. 30
² Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Biography of a Nation of Joiners," American Historical Review, October, 1944, p. 3
They provide people with the "greatest school of self-govern-
ment," a fact well known to the totalitarians, who, upon
assumption of power, immediately forbade voluntary organiza-
tions. However, warns Schlesinger, organizations are not an
unadulterated good. Many join organizations, as in the case of
the Ku Klux Klan, to do those things which they would be
ashamed to do individually.¹

John Fischer believes that these organizations "give us a
rich fabric of spontaneous local government." They are
governed, he says, by the tradition (first set forth by John G.
Calhoun) of "concurrent majority," the principle of unanimous
agreement of all interested parties. "Every group tacitly binds
itself to tolerate the interests and opinions of every other
group."² This gives undue weight to the small, but well-organ-
ized pressure groups, which, by pressing their point, frequently
succeed in blocking legislation and in looting the national
treasury. However, by treading on the rights and interests of
others, the organization violates the unwritten law of con-
current majority. The other organizations may then feel free
to combat the effect of the offending group. This system
stresses interests rather than ideologies; it is slow moving,
but it is the secret of the strength of the United States
Government. It is confusing, but it is flexible, for interests
permit compromise, whereas principles or ideologies may appear

¹ Ibid.
² John Fischer, "Unwritten Rules of American Politics,"
immutable. Thus, Fischer approves of the "pressure Groups" so long as they do not violate the rule of concurrent majority.

Myron L. Koenig, too, believes that pressure groups are a part of the very life of the country, and that we should make no attempt to eradicate them. Moreover, they are the sources of ideas and of change.¹

Newlon states that it is "unrealistic" to think that the lobbies of Washington are evil. They represent organized groups in an economic or social interest. They can be vicious or good.²

Perhaps because the virtue of organizations is not so apparent, more writers dwell upon the dangers to democracy raised by pressure groups than upon their beneficent effects. Some writers merely expose the evils; some suggest curbs. None, however, demands their total eradication.

On the national level, group activities are sharply delineated in the glare of publicity, aided by the legal requirement of the registration of lobbyists.³ Because of this law, the following figures are available to the public: in the first nine months of 1949, 253 organizations spent over $6,290,000 for lobbying, a record breaking expenditure. Nor does this total include some of the largest of the "lobbying agencies."⁴

³ Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946.
⁴ "$6,290,000 for 'Pressure'," Boston Globe, November 7, 1949, Editorial page.
whose returns were late. In 1941, according to Nancy Waterman, there were 400 such blocs in Washington; in 1939 there were 6,000 paid lobbyists.¹ Both of these figures are growing. Moreover, these organizations, supposedly representing large groups of people, often represent only a small minority in them, for a member may belong to several groups with conflicting interests.² For example, a man may be a member of the Chamber of Commerce, opposing federal aid to education, and of a parent-teacher organization, favoring such aid. Obviously, he should not be counted in both. Thus, the question is raised as to whether the right of petition is being abused to forward selfish interests and to curtail the rights of others.

Precisely what interests do these groups symbolize? They typify the farmer, the laborer, big business, the reformers, the planners, the professions, religion, education, women, ethnic groups, the family, the consumer—in fact, they represent virtually every phase and every issue of our national life.³ The lobby itself "consists not so much of persons seeking favors directly for themselves as of professional paid agents of great interests or organizations, whose business it is to haunt the legislative halls and members' offices, and work unceasingly for whatever objects their clients have in view."⁴

² Ibid., p. 516
³ Ibid.
Efforts have been made to create a more general classification of these groups, but they have not been particularly successful. Beard has suggested one by stating that the "competing ideas of our times are (1) ideological"——"the present order is best;" it insists upon maintaining the status quo, and thus is defensive in character; (2) Utopian — it projects a scheme of perfection, which, if attained, becomes static; (3) progressive — it accepts neither of the above ideas but insists that an ever-changing order should carry with it the ideological heritage. Henry Adams, paraphrased by Beard, said at a meeting of the American Historical Association that the AHA stood in the presence of four great forces: church, state, property, and labor. Some writers use the terms reactionary, conservative, progressive, and radical; others use such categories as economic, political, religious, ethnic, etc. None of these groupings seems adequate, for the more general words cause confusion as to meaning and tend to become "smear words." The narrower definitions are not sufficiently inclusive. Moreover, almost all of them fail to catch the idea of conflicting interest within as well as without the organization. The general classification of these interests must wait for future writers.

What do these organizations do? What techniques do they employ? All of them seek to increase their influence over "key"

1 Charles A. Beard, Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, p. 54.
2 Ibid, p. 85.
individuals, such as congressmen, or over the public. V. O. Key, Jr. lists seventeen ways in which organizations seek to accomplish this. A few of these are: by increasing the membership at once; securing the cooperation of newspapers, particularly those carrying their advertisements; enlisting the aid of manufacturers and of their salesmen; obtaining pledges on letter writing to congressmen; alarming the public by radio, newspaper, mail, personal contact; enlisting the aid of better business bureaus; ridiculing the other side. Other methods utilized by the pressure groups are: infiltrating both political parties, using threats of displeasure; getting the appointment of a manufacturer to the Labor Board in order to block bills; "button-holing" congressmen; using people who know the legislators personally; taking advantage of the initiative and referendum in state legislatures; needling administrators; volunteering technical aid to administrative agencies; seeking to control appointments.

"Through graphic symbols, music, pageantry, combinations of words, events, personalities, the propagandist seeks to influence the masses and to attack or forward an interest, cause, project, institution, or person in the eyes and mind of the public." 2 The Institute for Propaganda analysis lists seven technical devices frequently employed by the hired propagandists: "name-calling, glittering generality, transfer,

testimonial, plain folks, card-stacking, and band wagon."¹

Sharp and Kirk include among the propagandistic devices: symbols and social myths, such as the flag, the uniform, tombs and shrines, sculptures; ceremonials appealing to the emotions, such as those held for Hitler and Mussolini; personal symbolism and hero worship, e.g. an apparently reverential regard for the leader, dictator, king, or president; slogans and shibboleths, such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," "no entangling alliances."²

Leonard Doob notes in more detail the "vehicles of propaganda:" radio, motion pictures, stage, art, pamphlets, leaflets, hand-bills, books, meetings, rumors, parades.³ He, also, exposes the device of "space-grabbing" by the public relations man who sends in organizational releases as news, bribes the editor by taking large advertisements, and ties up the organization with famous names.⁴ It is well at this point to note that "neither the press nor the radio are public institutions." For that matter, neither are any of the other "vehicles." They are not run for the public, but for profit.

Other methods employed by the pressure groups are:

1 Alfred M. Lee, op. cit., p. 133.
approaching a newspaper or magazine editor through his association; selling the views of the organization through paid advertising, never forgetting the "reinforcing principle of repetition." Even children are included in the propagandist's plans, for he seeks to build up desired attitudes through premiums, illustrated booklets, free materials in schools. The child, too, is subjected to much of the propaganda intended primarily for the adults.

On the national scene the lobbyists work hard to secure the election of "sympathetic" men. In fact, so industrious are they, that they virtually become "fronts" for a party. Joseph Harsch has cataloged with trepidation some of these "front" organizations: for the Democrats - "National Farmers Union, AMVETS, Cooperative League of America, CIO-PAC, League of Women Voters (infiltrated though not a front), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People;" for the Republicans - "National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce of the United States (infiltrated though not a front), American Medical Association, National Grange, National Farm Bureau Federation, American Legion (infiltrated though not a front)."

However, it is not only on the national level that these organizations are significant, for their energy is as pronounced

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1 Leonard Doob, op.cit., p. 160.
2 Ibid., pp. 171, 173
3 Ibid., p. 173.
at the state and local levels. In teacher-training colleges they frequently attempt to exert influence in the hiring of professors, introduce "utility courses," criticize and change courses in schools, subsidize research, review and revise texts, introduce their own literature into the schools, control extension work.¹ Some professors are fearful of expressing their views on Communism and other controversial matters, because professional and political groups accuse them through "innuendo and false assumptions."² Baker points out that there is a "continuous and extensive removal of presidents and faculty members for political reasons," but a "more subtle and hence more dangerous threat to democratic education is the minority pressure, the most powerful being the aristocratic minority."³

These pressures fall not only upon colleges but upon the public school system as well, through the school board, superintendent, and teacher. Influence upon the school board is frequently exerted by the individual board member, by his church, his service club, or his profession. In fact, Koenig states, many pressures are "to be accepted as a matter of course in these years," listing many of the organizations under consideration in this thesis, as well as sports fans, teachers, parent-teacher groups, insurance groups, the federal government,

¹ Leonard W. Doob, op.cit., p. 172
⁴ Myron L. Koenig, op.cit., p. 35
and the press.

George S. Counts has pointed out that the "typical" school board consisted of six members - a housewife and five men: one physician, one banker, one manufacturer or business executive, one salesman, clerk, or laborer, one merchant. Thus, most of the members are identified with the financial aristocracy, so that the defense of their interests rather than democratic values is the rule.¹

John K. Norton, too, belabors the "typical" school board. Some members, he holds, use their position as a political springboard; self-seekers, like bond-salesmen, desire merely to make themselves and their product known; vested interests press their own views; the member who belongs to the tax-payers' league votes against most educational expenditures; one president of a board in a large city even campaigned against the teaching of controversial issues. The number of board members who hold the office in order to represent some minority group or themselves is "alarming."²

The same pressures operate upon the superintendent as do upon the school board, since he is a member. He, together with the principal, then seek to impose their views upon the teacher. Since the "control of education and the formulation of educational policy are entrusted to the representatives of more

favored classes,° their views are apt to coincide with those of the upper economic groups. Newlon drew, in a study of 900 superintendents, a picture of extreme conservatism. Most superintendents were Protestant Republicans; one half of them belonged to the Chamber of Commerce, only two to organized labor; three quarters were members of "service" clubs; three quarters were Masons; only five belonged to the Knights of Columbus; 30% were in the American Legion or other patriotic organization; three quarters of them belonged to some exclusive club. None of them read the Nation, New Republic, or Survey-Graphic. One half of them were unaware of any pressure upon the schools. Here, too, there would appear to be a disproportionate number representing the upper economic strata, not enough of labor. The danger lies in the fact that they can not escape their own philosophies, and the "banker mentality" (which Newlon identifies closely with the business man's mentality) is a "failure in leadership," for the methods are autocratic.

Finally the attempts at control fall upon the teacher, and principally upon the social studies teacher, for the issues are primarily social ones. These curbs take many forms:

(a) Hiring - where Catholics are the dominant group, Protestants are not hired, and vice versa.4

2 Jesse H. Newlon, Educational Administration as Social Policy, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934, p. 130.
3 Ibid., p. 119.
4 John K. Norton, op. cit., p. 46.
Political and organizational affiliation may be important in some communities.

(b) Teaching - in many communities it is dangerous to teach criticism of the American Legion, support radicalism, belief in birth control, approval of social equality for the Negro, criticism of the government and the president, views on the interpretation of the Bible or on religion, evolution. Status quo groups oppose the method of study and discussion, while the liberal groups advocate it; chauvinistic nationalism is pressed by many groups; teachers' oaths have been enacted in some states. Many other restraints upon the freedom of teaching exist today and could be added to this list, e.g., the ban against Communists.

(c) Text-books - patriotic groups, fraternal organizations, the Hearst newspapers seek to insert a greater degree of nationalism, "Americanism" into the texts. The Knights of Columbus seek to combat the tendency of texts to be "less anti-British;" the Catholics seek to gain more favorable treatment of the role of the church during the "Dark Ages." Labor groups seek to insert their viewpoint into texts, claiming that they are not fairly treated; business, often working through

2 Newlon, op. cit., p. 46.
patriotic organizations, seeks to identify capitalism with the
"American way."¹ The farmers, too, seek better texts, particu-
larly in agriculture. This list could be enlarged, but the
representative groups above should suffice to convey the idea
that these organizations alter, or seek to alter, texts to con-
form with their particular interests.

(d) Curriculum - virtually all groups have shown an
interest in the curriculum and seek some modification of it now.
The farmers seek more agricultural subjects;² financial leaders
urge the inclusion of commercial education; manufacturers
press for drawing and design as well as other utilitarian
subjects;³ publishing houses have created new courses through
new texts and have caused retention of old subjects because of
the texts. In 1890 the schools tried to bring in the factory
methods of efficiency into teaching;⁴ some religious groups
today are seeking to have religion taught in the schools.⁵
Labor seeks "practical" courses and in the past has fought
against college entrance examinations and psychological testing
because they were "discriminatory."⁶ Thus we find that the
influences upon the educators are frequently heavy within the

¹ Kermit Elby, "What Schoolmen Should Know About Unions,"
² Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators,
³ Ibid., p. 225.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 227 - 230.
⁵ B. Otmiel Smith, "What Do the Sectarians Want?" Progressive
⁶ Howard K. Beale, Are American Teachers Free?, New York,
Scribners, 1936, p. 578.
school system itself.

During depressions these pressures are intensified, for taxpayers' leagues frequently attack the schools, slash salaries, and make the teachers fearful for their positions. Teachers then tend to become conservative and to avoid all controversial subjects, thus limiting the effectiveness of their teaching.

Sources of pressure. Howard K. Beale¹ and Myron Koenig² have attempted to classify some of the sources of the pressure upon the schools. Bessie L. Pierce in Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth has included others. Beale lists as the "greatest sources" the public, parents, superintendents, principals, school board members or trustees, teachers, students, business men, politicians, organizations, principals' wives or secretaries, and supervisors. Koenig adds sports fans, the federal government and the press, besides the organizations. Many of the organizations will fall into the following categories:

1. Labor, e.g., the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor.

2. The farmers, e.g., the National Grange and the American Farm Bureau Federation.

3. The commercial and business interests, e.g. the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.

1 Beale, History of Freedom of Teaching, p. 246.
2 Koenig, loc. cit.
4. The military, e.g., the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

5. The civil liberties and racial, e.g., the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Ku Klux Klan.

6. The religious and fraternal, e.g., the Knights of Columbus and the American Friends Service Committee.

7. The women's group, e.g., the League of Women Voters and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

8. The international, e.g., the American Association for the United Nations and the World Federalists.

9. The professional, e.g., the American Medical Association and the bar associations.

10. The services, e.g., the Kiwanis International and the Lions International.

11. Other miscellaneous groups, essentially service in nature, e.g., the American Humane Association, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and the National Probation and Parole Association.

The list is by no means an exhaustive one, but it will serve as an example of the variety of interests involved and may give some indication of the influences affecting the schools and the teachers.

**Central Thread.** To the future teacher the welter of conflicting interests may represent merely popular oppression and confusion, but there is a central thread running through it. Out of our national interests (all of which are found in the
various organizations) Beard has presented "some of the goals which the United States seems to have shaped for itself...." The American people appear to be seeking: ¹

1. National planning in industry, business, agriculture, and government to sustain the most economical and efficient use of our material resources.

2. Expansion of insurance systems against sickness, old age, unemployment, disasters, etc.

3. Universal education through college.

4. Perfection of our systems of transportation.

5. City, state, regional planning for the highest type of civilization.

6. Development of our parks.

7. A national program of preventive medicine and public safety, as well as universal hospitalization.

8. The encouragement of science, letters, and the arts as an organic part of the good life.

9. Expansion of a reasoned equality of opportunity for all to unfold their talents.

10. Cooperation with the other nations of the world.

Thus, while the immediate interest of a group may seem selfish and even oppressive, its ultimate goal may be quite honorable. Against the pressure of the organizations seeking to attain the above goals, there is the counter-pressure of the conservative groups. These conflicts result in change - change in our social

¹ Beard, op. cit., pp. 79, 80.
structure and ideals, change in our philosophies, change in the social studies - all of which should interest the social studies teacher.
CHAPTER II
LABOR

Overview. The two major labor groups in existence today are the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The American Federation of Labor was the first permanent national labor organization, having its inception in 1886.\(^1\) Prior to that time, labor was required to organize in secret societies, for collective bargaining was considered a criminal conspiracy (except in the case of the railroads which were permitted to bargain early in the 19th century). The road of the American Federation of Labor was not a smooth one, for employers, in hiring, frequently required the "yellow dog contract" (a promise not to join a union), thus limiting union membership. This "contract" was legally enforced by injunction. Picketing, the major weapon of the union, was also restrained by injunction.\(^2\) Nevertheless, the American Federation of Labor persevered, particularly at the state level, sponsoring such bills as "workmen's accident compensation, safety laws, restriction of the hours of labor for women and children, abolishment of prison labor, and bills for the general welfare."\(^3\) By the 1930's collective bargaining was well supported by the law, if not by the sentiment of the people.

The 1920's saw a change in the "character of labor organi-

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3 Metz and Jacobstein, loc. cit.
zations. With the growth of mass production industries, labor began to organize along industrial rather than craft lines. The American Federation of Labor, however, adhered stubbornly to its traditional basis of craft organization.\textsuperscript{1} John L. Lewis (now president of the United Mine Workers of America) wanted the industrial union, but William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, desired the retention of the craft union. Lewis and a minority group broke from the American Federation of Labor in 1935 to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations, an industrial union.

The 1940's have seen further changes, according to Peter Drucker.\textsuperscript{2} Under our mass production system, the worker no longer produces; he works. Our industry permanently divorces man and production, and only the organization produces. This has resulted in the introduction of two new classes - the ruling executives and the labor leaders. It has meant a decline in prestige of the rich land owners, the bourgeois merchants, bankers, and capitalists. The industrial working class, too, is past its peak, for in 1940 it equalled fifty per cent of the population, just as it did seventy years ago. From now on Drucker foresees a decline. He also notes that the present shift from unskilled to highly skilled labor reverses a fifty year trend. These are basically intellectual skills, not manual ones, so that we see the rise of a new intellectual industrial

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1 Metz and Jacobstein, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 7.}
\end{footnotes}
class and a resultant decline in the manual industrial class. If this is true, then education will feel its impact. At least, the social studies teacher should be aware of the probability of change not only in education but in our society. Here, too, is another opportunity to note the interaction of our present society: our industrial system creates a new classification which in turn alters our educational system.

**Labor and Education.** In the past labor has fought against the junior high school movement, the platoon system, separate vocational schools, psychological testing, claiming that these were discriminatory. It wants school texts to be manufactured by union labor. Apart from these aims, labor has aided the social studies by fighting for freedom of speech, opposing the teachers' oath laws, and seeking to emancipate the schools from propaganda. \(^1\) According to Elby, labor has the "most consistent record of support of public education and social legislation." \(^2\)

Labor has entered the "struggle for the minds of the teachers," seeking to counter the propaganda of business. It believes that there is too great a tendency to gloss over the ills of society by educators, thus failing to produce informed, aggressive workers. The schools are not teaching "the greatest good for the greatest number." \(^3\) Apart from the legislative and political objectives, labor wants to eliminate the "college flavor" of high schools, integrate vocational education with

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3 Kermit Elby, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
general education, for according to William Green, American Federation of Labor president, "It is more important to produce young men and women who can vote intelligently than it is to turn out good typists or lathe operators." The unionists, further, object to the ignoring of the labor movement and of labor-management relations, claiming that, in contrast, there is much propaganda of the National Association of Manufacturers in the schools. They deplore, too, the great emphasis placed upon militarism, "palace politics," business economics, nationalism, and the little time devoted to the common people and the contributions of racial groups. They do approve the teaching of international understanding, controversial issues, and student council activities.\(^1\) We have noted earlier their approval of the method of study and discussion. All in all labor seems to be seeking a more democratic base for education, a not unworthy objective.

The unions have been seeking to inaugurate their own educational programs, besides training their leaders in some of the universities with the latter's cooperation.\(^2\) Thus, labor shows a great interest in education and the social studies.

**Labor and Society.** There are over 46,000,000 workers in the United States, 16,000,000 of them in the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, United Mine Workers, the railroad brotherhoods, and the independent unions.

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1 Brodinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.
They are looking forward to 30,000,000 - 40,000,000 members, in the near future. For this reason the "power-seekers" (Communists, Socialists) are active in organized labor.¹

The first motive of labor is not economic security; it is "status." Citing a study, Kelby says that while forty-six percent of management believes that wages are the highest consideration, only eight percent of the workers consider it such. However, security is the next motive.

In line with these objectives, the unions have stressed social questions: fair labor standards, better working conditions and wages for women and children, safety on the job, soil conservation, workers' education, and federal aid to public education. They have struggled to eliminate depression, to gain a greater share in the wealth, for they believe in a sustained mass consumption as opposed to a narrow, fluctuating consumption. They hold, too, that idle profit is dangerous to the economy, that human rights are greater than property rights.

In order to effect these goals, the Congress of Industrial Organizations entered the national political arena, joined in the last election by the American Federation of Labor. By political action and legislation they are attempting to strengthen their bargaining power and gain more favorable contracts. Collective bargaining for contracts, they find, is weakened during depressions, so depression must be curbed.²

¹ Ibid., pp. 21, 22.
² Ibid.
The American Federation of Labor

Brief History. In 1881 a congress of independent trade union leaders met in Pittsburgh to form the American Federation of Labor. "This first federation was modeled after the British Trade Union Congress, with an emphasis on legislative activity. It was not until its reorganization in 1886 that the federation started along a development which relied upon economic organization and progress to lay the foundations for lasting progress."¹ Growth in membership coincided remarkably with boom periods in our economy. The periods of greatest expansion were from 1899 to 1904, 1909 to 1914, 1915 to 1921, 1925 to 1930, and 1933 to the present. Since depressions meant loss in membership, the Federation has fought hard to mitigate the boom and bust cycle.

Besides working for shorter hours, more pay, and better working conditions, the Federation has made many contributions to education, politics, industry and social welfare.² Since its fight is a continuing one, these objectives will be listed among the present goals of labor below.

Address. American Federation of Labor
AF of L Building
Washington 1, D. C.

President - William Green
Secretary-Treasurer - George Meany
Director of Research - Florence G. Thorne
(when writing for materials or information)

Membership and Organization. The American Federation of

² Ibid., passim.
Labor has a membership of approximately 8,000,000. Its structural organization in descending order is: the parent organization, the international, nation, state, city, and local. International unions have membership in the forty-eight states, Canada, Porto Rico, Alaska, and Hawaii. "The jurisdiction of a national or international union may extend over a single craft, or it may extend over a number of operations in the fabrication of material, or it may embrace an entire industry, covering all trades and kinds of work." 1 However, the local unions are composed of those who are engaged in one type of work, e.g. the plumbers' unions, the carpenters' unions. These locals may band into a national or international and obtain a charter from the American Federation of Labor. 2 This explains the term "craft" union. 3 All unions are autonomous and held together in a loose federation. It is roughly similar to the early United States government in that the smaller units jealously guard any infringement of their sovereignty. Local unions are subject to jurisdictional disputes, i.e. to which union does a particular job belong, and who shall be the one to organize it? Frequently, too, the local unions will engage in an unhealthy competition with one another in the matter of wages.

Publications. The following list may give an indication of the extent of the "educational" campaign of the Federation:

1 William Green, A Democratic Institution, American Federation of Labor Pamphlet, 1939, pp. 2, 3.
2 Ibid., p. 4.
3 For distinction - Congress of Industrial Organizations unions embrace all jobs or trades within an industry, e.g. Steelworkers' Union, Automobile Workers' Union.
The American Federationist, the official monthly magazine.

Labor's Monthly Survey.
Weekly news service to the labor press and the local unions.

Statistical, educational, organizing literature to the press and unions.

Report of the Executive Council, a yearly summary of union activity in every sphere, membership, financial condition and reports, and future plans.

State and local publications, including labor newspapers (usually weekly).

Noticiario Obrero Norteamericano (North American Labor News), a Spanish language clipsheet issued to the Latin American unions.

Research Bulletin - to provide union leaders and organizers with statistics and labor law materials.

Other Methods. In addition to its newspapers and other publications, the American Federation of Labor employs other methods to propound its views. It has engaged a public relations firm, Owen and Chappell of New York, to provide for a comprehensive program. The plan calls for increasing publicity in radio, motion pictures, magazine and newspaper fields. The recommendations are sent to all unions, which inaugurate their own programs. It employs legislative agents at the national, state, and local levels. It has formed the Labor's League for Political Education, which, because of the Taft-Hartley Law's limitations...
restriction of union political activity, has had to be set up as an independent entity. It is supported by Federation members and the friends of labor. Where it has become necessary, the Federation has joined with other unions to effect their purpose.\footnote{1}{Ibid.}
The United Labor Committee of Massachusetts is a case in point, the American Federation of Labor joining with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railroad Brotherhood, the Machinists' Independent Unions, and Americans for Democratic Action in order to fight certain anti-labor legislation and to aid the national fight to clean out the "Taft-Hartley" Congress.\footnote{2}{The Massachusetts Story, Massachusetts Federation of Labor Pamphlet, (written after 1948 elections), Foreword.}

To press their point politically, the American Federation of Labor uses such devices as registration drive, organization of rallies, newspaper advertisement, political posters, local organization drives; miscellaneous ventures such as sound trucks, mailing of postcards; buttons, stickers, matches, a speakers' bureau, airplane.\footnote{3}{Ibid., p. 5.}

The campaign enters the schools, not only through the speakers, materials, and other methods, but through the minds of the students, for many of their attitudes and beliefs are affected by the propaganda and counter propaganda. The social studies teacher may then have difficulty in inculcating an attitude of objectivity.
Objectives. With all the weapons at its command the American Federation of Labor seeks to attain the following goals:

In education:

- Obtain federal aid for education.
- Eliminate "college flavor" of high schools.
- Integrate vocational education with general education.
- Teach more about the labor movement and labor-management relations.
- Counter National Association of Manufacturers' propaganda. All factory visits to be arranged by management and labor combined, not just by management.
- Place less emphasis upon militarism, "palace politics," business economics, nationalism.
- Give more time and attention to the common people and to the contributions of minority peoples.
- Teach international understanding, controversial issues.
- Have student council activities.¹

Increase the number of children attending school and the duration of their school lives by enacting minimum age laws for work, compulsory school attendance laws, establishing part-time continuation schools for working children. Extension of all of these is urged.

- Have free text books in public schools.
- Reduce the size of classes.
- Have school lunch program aided by federal funds.

¹ See Brodinsky, op. cit.
Get "Text books for social subjects to reflect a comprehensive presentation of civics, political economy, and history."

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

Secure more vocational guidance and more vocational schools.

Increase night school facilities for adults and widen use of school plants.

Conduct campaigns to eliminate illiteracy among adults, including special classes for non-English speaking people.

Promote vocational retraining of the unemployed.

Increase tax supported schools and colleges.

Obtain larger appropriations for libraries.

Have greater labor representation in boards of education and in boards of directors for public libraries.

Establish essay contests about labor in public and parochial schools.

In education for labor:

Inaugurate radio programs for educative purposes.

Establish labor institutes with proper equipment and libraries.

Obtain or establish fellowships for labor. (Robert J. Watt fellowship at Harvard is available now.)

Obtain federal support for a program of education for the workers.

Utilize extension courses.

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1 50 Years of Service, pp. 12, 13.
For teachers:

Secure tenure for teachers in public schools.

Seek higher compensation for teachers' services.

Promote freedom to teach.

Press for participation in the formulation of educational policies.

Seek right to organize into unions.

Promote opposition to teachers' oath laws.

In social and political sphere:

Seek shorter hours, including shorter hours daily, shorter work week, holidays with pay for all workers.

Promote higher ethical standards. Human rights are to dominate over property rights. "Practice of stealing from wage earners, from investors, and from buyers of finished goods shall give way to practices guided by a sense of justice...."

Seek negotiated work contracts. This collective agreement recognizes the present interdependence of interests and the passing of individual self-sufficiency.

Spread the principles of "time economies." Employers earlier believed that the longer work day and week was advantageous to them. Labor believes that increasing work capacity and increasing production should be balanced by a shorter work day in order to insure sustained industrial progress. It places the burden upon the employer to improve his methods and machinery.

Spread the high wage principle. Higher wages mean more efficient workers and thus, lower labor costs per unit of production. Some

1 50 Years of Service, p. 13.
2 Ibid., p. 8.
3 Ibid., p. 10.
employers acclaim with pride our American high wage principle, for higher wages mean higher consumption. Further, mass production needs mass consumption.

Spread the principle of personnel relations. Labor is forcing management to recognize the human factor in production.

Seek pensions for all.

Press for regularization. Seek steadiness in employment.

Expand social security and social insurance.

Protect women and children from exploitation.

Control immigration.

Promote civil rights legislation by the national and state governments.

Secure more regional development projects.

Conserve resources.

Encourage the arts and sciences by federal funds. Establish national science foundation.

Press for programs of rehabilitation for the handicapped.

Seek world peace through a strengthened United Nations.

In fact, the American Federation of Labor approves anything which seems to aid the worker, the under-privileged, and the handicapped. It strives for greater political, social, and economic equality and stability.

To what degree has the Federation been successful in its campaign? The precise extent is probably impossible of measurement at present because of our imprecise measuring tools.

1 Report of the Executive Council, pp. 197, 198.
but a glance at the above lists by the reader and consideration of past and present developments in the fields mentioned may give some indication of how close the Federation's program is to the desires of the American people. How influential the Federation has been in formulating these desires the writer cannot measure. We do know that despite some adverse reaction in the press, in business, in education, and sometimes from the pulpit, the American Federation of Labor has succeeded in gaining acceptance of the vast majority of people.

In certain areas unions are still forbidden. In 1948 five of the southern states had laws making all forms of union activity a felony, yet the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are persisting in their efforts to organize the workers there. As we have seen in the earlier summary on labor, the unions hope to expand the 16,000,000 into 30,000,000 organized members, and the south and the white collar workers are the next targets for the organizers.

Congress of Industrial Organizations

Brief History. The Congress of Industrial Organizations may be said to be an offshoot of the mass production system. In 1930 the great depression arrived with its accompanying unemployment. National income fell from $83,000,000,000 to $40,000,000,000 between 1929 and 1932. The unemployed mounted

1 The Truth About CIO, Congress of Industrial Organizations Pamphlet, Publication No. 132, 1946, pp. 2, 3.
to 15,000,000, many of them being the factory workers. The American Federation of Labor, which was a craft union with most of its members in the railroads, building, and printing trades, failed to understand the problems of the "unskilled" factory workers. When eight American Federation of Labor international unions formed the Committee for Industrial Organization to aid the factory worker, the Federation expelled them.¹

The union was an immediate success, for it won its first great campaign against the Goodyear Rubber Company of Akron early in 1936 after a six-week strike. It then successfully fought the company unions (unions organized by and controlled by the employers) of the steel industry and won, despite the "strong-arm tactics" of the employers. Throughout this organizing period the Congress employed the typical union weapons: collective bargaining, the strike, the sit-down strike, the boycott.² The employers fought them with the police, injunctions, public opinion, and legislation. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Law by the 80th Congress hit labor hardest, for, presumably, in times of stress the Taft-Hartley law could destroy the unions.³ Labor charges that it restores government by injunction. At present all labor is seeking the restoration of the Wagner Act, which immediately preceded the Taft-Hartley.

¹ The Truth About CIO, Congress of Industrial Organizations Pamphlet, Publication No. 132, 1946, pp. 2, 3.
³ For All the People, Congress of Industrial Organizations Pamphlet, Publication No. 167.
Address. Congress of Industrial Organizations
718 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

President - Philip Murray
Secretary-Treasurer - James B. Carey.
(For publications address request to
CIO Publications Department)

Membership and Organization. The Congress of Industrial
Organizations has approximately 6,000,000 members,1 formed on an
industrial basis. The locals may consist of part of a factory
or a whole factory. They are not divided into crafts. The
locals send leaders to form the state, national, and inter-
national groups. The parent organization at Washington
charters them and gives them guidance.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations is frequently said
to be the more democratic of the two leading unions, since it
covers skilled and unskilled workers, but its command from the
top is tighter than that of the American Federation of Labor,
since it is highly centralized in comparison to the latter
organization. The Congress permits no color bar, whereas the
Federation leaves such decision to the local groups. This tight
centralization permits faster action and more effective coordina-
tion for union activities. Yearly conventions determine
general policy.

Publications.

CIO News, weekly

Economic Outlook, monthly

Pamphlets and brochures

1 The World Almanac and Book of Facts For 1950, edited by
By means of these publications the Congress seeks to spread its views and aims.

**Other Methods.** In addition to its publications, the Congress of Industrial Organizations employs the radio, press, movies, and all the other vehicles of propaganda, much as does the American Federation of Labor. It maintains a legislative department at the national, state, and local levels with agents who initiate legislation and work with the politicians. Moreover, it maintains a policy of naming those legislators who vote for anti-labor bills. At election time the Political Action Committee then "turns out the vote" to defeat these men.\(^1\)

The Education and Research Department apprises the membership of developments in the field of education and presses for broadening the services of the public school system.

**Objectives.** The objectives of labor in the educational, political, social fields are much the same, so that a glance at those listed under the American Federation of Labor will suffice to show the general tenor of all labor organizations. As does the Federation, the Congress of Industrial Organizations seeks federal aid for education. It seeks, too, a labor extension service much like that provided by the Department of Agriculture for the farmers. It supports child care and school lunch programs, as well as greater freedom and more of a voice in policy making for the teacher. (See Brodinsky)

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\(^1\) For All the People, Congress of Industrial Organizations Pamphlet, p. 22.
In the social field the aims of the Congress of Industrial Organizations run parallel to those of the American Federation of Labor. If anything, their demands are a bit greater in the quest for security and a greater share in the wealth. They are more democratic than the Federation on their immigration policy, seeking a higher quota and demanding the elimination of all provisions discriminating against groups because of race, color, or creed.¹

Summary

Effect on Social Studies. We have seen that the unions desire changes in the texts, curricula, school activities and school administration, giving labor a larger voice in all of these. Labor economics and views are being inserted into the colleges and the public schools. The demands of labor for higher salaries, greater academic freedom, better working conditions, security for the teacher, should result in the elevation of the status of the social studies teacher in his community, as well as the raising of standards in the profession as a whole. Teaching, particularly in the social studies field, benefits greatly by labor's defense of academic freedom, for controversial issues should be taught without fear of dismissal. More money for the school will mean better equipment, a great item for the social studies teacher, who needs maps, graphs, publications, library, etc.

¹ Ibid., p. 19.
Labor has been fighting for many of the improvements in our school system that our educators should have been seeking. Moreover, it has done so more aggressively and perhaps as effectively.

In the social sphere labor is helping to bring about a bloodless revolution. The philosophy of rugged individualism is being softened by the realization of the interdependency of peoples, the necessity for cooperation. The "elimination of inequalities and exclusions" in the economic and social area of which John J. Mahoney speaks in his book, *For Us the Living*, is being brought about without material alteration in our political structure and without curtailment of essential liberties of the mass of people. The problem of economic and social injustice has plagued every civilization. Dictatorship, communism, socialism, and war may be traced, at least in part, to these causes. Organized labor is aiding in the attempt to eradicate these evils without recourse to the totalitarian schemes.

Studying and teaching about the labor movement is a requisite in the social studies program. However, a word of caution is necessary. Labor has become powerful, and power may corrupt even a friend. The social studies teacher must never accept thoughtlessly the leadership of any group or its projected program.

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1 John J. Mahoney, *For Us the Living*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945, p. 73.
CHAPTER III
COMMERCIAL AND BUSINESS INTERESTS

Overview. Business has not enjoyed too favorable a reputation in educational, social, or economic policy. As a class it has, generally, fought for few of the reforms which would disturb the status quo and its favored position in society.

Business and Education. Ordinarily business has utilized the more subtle methods of propaganda, seeking to identify business with the "public good," "Americanism," "patriotism," "rugged individualism," as opposed to "socialism," "communism," "welfare state," "handout state," the latter two being recent terms coined by the business groups. They have not hesitated to inject these ideas into the schools and into the text-books, for as Roger Babson, the business "prophet" has stated, "Capital still prepares the school books and practically controls the school systems of the world." Babson further stated that business could sell its ideas through the pulpit, press, and schools, for the war had taught them the "power of propaganda."  

However, where necessary, business has used the more direct approach. In certain areas, such as the mining towns in Colorado, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania, as well as the mill towns of South and North Carolina, the business groups have set up their own schools in which they

1 Beale, Are Teachers Free, p. 546.
2 Ibid.; p. 548.
3 Ibid.; p. 546.
have handed out their own propaganda, controlled the texts and the curricula.\(^1\) They have opposed any attempts at unionization to the point that union organizers have been expelled from the town, or held imprisoned in the town by the local constabulary, so that counter-company ideas could not enter.\(^2\)

Education in the late 19th century showed a decided sympathy toward industry and finance. Strikes and the labor movement were condemned as manifestations of "socialism," "anarchism," and "communism." The schools even attempted to bring factory efficiency into their system. The educators blamed parents, not the manufacturers, for permitting child labor. Courses desired by business, such as drawing and design, were introduced into the curriculum. The interests of the children were frequently not considered.\(^3\)

However, in the 1890's criticism of monopolistic business practices appeared; the evils of "industrial slavery" were denounced; the practice of hiring immigrants by written contract at lower than prevailing wage rates was exposed. Much of this literature was written by college professors, whom business immediately sought to discomfit by pointing out the "immorality" of professors in criticizing those who paid their salaries.\(^4\)

In other ways, too, business has sought to control the school system. In times of prosperity it supports school expenditures, but in depressions it favors cuts in the school

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1 Ibid.
2 Raushenbush and Stein, op. cit., p. 28. (Also, see index.)
budget. It has, in the past, suggested that fees be paid by high school students, so that taxes might be lowered.¹ Business men dominate our school boards, as we have previously noted, and administrators are more closely allied with the business and financial interests than with any other, so that these influences fall most heavily upon the teacher.

Mr. Klager states that "Chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations frequently have been labeled, and in some cases justifiably so, as arch enemies of an adequately financed school system."² However, more recent occurrences tend to show that industry and finance are seeking to work with education on a more cooperative basis (infra).

Business and society. "The great political triumph of large scale enterprise has been the manipulation of public attitudes so as to create a public opinion favorably disposed toward, or at least tolerant of, gigantic corporations."³ As business evolved from the small shop stage into the great institutions which we know today, it sought for increasing concentration of corporate control as well as combinations in restraint of trade. Laws set up to break these monopolistic practices, such as the Sherman Anti-trust Act of 1890 and the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, were rendered ineffective by having Congress limit the funds of the enforcement agencies.

¹ Newlon, op. cit., p. 43.
³ V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., p. 111.
While thus seeking greater concentration of wealth and economic power, business pressed for positive legislation which would strengthen its position. Key lists some of these: tariffs, direct subsidies, state control instead of national in order to prevent effective central action. ¹ Robertson has added: price fixing (in steel, cement, heavy industries on the "basing point" or delivered price formula), subsidies for air and ship lines, mail subsidies for newspapers - all these and more while business continues to utilize terms such as "free enterprise" and the "American way."²

Labor has had to fight business for any advance in status for the worker, for an extension of public education, for the mitigation of such evils as child labor, unhealthy working conditions, extremely low wages. As labor fought for the extension of social benefits, the business interests broadcast alarms of bankruptcy and concern for the taxpayer. The device is still being employed today.

**Chamber of Commerce**

**Brief History.** The first of the chambers is traced back to the mercantile union formed by twenty merchants in New York in April, 1768. Two years later, it was granted a charter by King George III under the name, "The Corporation of the Chamber of Commerce in the City of New York."³ Other organizations

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1 V. O. Key, Jr., _op. cit._, p. 123.
gradually sprang up until in 1870 there were forty active chambers in the United States. The national Chamber of Commerce was founded in Washington D. C. on April 22, 1912, at a National Commercial Conference. The organization began with twenty-five directors, a president and treasurer, and approximately five hundred dollars. From that time to the present the Chamber has fostered individual initiative, lower taxes, and economy in government. It has opposed national "interference" in business, in housing, and in education. The Chamber of Commerce speaks for the business community, so its goals are the same. It is the organ which business employs for the "education" of the public and for political activity.

Address. Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington 6, D. C.

Exec. Vice President - Ralph Bradford
Manager - Arch N. Booth

Membership and Organization. "The National Chamber is a federation of business and industrial organizations. More than 3,000 chambers of commerce and trade associations, known as Organization Members, and many thousands of outstanding firms, corporations and individual business men, known as Business Members, are included in its membership." It has an underlying membership of 1,300,000 business men.

The Chamber maintains thirteen specialized departments,

1 Ibid., p. 14.
2 Ibid., pp. 20 - 26.
3 Service to American Business, Chamber of Commerce Pamphlet.
e.g., agriculture, economic research, manufacture, etc. These departments are staffed by seven hundred workers and headed by a full-time executive vice president. Policies are set by vote of Organization Members.

Publications.¹

Business Action, a condensed report and interpretation of events in national affairs and of activities of the Chamber.

Nation's Business, monthly magazine on business and government in relation to business.

Governmental Affairs, a daily summary of congressional activities.

News Letters, periodic bulletins issued by several departments of the Chamber of Commerce, usually on monthly basis.

Other publications. List sent on request.

Other Educational Methods. Besides the use of publications and the work of its own members, the Chamber employs the press, radio, and movies to press its viewpoint. The Temporary Economic Committee of the United States Senate stated in a report, "As a constant factor in public opinion-making, the Chamber of Commerce is probably not surpassed by any other group.....As a pipeline for steady, relentless and timely opinion dissemination, the Chamber is probably unequalled...."²

The Chamber of Commerce employs statistics, frequently gathered by its own departments to prove its points. In one

¹ Service to American Business, Chamber of Commerce brochure.
² Shreve, op. cit., p. 25.
such statistical study\textsuperscript{1} the Chamber points out to the businessmen that there is a correlation between educational expenditure and economic advance in the community. The conclusion is that education is an "investment" for the advancement of agriculture, industry, and commerce. Cultural education should accompany the technical training in order to develop a desire for better living.\textsuperscript{2}

The Chamber sponsors "Business Education Days," an entire day being devoted to a study of business and industrial firms by the teachers of the area released from school for the day. Conferences with top executives are held in the afternoon.\textsuperscript{3}

Further, the Chamber influences the schools through the "Clean Up, Paint Up Weeks," which not only beautify the community but also sell more paint and wallpaper for the business man. As a dominant economic group the Chamber makes itself felt, for in times of prosperity it supports the schools, but during the depressions it wants cuts in the school program.

Objectives. "Chamber policies are kept current. Unless reaffirmed, they expire automatically three years after adoption." The following are some of the items for which the Chamber is striving:\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} "Education - An Investment in the People," National Education Association Journal, 34, April, 1945, p. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} How to Plan a Business Education Day, Chamber of Commerce Pamphlet, p. 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Policy Declarations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Chamber of Commerce Pamphlet, July, 1949.
\end{itemize}
In education:

Greater participation of local chambers in the educational area.

Equal education to a point deemed "essential" by educators. Beyond that, presumably, fees are to be charged.

Improved support for education at the local and state levels.

No federal aid for education, for this would invite federal control.

Greater business representation on boards of education.

More modern equipment in schools.

Fuller employment of teachers. A twelve month work period with regular vacations, periodic re-training, summer teaching, are suggested as part of the program.

A trial period of internship with some final examination before granting prospective teachers full certification.

In society:

"Private enterprise in preference to government enterprise; free enterprise in preference to controlled enterprise; competitive enterprise in preference to monopolistic enterprise."

Less government interference. Government cannot create wealth, but the individual can. Government should create opportunity for the individual.

Adoption of many of Hoover Commission suggestions for increasing efficiency and decreasing taxes in the federal government.

Opposition to medical insurance controlled by federal government. Should be handled by private business.

1 Ibid., index.
Universal military training for young men.
Maintenance of a strong army and navy.
Stockpiling of critical materials.

Opposition to "compulsory unionism."

Removal of restrictions upon world trade, such as excessive tariffs.

Restriction of government lending and an early withdrawal from the private lending field.

Revision of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The minimum wage should be fixed by statute rather than by administrators, and preferably federal regulation abolished altogether.

Opposition to favoritism shown to cooperatives by governmental taxation.

Protection of agriculture by moderate tariffs.

Opposition to governmental grading of goods.

Balanced budget, greater government economy, and greater budget control.

Relief from heavy taxation. Ceiling of 50% on individual income, lowering of estate and gift taxes.

Support for "Delivered Pricing." (Declared illegal, monopolistic by Supreme Court).

Provision for retirement of the national debt.

Support for the United Nations.¹

Social Security through state rather than national administration.

In general, the objectives of the Chamber of Commerce are conservative, and in respect to national control and planning, they are sometimes reactionary. The Chamber measures programs with an eye to costs. Thus, it serves a real purpose, since it guards against irrational schemes which could result in harm to

¹ Ibid.
all. Although it abides union activity, it favors those measures which tend to limit collective strength of workers. It seems to favor a slow expansion of school activities. Apparently, in these prosperous years, the Chamber is saying, "Proceed with caution."

National Association of Manufacturers

Brief History. The National Association of Manufacturers was organized in 1895 by three hundred business men meeting in Cincinnati. Its purposes were to promote commerce and to serve as a spokesman for the American economic system. It believed strongly in individualism and private property, opposing anything suggested which was contrary to the above principles.

In 1898 the National Association of Manufacturers began a drive to establish a Commerce Department. In 1903 the necessary legislation was enacted.

It fought to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Act in 1899; it sought an ocean-going merchant marine; it strove for a non-partisan Tariff Commission.

In recent years the Association has shifted its aims. In 1937 it spent $793,000 to "educate" the public, as it strove for lower taxes on corporations, for higher protective tariffs, lower wages for the worker. It opposed unemployment compensation, increases in the wage rates, the full employment program, and price ceilings on goods during the war. It was instrumental

in having Office of Price Administration abolished. John Barr has pointed out that business firms struggle against taxation because it "kills incentive and prevents the accumulation of capital." However, the years from 1946 to 1949 would seem to indicate otherwise, for despite heavy taxation, business prospered, as did labor. This period probably served to smash the "log jam" caused by the accumulated and concentrated wealth.

In 1933 the larger corporations took over leadership of the National Association of Manufacturers in order to fight labor's legislation, and expanded its program of education in order to create a hostile attitude toward the New Deal. The LaFollette Committee in 1939 in a Senate report stated that the "National Association of Manufacturers had blanketed the country with propaganda which, in technique, has relied upon indirection of meaning, and in presentation, upon secrecy and deception. The propaganda has not... disclosed... their origin with the association." In its lobbying, too, the National Association of Manufacturers has been one of the most reactionary of organizations.

In the schools, the Association has been selling the "public good," "Americanism," "rugged individualism," "patriotism," as against the evils of "statism," "socialism," etc. They seek to inculcate the idea that large profits mean prosperity for all.

1 Nancy Waterman, op. cit., pp. 519 - 521.
4 Beale, Are Teachers Free?, p. 546.
Mr. Brodinsky suggests that a "new and liberalized National Association of Manufacturers" is in the offing, but recent news releases seem to stress the same cry for lower taxes, bankruptcy for the "handout state," and lack of "incentive" for the business man.¹

Address. National Association of Manufacturers
14 West 49th Street
New York 20, New York

Secretary - Noel Sargent
President - Wallace F. Bennett, (1949).

Membership and Organization. The National Association of Manufacturers has 16,000 manufacturers as members. These individuals elect a board of about one hundred fifty members, who then elect a president, chairman, managing editor, treasurer, and secretary. The board, too, pronounces policy, after checks have been made of members' positions. The policies are carried out by staff divisions: Economic Policy Division, Public Relations Division, Business Management Division, Government Relations Division, Inter-Association Relations Division, Law Department, Secretary's Office. The National Industrial Council, consisting of three hundred fifty state and local manufacturers' groups (40,000 individuals) is affiliated with the National Association of Manufacturers and represented on its board of directors.²

Publications.¹

NAM News, a weekly newspaper.

NAM Law Digest, issued quarterly and in special supplements.

NAM Law Department Memo, issued frequently during the year.

Booklets, manuals, and research studies done by the Research Department.

Other Educational Methods. "Special periodicals go every month to three important groups:

Trends, goes to 45,000 teachers.

Program Notes, goes to 43,000 women club leaders.

Understanding, goes to 26,000 clergymen."

Working through the National Industrial Council at the local level, the National Association of Manufacturers puts into effect its "community public relations program," and its "community leaders program." In fifteen months the Association has distributed more than 3,000,000 easy-to-read pamphlets to the "man on the street." The Association-produced movie, "The Price of Freedom," was seen by nearly 3,000,000 people yearly, seventy per cent of them being high school and college youth.²

Radio:

"It's Your Business," a national program on the ABC network.

"Cross Section - USA," a weekly program on CBS.

"Your Business Reporter," carried on two hundred fifty local stations weekly.

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
Newspapers and magazines:

NAM Newsroom, staffed with experienced newsmen prepares news releases to the dailies and magazines. Estimated audience 70,000,000.

"Industry's View," sent to editorial writers and columnists.

"Industrial Press Service," a bi-weekly clip sheet is sent to 8,000 editors. Estimated audience is 60,000,000 people.

In addition, the National Association of Manufacturers uses round table "clinics" for local employers, encourages "Open House" family visits to shops. It has established an Education Department in order to expand its present activities in the broad field of education. In 1948 the Association president and managing director visited thirty colleges and spoke to 15,000 students and faculty members. Business spokesmen are being called in to extend this work. Thus, we see that the public relations program of the Association is an elaborate and an expensive one.

Objectives. The Association seeks to present the business view to the school and to society through the following objectives:

In education:¹

Make available to teachers and students the knowledge of the advantages of a free enterprise society.

Make available materials concerning the role of industry.

¹ The Education Department of the NAM, National Association of Manufacturers Brochure.
Bring about closer cooperation between industry and the schools.

Aid the colleges, secondary and elementary schools through research.

Encourage business men to support a more adequate compensation for teachers.

Promote closer cooperation between industry and education in vocational guidance.

Give fellowships to teachers to study at industrial plants.

Establish industrial fellowships at universities.

Introduce business courses into the curriculum.

Oppose federal aid to education.

In society:

Spread the idea of teamwork for productivity. (Some economists say that our problem is equitable distribution not production.)

Oppose industry-wide collective bargaining as monopolistic.

Seek lower tax rates. Income tax should fall on all, without exception. Taxes on highest incomes should never exceed fifty per cent. Lower corporation taxes urged, and greater exemptions for depreciation, etc.

Oppose high rate of federal spending.

Seek a statutory plan for debt retirement.

Balance the budget through lowered government costs.

Press for passage of a law permitting basing point (delivered) pricing. (The Supreme Court has ruled this monopolistic.)

Seek return to gold standard.

1 Trends, National Association of Manufacturers, June, 1949.
Oppose the tax favoritism shown cooperatives.

Oppose federal housing bills.

Summary

We have seen that the business and commercial interests have altered texts, curricula, have controlled schools through school boards and sympathetic superintendents, have injected their views through a flood of materials. Their propaganda cannot be avoided. It is well for the social studies teacher to remember that the business groups represent one interest in the United States, and that there are many other interests to consider if one is to present a social studies subject objectively. Moreover, according to many writers, the business interests favor a financial aristocracy. Their views on labor and government are at least conservative. They have used and will continue to use the school for spreading their views. However, in doing so they have also provided the schools with aid at times. The danger in their propaganda lies in the identification of democracy with a particular interest, in this case the business group. Democracy is not identifiable with any particular economic interest or system. Democracy consists of hundreds of interests, all of them "American," and the way of democracy is the way of assimilation, not imposition, suppression, or eradication.
CHAPTER IV
THE FARMER

Another of the powerful economic interests which effect both the national and local spheres is that of the farmer. Not only do the following organizations affect our society, but they frequently have a direct effect upon our educational system. The social studies teacher will be interested in the effect upon either.

National Grange

Brief History. The grange movement was begun by Oliver H. Kelley of Boston. He had been appointed to the Department of Agriculture but a short time when he decided that a fraternal farm organization might heal some of the scars of the Civil War. In December, 1867, seven men in Washington, D. C., framed a ritual and a constitution for the embryonic Grange. Kelley then went out on an organizing campaign, and his success was amazing, for the new organization had a phenomenal growth. In its early days the Grange was radically belligerent, arousing fear in the hearts of Wall Street, but since those days the Grange has become the most conservative of the farm organizations.

It has consistently fought for rural America in such matters as lower taxes on land, tariff protection for farm goods, lower freight rates, better roads, better schools, and better

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1 The Grange Blue Book, National Grange Pamphlet.
2 V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., p. 55.
marketing facilities. It has taken the lead in uniting the farmers in cooperative undertakings, such as fire, hail, tornado, and automobile insurance.

Membership and Organization. The Grange has 800,000 members in thirty-seven states, 8,000 local or subordinate Granges, and more than 3,600 Grange halls. It begins in the rural community with the local Subordinate Grange, and has county, state, and national organizations. It has a high moral tone, fostering a happy community life with the Grange hall as the center. It maintains headquarters in Washington, working hard to influence Congress in favor of the farmer. It is a secret fraternal order, having seven degrees.

Publication and Policies. The Grange issues many publications to the subordinate local Grange to use as a basis for discussion. National Grange publishes National Grange Monthly, and Grange History. Its policies are aimed at strengthening the cooperative movement; price supports for farm products, but not direct subsidy to the farmer; world monetary reform, particularly a world commodity dollar having a stable purchasing power; social security for the farmers and workers; a voluntary national insurance plan; better school systems in rural areas through federal aid - but local control; student exchange between nations; more stringent control over the sale of liquor, and censorship of movies. Once it even opposed the

2 Address of Albert S. Goss, Master, 83d Annual Session, National Grange, November 16, 1949, pp. 3, 4.
sale of cigarettes. It still opposes unionizing of farm workers. Besides its publications, the Grange maintains radio programs over the National Broadcasting Company network. It maintains legislative agents in Washington and in localities and states. In the main, the Grange is conservative, and its literature has a "Republican ring."  

Address. National Grange  
744 Jackson Place,  
Washington 6, D. C.  

Master - Albert S. Goss  

American Farm Bureau Federation  

Brief History. Just before World War I county agents or "agricultural experts," financed by commercial companies, were sent out among the farmers to increase farm production in order to lift the farmer's income and thereby his buying power. This idea was taken over by the Department of Agriculture and developed into the present system of agricultural extension. To back up the work of the agents, a few County Farm Bureaus were organized by the farmers with the stress on production. The movement prospered so that on March 1, 1920, at Chicago, the American Farm Bureau was formally organized.  

1 V. O. Key, op. cit., p. 55.  
Membership and Organization. The Farm Bureau has a family membership with a national total of over 1,300,000 families.\textsuperscript{1} It has as a basic organization the county bureau, then the state, then the national. Although the county bureau is the basic administrative unit, much work is done through the smaller community unit. It, too, strives to get economic justice for the farmer through legislative agents at the national level.\textsuperscript{2}

Publications and Policies. The Farm Bureau puts out The Nation's Agriculture, a monthly magazine, and the Official Letter, a weekly newspaper, as well as many other publications at irregular intervals. Its policies are quite similar to those of the Grange, albeit not quite so conservative. It, too, seeks for better roads and schools, more agricultural subjects in education, limited federal aid for education with state and local control, a flexible price support program for agriculture without loss of farmers' independence, decentralization of government, labor extension service, stability in the price level without price control of specific items, and maintenance of low freight rates. The Bureau favors, too, the growth of cooperatives, rural electrification, rural health programs and

\textsuperscript{1} American Farm Bureau Brochure, July 20, 1949.
\textsuperscript{2} O. M. Kile, The Farm Bureau Movement, New York, MacMillan Co., 1921, p. 188.
easier farm credit. It favors the growth of extension work among the farmers and their wives through home demonstration agents, but says this should be done through the state rather than national government. 1

The Farm Bureau is thus a conservative farm organization, seeking economic justice for the farmer.

Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America (Farmers Union)

Brief History. 2 Newt Gresham, a newspaperman, founded the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union with ten other men at Point, Texas, in 1902. Both the Grange and the Farmers Alliance had flared briefly into prominence and then had withered. The little group in Texas hoped to build a permanent organization to fight the high railroad freight rates, low farm prices, poor roads, and high interest rates. At one time in its history the Farmers Union could boast one million dues-paying members. Depression (1920) hurt the Farmers Union as it did the labor unions. Moreover, there was a tendency for the farmer, an individualist, to drift away when problems appeared to be solved. Hence, the Farmers Union has found an educational program a necessity in maintaining membership.

Address. Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America (Farmers Union)
3501, E. 46th Avenue
Denver 16, Colorado

1 Resolutions Adopted at 30th Annual Convention of the AFBF, American Farm Bureau Federation Pamphlet, December 16, 1948, p. 2.
Membership and Organization. The Farmers Union has an organization of 450,000 members, representing 151,000 farm families. The community local, which is the basic administrative unit, touches the lives of the individual farmers. When membership in a state reaches 5,000, a state union is formed. The national is made up of state delegates. The national program is formed by action of the state delegates at the national convention held every two years.¹

Publications and Policies. A national paper reaches adult members once each month. State papers also go out once or twice a month. The larger regional cooperatives send out their own newspapers, such as the Farmers Union Herald, The GTA Digest, and the Central Exchange Messenger. Program Service goes to the local program directors, and Action Letter goes to all the action officials of the union. Thus, the union keeps a barrage of materials going to the members.²

The Farmers Union policies are based on the symbol of the triangle of Education, Cooperation, and Legislation, bound by the circle of Organization. More militant and more "leftist" than the Grange or the Farm Bureau, the Union strives for more security for the farmers. Since it operates primarily in the area which is subject to drought, (the states west of the Mississippi), the Union seeks government aid to prevent those lean years which otherwise might occur periodically.³ Thus, it

¹ For These Things We Stand, Farmers Union Brochure, 1949.
² A Very Short History of the Farmers Union, p. 4.
wants the preservation of the family farm as opposed to the corporation farm, low cost credit, cooperatives, federal funds for a Missouri Valley Authority and a Columbia Valley Authority in order to stabilize water supplies, full employment bill for the United States, minimum wage law, social security for all agriculture, federal aid to education, increase of extension activities by state and federal governments, repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, crop insurance, nationally maintained warehouses, one hundred per cent parity price supports, universal health insurance, world government developed through the United Nations, and anti-monopoly legislation. According to William Tucker the Farmers Union is looking forward to a "cooperative commonwealth," with elimination of the profit of the middle-man, producer, and distributor. 1

Summary

The rugged individualist, the farmer, has apparently recognized the strength to be derived from organization. Not only has the farmer been the most successful in the utilization of the cooperative form of enterprise, 2 thus stabilizing his market, but he also has become a redoubtable politician through his organization, often wielding influence far beyond his actual strength. However, there is promise of increasing opposition to the farmer and his cooperatives, 3 for the cooperatives are now

"big business," competing successfully with the corporations. The corporations are seeking to have higher taxes imposed upon the cooperatives.1

In the school the farmer seeks more agricultural subjects, the organizations providing teachers with units on farm topics on request. Moreover, the farm organization is frequently the central force in an area for social gatherings, so that the teacher is a member of the organization. Through its propaganda all farm organizations strive for better rural schools, better teachers, and higher salaries. All of them seek federal aid, although the Grange and Farm Bureau still want state and local control. Thus, if the desires of the farmers are fulfilled there will be an equalization of educational opportunity in the rural areas; cooperatives will occupy more attention in the social studies curriculum; agriculture and allied topics will become more important in the curriculum.

Note, too, the alteration in our society. The farmer is becoming a member in a vast assembly line, specializing in production of a particular commodity. His problem becomes increasingly that of the worker (security) rather than of the entrepreneur.2

CHAPTER V
Overview. The veteran groups may be termed military organizations with patriotic purposes. Their view frequently is that "there can be too much legislation, too much political agitation, never too much patriotism." Because of this view, they press for nativism, conservative "Americanism," and oppose pacifism, Bolshevism, and socialism. They denounce "radicalism" in the name of such radicals as Jefferson, Paine, and Lincoln. They insist upon all the outward forms of patriotism, such as salutes, oaths of allegiance, teachers' oaths, and patriotic songs. Frequently they work for legislative changes in curricula, particularly history and the study of the Constitution. Some of these veteran organizations may be fronts for big business. They hold great annual conventions, climaxxed frequently by a parade in full uniform.

Bessie Pierce has pointed out that the programs of the patriotic groups can touch twenty-five million children in the elementary and secondary schools, and nearly three million in private and parochial schools.

Second to their patriotic endeavors is their pressure for a bonus and all legislation tending to favor the veterans. The medical program comes close to being socialized medicine, not just insurance.

2 Pierce, Citizens Organizations, pp. 314, 315.
3 Beale, Are Teachers Free? p. 529.
4 Pierce, Citizens Organizations, p. 317.
American Legion

Brief History. The first steps toward the American Legion were taken by a group of soldiers in France in March, 1919. In May of the same year a temporary constitution was adopted in St. Louis, Missouri. Permanent organization was effected on November 10, 1919. The Legion is supposedly non-political and non-sectarian, although Joseph Harsch has claimed that the Legion is an "infiltrated" organization for the Republic party. Since its inception the Legion has fought for veterans' bonuses and pensions, and preference in civil service. It has been accused of "labor baiting," "witch-hunting," and "jingoism."³

Address. American Legion
777 N. Meridian Street
Indianapolis 6, Indiana

National Commander - George N. Craig

For educational materials address communications to National Americanism Commission

Membership and Organization. The American Legion has more than 3,000,000 members enrolled in more than 17,300 local posts. The national organization has more than 500 employees working in the interest of the veteran through its departments. It has more than $12,000,000 invested in bonds, endowment funds, and other forms of investment. In 1950 the American Legion will take in and spend more than $5,000,000.⁴ Thus, the Legion is a

1 It's a Fact, American Legion Pamphlet.
2 Harsch, loc. cit.
3 It's a Fact, American Legion Pamphlet.
rich and powerful organization. Its policies have often been
determined by the "King Makers" in Washington, rather than by
rank and file membership.  

Publications and Policies. Besides the regular American
Legion monthly magazine, thirty-five departments of the Legion
issue newspapers, the majority of them monthly. Many local
posts issue news, too, in mimeographed or printed form. In
addition, the Legion view is spread through the semi-monthly
meetings.  

Legislative agents on the national, state, and local levels
press for passage of chauvinistic and militaristic laws. Through the use of radio, speaker bureaus, movies, and innumerable pamphlets, the Legion view is further spread. Parades, uniforms, and the flag are emotionally appealing devices which help gain approval of their view.

The Legion does much work which directly affects the
schools. It promotes Legion-Schoolmaster Clubs, American
Education Week, Boys' State, Girls' State, School Award
Programs, Constitution oratorical contests, flag education,
observation of patriotic holidays, I Am an American Day,
citizenship schools for the foreign born, Constitution Week,
investigation and exposure of subversive activities, teachers'
caths, and military education programs in schools. Many of

Inc., 1945, p. 147.
2 It's A Fact, Pamphlet, Supra.
3 Beale, Are Teachers Free? p. 525.
these activities are carried on in cooperation with the National Education Association and parent-teacher groups.¹ It carries on active investigation of instructional material to see whether it conflicts with the "democratic ideal."²

In cooperation with the Boy Scouts and Boys Clubs of America, the Legion promotes a program of physical fitness, safety activities, fire prevention, and the like.³ Its Junior Legion baseball program is well-known.

Bolte⁴ gives more specific illustrations of the adverse influence which the Legion sometimes exerts. It sought to ban Clifford Odets' Waiting For Lefty from being played at Dartmouth College, labeling it communistic. It forced some school boards to remove the civics books of Harold Rugg, a mild liberal, who had made the "Moscow-inspired statement" that advertising was an added cost to the consumer. It has sought to ban Carl Becker's Modern History, Mary and Charles Beard's United States History. It fought to rid the country of "radicals" and "idealists." It fought for the deportation of "undesirable aliens," and the stopping of immigration, a policy in keeping with their "100% Americanism." It fought to make permanent the un-American activities committees and investigations.

In labor relations the Legion often employed whole posts

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¹ Legion-Schoolmasters Clubs, American Legion and National Education Association Pamphlet.
² American Legion Policy on Investigation of Instructional Materials, American Legion Pamphlet.
³ Legion-Schoolmaster Clubs, Pamphlet, supra.
as strike breakers - in California's Imperial Valley strike, in the textile strike of 1934, and the coal strikes of the east.

The Legion is undemocratic in more ways than those described above. Some of its posts have shown racial discrimination; its policies are determined by the National Executive Committee and are passed down as commands. Posts which disregard their edicts are expelled. Right of censorship over the publications of local posts lies with the national office.

Besides its activities in the schools, the Legion's legislative prodding of Congress has resulted in bonuses and pensions for veterans, preferential treatment of veterans on civil service examinations, sometimes to the point of detriment to the service. Hospital care for the veteran, once reserved for service-connected disability, now is approaching socialized medicine for all veterans. It presses for universal military training of youth, a strong army and navy, and generally an aggressive nationalistic policy.

In local affairs the Legion is influential, too, for it frequently finds jobs for its members, gives welfare aid or guidance, and provides a clubhouse for informal gatherings.

Thus, the Legion, a rich and powerful organization, is one of the important groups which help to mold United States opinion. While it has done much desirable social work, the Legion has

2 Ibid.
3 W. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., pp. 144, 145.
also curbed free speech, free press, freedom of assembly, equality of economic opportunity.\(^1\) It has been essentially a reflection of upper and middle class morality of the World War I period.\(^2\)

**Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States**

**Brief History.** The American Veterans of Foreign Service was founded in Columbus, Ohio in September 29, 1899. This group was enlarged by a merger with other veteran groups from Pennsylvania in 1905. A final merger in 1913 with a Colorado group resulted in a change to the present name and an enlarged membership. The objectives of fraternity and patriotism dominated the early group as they do today.\(^3\)

**Address.** Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States
Broadway at 34th Street
Kansas City 2, Missouri

Commander-in-chief - Clyde A. Lewis

For educational information address communications to Department of Americanism.

**Membership and Organization.**\(^4\) The Veterans of Foreign Wars today includes veterans of the Spanish-American War, Chinese Boxer Rebellion, Philippine Insurrection, Cuban Pacification, armed campaigns in Mexico and Nicaragua, and overseas men of the first and second World Wars. They total 1,300,000 in all, with 10,000 local posts. The Women's Auxiliary boasts 400,000 members in addition to the above group.

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1 Bolte, op. cit., p. 57.
2 Ibid., p. 61.
3 History of the VFW, Veterans of Foreign Wars Pamphlet
4 Ibid.
The Veterans of Foreign Wars is organized on three levels - the post, department, and national. The local unit is the post. It is at the post that policy originates and is channeled through state conventions to the national body. Officers are elected annually. The national offices are located in Kansas City, but a Washington office is maintained with staffs dealing with legislation, public relations, veterans’ rehabilitation, and other veterans’ interests.

Publications and Policies. Foreign Service, a monthly magazine, and a News Service "clip" sheet are issued by the organization. Through its Americanism Department it issues many pamphlets and brochures on "Education for Democracy" and seeks to stimulate its local posts in the work. In this work it is encouraged by the United States Office of Education. Booklets, such as "Making Democracy Work and Grow," "The Meaning of Democracy," "Democracy in our Town," are distributed to interested teachers and community groups. Newspapers, radio, and movies are utilized to forward the program. Active cooperation with the school, parent-teacher associations, service clubs, labor unions, chambers of commerce, and League of Women Voters is sought. School forums and essay contests dealing with patriotic themes are encouraged; community discussion groups are formed to discuss such topics as the United States and Russia, free enterprise and social welfare, etc.¹ Loyalty oaths for teachers, outlawing of the Communist Party and teachers, curbing

¹ New VFW Education Campaign with Schools, Communities to Make Democracy Work and Grow, Veterans of Foreign Wars Pamphlet.
of Communist propaganda and barring of displaced persons are urged, too.\(^1\)

In the social field, the organization presses for medical care for the veterans, rehabilitation programs, government insurance, hospitalization, vocational training, pensions, bonuses, burial expenses, civil service preference for veterans, federal housing programs. These things are sought through legislative agents in Washington and in state capitols. The Veterans are the proud originators of the idea of selling "buddies poppies." Part of the funds so obtained are utilized in the maintenance of the VFW National Home at Eaton Rapids, Michigan - a home for orphans and widows of overseas veterans.\(^2\)

Thus, we see that the older Veterans of Foreign Wars has virtually the same objectives as the American Legion. The combined strength of the two organizations, particularly on matters concerning the veterans, is enormous.

**American Veterans Committee (AVC)**

**Brief History.**\(^3\) The American Veterans Committee was formed in May of 1944 when a group of high-minded young men set out to create an organization which would avoid the selfish pressure tactics of the older veterans' organizations. There was to be no bonus grab, no self-seeking which would hurt the country. "Citizens First, Veterans Second" was to be their motto.

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\(^1\) "VFW Parley," *Boston Herald*, August 24, 1949, p. 3.
\(^2\) History of the VFW, Veteran of Foreign Wars Pamphlet.
\(^3\) Bolte, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
Beginning as a correspondence circle operating without a name and with a borrowed mimeograph machine, the totally inexperienced group formed its skeletal framework and began a gradual expansion. At one time it had expanded to include 100,000 members in 900 chapters, but recent figures show a decline to about 40,000. Because of its liberal policies, and because of some infiltration into its membership, the Committee was labeled a Communist front organization. The unfavorable publicity hurt the budding organization. A proposed merger with American Veterans of World War II failed of fulfillment so that its future life appears precarious.

**Address.** American Veterans Committee (AVC)
1200 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Chairman - Gilbert A. Harrison

**Membership and Organization.** The American Veterans Committee membership now totals about 40,000 members.¹ It now has fewer than its one time high of 900 chapters, many state councils, and national headquarters.

**Publications and Policies.** The AVC Bulletin, a monthly newspaper, is sent to all members. Its national publications and programs are still limited by lack of funds.

National policy of the Committee is set at national conventions at which the national officers, the members of the national planning committee, and the chairmen of the state councils are each entitled to one vote. Chapter delegates may

¹ *World Almanac*, p. 593.
cast proxy votes for members of their own chapters.

The American Veterans Committee was formed on the idea that all soldiers were "Citizens first, Veterans second." The members agreed that they would make no concerted raid upon the Treasury for bonuses, nor would they follow the path of super-patriotism taken by the other veterans' organizations. They would seek those things which would be good for the country as well as the veteran. Thus, they sought and are seeking a national housing act, a full employment bill, adequate social security instead of bonuses, anti-discrimination bills for the armed forces of the United States, opposition to reactionary forces, elimination of monopolies and cartels, civil rights legislation, an international government, a positive program of peace, and support for labor.¹ There is a desire expressed to enlarge the area of free speech and academic freedom. It is, in effect, the sole liberal group among the veterans' organizations. Its leadership is more than adequate, but its highly ethical appeal has failed to attract any large number of World War II veterans. Although it may never grow large, its influence should be strongly felt.²

The Committee uses its own publications, the press, radio, and paid advertising to further its influence. It has even established a scholarship for deceased veterans' sons or daughters.³

² Stavisky, op. cit., p. 252.
³ The AVC Bulletin, August - September, 1949, p. 3.
American Veterans of World War II

The American Veterans of World War II became an organization in December, 1944 at Kansas City, Missouri. Its national office is located at 724 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington 1, D.C. The national commander is Harold Russell, a Boston University alumnus. Present membership is about 130,000.

Since its inception the group has proceeded cautiously, apparently awed by the older organizations. It has taken a middle-of-the-road path, seeking jobs for all, housing for veterans, the inevitable bonus. As yet it lacks the numerical strength of the older organizations and the idealistic leadership manifest in the American Veterans Committee. However, its very caution may insure its future growth. It has not manifested the same fervent patriotic spirit of the older organizations.

Summary

Bessie Pierce, Walter Sharp, Grayson Kirk, Howard Beale, Bruce Raup, V. O. Key, Jr., Sam Stavisky, and many other writers have noted in some detail that the older veterans' organizations have interfered with free teaching and academic freedom in the schools. This they have done in a spirit of high American morality which has been difficult to counter. Essentially status quo groups, for they mainly represented the middle and upper class groups economically, they fought against all liberal or progressive measures and sought to eradicate any indications

1 Stavisky, op. cit., p. 254.
of them in the schools. Their appeal was emotional, "flag-waving," and anti-Communist. However, they did do much fine work socially at the community level, particularly with children.

Thus far the new veterans' organizations have shown little of their fathers' desire to produce "100% Americans." The vast majority of veterans have joined no organizations at all, and those who have, have shown little of the crusading patriotism of the older groups, and have sought for a greater social and economic share for all in the United States. This would appear to be a healthier democratic trend than the earlier manifestation. The philosophy of democracy with a broader base seems to have affected the newer group of veterans more than it had their parents. The social studies teacher may profit by the change, for it could mean a greater freedom to deal with current issues.
RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Overview. Of great interest to the social studies teacher at this time are the religious organizations, for the promise of federal aid to education has reopened the questions of whether school training should include some religious instruction and whether sectarian parochial schools should share in the federal funds. The arguments have become caustic at times: Bishop Oxnarn has disagreed with Archbishop Cushing; Cardinal Spellman has denounced Mrs. Roosevelt for her stand against sectarian teaching in schools; the Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State have charged the Catholic church with attempting to obtain public funds for parochial schools and attempting to substitute Roman Catholic ecclesiastical law for American law in American courts presided over by Roman Catholic judges; 1 Archbishop Cushing has retorted by calling the group a "refined form of the Ku Klux Klan."

American education developed as sectarian, but about 1870 the Catholics, Protestants, and Jews united to free the schools of religion, primarily because of the difficulty of financing sectarian schools. 2 Today the "crusade to sectarianize education" has begun. 3 The Catholics in particular and some Protestant denominations are seeking aid for parochial education, even where it might mean the "disintegration of the

public school system" as in areas like New Mexico where the population is dominantly Catholic,\(^1\) and where nuns and brothers have taught and are teaching classes in public schools. The same has been true in North Dakota.

Siegel,\(^2\) in a review of the history of law affecting the issue of religion in the schools, points out that the Everson case of 1947 in New Jersey (a five to four decision) permitted the state to reimburse parents for the expense of transporting their children to parochial schools. All members of the court agreed, however, that they could not assist in the establishment of a religion. This case was considered a borderline case.

However, the McCollum case of 1948 in Illinois ruled eight to one that released time education violated the first amendment of the Constitution. Further, the early history of legislation shows a desire on the part of the law-makers to keep the two (church and state) separated. In 1786 Jefferson had inaugurated in Virginia an "Act for Establishing Religious Freedom" decreeing that no state can compel people to support any religious opinions - their own or others. In view of the fierce struggle in Virginia the makers of the Constitution inserted the first amendment intending that the government should support none of the religions or any group of them.\(^3\) Today there are signs showing that a movement to amend the Constitution is in progress.

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3 Ibid.
to permit the use of public money for teaching religion.¹

Thomas E. Benner lists the ways in which the sectarian schools are now aided by the government: exemption from taxation; inspectorial services (boilers, fire escapes, sanitation); lunch programs; transportation; guidance; recreation; dental and medical care; text-books, etc. Some of these aids are helpful as promoting the welfare of the citizen. There are people who believe, however, that they serve principally to strengthen particular religions.²

Possible dangers in permitting religion to return to the schools have been suggested by many writers. Howard K. Beale points out that Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) "precipitated a battle of theologies" and a denigration of science. Only after the Bible, considered by many sectarians as the source of all truth, was shown by scholars to be erroneous in chronology, history, and scientific teaching was compromise with science made possible. Until that time the authoritarianism of the church opposed any reason and discussion. In some areas evolution still may not be discussed in public schools.³

Bessie Pierce says that various sects seek to alter history books to conform with their particular religious views.⁴

William H. Kilpatrick⁵ shows that religion often results in segmentation of the people, as in Quebec. Religious blocs

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⁵ Kilpatrick, op. cit., p. 101.
along sectarian lines have arisen in Holland and Belgium. Even trade unions have been created along church lines in Holland, Belgium, and France. Moreover, many of our schools practice Christian religious observations in complete disregard of other minority religions.

Further dangers which might result from the inclusion of religion in the schools have been listed: opposition by the Jewish group, since they avoid the parochial school by having week-day schools; intensification of religious animosities; substitution of religious insight for scientific reasoning; delegation of character education to the religious groups; identification of Christianity with the American way. History shows almost constant religious bickering and a struggle for dominance by those who have the "true religion" and who are the "chosen people."

The divisive possibilities of sectarianism in the schools are stressed by one set of writers; the necessity for moral training with a religious base is argued by other groups. The debate still continues.

**Knights of Columbus**

**Brief History.** The Knights of Columbus were established by Reverend Michael J. McGivney in New Haven, Connecticut, on March 29, 1882 as a lay organization for Catholics. It was

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1 V. T. Thayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 - 107.  
2 Ibid., p. 110.  
3 A. Franklin Ross, "Patriotism in an Upset World: Can It Survive?" *Social Studies*, 40, January 1949, p. 35.  
first organized with three degrees - Charity, Unity, and Fraternity. Later a fourth was added - Patriotism. Thus, it is a ritualistic fraternity. It has fought in defense of Catholic rights, has established chairs in Catholic Universities, and has given large endowments for scholarships. It has fought socialism and communism. "The greatest single expenditure" made by the Knights of Columbus was that of $6,600,000 (after World War I) to defray the expenses of one hundred fifty evening schools, a correspondence school, and four hundred three college scholarships.

Address: Knights of Columbus
45 Wall Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Supreme Knight - Judge John E. Swift

Membership and Organization. Membership is open to all Catholic men over eighteen years of age, provided their applications are approved by the subordinate council. At present there are 700,000 members in 2,800 subordinate councils in the United States, Canada, Newfoundland, Alaska, Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, Panama, and Philippine Islands. The structure consists of supreme, state, and subordinate councils, with a rigid supervisory control from the top.

Publications and Policies. Columbia, a monthly magazine with a circulation of over 700,000 is the official publication. To spread its message further the Knights uses newspaper advertising, pamphlets, and radio. It is a great contributor to

1 Action Speaks, Knights of Columbus Pamphlet.
2 Knights of Columbus, four gallies.
such programs as the Catholic Hour, Catholic Radio Program, The Family Theater, and Defender of the Faith radio programs.

It promotes parochial schools and Catholic colleges, making large contributions in the form of endowments and scholarships. It opposes public school education for Catholic children where parochial schools are available. It seeks federal aid for parochial schools. It uses its funds and resources "to spread the teachings of Catholicism and to defend the church from those who are opposed to it purely on the basis of ignorance." Its clear cut explanations "will aid the cause of the church." Thus, one of the group's primary functions is to "strengthen the Catholic church in his community, his nation, and in the world."

The radio program "Foundations of Our American Ideals" shows the "Divine origin of the rights of an individual and the contribution which the Catholic church has made in preserving those rights."

The Knights of Columbus "has never permitted the denial of the Creator," and is noted for its "love and obedience to God and his laws." The Knight, too, is "the ever-ready counsellor to the drifting brother who has lost his bearings;... he shuns the unclean and stands between the child and the evils of the impure." He fights for the church and the school and its right to teach of the belief of God."

The Knights of Columbus "has made great contributions to Catholic charity and to the social welfare of its own members."

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1 Ibid.
In the public schools it has combatted the tendency of texts to be less anti-British and has attacked the treatment of the Catholic church in the Middle Ages.\(^1\) It seeks to glorify the role of the Catholic in America, has objected to the teaching of evolution in the public schools, as well as the treatment of the Reformation.\(^2\)

In effect, the Knights of Columbus is the lay arm of the Catholic church, possessing the latter's virtues and weaknesses. Its policies have been to maintain the strength of the church and enhance its role in every sphere, even to the point of eliminating secular teaching in some areas. Here is seen the identification of morality and democracy with religion, and, necessarily, the Catholic theology.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference

Brief History.\(^3\) The Reverend John J. Burke, noting the necessity for a central and authoritative Catholic organization in the United States, requested Cardinal O'Connell for permission to create this organization. A meeting was held in Washington, at the Catholic University, in August of 1917. From this meeting the National Catholic War Council arose. After the war the question of what to do with the great organization which had grown up during the one-year period was resolved by a meeting of seventy-seven bishops who formed the National Catholic Welfare Council. "Council" was changed to "Conference" in 1923.

\(^1\) Pierce, Teaching of History, p. 225.
\(^3\) National Catholic Welfare Council, Pamphlet, pp. 1 - 8.
Its purpose was to unite and coordinate the Catholic groups in America under a centralized head, a body of bishops. This created a strong control from the top, making unified action a simpler matter.

Address: National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

General Secretary - Rt. Rev. Msgr. Howard J. Carroll

Membership and Organization. The Conference is directed by an administrative Board of ten archbishops and bishops broken down into seven departments. The departments of the lay organizations are coordinated through the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women with the other departments controlled by the bishops. The general plan of the lay organizations is a federation of units ranging from the parish, diocese, state to the national. The Conference is financed by dues from the affiliating organizations of which there are some 7,500, with the individual membership totaling in the millions. The National Council of Catholic Women alone totals 5,000,000. Thus, this centralized organization has a tremendous power.

Publications and Policies. Besides a monthly magazine, Catholic Action, the Conference puts out many pamphlets, uses the radio in such programs as the Catholic Hour, Family Theater,

1 The National Council of Catholic Men, National Catholic Welfare Conference Pamphlet, Washington, D.C.
Catholic Radio Program, and Defender of the Faith Program.
Assistance is given to all Catholic press through Catholic
journals, news, features, pictures, and special syndicated
services. The following are some of the services: News Service;
Catholic Feature Service; Catholic News Picture Service;
Telegraphic Service; Washington Letter; Special Texts (Vatican
documents); Special Supplements; Special Syndications; Noticias
(for Latin America).

In the educational field the Catholic system has prospered
until today it provides for more than 2,000,000 students in over
10,500 schools, and employs over 100,000 teachers.\(^1\) The
National Federation of Catholic College Students unites the
students studying in Catholic Colleges; the Newman Club Federa-
tion "advances the work of the church" among the students in
non-Catholic colleges. The Youth Department was created to
provide a greater coordination and unification among the younger
groups.\(^2\)

The Social Action Department has promoted family life con-
ferences, better industrial relations, and international peace.
It has recommended to Congress: the passage of the Wages-Hours
Amendments and the Full Employment Bill; fact finding boards
early in industrial disputes; opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act.
The Social Action Department, too, has set up seminars on racial
relations.\(^3\) Thus we see that the National Catholic Welfare

\(^{1}\) Ibid., p. 17.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 44.
\(^{3}\) Ibid., pp. 27-29.
Conference performs much good through its powerful organization.

The Conference does, however, govern the life of the Catholic individual from birth to death (although a voluntary organization) utilizing all of the above procedures and others besides, for it represents a stronger, larger organization. It even has a National Organization for Decent Literature which reviews over one hundred publications each month and determines whether they are fit for the Catholic mind.\(^1\) Largely through Catholic action, stressing "laws of God," birth control was defeated in Massachusetts. Moreover, this group seeks to extend the "word of God" into the school, either by gaining federal aid for parochial schools, by obtaining released time programs in schools, or by having courses taught in the public school itself by priests or nuns. Much of this program may be opposed by some of the Protestant groups as well as the Jewish and agnostic groups. Paul Blanshard has, in fact, claimed that the Catholic view has been extended too far in professional areas.\(^3\)

**Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America**

_Brief History._\(^4\) On December 2, 1908 a body of American churches formed the first permanent association of Protestant churches in America. Since 1908 this "ecumenical" movement (embracing all Christians) has broadened to include other than

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1 National Catholic Welfare Conference, Pamphlet, p. 59.
2 Lloyd and Mary Morain, "Do You Know?" Humanist, 8, January, 1949, p. 187.
Protestant groups, such as the Eastern Orthodox, which has maintained much of the Catholic procedure, and the Quakers. In 1938 one hundred thirty member churches met at Utrecht to draft a constitution for the World Council of Churches including virtually every Christian denomination except the Catholic. In 1948 the first assembly at Amsterdam was held and World Council launched. In this world movement the Federal Council was one of the leaders. There is a continuing campaign to further Christian unity.

**Address:** Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
297 Fourth Avenue

**President:** Bishop John S. Stamm.

**Membership and Organization.** The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America consists of twenty-seven national denominations with a membership of more than 29,000,000. There is also a network of seven hundred local and state councils, each seeking to further the cooperative spirit in the community. As in the case of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the top policy-making group consists entirely of clerics. Their decisions trickle down from the top.

**Publications and Policies.** Besides an Annual Report, a Biennial Report, and a Yearbook of American Churches, the Council publishes hundreds of pamphlets and informational tracts. In 1948 the Council maintained seventeen network

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2 *Massachusetts Council of Churches*, Pamphlet, Boston.
broadcasts each week over the National, American, and Mutual Broadcasting systems. In addition to this, separate local broadcasts were made, as well as television shows. The Protestant Film Commission aids in coordinating the church and agencies with the film industry. The Council also maintains a legislative program on national, state, and local levels.

Some of the objectives for which the Council strives are: world peace through the United Nations; betterment of race relations; non-segregation in social and public life; a standard of living adequate for the security of individual and family; decent working conditions and compensation; right to organize into unions, corporate, and cooperative enterprises; mitigation of juvenile delinquency through an active church program; improvement of national marriage relations; elimination of gambling and drinking; freedom of worship and freedom of choice in deciding one's religion.

All of these things and many more are pressed through an active evangelistic campaign. Although the Protestant churches have long been established, the ecumenical movement is comparatively young. Thus there is a manifestation of youthful energy and proselytizing. Asia appears to be a most fertile field for their missionaries. The fact that Christ prayed four times "That they all be one" appears to the members of the Council to express a mandate for Christian unity. Thus far the Council

1 Biennial Report 1946, supra., pp. 81, 82.
2 Ibid., p. 186.
3 Ibid., p. 3.
appears to be in a solid position for contention with the international organization of the Catholics, although such is not its avowed intent. However, the Council itself has noted that prior to the ecumenical movement there was a strong competition among Protestant members.

The Council, too, appears to identify morality with religion, religion with Christianity. Thus, they press for a Christian way of life. The organization, like the National Catholic Welfare Conference, is oligarchical rather than democratic in structure. Since it is a federation of many denominations, its views on federal aid to education run from an absolute refusal of federal funds to an insistence on federal aid for the parochial schools.

**American Friends Service Committee**

**Brief History.** The Quaker movement began in the 17th century in England. It was a cruel period in which George Fox first saw the "divine light," for the embryonic Quaker religion was soon engulfed in bloody persecutions by and against the Catholic and Protestant religions already established in England.¹ The early Quakers did not think of themselves as a sect, but as a fellowship (friends) seeking to revive apostolic Christianity. So long as the world was hostile the movement remained active, but success brought organization and congeal-

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ment for a while.\textsuperscript{1} Quietism, a waiting for the divine light, came into vogue about 1870.\textsuperscript{2} In recent years a most active social and educational program has been in effect. In fact, the Quakers have made many contributions to education: William Penn was the drafter of the plan for "William Penn Charter School;" Joseph Lancaster inaugurated the Lancastrian method, which used the older pupils as "monitors" over the younger pupils, thereby permitting many pupils to be taught at the same time.\textsuperscript{3}

From the beginning the Quakers opposed war and military service; they had a passion for relieving human suffering. They had a deep interest, too, in education.

The American Friends Service Committee had its inception on April 6, 1917. The group had united to offer themselves during the war to the government in "any constructive work in which we can conscientiously serve humanity."\textsuperscript{4} The United States has not always been kind to these conscientious objectors.

\textbf{Address.} American Friends Service Committee

20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

\textbf{Membership and Organization.} The American Friends Service Committee, incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania, "represents most of the twenty-nine American Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends. It is organized in two sections, the Foreign Service Section and the American Section,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} William C. Braithwaite, \textit{The Second Period of Quakerism}, London, MacMillan and Company, 1912, p. xxii.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Rufus M. Jones, \textit{The Later Periods of Quakerism}, London, MacMillan and Company, 1921, p. 668.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ibid., pp. 668, 676.
\item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{Under the Red and Black Star}, American Friends Service Committee Pamphlet, p. 3.
\end{itemize}
with departments of finance, personnel, public relations, and educational services. Each of these divisions is under the supervision of an advisory committee, and functions through the Service Committee's Executive Board and Administrative Staff."¹ Staff statistics of the Committee show a total of five hundred fifty members. The total membership in the United States of the Friends is only 158,000, yet its work has been notable.²

Publications and Policies. The American Friends Service Committee issues an Annual Report as well as the history of the organization, Under the Red and Black Star. The Committee on National Legislation issues a Washington Letter periodically, dealing with the national legislation. It also puts out an annual Statement on Legislative Policy. In legislative matters the Friends Committee does not intend "to press its concerns by political pressure methods," but "to win the assent of reasonable minds."³

The public relations department uses all media to convey its message to the public - newspapers, magazines, radio, advertisements, visual aid materials, speakers. Indirect publication through personal contacts with editors, commentators, and others is utilized. Conferences, staff and committee meetings, interviews, clipping services, and other devices are also employed advantageously.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 23.
⁴ Public Relations Department, American Friends Service Committee Pamphlet, January 18, 1949.
The Friends Committee presses for legislation of the following nature: federal world government through a strengthened United Nations; disarmament and control of atomic energy; federal aid to education with local and state control; more low-cost federal housing; full employment; racial justice and civil rights; reduction of trade barriers; greater immigration of displaced persons; elimination of peacetime conscription.¹

An interesting phase of the Committee's work is the work camp idea. More than one hundred eighty campers and forty-one staff members participated in thirteen work camps in the United States in 1948. This idea is utilized in other countries also. Choosing a depressed area the campers frequently build houses, schools, shops, supervise playgrounds, conduct anti-rat campaigns, etc. Physical participation in programs is stressed, e.g., intern-in-industry, intern-in-cooperatives, international service seminars,² peace caravans, school affiliation service in which children of different countries are urged to correspond. The Committee does much work in relief and rehabilitation wherever it is needed. It believes in acting, not merely discussing.³

Thus, the Friends Committee is a liberal Christian group of people who devote a good part of their time to direct action for the solution of a problem, as well as to the methods of discussion and research. For the fiscal year of 1948 the Committee

¹ Statement on Legislative Policy for 1949, Pamphlet, supra.
³ Annual Report 1948, American Friends Service Committee Pamphlet, passim.
spent over $6,000,000 in its work, almost all of the money coming in the form of gifts.  

The work of the Friends Committee touches the social studies program through its contact with youth in all countries in pursuance of its objectives.

**B'nai B'rith**

**Brief History.** B'nai B'rith is the oldest and largest Jewish service organization in the United States and in the entire world. It was founded in 1843 "to bring some measure of unity and dignity to Jewish life." In that year there were only about 20,000 Jews in the United States, most of them in New York. The early Jews were the "aristocratic" Sephardic Jews who were distressed by the immigration of the Ashkenazic Jews in the early nineteenth century. The frequent clashes between these two groups, as well as clashes between Jews over nationalistic differences, led a group of humble men to form the B'nai B'rith at Sinsheimer's Cafe on New York's lower East Side with a view toward ameliorating the hatred and disunity among their own people.

At first the little group was chiefly a philanthropic and fraternic group, but with the growth of industrialism changes were made. Fraternal benefits and insurance were abolished in 1900 and altruistic reasons for joining the organization were substituted therefor. In 1913 Mr. Sigmund Livingston, a young

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1 Ibid., p. 22.
2 This Is B'nai B'rith, Washington, D.C., Supreme Lodge of B'nai B'rith, 1949, p. 5.
lawyer in Bloomington, Illinois, pressed for and aided in the founding of the Anti-Defamation League to counter the growing anti-Semitism in the United States. Later organizations formed within the framework of B'nai B'rith were the Hillel Foundation in 1923, the Youth Organization in 1923, and the Vocational Service Bureau in 1938.\textsuperscript{1}

Thus we see that this organization which began as an instrument for furthering Jewish unity developed into a service organization sponsoring the best interests of Jews throughout the world. However, it did not stop there, for it has become a champion of all minority groups, a power fighting discrimination in all areas. Its philanthropic services, too, are notable.

**Address.** B'nai B'rith
1003 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

President - Frank Goldman (Boston University Law School graduate.)
Secretary - Maurice Bisgyer

**Membership and Organization.** Membership in B'nai B'rith is open to all Jews. Men must be over twenty-one and women, eighteen. State and local lodges send representatives to the district grand lodges, which in turn elect the officials for the Supreme Lodge in Washington. The Supreme Lodge meets every three years to set general policy. Between conventions the organization is governed by the Executive Committee, deriving its members from the District Grand Lodges. Local lodges have local autonomy within the national framework. Thus, it is a

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., pp. 5 - 21.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 153.
democratic organization, except that the framers of policy are not directly elected by the individual members. At present the membership stands at 334,000.1

Publications and Policies. The National Jewish Monthly, with a circulation estimated at 500,000, and the B'nai B'rith News, a monthly chronicle of B'nai B'rith events sent to key leaders, are the two official publications of the organization.2

To give some idea of the tremendous scope of the work of the organization: the Hillel Foundations deal principally with the survival of Jewish life in the universities; the Youth Organization deals with youngsters of pre-college age; the Anti-Defamation League is well-known for its defense of minority rights.

Here is part of the program of the Anti-Defamation League alone:3

The Civil Rights Division fights for democracy through legal action.

The Radio Department provides script material for many popular radio programs.

It sponsors singing commercials.

Eight hundred fifty radio stations broadcast Lest We Forget program produced by the Institute for Democratic Education with the cooperation of Anti-Defamation League.

Half a million posters have been displayed in schools, churches, and union halls.

1 The World Almanac, p. 577.
2 This Is B'nai B'rith, p. 155.
3 Impact For Democracy, New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Pamphlet, p. 10.
Three thousand four hundred advertisements in seven hundred newspapers and national magazines have been put out.

Movies such as "Crossfire," "Gentleman's Agreement," have been promoted.

"One People," a technicolor cartoon about the contributions of many peoples has been produced, as well as the film strip, "None So Blind."

Three hundred speakers carry the message to 7,000 audiences.

It sponsors fair employment practices and civil rights legislation for all peoples.

It works with parent-teacher groups and sends materials to many schools.

Thus, B'Nai B'rith seeks to alter school curricula by the insertion of material on intergroup relations, a greater emphasis on the contribution of minority groups. It provides schools with films, publications, and speakers on Americanism. It seeks to increase the educational opportunities of all groups by support of federal aid and state aid programs. It promotes extra-curricular clubs in the elementary and secondary school levels. It seeks to eliminate college quotas and segregation.

In the social sphere it supports federal housing without segregation, increase in social security, fair employment practices legislation, greater immigration quota for displaced persons.

National Conference of Christians and Jews

History and Activities. The conference was founded in 1928 to advance justice, amity, and cooperation among the Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. It is not an amalgamation of
the churches but a group of individuals, now totaling 600,000.\(^1\)

The group seeks to analyze and moderate inter-group prejudice. It has held over three hundred round tables in the important population centers, and local committees in over 2,000 communities.\(^2\) Professionally staffed regional offices sent by radio during the last war a program for the armed forces reaching about 5,000,000 men and officers. They utilized all instrumentalities to make Brotherhood Week a reality; they have regular speaking programs with both lay and clerical speakers; they distribute much of their literature on the brotherhood of man and the Christian-Jewish heritage; they provide for a syndication of religious news service materials; they conduct seminars on human relations; their Commission on Educational Organization works with youth organizations inside and outside of schools; they utilize press, radio, advertising, and movies to propound the message of brotherhood and justice.\(^3\)

This organization, thus, presents an advance in the religious field in that the leading religious groups in the United States have decided to cooperate and to promote amity in certain spheres. However, no religion is bound by any of the agreements of this group. Its program is one of moral persuasion, educational, seeking to build up healthy attitudes toward religious groups in youngsters and in adults, utilizing the

\(^1\) How To Be An Active Citizen In A Democracy, The Town Hall Civic Affairs Committee, Town Hall, Inc., New York, 1941, p. 61.
\(^2\) Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, National, State, and Local, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, 1945.
\(^3\) Ibid.
schools wherever possible.

Address. National Conference of Christians and Jews
381 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Secretary - Willard Johnson

Summary

In 1948 there were two hundred forty-two religious bodies with over 200,000 churches and an inclusive membership of over 81,000,000. The Roman Catholic group consists of over 26,000,000 members, and the largest united body of Protestants, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, consists of 29,000,000. The Jewish church members number 5,000,000. Thus, none of these groups represents a majority in the United States. Indeed, from the above figures it appears that there are almost as many non-members as there are members in the combined sects of the United. Certain it is that the Christian church groups do not constitute a majority. The statement that this is a "Christian" country or a "Protestant" country, then, is not statistically true. Yet, despite this, there is unremitting pressure for the teaching of our "Christian heritage."

There is evidence that all of the sects are seeking strength in unity, greater central control. The Catholics, internationally centralized earlier, have formed a strongly knit Catholic Welfare Conference to channel the activities of the

laity. The Protestants have the Ecumenical Movement. Neither of these organizations is truly democratic, for policy is made at the top and conveyed to the bottom. Strong animosities still exist between the two groups, as we have seen, and attitudes have been firmly entrenched. It is not wise, moreover, to admit being an agnostic or atheist. Such an admission indicates "godlessness," and godlessness is synonymous with evil to some religionists.

The promise of federal aid for public schools is prompting the parochial school quarrel. This will necessitate a clearer decision on the meaning of the "separation of church and state." Even if no parochial school aid is available, certain denominations (Catholics and Protestants) are attempting to gain school time, or "released time" for teaching sectarian doctrines in schools. The Jews oppose this.

The religious advisors in these organizations speak of spiritual matters, but the implementation is often one of practical power. There is some danger that these emotional quarrels of the sectarians will reach into the public schools. Also, there is some doubt that academic freedom will be enlarged by concessions to the religious (sectarian) groups.
CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS

Prejudice because of race, color, creed still persists in the United States. An example of the organizations fighting to mitigate overt prejudices is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Opposing it is the Ku Klux Klan which struggles hard to maintain "racial supremacy." Strong bias exists against the Catholic, Jews, Indians, the yellow races, and the dark-skinned Latins, but only the anti-Negro prejudice will be considered in this brief introduction to a vast problem.

Prejudice may take many forms. Economically the Negro is limited by union control, by the unwarranted belief that he is incapable of skilled work, and by unwillingness on the part of employers to mingle whites and Negroes.\(^1\) There is, too, a tradition of Negro jobs, such as waiters, cooks, bell-hops, etc., limiting the Negro in salary range.\(^2\) In some of these fields the white man gradually takes over, as he has in barbering, further narrowing the Negro's opportunities. The general rule has been that the white man may enter the field of Negro jobs, but strong resistance is raised to entrance of the Negro into the white man's area.

However, the Negroes made heartening gains in World War II, for not only did they prove their capability in the war industries, but many more of them entered into the relatively

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2 Donald Young, American Minority Peoples, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1932, p. 129.
secure jobs in civil service.\(^1\)

Segregation is another form of prejudice shamelessly employed against the Negro even in Washington, D. C. hotels, movies, restaurants, and transportation. The homes of the Negroes are located in areas where industry and business are moving in, where the buildings are in disrepair, frequently considered unfit for habitation for the white man other than the alien. Segregation even extends to children's playgrounds.\(^2\)

Seeking relief from the obvious discrimination in the south the Negro shifted northward to Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, and New York where they became the largest segment of the "slum shocked." Poverty, shocking housing and overcrowding, and ignorance have led to crime and illness.\(^3\) The picture is depressing.

Teachers frequently aid in this attitude of discrimination by showing an obvious favoritism toward the light-skinned children of their own social strata. Frequently some casual remark will betray prejudice, too.\(^4\)

LaFarge has defined prejudice as a "pre-judgment based upon emotions and misconceptions," giving a number of causes, among them that of economic motivations and the maintenance of social status by the condemnation of others. He also suggests that a direct and indirect attack upon the causes should be

made, principally through education. However, more recent efforts seem to indicate that the Negro seeks mainly to eradicate the more obvious discriminations by enforceable legislation, such as the civil rights legislation proposed by both of our political parties - and studiously avoided by both in Congress. Exhortation and education to love the Negro have not worked too well. Perhaps the law, effectively administered, will reduce the more flagrant examples of discrimination.

In some degree the problems of the Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Jews, Catholics, and other minority groups are similar to that of the Negro. An unreasoning emotionalism prevents men from being friends.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Brief History. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was born in a small New York apartment in 1909 when Mary White Ovington called together Mr. Walling, a southerner, and Dr. Henry Moskowitz, all interested and working in race relations. They arranged for a great conference to be held that year. From this first enthusiastic conference the Association grew to the tremendous organization that we know today.  

Address. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York

2 Mary W. Ovington, How the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Began, New York, Pamphlet, 1949.
Executive Secretary - Walter White

Membership and Organization. The Association is devoted to the promotion of economic, political, civic and social betterment for Negroes. Incorporated under the laws of New York State it has 500,000 members in 1,105 branches, three hundred thirty-six youth councils, and seventy-four college chapters. Policy is established in the annual convention by representatives from the branches. Thus, it provides for policy to come from the bottom, a democratic base.

Publications and Policies. The Crisis is the official monthly publication of the Association. Other releases are the Bulletin, Press Releases, and the Annual Report. Besides these the Association issues many pamphlets and bibliographies on Negro literature.

Much of the work of the organization is done by the Department of Legal Defense, Department of Public Relations, the Crisis magazine, and the Washington Bureau.

The Department of Legal Defense, headed by a special counsel and five assistants, provides legal aid for Negroes in such cases where there is evidence of prejudice. The Legal Defense and Education Fund is utilized, too, to fight any discrimination against the Negro in education. Most of this work is carried on through the courts.

The Washington Bureau seeks to have civil rights legislation passed, such as fair employment practices legislation,

1 Organization and Structure of the NAACP, Pamphlet, 1949.
non-segregation in housing, schooling, transportation, restaurants, movies, etc.

It fights for better schools in the South, equal salaries for Negro teachers, non-discrimination at any level. It provides literature by and about Negroes for elementary, secondary, and college grades. It promotes such movies as "Pinky," and "Home of the Brave." It utilizes press, radio, great names and personalities.

The Association is another example of an organization seeking to enlarge the democratic base, to release the cords which keep the Negro bound economically and socially, and to provide the United States with another source of energy and democratic leadership. The Association also serves as a catharsis for those Negroes who will not be suppressed and who will not be beaten.

The social studies teacher will be interested not only in the changes which are brought about in the social structure by this active organization but by the alterations in books and curricula being suggested by the group. It not only strives to bring about equal treatment for the Negro, but it also tries to eradicate reminders of Negro past. It, of course, seeks elaboration of intergroup relations, courses, and units.

National Urban League

The National Urban League does work similar in character to that performed by the National Association for the Advance-

1 Beale, Are Teachers Free? p. 530.
ment of Colored People. It stresses the economic side, striving
to enlarge the working area for the Negro, improving his pro-
motional opportunities, procuring more money for Negro schools
in the South, providing scholarships for the Negro, etc. It
works, too, to prevent race riots.

The Urban League today is an organization "with self-
governing, locally financed leagues in fifty-seven cities, a
professional staff of two hundred thirty persons, and an annual
expenditure of more than $1,250,000." Through its monthly
magazine, Opportunity, many Negro writers have been "discovered,"
e. g., Countee Cullen, Arna Bontemps, and Jean Toomer.

The League was begun by William H. Baldwin, president of
the Long Island Railroad, in 1906. His widow united various
Negro groups into one League four years later. Today some
3,500 Negro and white citizens direct the work of the League
boards.

Thus, this organization seeks to enhance economic and
social democracy for the Negro. Its methods are a bit less
militant than those of the National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People, stressing, rather, cooperation
between all groups, and self-help wherever possible. The
Association does more legislative and legal work, more fighting
for "rights."

Briefly, here are some of the accomplishments of the

1 Emory O. Lewis, "The Urban League," Cue Magazine, June 4, 1949,
(reproduced by National Urban League)
League in 1948: 13,014 Negro workers placed in jobs; three hundred seventy-six employers hired Negroes for the first time; 2,312 written requests for information about the Urban League answered by the National office along; 102,800 pieces of informational material distributed to individuals and public and private organizations.¹

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Brief History. The great immigration wave in the 1850's gave rise to the Supreme Order of Star Spangled Banner, later called the "Know Nothings" because that was their answer to questions about their organization. This order was a secret, "100% American" group of Protestants who opposed immigration, naturalization, Catholics, foreigners.² V. O. Key maintains this group to be father of the nativistic groups that followed.³

During the reconstruction period following the Civil War the Ku Klux Klan was born in Pulaski, Tennessee. It used terrorism, floggings, killings to oppose the "carpetbaggers" and the "scalawags."⁴ However, in 1871 President Grant issued a proclamation (the Force Bill) calling upon the members of secret, illegal associations to disperse in South Carolina. Habeas corpus was suspended, two hundred men arrested for Ku Klux Klan activity, and the Ku Klux Klan itself virtually came to an end.⁵

² Donald Young, op. cit., p. 155.
³ V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., p. 159.
The "ideals" of these earlier groups were maintained by the American Protective Association of 1880 and 1890. In 1915 William Simmons revived the Klan in Atlanta, Georgia, but it was not until he joined with two professional publicity agents that the organization became a real force. Membership in 1924 may have risen to 6,000,000.¹

Throughout its brief reign of power the Klan urged "100% Americanism" in politics as well as in schools. It persecuted the Jews, Catholics, Negroes, "radicals," and persons with foreign names. In some areas of the West and South, it succeeded in gaining control of the school system and forced teachers to join the Ku Klux Klan. In 1936 it still had some areas of control,² and its ideas still persist in the South today (1950).

Address. Imperial Wizard of Ku Klux Klan
Atlanta, Georgia
Imperial Wizard - Samuel W. Roper

Membership and Organization. Today the membership is small in comparison to its peak membership. It is probably five per cent of what it was in 1924,³ so estimatedly it has fewer than 300,000 members. The organization itself is a "patriotic, secret, social, benevolent order." It is highly ritualistic, and death is the threat hanging over anyone

¹ Ibid.
² Beale, Teachers Free? p. 531.
revealing the secrets of the order. Members are baptized by the Klan. Until the ritual has been performed a candidate is an alien who has to be "naturalized." The excluded Jews, Catholics, and foreign born may never become true citizens according to this procedure.¹

**Publications and Policies.** The *Kourier Magazine* is the official monthly organ of the Ku Klux Klan. Through this magazine and through its hooded gatherings the Klan spreads its hate and terror. Here are some of its proud attitudes and accomplishments: opposition to establishment of the Catholic parochial schools, claiming that the church comes before country in Catholicism; opposition to Jewish teachers, claiming that the Jews are teaching socialism; opposition to internationalism; fostering a militant nationalism; censorship of books for the mistreatment of Luther or for any pro-British attitude.² Some of the legislation which it has endeavored to pass is shown here: a bill leveled against the Knights of Columbus, stating that it be a felony for anybody to belong to an organization whose seat of government is not in the United States; penalty for criticism of civil marriage; prohibition of "white and black" marriage.³

Today the Ku Klux Klan still maintains strength in some areas. Ottley points out that eleven men in police uniform were

² Pierce, *Citizens Organizations*, pp. 113 - 119.
³ V. O. Key, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 160.
paying their Klan dues when he went to visit the late Grand Dragon, Green.¹ Moreover, the new Imperial Wizard, Samuel W. Roper, was the head of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, a branch of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.² Night riding of hooded men who flog others, burn their homes, kidnap them when they show opposition to the Klan still goes on.³⁴ Not policemen alone, but judges, too, belong to this organization. The opposition in Congress to Civil Rights would indicate that much of the Klan reasoning and "patriotism" has influenced our legislators.

**Summary**

The social studies teacher can well understand what "superpatriotism" would mean to academic freedom, free speech, and democracy. Curricula and texts would be altered to serve demagogic purposes much as they have been in Germany and in Russia. Such restrictive practice, "keeping people in their place," merely results in a stifling of true progress and in unnecessary animosities. In any case, much energy is being wasted on suppression, whereas even a merely "tolerant" attitude might permit a greater degree of progress by all parties concerned.

Progress in civil rights is slow, for man clings hard to the idea of his superiority over others. Two reasons which keep

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recurring in writings of students of the problem are economic motivation and maintenance of status. However, despite the great amount of ink utilized in explanation, despite the great attention devoted to it in press, radio, and schools, the idea of social equality among peoples remains an idea. In the area of economics some progress is being made, but the improvements may not be permanent. A depression could see much of the fine work smashed. The idea of full and permanent employment has been projected by many sociologists as a primary step in the establishment of equal rights for our "second class citizens." A regular source of income would solve many of their problems.

In the three groups discussed above we have seen that all utilize the schools for expressing their views. Teachers will be provided with materials on request (with the possible exception of the Ku Klux Klan). Teachers will be requested to teach the varied definitions of "Americanism." A guiding philosophy might help the teacher to decide which represents democracy and which represents the oligarchical view, if it is not already apparent.
CHAPTER VIII
INTernational Organizations

Overview. "The idea of world government is an old one. Thomas Aquinas, Dante, Henry of Navarre, Emmanuel Kant, William Penn -- great minds throughout the ages have advanced the idea. Today with the threat posed by the atomic bombs of Russia and the United States and with the promise of bigger and better H-bombs coming, the clamor to save humanity becomes a fearful din. Some people place their faith in the United Nations; others are struggling to create a world federal government. These two positions are held - substantially - by the American Association for the United Nations and the United World Federalists.

American Association for the United Nations

Address. American Association for the United Nations
45 E. 65th Street
New York 21, New York

National Director - Clark M. Eichelberger
Public Information - Eleanor Mitchel

Membership and Organization. Present membership stands at 27,500, reaching into the high schools through the United Nations Youth, colleges through the Collegiate Council for the United Nations, and to adults through the People's Section. The organization works on the local, national, and international levels. Its structure is built upon that of the now defunct League of Nations Association (1923).

1 World Government Highlights, United World Federalists, Inc.,
New York, January 1949, p. 5.
Publications and Policies. The publication Changing World is sent monthly to members. People's Section, a pamphlet, is sent regularly to those members who have chosen limited membership. Besides these, the Association maintains a film index, which evaluates all the films available on the United Nations. It also shows certain of the films in schools. The Association has many radio programs, such as "It's Your Move Next," and "Our Town and the United Nations." It promotes these ideas and activities: invitation of foreign students to American homes; prizes for school contests about the United Nations, posters and art, etc.; trips to the United Nations at Lake Success for whole classes; meetings with many schools in which international dances, singing, and film showings are held; maintenance of United Nations booths and exhibits; "adoption" of needy schools in war torn countries; international relations clubs and high school forums; United Nations Week (co-sponsor is the National Education Association); minimization of the nationalistic emphasis in history and the social studies; protection and enlargement of such courses as world history, world geography, internation relations; expansion of the area of academic freedom for the teacher.

1 "What the UNA is Doing and Why! United Nations Association Pamphlet, Boston.
United World Federalists

Address. United World Federalists
7 E. 12th Street
New York 3, New York

President - Cord Meyer, Jr.

Membership and Organization. The United World Federalists has "more than 40,000 dues-paying members in over six hundred fifty chapters in forty-one states. State branches exist in twenty-four states."¹

The United World Federalists was formed in 1947 by a merger of the World Federalists (1941), Student Federalists (1942), Americans United for World Government (1946), Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, and World Citizens of Georgia.

Publications and Policies. World Government News, and a monthly newsletter is sent to all members, The Student Federalist to all student members. The United World Federalists utilizes the press, radio, films, schools, forums, seminars, speakers, legislative agents, and other workers to press for world government. It is a larger and more militant group than is the American Association for the United Nations.

The World Movement for World Federal Government, located in Paris, France, is the principal coordinating agency for world government movements throughout the world. The United World Federalists is a member of this larger organization.

The Federalists employ petitions, resolutions, and

¹ World Government Highlights, p. 4.
referenda at local and state levels in order to keep the idea of world federation before the legislators. At present it is seeking an amendment to the federal Constitution which would permit in the United States a greater sovereignty than that of the United States Congress - in a limited area.

**Summary**

The American Association for the United Nations is not truly a world government organization, for it fears that any revision of the United Nations' charter would drive the Russians out. Therefore, the Association suggests that the time is not now propitious for world government. However, there must be a gradual working toward world government under its existing structure, altering it through "reinterpretation" of the charter, rather than through "revision."\(^1\)

The United World Federalists urges a limited federation strong enough to enforce international law and order, yet leaving all internal state problems to the state itself. It presses for revision of the United Nations' charter now, the erasure of veto rights in the "big five," and the right of the world court to punish individuals. Its suggestions are more positive than those of the American Association for the United Nations, and more daring. It recognizes that the Russians may withdraw from the United Nations, claiming that the United States had created a power bloc against it, if any attempt to expand the power of the United Nations is made. However, the United World

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, p. 17
Federalists is willing to risk that possibility. Even if the Russians should withdraw, the Federalists believes they would return, if the world government proved itself capable and unbiased.

Both peace organizations have shown a realistic awareness of the problem, for they have not stressed passive resistance nor the suppression of armaments as some organizations have in the past. Love and international morality may be their long-term goals, but in the meantime they look to a policeman to maintain order, if not morality.

These organizations are dealing with one of the great issues of our times. The views presented by them will be discussed in schools, books, meetings of all sorts. They will affect the teaching of the social studies teacher in the classroom and in extra-curricular activities. Hence, their policies should be of interest to the social studies teacher.
CHAPTER IX
PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

Overview. Professional associations virtually control the laws affecting their members, for they frequently persuade legislatures to create examining and licensing boards in their particular fields. The professions then frequently determine the standards for the licenses, and often gain the appointments of their own members to the boards. Some professions, like the medical and legal, are so powerful that they create the examinations, rate them, and reject unsuccessful applicants. State banking departments are frequently manned by the state bankers. By these methods the professions can maintain control of the numbers entering their fields. V. O. Key, Jr. states that many of the professional associations have a tendency toward a "guild autonomy."

Moreover, professional organizations do not hesitate to enter the political arena in order to resist legislation which might curb some of their privileges. They use direct suasion, political threats, stimulation of editorial criticism, and the manufacture of propaganda whenever their position is threatened. A study of the American Medical Association will serve as an illustration.

American Medical Association

Address. American Medical Association
535 N. Dearborn Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., p. 145, 146.
Membership and Organization. The American Medical Association, founded in 1847, today has a membership of 137,299, including virtually all of the doctors of the United States in county, state, and national federations. The members send delegates to the state societies, which in turn send representation to the "legislative policy-making" body of the House of Delegates. Thus, these representatives, twice removed from the ordinary member, set the policy for the Association. There are no dues in the Association, but a subscription to the Journal makes one a Fellow entitled to hold office.

Since the American Medical Association is powerful enough to certify hospitals and medical schools, most embryo doctors become members.

Publication and Policies. In addition to the Journal, the organization publishes monthly the Hygeia, a health magazine. Hundreds of pamphlets are sold and distributed on health subjects, health education, even including such topics as religion, sex, choosing a medical school, and a list of approved colleges of arts and sciences.

Once a conservative organization, the American Medical Association effected a "streamlining" in organization which took the doctor out of politics and the Association in. In the next few years it secured the privilege of licensing medical schools and hospitals and the "adoption of the first Food and Drug Act."

Thereafter it took up, through its councils, the testing of pharmaceuticals, foods, cosmetics, and appliances. Its Seal of Approval is sought by many companies, and the drug companies in particular seek an affiliation with it.

Now this powerful group is fighting government insurance for hospitalization, terming it "socialized medicine." A twenty-five dollar assessment was called for in 1949; a similar amount is being called for in 1950 in order to set up an "education" fund to be utilized in the fight against the government plan. In the past, the Association has not hesitated to black-list doctors engaging in "socialized" practice, according to Mayer.

Claiming that government insurance would destroy the doctor's and patient's choice, the Association spreads this view through the personal doctor-patient relationship. It further asserts that if the Americans can buy autos and television sets, they can pay the doctor. It suggests that a "means test" be given to determine whether a person is truly indigent.1

It is to be expected that the doctors will suggest private insurance plans, which they previously opposed, as a substitute for the government bill. Since the leaders of the American Medical Association are the prosperous specialists, it is understandable that they oppose a program which might limit their income, instead of permitting "whatever the traffic will bear" charges. The Association may not, however, be speaking

1 Ibid., pp. 27 - 34.
for the young or the less prosperous general practitioner.

The battle will be fought in the press, radio, and movies. It will be pressed in legislatures, in medical and liberal arts schools. Certainly the teacher in social studies should be able to discuss this vital issue with the class and know something of the various plans and compromises projected. The teacher should be able, too, to recognize propaganda of all sides, and to discern trends.

**Other Groups**

Fearing a "socialistic" uprising, the American Bar Association tried to bring about enactment of legislation requiring the teaching of the United States Constitution. It frequently presses for legislative changes bearing upon the curriculum and particularly upon such topics as civics, state and federal constitutions. Although the educator knows that legislated curricula are of limited value, this does not deter these "patriotic" organizations from forcing certain types of teaching upon youngsters without consultation with the educators.

Service clubs like the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Elks, etc., interfere with teaching at times. The earlier ones associated for friendship and profit and wanted in their associations one member from every type of business and profession. They now "mobilize public opinion in support of private enterprise and individual opportunity and expand youth services to build

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character and citizenship. "1 Since they represent the professions and the business men almost exclusively, they represent the upper economic strata, the conservative element. To these clubs many administrators in education belong, as was previously pointed out by Counts. To this group, too, are likely to belong the members of the boards of education. The conservative view dominates, thus, and through individual contacts with educators the service clubs spread their views to the public schools.

CHAPTER X
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

League of Women Voters.

Address: 726 Jackson Place
              Washington 6, D. C.

President - Anna Lord Strauss

Membership: 89,000 individuals in seven hundred twenty local Leagues.

The Leagues within a state form a state League; all the Leagues together form the League of Women Voters. In 1948-49 the League spent almost $700,000 on its program of action.

The League itself was founded in 1920 by leaders of the suffrage movement under Carrie Chapman Catt, as a "living memorial to the women who helped win the vote." It was built upon non-partisan principles. However, the League was and is an action group, not merely educative. Its political activity is based upon the issues, not upon support of a party or a candidate. It does not attempt to cover all the issues in dispute, but chooses a few issues nationally, then works to educate its own members first. It then branches out to the community, providing information, building public opinion, and supporting legislation. The Current Agenda for 1948-1950 is "(1) strengthening the United Nations; (2) promoting international reconstruction and the expansion of world trade; (3) analyzing

1 Facts About the League of Women Voters, League of Women Voters Pamphlet.
federal taxes and expenditures in order to understand and support such fiscal policies as make for a stable domestic economy.\textsuperscript{1}

The League publications include *Action*, the official magazine, *Trends*, the bi-weekly news service, *Broadsides*, single-sheet fliers to the community, and *Memos and Briefs For Action*. Besides these regular publications there are many pamphlets issued. The members themselves are active in the community and in the schools.

The League has constantly fostered an expanding school system; it has fought for vocational education, adult education, physical education, a stronger Federal Office of Education, and federal aid for education through state control. An item which was on a Current Agenda and is now on the League's permanent Platform is the protection of academic freedom from such frenzies as the "Red scares" which occurred in the 1920's and which recurred after World War II.

In the social field the League has sought for collective bargaining, equal wages for women, minimum wage laws, regulation of hours and working conditions for women and children, full employment program, regularization of business cycles, enlargement of social security to include maternity benefits, etc.\textsuperscript{2}

The program would seem to bear out the statement of Mr. Harsch, that the League is "infiltrated" with Democrats,

\textsuperscript{1} Program 1948 - 1950, League of Women Voters Pamphlet.
although not actually a "front." 

American Association of University Women.
Address: 1634 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

General Director - R. Kathryn McHale
Membership: 100,000 in 1,109 branches.

The purpose of the organization is, briefly, "to advance the interests of women in education," "to carry on a program for the development of education," "to implement its educational work by taking action on legislation, governmental measures, and policies in the public interest," "to cooperate with other national and international organizations having related interests." 

It works for international understanding by awarding fellowships (twenty-seven for 1949-50) to qualified women students; it seeks advancement of educational opportunity for all; it seeks to strengthen the Federal Office of Education and to wrest it from political control; it works for international understanding and peace through the United Nations; it promotes federal aid for education but only for public schools; it sponsors Future Teachers of America groups in high schools; it works for the elimination of minority problems and group tensions by community investigations and factual exposure; it

1 Harsch, loc. cit.
2 Charter and By-Laws of the AAUW, 1949, American Association of University Women Pamphlet.
3 Journal of the AAUW, 42, American Association of University Women, Summer, 1949, p. 227. (quarterly)
strives to interest more women in public positions; it wants to make the women's military services permanent groups in our armed forces.

**Women's Christian Temperance Union.**

Address: 1730 Chicago Avenue
Evanston, Illinois

Secretary - Miss Elizabeth A. Smart

This is another of the women's organizations which has been exceedingly important in the social studies area. This organization, born in 1874, was one of the earliest examples of propaganda in the schools and in society. Mrs. Hunt, its first leader, set about lobbying for temperance laws in state legislation, and sent temperance propaganda into the biology and hygiene classes. In 1893 a "Committee of Fifty," a group of eminent physiologists and pathologists objected to the perverted "findings" which were being sent into the schools and press by the Women's Christian Temperance Union.¹

Howard K. Beale and Bessie Pierce² both comment upon the great strength which the organization possessed at one time. With the Anti-Saloon League it was instrumental in securing passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Today, while still working to achieve total abstinence, it fights for "local option" in determining whether a community is to be wet or dry, and it still maintains its work among youngsters to encourage them to refrain from drinking. It fights,

² Pierce, *Citizen Organizations*, pp. 289 - 300.
too, to ban liquor advertising of any sort. In fact, it presses for greater control of liquor in all areas.

Summary

Despite the fact that the League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women have objectives which cut across partisan lines, there is an amazing cohesion in the organizations. It may be that in their limited approach, taking up only a few topics at a time and reaching agreement on those, these groups have found an important new approach. It is interesting to note, also, that the two organizations fight for limited gains, rather than for larger principles. Since they are working to enlarge the area of democracy for the underprivileged, their work deserves commendation.
CHAPTER XI
CONCLUSION

V. O. Key, Jr. has capably pointed out that the individual is influenced by the church, the press, writers, the radio, political parties, unions, organizations, etc. Indoctrination is inevitable. The school, in the selection of values and attitudes to be inculcated, chooses those that are cherished by the dominant elements in the political order. Unfortunately, the inertia of educational organization will probably always keep it behind the times. Thus, the school system performs a political function, too, by stressing the glory of that which is already past, an enhancement of the conservative and even reactionary forces.¹ The text books used in the courses often tend to sanctify the existing formal governmental order.

This same thought has been echoed by other writers. Beard has stated that teachers tend to fall into the "conventional climate" of ideas, stifling research. They take on local dogma and mores, thereby rendering ineffective the best plans for civic instruction.² Counts and Curti have both pointed out the essential conservatism of the educator.

Another betrayal of the conservatism of teachers and schoolmen is the question of whether "controversial issues" should be taught. Controversial issues in the social sciences are merely current issues, unsolved. "A pupil will never have the real opportunity of learning about controversial issues

¹ V. O. Key, Jr., op. cit., pp. 642 - 670.
² Beard, Charter, p. 91.
unless the teacher has the right to present them.\textsuperscript{1} If, then, the teacher fails to present the current questions, he is leaving a blind spot in the child's education in order to "play safe." This certainly cannot be in the interests of the child.

Odum has pointed out the increasing need for social studies. The rapid rate of social progress has resulted in a greater change in the last fifty years than in any other periods in human history.\textsuperscript{2} The advances in the physical sciences have multiplied the opportunities for social maladjustment and have added to the social problems. To permit the child to leave school without discussion of current issues, no matter how sensitive the political climate of the area, deprives him of a very necessary tool.

The dominant established interests or pressure groups help to maintain this conservatism. The churches insist upon a "religious" morality, and criticism of sectarianism may be met by dismissal of the teacher - even discussion of the problem being dangerous. "Patriotic" organizations insist upon nativism, Americanism, which may be a deliberate minimizing of the role of an internation organization (such as the United Nations), and a maintenance of the martial spirit. Professional organizations maintain an innocuous attitude, following the dictates of the established interests. Women's groups and labor favor change, enlargement of the democratic base, more opportunity for all —

\textsuperscript{1} Edgar B. Wesley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.
probably because they represent a previously suppressed group. This is true, too, of minority racial groups. Big business is perhaps the most conservative in the economic field.

These groups maintain pressure upon teachers, administrators, interfering with academic freedom in the many ways which we have previously described. As an individual the teacher can do, and generally does, very little to counter these pressures. An outstanding administrator will occasionally defend the academic freedom of his staff even to the point of permitting Communists to teach. However, neither the teacher nor the administrator can successfully defend himself against the insistent demand of the dominant group in a particular locality, nor can he individually do much to further the cause of academic freedom. The teacher, then, must tend to conservatism, too.

To protect the schools from the sometimes unreasonable demands of these groups, the teachers and the administrators should have their own organization, dedicated to the preservation of academic freedom throughout the United States. It could readily be based upon already existing teacher groups and could be made a part of the latter. Its purpose would be to protect the teachers from the arbitrary interferences and dismissals caused by pressure groups. It would also seek to enlarge the general planning function of the teacher. It could maintain liaison with book publishers and rate books for objectivity—not for patriotic and nativistic content. It could fight for the enlargement of the teacher's social and political spheres.
The chief conviction which the writer has gained from the study of pressure groups is that the teachers need a strong counter-pressure group which will fight for objectivity, truth, responsible freedom in presenting the truth. Without such a group the teachers must ever rely upon others to protect free speech. Such a course represents an inertia which amounts to a betrayal of academic freedom by non-feasance.

**Need for Philosophy.** Whether teachers ever have the above organization or not, they will always need an individual philosophy which will aid them in the selection of their materials and in their presentation. We have seen the many conflicting interests of the various organizations and the heavy pressure utilized by the groups to convert the public to their side. In order to have a clearer view of central tendencies, and to evaluate existing trends one must have a basic philosophy for comparison or contrast. Edgar B. Wesley, on page seventeen of *Teaching the Social Studies*, has suggested some underlying principles which a social studies teacher could consider. Beard in his *Charter* suggests others. From these men or other writers the teacher can put together an effective social and educational philosophy.

**Need for a Working Definition of Democracy.** The constant recurrence of the words "democracy," "Americanism," "the American Way," point to the need for special attention to the concepts of democracy, and to the adoption by the teacher of the most inclusive, the fairest and the most idealistic definition. Democracy is not merely form or structural organization
in government; it is an ideal, too. Perhaps it might be a good idea to point out to youngsters instances where organizations and people have limited or misinterpreted the meaning of democracy.

**Need for Special Attention to Semantics.** In the study of organizational literature it was amazing to find the objectives of groups as unlike as the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Chamber of Commerce expressed in terms which were similar or even identical. Yet in carrying out the particular goal the groups showed complete divergence of action and opinion. No student can be an intelligent reader of today's literature without an awareness that semantics plays an important part.

A group does not state ordinarily that it hates Negroes, Jews, Catholics. It may press for "Americanism" or set up quotas against these minorities in various spheres, or create exclusive clubs. However, from the wording employed none of this is visible, for these social immoralities are hidden in honeyed phrases.

**Need for Identifying Propaganda Techniques.** Every teacher of the social studies should be able to recognize propaganda techniques, as employed by the various organizations. Certainly the teacher should recognize that symbols play a large part in creating mind-set for what follows. For example, the flag is waved while the speaker rants about the "dirty foreigners." The flag has created an aura of respectability about the remarks.
Uniforms, parades, conventions are at times used for propagandistic purposes. Even the words "God" and "Christ" become more than words as used by some speakers. They become symbols to be identified with the speaker and as such have strong propagandistic value. Emotionalism is the base of much of this propaganda.

Effects of Pressure Groups - in General. All of the organizations studied use radio, press, publications, speakers, and legislative pressures in order to sway group opinion to their view. They cause varying degrees of change in our society. In fact, according to Key, organizations form group opinion in large part, so that a study of present objectives of these groups will reveal current and coming trends.

Since they cause change in our society, they inevitably cause change in our social studies. However, these groups seek more direct change in education and the social studies. They seek to alter texts to conform to their ideas; they want an enlargement of their area in the schools. Some, like labor and the farmers, are seeking recognition. Others can even be suspected of seeking supremacy - particularly the established economic interests. All of them interfere with academic freedom in some way - and the teacher has shown little disposition to fight for truth, free speech. Thus, these organizations have altered curriculum piece-meal, as first one, then the other, inserted or excluded material.

The labor groups and the women's organizations seek,
ordinarily, to protect the freedom of the teacher. However, not until the teacher grows up politically will the schools, and particularly the social studies, work in a free atmosphere. Conflicting issues will be brought in as a matter of course when there is a group strong enough to protect that right in the schools. Such a group can only come from among the teachers themselves.

**Suggestions for Further Studies.** A study of pressure groups provides many avenues for further research. A narrower view of pressure group action could be taken. For instance, the farmers' groups could be studied more intensively, or even one of the organizations could be analyzed closely to see more intimately how groups come to wield such great power.

Propaganda techniques, employed to alter social studies curricula or to alter the effect of social studies teaching, could be analyzed more carefully.

Democratic structure in organization can be studied through the pressure groups, and a unit created from such a study. Comparison with existing forms of government could be made. Weaknesses and strengths of centralization and decentralization of power could be shown.

How pressure groups aid the social studies teacher or the social studies, i.e., examples of cooperation between schools and organizations, could be shown in a further study.
BOOKS


Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, Chicago, Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1945.


BOOKS (Cont'd)


How to Be an Active Citizen In a Democracy, Town Hall Civic Affairs Committee, New York, Town Hall, Inc., 1941.


LaFarge, John, The Race Question and the Negro, New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1944.

Mahoney, John J., For Us the Living, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945.


BOOKS (Cont'd)


PERIODICALS


PERIODICALS (Cont'd)


PERIODICALS (Cont'd)

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