CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

1951 REGULAR SESSION

*Compliments of*

SENATOR LOUIS G. SUTTON

8th Senatorial District

Colusa-Glenn-Tehama Counties

# EIGHTH REPORT

# SENATE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

## MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, *Chairman*

Senator Arthur H. Breed, Jr.

Senator Hugh P. Donnelly

Senator Fred Weybret

Senator J. Howard Williams

Harry J. Englebright, *Committee Counsel*

Mrs. Marianne Carr, *Research*

Mrs. Pauline Gerdes, *Secretary*

*Published by the*

SENATE

OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

GOODWIN J. KNIGHT

*President of the Senate*

HAROLD J. POWERS

*President pro Tempore*

JOSEPH A. BEEK

*Secretary*

## ERRATUM

In the second paragraph on page 18 hereof the statement is made that the Bureau of Intercultural Education was the subject of a series of newspaper articles published in the New York *World Telegram*. This statement was based upon the testimony of a witness who appeared before the committee. Since the publication of this report the committee has been informed by the New York *World Telegram* that the articles in question did not mention the Bureau of Intercultural Education and it appears that, in this respect, the statement is not entirely accurate. This notation is made in the interests of accuracy and fairness to the bureau.

. . . That the Nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

*Lincoln's Gettysburg Address*
*Given on Thursday, November 19, 1863,*
*at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania*

CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
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# EIGHTH REPORT

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# EDUCATION IN PASADENA


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*Created Pursuant to Senate Resolution No. 163 (1949)*
*Continued by Senate Resolution No. 23 (1951)*


*Published by the*

SENATE
OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

GOODWIN J. KNIGHT
*President of the Senate*

HAROLD J. POWERS
*President pro Tempore*

JOSEPH A. BEEK
*Secretary*

AMERICANS ALL

## FOR FURTHER READING

*Adamic, Louis*
MY AMERICA
Harper 1938

*Adamic, Louis*
FROM MANY LANDS
Harper 1940

*Beard, Annie*
OUR FOREIGN-BORN CITIZENS: WHAT THEY HAVE DONE FOR AMERICA
Crowell (revised edition) 1939

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY TODAY AND TOMORROW
PAGE 145

The above is a reproduction from a typical reading list recommended by the textbook "American Democracy Today and Tomorrow." See Appendix II for a review of this textbook and a report of the authors recommended for additional reading material.

## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL,
April 16, 1951

HON. GOODWIN J. KNIGHT, *President of the Senate,*
*Senate Chamber, State Capitol,*
*Sacramento, California.*

MR. PRESIDENT: Your Senate Investigating Committee on Education was created by Senate Resolution No. 163 of the 1949 Regular Session of the Legislature. The following members were appointed to serve thereon:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nelson S. Dilworth, Chairman | 37th District |
| Hugh P. Donnelly | 22d District |
| Fred Weybret | 25th District |
| J. Howard Williams | 32d District |
| Arthur H. Breed, Jr. | 16th District |

There is transmitted herewith a partial report which deals with our investigation of public education in the Pasadena schools. Certain documentary appendices and index will be submitted.

Respectfully submitted,

NELSON S. DILWORTH, Chairman
HUGH P. DONNELLY
FRED WEYBRET
J. HOWARD WILLIAMS
ARTHUR H. BREED, JR.

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### REPORTS OF THE SENATE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION


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| Third Report, March 27, 1948 | Textbooks |
| Fourth Report March 21, 1949 | Junior Colleges |
| Fifth Report April 4, 1949 | Dr. Almack's Report |
| Sixth Report June 27, 1949 | Communism |
| Seventh Report March, 1950 | "Who Is Training California's Teachers?" |
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# INTRODUCTION

On November 15th and 16th of 1950, the Senate Investigating Committee on Education conducted two days of public hearings in the council chambers of the City Hall in the City of Pasadena. These hearings were the result of the committee's awareness of the fact that conflicts have arisen in various school districts within the State due to efforts to introduce into the school system portions of the philosophy of progressive education. Such a dispute flared into the open in Pasadena during a school tax election campaign in June of 1950. The situation received nation-wide publicity in newspapers and national magazines and was commented upon by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in *California Schools*, his monthly bulletin to the teachers of California of August, 1950, at page 292. The citizens of Pasadena had become so aroused and divided over the situation in their schools that the Honorable Bruce Reagan, a member of the Assembly from that district, requested your committee to conduct an investigation.

*Hon. Nelson S. Dilworth, Chairman* September 26, 1950
*Senate Investigating Committee on Education*
*State Capitol, Sacramento, California*

DEAR SENATOR DILWORTH: As a representative in the Legislature of a substantial portion of the Pasadena School District, I request that your committee conduct hearings in Pasadena at an early date, for the following reasons:

First: There have been many accusations that the administration of the Pasadena schools has been derelict in its duty and has actually been guilty of furthering dangerously subversive teachings in our schools. These accusations have been made in large open meetings and reports of these meetings have been reported in the daily press.

Secondly: Opponents of the school administration have been accused by a prominent state official recently as subscribing to a program which is subversive in nature.

I know of no other method of bringing the facts to the attention of the public, than to request your committee to hold public hearings in Pasadena to bring out the facts by sworn testimony of witnesses. I respectfully request that your committee meet in the City of Pasadena as soon as it is convenient for you to do so.

Respectfully,

(Signed) BRUCE V. REAGAN
Member of Assembly, Forty-Eighth District

The City of Pasadena has been for many years one of the large and wealthy school districts in the State of California. Pasadena is also the home of William L. Blair, President of the State Board of Education, and adjacent to the school system from which the State of California procured the present Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. Roy E. Simpson. The present Executive Secretary of the California Association of School Administrators is Dr. John A. Sexon, the recently retired Superintendent of Schools for Pasadena. Your committee felt that the long continuance of a problem of this magnitude in such a school district required them to investigate.

In a gradually increasing tempo, the Pasadena school system had become more and more an object of public interest, and as the attention of the public was directed toward their school system the citizens became divided into two camps, one defending the school system and the type of education it was producing against any and all criticism, and the other increasingly critical of the product of its public schools.

Pasadena had become the scene of a prolonged contest between the proponents and opponents of progressive education and serious charges and counter charges were made by the groups opposing one another. The opponents of progressive education contended that this type of education was being promoted by those in the community who wanted to impress their views concerning social changes upon the pupils in the schools, and also that persons advocating this philosophy were infiltering the top offices of the Pasadena school administration to obtain this end. It was further contended that the Pasadena school system was being used as a guinea pig to promote the theories of progressive educators—resulting in poorly educated children. On the other hand, charges were made that the opponents of progressive education were the disciples of Hitler, book burners, and fascists, or were tax haters who had economic axes to grind.

Your committee felt that, if through the investigation in Pasadena, it could discover the causes for continuance of the dissension in that community, it might be possible, even necessary, to formulate legislation which would lead to the termination of the dissension not only in Pasadena, but in other school districts within the State where similar situations might develop.

The criticism directed toward the school system specified the use of progressive methods of education such as methods of grading, or lack thereof, the elimination or extreme modification of the report card system, the use of textbooks which were subversive in character or tended to ridicule American fundamentals, and the introduction of teachers and lecturers whose loyalty to the American form of government could be questioned.

One manifestation of the dissatisfaction with the public schools was revealed by the fact that an increasing number of parents were taking their children out of the public schools and placing them in private schools in the Pasadena area. Today it is extremely difficult to enroll a child in a private school in that region.

The most active group in opposition to the methods of education in use in Pasadena was the Pasadena School Development Council. This group had been formed by citizens for the most part parents who had discovered that their objections to teaching methods were ignored when they acted through the organization by which parents of school children normally act—the Parent Teachers Association. The committee found that in nearly every instance the members of the School Development Council were parents who had, or who had had, children in the Pasadena public schools and who felt that their children were not receiving adequate training in the fundamentals of learning. These parents had found that their complaints were ignored by the school administration and the Board of Education, and their offers of cooperation with both of these organizations to correct certain procedures they felt were objectionable met with no response.

This organization, in their search for effective means of correcting these matters, discovered what they felt were subversive elements encroaching into their schools. It was their contention that certain lecturers brought into Pasadena had well-known subversive backgrounds and that textbooks in use advocated beliefs contrary to American concepts of government. They also felt that some of the practices in the school system were similar to those advocated by the communists in their plans



for undermining American public education. It was apparent to the committee that the members of the School Development Council, even though some of them felt it necessary under existing conditions to withdraw their children from the public school system, were still energetically working toward what they sincerely felt was better public education. The committee found that this group of private citizens had spent a great deal of their time and had contributed their own funds toward this end.

The group which gave the most energetic support to the school administration was the Pasadena Education Association, an organization comprising a large majority of the teachers in the school system. However, the administration was also supported in its program by the leaders of the Parent Teachers Association, some labor unions, and a miscellaneous group of public organizations. These groups charged that the School Development Council and others in opposition to the administration were a group of disgruntled parents whose children had not received special privileges from the schools, or were persons with political axes to grind and who were opposed to any progress in education. They also claimed that the School Development Council members were opposed to the school program as it increased taxes.

Dr. Williard E. Goslin, Superintendent of Schools for Pasadena, was the center of much of this controversy. In July of 1948, Dr. John A. Sexon, who had been Superintendent of Schools for many years, retired. The Board of Education appointed to replace him Dr. Willard E. Goslin, who at the time was Superintendent of Schools for Minneapolis, Minn. It was hoped by those who were in opposition to the expansion of progressive education that Dr. Goslin would reverse this trend in Pasadena. However, it was claimed by those concerned over this problem that Dr. Goslin not only had not fulfilled their hopes, but to the contrary, was energetically speeding up the progressive program. It was further claimed that Dr. Goslin's express purpose in coming to Pasadena was to make it a laboratory for progressive education—an example to the school systems of the Nation!

In June of 1950, a tax election was held by the Board of Education which attracted the attention of the Nation's educational world to Pasadena, for it was during this campaign that charges and counter charges were made in the public press which drew the entire dispute into the open.

The Board of Education in June of 1950 voted to hold this school tax election to increase the tax rate for elementary schools. This was necessary if additional moneys were to be raised to further a program advocated by the new superintendent. The Pasadena Board at that time had levied school taxes to the legal limit possible without a vote of the citizens. It was therefore deemed necessary to hold an election to increase this rate if the education program was to proceed as planned. It was charged by the School Development Council that this action by the school board was taken without adequate investigation and forced them to take their objections to the public.

As seen from a perusal of the campaign literature the issues in this election soon went far beyond the matter of taxes and began to dwell with the pros and cons of progressive education. It was during this campaign that charges were made in the public press that the School Development Council was affiliated with a national organization known as the National Council for American Education and that this national organization was

comprised of persons whose purpose was to undermine American education and who were known fascists, including the national president, a Mr. Allen A. Zoll. It was further charged that the president of the School Development Council, Mr. Frank A. Wells, had come to Pasadena for the express purpose of creating dissension in the school system and that large sums of money were being furnished to the organization in Pasadena by Mr. Zoll's national group. The School Development Council, on the other hand, claimed that Dr. Goslin's program was intended to create a model progressive education system and that this program would in effect play into the hands of the communists in America and further their aims to destroy faith in American institutions.

Interest in this election was so widespread that more ballots were cast than had ever before been cast in a school election in Pasadena, resulting in a defeat of the tax proposal 22,210 to 10,032, a margin of better than two to one. In fact, a greater number of votes were cast against the tax proposal than the total vote in any previous school election. Open conflict over public education was still widespread at the time of your committee hearings. It was the claim of the School Development Council that this rejection by the public of the tax proposal was an overwhelming expression of dissatisfaction with education in the Pasadena public schools.

Following the election, the Pasadena Education Association hired the John B. Knight Company, of Los Angeles, to make a public opinion survey in Pasadena to determine why the voters had rejected the tax measure. The survey revealed that more than 50 percent of the public expressed dissatisfaction with the school system and felt that the teaching of fundamentals did not receive enough emphasis. The Board of Education, at the request of the Chamber of Commerce and other organizations, set up a survey committee made up of citizens from all sections of Pasadena to survey education in an effort to determine where it was failing to satisfy its citizenry. This committee is now functioning, but to this date has not made a public report of its findings.

The week prior to the hearings in Pasadena, the Board of Education, before knowledge of a Senate inquiry, telegraphed to Dr. Goslin, who was then attending a convention in New York, requesting his resignation.

The dates of the Senate Committee's hearings were set weeks in advance but could not be made known until subpenas were served on witnesses whose testimony was wanted.

Dr. Goslin returned to Pasadena and appeared before this committee at the invitation of Chairman Dilworth, by letter, and shortly after the hearings tendered his resignation as Superintendent of Schools in consideration of a cash payment of $23,500 for releasing the schools from his contract. The school board thereupon appointed as superintendent Mr. Frank Walkup, who had been in the Pasadena school system for many years.

During the two days of hearings, your committee received testimony from members of the Board of Education, including its president, the president and members of the School Development Council, Dr. Willard E. Goslin, Superintendent of Schools, members of the school administration staff, parents, and teachers in order that we could hear from as many divergent groups concerned with this controversy as possible.

We submit this report with the utmost good will to all concerned.

## FAILURE OF SCHOOL BOARD TO RESPOND TO PUBLIC DEMANDS

One of the apparent reasons for the widespread dissatisfaction in Pasadena was the failure of the Board of Education to respond to the objections and complaints received from the public. According to testimony received by your committee, those critical of the school administration had many times made their protests before the Board of Education to no avail.

Mr. Frank Wells, owner and president of a manufacturing concern and a past president of the School Development Council, testified before your committee. After stating that he had two children aged 14 and 11 in the Pasadena schools, he testified that his group had offered to cooperate with the school board in trying to correct and solve their problems, without success. Therefore, as a result of repeated rebuffs by the school board, this group felt it necessary to make a public issue of the situation as the only possible means of correcting it. Mr. Wells stated in his testimony:

> "* * * we offered the members of the school board our cooperation and help in trying to correct what we felt was a very unsatisfactory situation which existed in the Pasadena schools. That help—that offer of help was accepted, however, no mention was made of this tax increase, and the following afternoon I went to the Board of Education meeting and this increase in tax vote—that is, request for a vote, was authorized by the Board of Education on what I felt was very short notice and without proper public preparation, consequently, we asked for a delay in the vote by petition and that delay was refused, so we felt that in the amount of time that was left that we would—it was a public service to see that the public of Pasadena was informed on the issues of the tax increase, how we felt the money was likely to be used, and we felt that it was necessary for us to spend a good deal of our personal time in order to acquaint the public of Pasadena with the various facts. This we did and in the course of that we pointed out what we felt was wrong with progressive education as being practiced in Pasadena."

Dr. W. Ernest Brower, a physician practicing in Pasadena and the present president of the School Development Council, substantiated Mr. Wells's testimony:

> "Q. (By Mr. Englebright) Well, Dr. Brower, perhaps you could give some of the background of the School Development Council, also?
>
> "A. Well, I can only give the background of the School Development Council since about last April, and previous to that time they had been contacting the Board of Education and various teachers in protesting certain practices that were going on in the school system and I believe, if I am not mistaken, that the Board of

Education in each case indicated that they had realized certain things were not proper and they said we should not be too impatient, that things would come out properly in the end, and as time went on we finally came to the conclusion that we could have no cooperation whatsoever with the school board, so we simply took the issue to the public.

"Q. I assume, Doctor, you are referring to the tax rate election this summer?

"A. I am.

"Q. I understand the School Development Council was quite active in that?

"A. Very active.

"Q. Doctor, on what basis did you oppose the increase in the tax rate?

"A. Well, it wasn't on the basis as has been claimed, that we were tax haters, but rather on the basis we felt we didn't want more of this modern educational philosophy taught to our children. We felt that the most effective method of changing this method of teaching would be to cut off the funds."

## (A) RUBBER STAMP OF SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS POLICIES BY THE SCHOOL BOARD

It also appears quite clear that the Board of Education had given Dr. Goslin, at the time of his appointment in July, 1948, a completely free hand to do as he wished with the educational system of Pasadena and had no intention of interfering with him, as can be seen from the following testimony of Milton Wopschall, President of the Board of Education:

"A. We allowed Mr. Goslin to bring his own secretary, and the subsequent appointments which Mr. Goslin made were discussed with the board. In fact, for instance, before Dr. Gilchrist, the Assistant Superintendent of Schools, (then on the staff of the Minneapolis, Minn. Superintendent of Schools) came to Pasadena we did meet with Dr. Gilchrist and had perhaps a half hour conversation. But it has been the feeling on the board that when you have a man running an organization he has to have a certain amount of leeway in his appointments. * * * "

As is further shown by Mr. Wopschall's testimony before the committee, the Board of Education had made no effort to check textbooks, methods of teaching, or personnel, but had simply rubber stamped Dr. Goslin's recommendations.

"Q. (By Senator Breed) Mr. Wopschall, it isn't quite clear to me what the situation is here in regard to the matter of the authority, where it rests, the authority and responsibility as far as the board as against the superintendent is concerned as it relates to curriculum. Now, do you feel that that is a responsibility of and the final authority rests with the Board of Education?

"A. That is correct. If there is a book that we don't want there we certainly won't have it there.



"Q. But you said earlier, didn't you, that it comes up through the teachers and that you merely refer it up to the technical people?"

"A. Well, for instance, I couldn't say the exact number but I would suspect that since I have been a member of the board we have approved, for class use, several thousand copies of different books and it would be a physical impossibility for me to be able to say just exactly which book should be there and which book shouldn't be there. We have to depend upon, as I stated, our technical help.

"Q. Do you feel that the final decision made by the Superintendent is good enough for the board on the selection of a textbook?

"A. If I felt there was a person in our school system that would have a book in the school system that was put there for the purpose of taking—teaching children other than the American way of life I would see that that person wasn't on our staff, and I know the whole Board of Education would go along with me.

"Q. What I am getting at is: How thoroughly does the board really go into these things, or do they just delegate it to the Superintendent of Schools or a committee of teachers, more or less, and rubber stamp what their recommendations might be?

"A. We have to more or less rubber stamp. I would say that even the superintendent would have to more or less rubber stamp much of that."

Mr. Lawrence C. Lamb, a member of the school board, when questioned as to whether there had been any criticism about methods used in the schools and the system used to check their correction, had this to say:

"Q. (By Senator Donnelly) Have you had any complaints from the parents in this district? (In regard to failure to use conventional methods or system of grading on report cards)?

"A. Yes, very many.

"Q. What have you done about it?

"A. We have tried to make inquiry.

"Q. How did you try?

"A. As individuals of the board."

"Q. I mean whom did you inquire of?

"A. Various people. We usually listened to the petitions that came before the board.

"Q. How far did you go into the matter?

"A. We have taken no definite action to my knowledge.

"Q. In other words, you have received and filed them?

"A. We turned them over to the administration.

"Q. And the administration, they are in favor of that method? (of handling complaints from parents)?

"A. I wouldn't say that, but they have never been referred back to the board."

## (B) PARENTS' DIFFICULTY IN MAKING PROTESTS BEFORE THE SCHOOL BOARD

It appeared from investigation that for some period of time there had been an organized effort to prevent protests from being heard at school board meetings. This was accomplished by the packing of public hearings of the board of education. While your committee was not successful in determining who was responsible for this organized audience packing plan—although it had been charged that a member of Dr. Goslin's staff was in part responsible—it was apparent it was done to prevent the board of education from effectively hearing petitions and protests brought by those who were dissatisfied with their school system. It is also interesting to note that the *Daily People's World,* a communist paper in Southern California, took an active interest in the Pasadena problem and had a reporter present at all board meetings. Although your committee was unsuccessful in its attempts to subpena the communist paper's reporter, some of the techniques of booing, foot stamping, and catcalls which drowned out the voices of the protestants at these meetings, are typical communist techniques used to defeat legitimate opposition; and it is apparent that the Communist Party had hoped to create a situation in Pasadena which could be used as fuel for attacks upon the school system of the State.

During the period of this committee's hearings, the board of education held a public meeting about which the newspapers of Pasadena reported, stating that at this meeting these techniques were so successfully employed as to entirely prevent parents attempting to speak from the floor from being heard.

This meeting was reported in the Pasadena *Star-News* on Wednesday, November 15, 1950, as follows:

> "Demand for the rescinding of the request for resignation of Superintendent Willard E. Goslin was made on the board of education yesterday by individuals and representatives of groups from many phases of Pasadena's citizenry.
>
> "For an hour and a half, the board listened to expressions of opinion, frequently tinctured with vituperation and abuse, and with only a rare pat on the back for the action they had taken. * * *
>
> "Originally called for the board room in the school administration building, early arrivals soon showed that room would be too small and the meeting was transferred to the auditorium of the adjacent McKinley Junior High, which has a capacity of 750 persons. Every seat on both the ground floor and gallery was taken and there were many latecomers standing in the aisles.
>
> "As Superintendent Goslin, flanked by his secretary, Mary Bates, and assistant superintendents, Dr. Robert S. Gilchrist and Dr. Stuart Marsee, marched down the aisle to the stage he was greeted with wild cheers and hand clapping and almost the entire audience rose to its feet in a demonstration of support. The entrance of the board members was much quieter.
>
> "'RESCIND ACTION'
>
> "There were frequent catcalls and boos, and only a few sturdy souls had the temerity to brave the audience to speak in support of the board. Almost all the speakers attacked the board's action and the principal note was 'rescind your action.' When Mr. Wopschall announced that the board was merely holding a hearing and that the final action would be announced later, a youthful voice in the audience shouted, 'Chicken!' * * *
>
> "NO DEBATES
>
> "In opening the hearing, President Wopschall said that he recognized the large crowd was present because they were interested in the board's action in requesting the resignation of Mr. Goslin.
>
> "'The board does not wish to entertain debates pro and con,' he warned. 'We are always willing to listen to the voice of the people. If you want to direct questions to the board we will do our best to answer them'." * * *
>
> "HIS FORMER TEACHER
>
> "W. Roger Revelle, 1435 Holliston Avenue, was recognized by Mr. Wopschall as 'my former social science teacher' when he arose to speak. Mr. Revelle declared Mr. Goslin is the most progressive superintendent Pasadena has had in 30 years and expressed the opinion that 95 percent of the people are behind him. While he was speaking some voice far back in the audience demanded:
>
> "'Why doesn't the board resign?' The sally was greeted with wild yells and handclapping from many parts of the hall * * *"
>
> "SUPPORTER BOOED
>
> "Robert H. Aarons, attorney, was laughed and booed into silence on several occasions when he expressed satisfaction with the board's action in asking for the resignation as a belated response to the 'people's mandate for a change issued last June.'
>
> "'Granted for the sake of argument that Mr. Goslin is able, granted that he is honest,' he started on one occasion but boos and jeering laughter drowned out the rest of his remark. Even Mr. Goslin joined in the merriment. Mr. Aarons did manage to express the belief that many people had lost faith in the administration and that the school system and the children's education were more important than the professional embarrassment of one man."



Senator Dilworth questioned Mr. Brydolf, a member of the board of education about this meeting:

> "Q. (By Chairman Dilworth) Mr. Brydolf, there was a meeting night before last down at the auditorium of the school board, open to the public was there not?
>
> "A. That's right.
>
> "Q. Is it a fact that citizens came there to be heard and on account of the clamor of the audience and the boos, and so forth, that the right of petition was not allowed to be fully exercised?
>
> "A. Well, it wasn't exactly a quiet meeting. I think most of the ones who wanted to be heard were heard all right, but some had a little difficulty, I believe."

## APPOINTMENT OF CONTROVERSIAL PERSONNEL

It was hoped by many at the time of Dr. Goslin's appointment as superintendent of schools that the trend toward the increased use of the philosophy of progressive education would be reversed, and apparently it had been the intention of the Board of Education to obtain the services of a middle-of-the-road educator. Inasmuch as Dr. Sexon's retirement by reason of age could be foreseen for some time, the board was able to conduct an extensive investigation in compiling a list of possible candidates to succeed him. As was explained by one of the board members:

> "A. Yes. We—the Board of Education formulated a definite program to pick out a superintendent of schools. We wrote to the universities of the country, some of them being Stanford and USC and UCLA, Occidental, Columbia, Chicago, many of the outstanding universities in this country, and asked the deans of education to give us the names of people that they felt would be outstanding superintendents in the Pasadena situation, and we also wrote to people as individuals—I can't recall the people that we wrote to—and from this list we compiled a list of our own, which included, I believe, ten or twelve men that the Board of Education in turn interviewed, and from these interviews we selected the superintendent—the present superintendent of Pasadena."

In order to interview the candidates, four members of the board went to Atlantic City, where the American Association of School Administrators Convention was being held, to interview possible superintendents for Pasadena. The national president of this organization was at that time Dr. Willard E. Goslin. Dr. Goslin was among those interviewed and was chosen for the position. Dr. Goslin was also at this time the Superintendent of Schools for Minneapolis, Minnesota.

In accordance with the testimony of members of the board as to their investigation of the background of Dr. Goslin, it was stated that while they were aware of a disturbance in the Minneapolis School System at that time—in fact, a teacher's strike—they did not question Dr. Goslin too deeply as to his position in the matter. To quote Mr. Wopschall, President of the school board:

> "Q. (By Mr. Englebright) Then, in choosing Mr. Goslin did you depend entirely upon your interview with him, personal interview or did you go into his background?
>
> "A. Oh, we, of course, had his background. We knew where he had been superintendent of schools before, and his educational background. We had a folder on practically all of the men along that line, and the organizations that they had been prominent in.
>
> "Q. In this instance, in regard to Mr. Goslin did you write to Minneapolis and find out what sort of an administrator they felt he was?
>
> "A. I don't recall going to the Minneapolis school system.





> "Q. Why I am asking that is because apparently there was some sort of a disturbance in Minneapolis prior to the time Mr. Goslin left.
>
> "A. There was—in fact, at the time we interviewed Mr. Goslin there was a strike, a teachers' strike, on, in Minneapolis and we asked Mr. Goslin about it at the time and he was taking a very neutral position in the strike.
>
> "Q. (By Senator Williams) When you talked to him you merely talked to him about the strike? You didn't say anything to him about his academic accomplishments, and as the superintendent?
>
> "A. Oh, we, of course, asked many of the things that he wanted—for instance, what he wanted to accomplish in education. We asked him about his philosophy.
>
> "Q. What did he say about his philosophy?
>
> "A. I recall when we asked Mr. Goslin if he was a proponent of so-called progressive education he said he liked the word "modern" and, in fact, all of the superintendents that we talked to I felt that their philosophy of education was very much the same.
>
> "Q. What was the basis of the strike back there; did he say?
>
> "A. Money.
>
> "Q. An increase in salary?
>
> "A. An increase in salary.
>
> "Q. And he took a neutral position; is that right?
>
> "A. He didn't like the children to be without teachers and, of course, as I understand it, their finance, the way they handled it in Minneapolis is very different from here. I mean where the board of education has control here I think it is the city council that has the control in Minneapolis."

It was also stated by Mr. Wopschall that the arguments over progressive education had been going on for some time in Pasadena, and that in choosing a new superintendent they intended to take this into consideration and explained the situation in Pasadena to the various candidates.

> "Q. (By Mr. Englebright) At the time that Dr. Goslin was being chosen was there any conflict in Pasadena over the type of education the children would receive?
>
> "A. Yes.
>
> "Q. In other words, at that time there was some sort of a progressive education versus education fight?
>
> "A. I believe that has been going on for 25 years.
>
> "Q. In Pasadena?
>
> "A. In Pasadena, yes. Every place.
>
> "Q. Then at the time you were choosing a new superintendent of schools you recognized there was some sort of a problem bothering at least some of the people in Pasadena?
>
> "A. Yes, I think there always will be.
>
> "Q. I see. And you took that into consideration? (in choosing a superintendent).
>
> "A. That is correct.

"Q. Then, I take it, that the type of superintendent of schools you were looking for was a superintendent who was, to quote you again, a middle-of-the-road educator? Was that your purpose?

"A. That's right, as far as—of course, that is my interpretation, middle-of-the-road."

In Dr. Goslin's testimony before the committee, he admitted that he had in the past been a member of the Progressive Education Association, which at one time was the leader in the promotion of progressive education in the school systems of the Nation, but is now known as the American Education Fellowship. He said he was a member of the John Dewey Society, formed in honor of John Dewey, the father of progressive education in America. Dr. Goslin stated he was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

The Bureau of Intercultural Education, about which this committee intends to issue a supplementary report, was the subject of a series of newspaper articles published in the New York *World Telegram* pointing out that a course for New York teachers on intercultural education, sponsored by the bureau, had been directed by two communist teachers. As a consequence the course was dropped from the New York City public schools.

This organization is designed to sponsor courses in intercultural relations in the school systems, and, as will be brought out in detail in our supplementary report, has many members who have a propensity for joining communist front organizations. The criticisms in New York were directed toward the communist doctrines being taught under the guise of better race relations. This organization is considered by many to be one of the strongest advocates of progressive education in America today.

Therefore, it would seem that while the Board of Education in searching for a new superintendent was looking for a man who would be responsive to changes requested by the parents, they obtained through their appointment of Dr. Goslin, a new superintendent who can be classified as being in the forefront of progressive education.

For example, on the fourteenth of September, 1950, after having been in Pasadena for almost two years, Dr. Goslin before an audience in Pasadena City College made the following statement published in the Pasadena newspapers:

> "The original structure of American education was imported virtually intact from Prussia where it was designed to perpetuate the aristocracy." * * * "This old system, under which you stay in school only as long as long [sic] as you can make the grade, helped develop an American aristocracy. But through the years we have developed a competing concept that believes education should be functional for all, that it should be adjusted to individual differences. During the past year this problem has come to the fore. It is a conflict between those who favor the traditional form of education, called the three R's, classical, or for the limited few, and those who want education for all types of children."



## (A) APPOINTMENTS BY DR. GOSLIN WHICH CREATED CONTROVERSY

In addition to the controversy which surrounded Dr. Goslin himself, a number of appointments made by him drew the ire of the opponents of progressive education.

After taking charge of the administration, Dr. Goslin proceeded to institute a summer course for the teachers of Pasadena known as the summer workshops. And it was the appointment of Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick as a lecturer to a specially chosen group of personnel at the first of these workshops that caused the greatest storm of protest.

The announced purpose of this workshop was to bring to the teachers of Pasadena lectures on methods and trends in education which the teachers had obtained in the past by attending summer sessions at the various universities and colleges. The main criticism made of this appointment was that in addition to being a member of many organizations listed by Congressional Un-American Activities Investigating Committees, Dr. Kilpatrick was also one of the leading exponents of the philosophy of progressive education in the United States. Dr. Kilpatrick is a professor emeritus in education, Columbia University, a member of the John Dewey Society, and Chairman of the Bureau for Intercultural Education.

Dr. Kilpatrick has held memberships in at least seven organizations which have been listed by various Un-American Activities Committees, one of these being Associated Film Audiences, cited by the 1948 Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities for California. Dr. Kilpatrick was a member of the executive board of this organization. Other members of the executive board were: Roswell P. Barnes, Algernon Black, Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, Lester Granger, Rita Hochheimer, Laurence Hosie, Spurgeon Keeny, Clyde R. Miller, Etta Schneider, Abbott Simon, Katherine Terrill, and Rose Terlin. In 1939, Associated Film Audiences was merged with Films for Democracy, another communist front organization and is now known as Film Audiences for Democracy.

Dr. Kilpatrick lectured to a select group of 30 teachers and administrators in Pasadena. The subject of his lectures was the theory of education that "We Learn What We Live," which is based upon the theory that all children learn what is experienced and, therefore, teachers should in the main teach by exposing the child to various situations rather than concentrate on the basic fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Recordings were made of these lectures and a book published by the Pasadena school system embodying them. These recordings and the book were used to carry his lectures to teachers who did not attend the course itself.

Dr. Kilpatrick's record, as stated above, was brought to the attention of the Board of Education. The question was asked, with knowledge of his background, did the board intend to continue to permit his recorded and published lectures to be used in the public schools? The board without explanation stated that they intended to continue their use.

In a letter to the Board of Education, the School Development Council brought this as well as other matters to the attention of the board and asked the members what they intended to do about them in light of the information presented.

Dr. Brower testified:

"Well, in the first place, this is an answer to a letter which we sent Mr. Milton Wopschall, and this is dated September 29, 1950. This is the reply from the Board of Education, and this is a statement, to start with:

"In answer to your letter of September 5th, in which you questioned the thoroughness of the evaluation of the curriculum content and methods of the Board of Education, the administration, and the teaching staff, are constantly on the alert to keep any subversive material out of all books, materials, and lectures, and then they go on to answer specific questions, and I think I will not bore the audience with all of it."

This was our question:

"What do our superintendent and assistant superintendent think of Mr. Kilpatrick now that they know he has been cited as in seven un-American front organizations by government investigating committees?"

The answer by the board of education was:

"The board and administration know only Dr. Kilpatrick's unquestioned reputation as one of a number of outstanding figures in contemporary American education."

This is our question:

"Knowing this, do they plan to eliminate his recorded lectures, his published words, and his philosophy from the Pasadena schools, material which cost the taxpayers more than $12,000?"

Answer:

"Neither the board of education nor the administration plan to eliminate Dr. Kilpatrick's recorded lectures and published words.

"We would further state that the cost of these materials was not $12,000, but the total expense and related costs is $3,117.30."

This is signed Milton Wopschall.

Dr. Goslin, shortly after his appointment brought from Minneapolis Dr. Robert S. Gilchrist, to serve as Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Pasadena. Dr. Gilchrist had served with Dr. Goslin in Minneapolis. While there was no particular criticism made of this appointment at the time, it subsequently became known that Dr. Gilchrist was vice president and a member of the board of directors of the American Education Fellowship, which prior to 1944 was known as the Progressive Education Association, an organization whose aim was the promotion of progressive education in American schools. Dr. Gilchrist is also listed as a consultant to the Bureau for Intercultural Education, the organization headed by Dr. Kilpatrick and whose board of directors includes Dr. Goslin.

One of the conditions insisted upon by Dr. Goslin in accepting the Pasadena post was the right to bring two members of his staff in Minneapolis with him to Pasadena. One of these was Miss Mary Beauchamp. Miss Beauchamp resigned from her position as administrative educational



assistant to the superintendent in Pasadena in August, 1950, some time prior to the committee hearings. However, prior to her resignation, Miss Beauchamp had been a highly controversial figure in Pasadena and the target of considerable criticism during the tax election. She had been frequently identified in the press with leftist groups, including members of the Independent Progressive Party.

The most recent appointment of Dr. Goslin's which drew objections from the community was that of Mr. George Gerbner. Mr. Gerbner had been appointed Assistant Curriculum Coordinator on the staff of the superintendent of schools three weeks prior to the date of these hearings. It was charged that Mr. Gerbner was not qualified for this appointment. He was also criticized for his association with the Progressive Citizens of America, an organization cited by the Un-American Activities Committee for California as a communist created and controlled organization.

Mr. Gerbner testified that this title of assistant curriculum coordinator was perhaps a bit ambiguous because in general he had nothing to do with the curriculum of the school system—rather he testified as the general duties of this position:

"A. * * * about my curriculum duties. I am a member of the California Study on General Education in the junior colleges. I have participated in the summer workshop which started the study. The study is now continuing during the year throughout the State in all the participating junior colleges. It will end with another summer workshop at UCLA next summer. As a member of this workshop, as an officer of one of their committees, part of my responsibilities as curriculum assistant in the Pasadena city schools is to bring news of development, state-wide, to the junior colleges of Pasadena and to bring news of development in Pasadena to the study for the mutual collaboration and enrichment of the California Study on General Education.

"Q. (By Senator Williams) Mr. Gerbner, as I understand from you, then, regardless of the fact that you are the curriculum assistant your duties don't coincide with that title? I thought the curriculum assistant would be connected with a group, commission, board, or committee that would actually study the items that would be brought up in textbooks, and so forth, for the students. Do I have the wrong slant on that?

"A. No. I believe you have the right slant, except that not every person who is connected with the curriculum office has the same duties. The duties are divided * * *. It just so happens that as my duties are part time teaching, part time general education in the junior college, and part time communication and information, and it mainly consists of editing the house organ, I could not possibly undertake any evaluation or reading of any textbooks."

It was brought out in the testimony that Mr. Gerbner had been a teacher for a period of only three years—that time spent in the Pasadena school system. He pointed out, however, that during the time in which he served in the U. S. Army he had received a little teaching experience. But the objection to Mr. Gerbner's appointment, while in part was based on his lack of experience, was that at one period of time he had been closely

connected with the publication of a paper published by the Progressive Citizens of America, an organization cited as Communist created and controlled by the Senate Investigating Committee on Un-American Activities in their reports in 1947, 1948, and 1949.

Mr. Gerbner did testify that after his discharge from the Army he had worked on a number of publications before being appointed as a teacher in Pasadena. He admitted, after being directly questioned on the point, that he had been editor of the *Progressive Citizen,* the paper published by the Progressive Citizens of America during a period in 1947 and 1948.

Although Mr. Gerbner contended he had nothing to do with the policies of this paper and did not receive any compensation, his name appears as editor on numerous issues which are a part of the record of this hearing.

"Q. (By Mr. Englebright) As a newspaper man, Mr. Gerbner, would you tell the committee some of your background there?

"A. Yes. I have studied journalism at the University of California at Berkeley and after my graduation I was hired by the San Francisco Chronicle as copy boy, as reporter, copy editor, feature writer, daily columnist, and assistant financial editor. I have done many—worked on a great number of publications ever since, several of them in the Army. I was first employed in the Pasadena School System as instructor in journalism and part of my duties at that time was to assist and advise in the publication of the college paper at John Muir College.

"Q. Mr. Gerbner, were you ever editor of the Progressive Citizens of America publication?

"A. Well, I have worked on a great number of publications in my capacity as a free lance newspaper man and, while I can't recall all of them, I believe I did some work upon my return from overseas on some such newspaper.

"Q. Was that the Southern California Progressive Citizens?

"A. I believe so.

"Q. Progressive Citizens of America. And you were editor of that publication at that time, were you not?

"A. I don't know what my official title was. I was engaged in gathering material and in printing and publishing a great number of publications while I was trying to secure employment in the newspaper field or in teaching.

"Q. I hand you a copy of *Progressive Citizens,* published by the Progressive Citizens of America, Volume I, No. 8, dated October, 1947. On page 4A is the chapter officers, and it lists the various vice chairmen of the organization, and as editor a Mr. George Gerbner. (Indicating a document.) Is that you, Mr. Gerbner?

"A. Yes, I believe so.

"Q. And you have the title of "Editor" in that publication.

"Q. (By Senator Williams) * * * You were the editor of this Southern California *Progressive Citizens* paper during 1947. Tell me, now, as an editor did you receive compensation for that?

"A. No, I didn't.

"Q. You mean you just worked at it for nothing; is that right?

"A. That is correct.



"Q. Was that during the time you were in school studying to be a teacher or you were just out of the Army, or what?

"A. I was just back from overseas.

"Q. You were just back from overseas, and you didn't have any employment other than this; is that right?

"A. That is correct.

"Q. Now, when Mr. Englebright, the counsel there, asked you about your different work you didn't say you were the editor of this *Progressive Citizens* until he finally pried that fact out of you; is that right? You just couldn't remember?

"A. I never said I was not editor of the *Progressive Citizens.*

"Q. You didn't list that in your activities in the press?

"A. I have worked on and edited, in some capacity, a great number of throw-away sheets, advertising sheets, literature of different types, and I did—I wasn't asked to mention all of them. I don't believe I could list all of them. I just mentioned general facts.

"Q. Tell me, now, in this paper there are other contributors to this paper, this *Progressive Citizens?* I notice quite a number of names here (indicating). Have any of these people that you know of been classified as being associated with subversive groups by any investigating committee that you know of?

"A. I don't know who those people are you are referring to.

"Q. Here is a man by the name of John H. Lawson, for instance, Do you know if he has ever been listed as connected with any subversive group? (See Appendix I.)

"A. I have heard—read some newspaper reports about it. I have no personal knowledge of it.

"Q. Here is a man by the name of Lester Cole (indicating.) Do you know if he has ever been listed as with any one connected with any subversive groups? (See Appendix I.)

"A. I believe I have read some press reports about his activities, and that is all I know about him.

"Q. Let's take the name of Gordon Kahn. Do you know anything about him? Has he been listed? (See Appendix I.)

"A. I am afraid I never heard of him.

"Q. How about a man by the name of Howard Koch? (See Appendix I.)

"A. I believe he is a motion picture writer and director, and that is all I know about him.

"Q. Well, he seems to be one of the vice presidents—a vice chairman, apparently of the Southern California Progressive Citizens chapter officers, but you never met the man; is that right?

"A. No, I haven't. That is correct.

"Q. (By Mr. Englebright) At the time you were editor, from some time in November, 1947, through at least January and February, 1948, at that time—as a preface to that question, do you believe it is the duty of a teacher to investigate the organizations to which he belongs? By that I mean do you believe the teacher has a duty to know the type of organizations to which he belongs or which he joins?

"A. I was not a teacher at the time. I believe every American citizen has the right and the duty to know the nature of an organization to which he belongs.

"Q. Mr. Gerbner, were you conscious of the fact that the Progressive Citizens of America had been cited by the Senate Investigating Committee on Un-American Activities as subversive in 1947, 1948, and 1949?

"A. No, I was not."

Mr. Gerbner also had appeared as a speaker on November 11, 1949, under the sponsorship of the Pasadena Nonpartisan Committee for Peace. Among others on the panel was Don Wheeldon, a reporter for the *Daily People's World*, a communist newspaper in California, whom this committee unsuccessfully attempted to subpena in order to hear his testimony in this regard. The Pasadena Nonpartisan Committee for Peace took part in a demonstration of the Southern California Peace Council on the twenty-seventh of January, 1951, at the city hall in Los Angeles. The organization at the time was opposing drafting of 18-year-olds and universal military training. The Southern California Peace Council supports the Stockholm Peace Appeal organization—the world wide communist front organization which was set up to counter the work being done by the Marshall Plan in Europe.

Apparently the only portion of the duties of the so-called Curriculum Coordinator for which Mr. Gerbner was eminently qualified was the job of editing the *Clearing House*, a newspaper put out by the superintendent's office for the teachers in the school system. This newspaper was created by Dr. Goslin to replace a quarterly newspaper formerly published by the superintendent's office and distributed to the teachers and parent-teachers organizations.

## CONTROVERSIAL METHODS OF TEACHING

Another cause for conflict surrounding the schools, was the use of certain methods of teaching alleged to be progressive such as lack of grading pupils for the parents, an elimination of competition within the classroom, and the use of some textbooks and reference reading lists recommending authors with long records of communist front organization affiliations.

When questioned on this matter, Dr. Brower replied:

"Q. (By Mr. Englebright) Doctor, perhaps you could give the committee some of your organization's beliefs as to what is happening in the Pasadena school system today.

"A. Well, you might liken public education, in Pasadena at least, and I think probably in other sections of the Country as well, to a patient who is very sick, and so, naturally, the proper thing is to start looking for symptoms, and we found several symptoms of the disease. Do you care to have any list of the symptoms that we thought we saw?

"Q. Well, I think that is proper to put before the committee, yes.

"A. Well, in the first place, we noticed there was a definite elimination of scholastic competition, abolition of grading, subversion of parental authority, undermining of parental influence, aiding and abetting immorality by the use of immoral and amoral textbooks on sex, destruction of patriotic attitudes of students, such as pride in America, by staging techniques typically communistic, such as refusal to answer direct questions, packing school board meetings, audience "plants" to ask the proper questions, use of friction in school board meetings, highly emotional support of administration, and vituperative attacks on our organization, and smearing techniques. And the use of such methods as noise-making, disorderly conduct, and so forth, to disrupt our meetings, support of Mr. Goslin and his administration by the People's World, and condemnation of his opposition by the People's World, the lack of development of pride in American heritage and, finally the finding that certain school personnel, visiting lecturers, authors of books and pamphlets, and films used in our schools are listed as members of communist fronts in various reports of Un-American Activities Investigating Committees."

This testimony, in general, seemed a summation of the major criticisms of progressive education made by the parents in Pasadena.

### (A) REPORT CARDS

The committee questioned Dr. Goslin in relation to the use of report cards. As Dr. Goslin testified, Pasadena had in use even prior to his appointment, a system whereby at the elementary level the basic method

of reporting was through direct conference between parents and teachers and that the parents did not receive the usual type of report card grading the child A through F until the child reached the junior high school or junior college level:

"Q. (By Senator Williams) Do you use such reports as that; A's, B's, C's, and D's?

"A. We do in junior high school and junior college.

"Q. How about in the elementary schools?

"A. Not—as far as I am aware at the moment, I think we do not at the elementary level in any instance, but I could be mistaken in terms of the upper grades.

"Q. What system do you use in the elementary schools?

"A. I am trying to indicate that we report to parents, in some instances face to face in conferences. The purpose of grading is to convey to parents and children how well the child is succeeding. We report partly in terms of conferences and, in addition, in more extensive reports through forms which have been developed here in a period of years that inform the parents about how well the child is doing in reading, arithmetic, and, in addition, how well he is getting along with his citizenship qualities and things of that sort. It is more nearly in terms of prose statements rather than in terms of a specific grade.

"Q. Do I gather from your answer that the actual grade of the child is determined by a conference between the teacher and the parents?

"A. Well, if you are talking about grades in terms of a specific grade like A, B, or C, we feel that there are ways to use the English language more completely and to tell the child and his parents, maybe, how he is getting along and what his needs are than you can do in terms of the use of a single letter. That is what we try to do, to build enough relationship between the home and school so the exchange of information could be in that fashion."

While your committee has no recommendations to make as to a choice in systems of grading, it is apparent that this system in Pasadena did not satisfy a large segment of the population. As has been pointed out previously in this report, many parents had made objections to this system of grading to the board of education.

Although competition had not been entirely eliminated, the system in use had been modified so that the emphasis on competition between students had been directed away from good marks to other areas, as Dr. Goslin testified:

"A. * * * I understand the implication of your question to be as to whether or not the child is in competition and whether or not that is good. He is, in a given area, in competition, from my point of view. He is in competition in terms of the things he gets to do in the classroom, and children will separate themselves out into the things they can do well. He is in competition on the athletic field. He is in competition in terms of many of the activities sponsored by the schools."



*Testimony of Mr. Pridonoff*

The committee was fortunate in having appear to testify before it Mr. Eric L. Pridonoff. Mr. Pridonoff was called before the committee because he had been, just following World War II, the economic officer to the American Embassy in Yugoslavia and was there able to study communism in action. Mr. Pridonoff stated in his testimony that he had an opportunity to weigh the modifications made in the school system of Yugoslavia after the communists came to power. He stated:

"* * * The first thing that occurred was the elimination of the grading system. As I later questioned some Soviet officials who became very friendly with me, their aim was not just a desire to eliminate opportunity, but they said there is a better way to prepare students for a socialized state; in short, eliminate competition and prepare a group of loafers so the State can lead them later on."

"* * * By the time I left Yugoslavia they had about eliminated the grading system entirely, even the "Satisfactory" and "Unsatisfactory" system. That, of course, all fits into the socialistic idea of eliminating competition. By the time the child grows up, and I am quoting from statements made to me by some Soviet officials who escaped into Austria and Italy, and their problem was handling education in Yugoslavia, they said the whole problem is, in the communistic teaching, to eliminate competition in the minds of the student so when he grows up he has no way of making a living and fight the world and world problems but to lean on some one and, of course, the some one would be the state."

And Mr. Pridonoff stated in regard to his observations of progressive education in general as used by communists:

"I would like to make a little statement in connection with what I have observed, not necessarily in Pasadena, but in the general progressive education system in the United States. I had an opportunity to lecture in several states, including Army air bases and Marine Corps units, on the general purposes of communism, and I discussed the education system with many teachers, as well as parents, and I feel there is a great similarity in many phases of our present progressive education system with what the communists want them to do. I am not making accusations that our educators pushing progressive education are communists, but they are certainly making it possible to put through ideas the communists are after and Sovietize our system. I have noticed in some schools in the United States the grading system has been eliminated completely. I also know in many places teachers refuse to have students do any work at home. I also know, from school books I have read, they are being—that are being given to our students today, where certain things are being pushed across as far as international and world government are concerned. I don't know whether world government is going to solve the problem nor do I know its movement, but we do know they are selling to our students world government and, so far as I know, our government has not accepted that this solution, world government, is going to solve the problem."

While Mr. Pridonoff's other testimony before the committee stated that he did not believe that our educators in general were knowingly acting to aid the communists in their program, he did feel that due to their lack of understanding of the techniques used by the Communist Party, they were unwittingly being lead along the same lines.

### (B) TEXTBOOKS

Another source of complaint to the board was that certain textbooks in use in the schools were subversive in character and were written by authors who had long lists of affiliations with communist front organizations. These same books also recommended for additional reading by the pupils, other books written by authors with the same kind of affiliations. As a graphic example of the use of controversial material, it was admitted by a member of the board of education that the "Building America" series was available to students on the shelves of the Pasadena schools for use as outside reading material. Your committee, in its report in 1948, exposed this series as containing a large number of objectionable articles and many authors affiliated with communist front organizations. The textbook, "American Democracy, Today and Tomorrow," at present in use in the Pasadena Schools, had been called to the attention of the board of education as containing reading lists recommending authors who were members of many communist front organizations.

Mr. Lawrence C. Lamb, a member of the board of education, stated in his testimony that the board of education had never gone into the question as to whether this text was subversive as alleged. However, a perusal of the reading list recommended for pupils by this compulsory text, an analysis of which is included in this report as Appendix II, will show that 28 authors were recommended who belonged to numerous organizations cited as subversive by various un-American activities investigating committees.

Another example of the type of objectionable study material used in Pasadena was a supplementary reading list issued for use in connection with a course in intercultural relations. Many of the authors of books recommended for additional reading in connection with this course have been cited as having numerous communist front memberships. An analysis of this reading list is included in this report as Appendix III. This reading list was taken from a syllabus prepared in the Pasadena school system to be used in the course in intercultural relations. This course is a course designed to teach the interrelationship of the various cultures and races of the earth and attempts to teach in a general way the interrelationships of various peoples down through the ages, rather than placing emphasis upon one aspect of their history or social development. For as it was stated in the introduction to this syllabus the meaning of the term intercultural education is "the intentional effort through education to secure more just, harmonious, and democratic relationships among the racial, national, religious, and economic groups of our society." An effective long range program of intercultural education should result in the development and maintenance of a decent way of life for all persons regardless of race, creed, or economic status.



### (C) MOTION PICTURE FILMS

In addition to textbooks, other controversial teaching materials included motion picture films.

Dr. Brower testified about the use of films as follows:

"Q. (By Senator Weybret) Have you seen any of those pictures?

"A. Yes.

"Q. In your opinion, do they neglect to teach the real fundamentals?

"A. I think they spend a considerable amount of time looking at pictures, if I am not badly mistaken.

"Q. Rather than getting the fundamentals?

"A. Rather than getting the fundamentals.

"Q. Who is the head of this department in your local schools?

"A. Harry Hallworth, I believe.

"Q. He is responsible for the introduction of these films?

"A. I don't think he is responsible for the introduction of this material; I think that is a part of the policy of the people who decide about curriculum.

"Q. Then, would you say that the board had something to do with that?

"A. I think the administration and the board certainly must be responsible for that sort of material.

"Q. Have you come in contact with any of the children in regard to their expressions concerning this type of teaching?

"A. Yes, I have.

"Q. What is their attitude?

"A. In another picture, it was mentioned that—it shows a rather large man, with a big, black cigar, and he is represented as a banker, and he is a thoroughly disreputable person, and by constantly referring to that sort of thing this child I talked to got the idea that all bankers were of that nature.

"Q. Then those pictures do nothing more than create hatred and distrust? Is that what you want to say?

"A. That is correct."

The effect of some films dealing with the subject of race prejudice can well be to bring about the solidarity of all other races in opposition to the white race, one of the most important objectives of the Moscow Communist Politburo. Too often only the white man is filmed as intolerant. No mention is made of the treatment of Moslems in India or of Hindus in Pakistan, or the prompt execution of political dissenters in the Soviet Union and subjugated satellite nations.

Such films are pure communist propaganda and in no sense truthful, educational material although some have been translated into foreign languages for export from this country. To thrust this type of film upon the unsuspecting children of our schools is reprehensible. Our nation is in fact the most tolerant of any nation in the world in its treatment of minorities.

### (D) SUMMER WORKSHOPS

Another feature of the Pasadena school system which drew complaints from the public was the use of school moneys to set up a summer

workshop for teachers. This was a program instituted by Dr. Goslin shortly after he became the superintendent of schools. These workshops were set up for a period of five weeks during the summer vacation for Pasadena teachers. During the period of attendance they spent time in consultation, in discussion groups about their teaching problems, and the problems of education in general.

"Dr. Goslin was questioned in regard to the workshops:

"Q. (By Mr. Englebright) That summer workshop was set up as a substitute, was it, for the ordinary summer sessions or courses teachers take from time to time to keep their credentials intact?

"A. Well, I don't know that it ought to be designated as a substitute, * * * (the workshops were) set up for a period of five weeks, during which time they spend some six or seven hours a day in study consultation, in discussion groups about their problems and our problems of education in Pasadena, and to the degree that they were improved there as teachers would be who would go to summer school at a university. It did represent a substitute for those people at that time and we did recognize that attendance in terms of advancement on our salary schedule.

"Q. I believe, as I understood it, your plan is eventually to have such courses recognized by the universities or the State Department of Education, too?

"A. We have had no direct conversations with the State Department of Education other than just some informal ones about such procedures, but we have been in consultation with representatives of the schools or departments of educations of the universities of this area about their cooperation in such activities."

It was the intention that teachers would come to these workshops and broaden their knowledge within any field of education in which they were particularly interested. According to Dr. Goslin the workshop was to supplement work done in the universities in relation to the local problems of Pasadena itself. When questioned by Senator Weybret, he testified:

"Q. (By Senator Weybret) Let's find out what was taught in this special school, division, of this workshop?

"A. Teachers come to this workshop with problems. It may be they wish to learn more about the teaching of reading. They may wish to learn more about the broad area of handicrafts. That is, how to go into their classrooms and do a better job in enriching programs with children. They may come to the workshop wishing to learn more about the broad area of child growth and development. There has been a very great deal of development in America in the last 15 or 20 years in our knowledge in how to present materials and situations to children so they will get the greatest good and maximum growth out of their school experience, and the workshop is a chance to put together in the local community some of the best of our own leadership results, plus some we invite from the outside, where teachers sit down with such leadership for several hours a day and work on the job of becoming better teachers."



It was, therefore, with this purpose in mind that outside lecturers were brought in and hearing and discussion groups formed. Dr. Goslin estimated the cost of this summer workshop as about $8,000 a summer. This expense included salaries for lecturers and the general expenses of running such a course. In addition, it was brought out in the testimony that in the first summer workshop in the summer of 1949, the teachers who attended received $100 apiece as compensation for attending the session and were required to pay $60 of the $100 toward the cost of the program. It was agreed by those opposed to the program, that this was definitely a strong factor in inducing teachers to attend inasmuch as the universities to which they would normally go for the summer work would require them to pay tuition and their own expenses while living away from home. Furthermore, Pasadena did recognize attendance at the workshop in advancing salary schedules.

The contention was made that these workshops unnecessarily spent moneys which could be used for other purposes within the school system. They simply duplicated the services supplied by the numerous excellent universities such as "University of California of Los Angeles, University of Southern California, Occidental College, University of California, Santa Barbara, Whittier College, University of Redlands and Loyola University" surrounding the Pasadena area.

The portion of the 1949 Session which drew the most criticism was a special session for a select group of 30 teachers conducted by Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick. Dr. Kilpatrick's record and background have been mentioned earlier in this report.

The charge had been made that it was from this small group of 30 teachers who received the special attention of Dr. Kilpatrick that Dr. Goslin drew the majority of his candidates for promotion to the more important supervisory positions on his staff. And while your committee has no means of knowing the reasons for his promotions it should be pointed out that of the 18 appointments or promotions to the upper positions on the staff of the superintendent of schools nine were given to persons who attended the special Kilpatrick lectures. (See Appendix IV.)

As was stated previously, when Dr. Kilpatrick's lecture series was completed, his lectures were embodied in recordings and published in book form for general dissemination to the Pasadena teachers. The subject of his course was "We Learn What We Live," and as can be seen from the following excerpts from this book, certainly can not be classified as a conservative educational philosophy:

"* * * Perhaps we can agree that the purpose of education is the achievement of the good life. Education might be developing individuals to the place where they can face life in all of its various changes, face it to control it as far as they can. We are trying to educate young people to the place where they can measurably control the situations as they arise in life in the direction of the good life. When we say 'the good life,' we have to be very careful that we understand just what those words mean. The good life is life good to live.

"Does good vary from place to place, from time to time?

"The only answer we can give you is yes. It is good under the circumstances, good as we have to face it, good as we have to take

it, the best we can do under the circumstances. The good life consists of all the qualities which make life good * * *
" * * * We might say that it is the aim, the ideal, which the wisest and best among us would choose for those whom we most love. What we are driving at is that all may live the rich, full life, as nearly as possible; each in himself as he enjoys it, and all together. * * * "

Dr. Kilpatrick has this to say about the parent-child relationship:

"When one discovers in children a poor set of values, how do you go about changing them?

"Start where the child is. No matter how poor his values are, he has some which are better than others. You have a scale of values in these terms. When you get as many of the high ones going as you can, they reach out. You guide those and they reach out. You may do something to discourage the low values, but that isn't nearly as good as doing something positive to encourage the high ones. This is a problem that requires close home cooperation.

If we can't manage to get the home and the school closer together, we are not going to succeed very well in some of our most essential things. That gives us one of our main problems, because many, many parents form their ideas about school by having gone to school a generation ago. They are afraid of anything different. Many of those parents have a very inadequate social outlook, especially when you come to human relations and group relations. Many parents, otherwise excellent, have very inadequate group attitudes, and so teach their children in advance wrong ways to think and feel.

The fourth principal aim of education is proper human relations. This involves respect for personality and equality of opportunity."

Dr. Kilpatrick in his book *The Teacher and Society,* on page 61 thereof, seems to feel that the "good life" is also being reached in other countries than the United States. He says:

"The dictatorial method promises quicker returns and seems, to certain types of mind, also surer. It is the method we have seen at work in Russia, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere. This is not to put all these countries in the same class. The ultimate social aims of the U. S. S. R. seem to be fundamentally different from those of the Fascist countries. It appears at least at this distance that the U. S. S. R. set out to bring the good life equally to all, and so looks forward beyond an inaugurative period of force and violence."

While Dr. Goslin denied it was his intention to introduce further progressive ideas of education into Pasadena, it should be noted that Dr. Goslin is a director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education and Dr. Kilpatrick is chairman of the board of directors, that both are members of the John Dewey Society. And it can be inferred from his action in bringing Dr. Kilpatrick all the way from New York for six days of lectures that Dr. Goslin is in accord with Dr. Kilpatrick's theories of education. There would, therefore, seem to be some basis for the charge that he planned to continue the program of progressive education in Pasadena.

## TAX ELECTION

The election held in June of 1950 for the purpose of increasing the tax rate of elementary school taxes presented the issue which openly split the City of Pasadena on the question of education. It was largely due to this tax election that Pasadena attracted national attention. Previous to this time, there had been many complaints to the Board of Education, many appearances both in favor of and against certain programs instituted by the former as well as the present superintendent of schools, but until this tax election the issue had never been put before the public. While it was not the intention of the Board of Education to use this tax election as a public opinion survey of the citizenry; nevertheless, both the groups in favor of the schools as they stood and those opposing the school administration seized upon this election as an opportunity to present their views and obtain a reaction from the public.

The major groups which went on record in support of the Board of Education were the Pasadena Education Association, whose membership comprised a large majority of the teachers in the Pasadena schools, the Chamber of Commerce, and various labor organizations. The leading organized group opposed to the increase was the Pasadena School Development Council.

As part of their contribution to the campaign, the Pasadena Education Association published a series of news bulletins which were sent to the members of the organization and, according to testimony received by this committee, to all the teachers in Pasadena. This bulletin, in particular attacked the School Development Council and defended the school administration from charges made that the Pasadena school child was receiving an extreme form or type of progressive education and that the additional moneys realized by the increase in taxes would be used to further this philosophy of teaching.

Among the campaign materials used by the School Development Council to defend their position, and which caused great comment, was a pamphlet published by the National Council for American Education written by a Mr. Allen A. Zoll. The use of this pamphlet was violently attacked in the final issue of the Pasadena Education Association news bulletin, and the writer of the pamphlet, Mr. Zoll, was castigated as a hate monger. It was further charged that the use of this pamphlet showed that the School Development Council was part of a nation-wide organization headed by Mr. Zoll whose purpose was to undermine American education and which was backed by penny-pinching tax hating groups which were more interested in their dollars than in the welfare of children and people.

It was an article in this bulletin which made the most serious charges against the School Development Council. (See Appendix V.) And, yet, it was admitted before the committee by Mr. Blair Nixon, Personnel Director of the Pasadena School System, that apparently the 15 directors of the Pasadena Education Association had taken upon themselves to edit and publish this campaign literature, vigorously

attacking the School Development Council, without consulting the rank and file of their own organization.

"Q. (By Senator Williams) Did those (the bulletins) come from the organization you say you are a member of, that represents 94 percent, more or less, of the teachers?

"A. Well, again, I am not talking as a director or any officer of the P. E. A. As a member of the P. E. A., I did receive this material and I assume it came from them.

"Q. Do you construe those things as a smear campaign against the efforts of this council, School Development Council? Do you construe those as a smear campaign against that organization?

"A. What witness here before used that word 'smear' first? I have it in my notes.

"Q. I may be mistaken, but I thought it was Dr. Brower, but I thought he said——

"A. I think Dr. Brower did use the words, 'smear campaign,' and I suppose we would say the job was equally well done, or better, by the opposition group.

"Q. In your organization did you, as a member—you are a member of the organization that published those statements?

"A. Yes, that's right.

"Q. Did you yourself have any active part in the publication of them?

"A. No, I did not. I didn't see them until they were printed and on my desk.

"Q. What percentage of the 94 percent of the total membership of this organization they were published for actually had something to do with passing on those statements that were made there?

"A. Again, I am not talking for the organization, but just as a member of it, and not an officer of it, but the Pasadena Education Association is represented by a board of directors of 15 people, who are elected by the total group of the P. E. A. The board of directors, by its own constitution and by-laws, is entitled to take certain actions; this type of an action would be one of those actions.

"Q. (By Senator Williams) You feel, Mr. Nixon, that the 15 members, if there were 15 members that drew up this printed material, actually had the right to do so; is that right?

"A. In my opinion and to the best of my knowledge they do. That is not official, because I haven't read that constitution for some time, but I am assuming that's right."

It is apparent from Mr. Nixon's testimony that the P. E. A. was run and controlled by the 15 directors of the organization. If they could apparently act as they did in publishing as important a matter as this bulletin, it would follow that other matters would also be decided upon without consulting the membership of the organization.

It is interesting to note in this connection, that one of the 15 directors of this organization is Mr. George Gerbner who had been in the Pasadena school system for only three years. Mr. Gerbner admitted that he had contributed articles to this bulletin in his testimony before the committee.



It would appear from the P. E. A. bulletin that the National Education Association furnished the material from which the attacks upon the School Development Council were based. To quote the bulletin:

"The Pasadena School Development Council supplements such 'principles' by distributing pamphlets issued by a National Council for American Education, 1 Maiden Lane, N. Y., and written by an Allen A. Zoll of whom you may have heard. If not, we refer you to the following documentation: *N. Y. World Telegram,* August 25, 1948, under the heading: 'Zoll, Hate-Monger, Promotes New Racket,' and October 7, 1949, headed: 'Wainwright Quits Education Council with Fascist Taint;' *Time Magazine,* July 10, 1939, *A Measure of Freedom* by Arnold Foerster [sic], Doubleday and Co., N. Y., 1950. Attached is a photostatic copy of the *N. Y. World Telegram* articles and the cover of the 15-page pamphlet distributed widely at the Pasadena School Development Council meetings entitled 'Progressive Education Increases Delinquency.' Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the N. E. A. (National Education Association) wrote us that this is the kind of propaganda circulated nationally by 'penny-pinching, tax-fighting groups that are more interested in their dollars than in the welfare of children and people'."

When the committee questioned Dr. Brower, the president of the School Development Council in regard to this pamphlet, "Progressive Education Increases Delinquency," (see Appendix VI) Dr. Brower explained:

"Q. (By Mr. Englebright) Doctor, there have been certain accusations made during the tax rate increase election toward your group from Dr. Simpson, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the National Education Association, and members, or citizens of the City of Pasadena, in respect to certain materials which you used during that election. I am referring specifically to certain pamphlets published by a man by the name of Zoll for an organization, the National Council of American Education.

"A. That is correct.

"Q. Did the School Development Council use those materials in the election?

"A. We did.

"Q. Did you use those pamphlets under the direction of this National Council of American Education?

"A. We ran across the pamphlet, we read the contents, we agreed thoroughly with the contents of the pamphlet, and we felt it would be proper literature for us to use at our meetings, and I think we still think so. Insofar as the content is concerned, we have nothing to find wrong with it.

"Q. (By Chairman Dilworth) Did you only use the one pamphlet?

"A. Just the one pamphlet.

"Q. I have a pamphlet, "Progressive Education Increased Delinquency." Is that the pamphlet?

"A. That is the pamphlet.

"Q. (By Mr. Englebright) Doctor, you state you obtained this pamphlet—you didn't tell me how you first obtained this pamphlet which you have used?

"A. One of our members obtained a copy of the pamphlet. She showed it to Mr. Williams [a member of the School Development Council, not Senator J. Howard Williams, a member of this committee], to myself, we read it, and agreed it was the proper type of literature for us to use.

"Q. Did you know anything of the organization which——"

"A. Nothing whatsoever. We simply went on the basis of the content.

"Q. As far as Mr. Zoll was concerned, he was simply some one who was publishing pamphlets in the educational line?

"A. That is correct.

"Q. Doctor, let me ask you this question: Did you have any intention at the time you used this pamphlet in evidence, produced by Mr. Zoll, to further the aims of any organization of which he was a member?

"A. None whatsoever.

"Q. And you stated you still believe that the material contained therein is perfectly proper?

"A. I do."

Due to the extent of the controversy over the use of this pamphlet, the committee also questioned Mr. Frank W. Wells, President of the School Development Council at the time of the tax election. Mr. Wells gave the same explanation as to how the members of his organization came upon this pamphlet as given by Dr. Brower. He also stated that no member of the organization was in any way connected with the National Council for American Education.

Your committee was particularly interested in this question inasmuch as the use of this pamphlet also seemed to create controversy in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of California as well as within the membership of the National Education Association. Dr. Simpson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, stated in California Schools of August, 1950, his monthly bulletin to California teachers as follows:

> " * * * It is extremely important that such insidious invasion of a community activity being undertaken by citizens in good faith should be clearly and unmistakably identified. The publication of this identification in Pasadena in a major newspaper of the community is a real service. What is the motive activating this group? Is it primarily mercenary? There is no place in California public education for fascist, antisemitic or totalitarian influences. School executives, our school trustees, our boards of education and our parent-teachers associations, must be made aware of this danger. I consider it extremely serious."



However, when your committee inquired of Dr. Simpson's office as to any further information he might have in this regard, the following teletype was received:

> "Senator Dilworth c/o Legis Council State Bldg Los Angeles. Your letter Nov 8 reached me upon my return to Sacramento today subject dividends [quotations?] from public education pages referred to in your letter disclose the only information this office has. Simpson Educ Sacramento Sac JB"

The National Education Association in addition to furnishing material to the Pasadena Education Association, produced a pamphlet entitled "Defense Bulletin" quoting a speech before the National Education Association by the chairman of the National Commission for the defense of Democracy through Education, an affiliate organization. The Chairman, Mr. Harold Benjamin, in his speech entitled "Report on the Enemy," (See Appendix VII) alluded to the situation in Pasadena as the "recent Pasadena case" and stated as follows:

> "In the recent Pasadena case, for example, antitax groups, heated "patriots," and opponents of Columbia University's "red" pragmatism rallied behind a general, or chief-of-staff, named Allen A. Zoll * * * In Pasadena a few weeks ago, they said they were shocked to learn of Mr. Zoll's past connections but that his pamphlet on "Progressive Education Increases Delinquency" was good stuff, and then they voted overwhelmingly against a badly needed increase in the levy for elementary education."

It is not apparent from the pamphlet whether the enemy Mr. Benjamin was alluding to was groups of citizens opposed to progressive trends in education or the general public.

It seems strange to your committee that a person high in the circle of national educators should allude to the public in general or groups of citizens in this manner.

Certainly it would seem from the testimony of both Dr. Brower and Frank W. Wells concerning Mr. Zoll's pamphlet that no member of the School Development Council was in any way connected with Mr. Zoll's organization nor did they have any knowledge of Mr. Zoll or his background at the time the pamphlet was used.

While your committee is not prepared to comment on the merits and demerits of the Zoll pamphlet, certainly there is nothing contained therein that would in any way bring it under the classification of communist or fascist literature, intended to undermine the government.

After this campaign the people of Pasadena rejected the tax increase by a majority of better than two to one. One result of this contest was that there were more votes cast against the tax proposition than the entire vote cast in any previous school election. As a result of this defeat at the polls, and the claim by the School Development Council that this defeat proved that the people of Pasadena were dissatisfied with the progressive type of education, the Pasadena Education Association had a public opinion survey taken by a private concern. The results of this survey revealed that of the general public questioned more than half felt that the present methods of teaching fundamental subjects was not

as productive as less progressive methods. Further, the survey showed that a majority of these felt that there was not enough of the fundamental three R's type of education being taught in the Pasadena schools.

In addition to the survey ordered by the P. E. A., the chamber of commerce decided to form a committee for the purpose of determining in what manner the school system could and should be changed. However, after some discussion with the board of education, the board decided to handle this survey and appoint the members of the committee. The survey committee which was appointed by the board of education was intended to include as many divergent groups as possible and a general cross-section of the City of Pasadena. Its purpose is to look into the entire problem of public education in Pasadena and attempt to formulate a plan which will be satisfactory to the citizens. At the date of the preparation of this report, the survey committee had not rendered any public findings; therefore, your committee has no way of reporting what recommendations or changes will be made.

As previously indicated, at the time of these hearings, the school board had requested Dr. Goslin's resignation. Just prior to the date of these hearings, Dr. Goslin was attending a convention in New York. The school board held a meeting and by a vote of four to one decided to request his resignation. Thereupon a telegram was sent signed by the four members requesting him to submit his resignation to them. Upon receipt of this telegram which he made public, Dr. Goslin returned to Pasadena for the purpose of negotiating the termination of his contract which had some 18 months to run. It was while this negotiating was in progress that these hearings were held and Dr. Goslin and the board members appeared before your committee.

The committee questioned members of the board of education as to the reasons for this action, and the following testimony by Mr. Lawrence Lamb seemed to explain the board's position in this matter.

"Q. (By Senator Williams) You are a member of the school board and were at the time a wire was sent to Dr. Goslin in New York; is that right?

"A. That's right.

"Q. Was it signed by you and the other members that concurred in the wire or just by the president of the board?

"A. It was signed by all four who concurred in it.

"Q. I haven't been able to determine in my mind, and I would like to have you tell the committee in your own words, the need for sending a wire asking for Dr. Goslin's resignation.

"A. The only reason we sent the wire was because we thought he should tender his resignation.

"Q. I mean could you tell the committee why you felt his resignation was necessary?

"A. Well, I would sum it up—you mean as to the reasons that led us to that conclusion?

"Q. Yes. That's right.

"A. We felt there were a sufficient number of people in the community who did not agree with Dr. Goslin, his methods and with the way he handled the office, so that we didn't have peace and harmony in the community and we felt the only way to restore that was through another superintendent.

"Q. At the time you people sent the wire had there been any discussion about asking for Dr. Goslin's resignation, prior to his leaving for this meeting in New York?

"A. Not prior to that, but he had told the members of the board as early as last July that any time we wanted his resignation he would give it to us.

"Q. What brought about or what do you believe was the reason for that statement being made?

"A. It came right after the tax election, when there was a great deal of confusion in the minds of the board, and of Mr. Goslin and everybody else, as to what were the real reasons for the tax election being lost, and we all were uncertain about it, and we still are, as far as that goes."



Thereafter, Frank Walkup who had been a school principal in the school system for some years was appointed acting superintendent of schools.

The new superintendent's task was not make any easier by a public statement issued at this point by Dr. Goslin to the press which was published as follows:

"GOSLIN DENOUNCES SCHOOL THEORY FOES

"Ousted Pasadena Superintendent Blasts Citizens, Teachers, Press

"Denunciation of all of those who have opposed his educational theories was made yesterday in a public statement issued by Willard E. Goslin, who Tuesday resigned as Pasadena Superintendent of Schools at the request of the Pasadena Board of Education.

"Goslin named the Southland Press, the teachers' faction opposing his administration and citizens' organizations which fought his schooling theories as chiefly responsible for Pasadena's public school problems.

"FRUSTRATED GROUP

"In the prepared statement he said he wished to 'alert all friends of public education' to these problems.

" 'Within the school system itself,' he stated, 'there is cause for concern * * * there is within the staff a small, selfish frustrated group of individuals who frequently place their own interests ahead of the welfare of the school system * * * This group has had much to do with developing and maintaining the uncertainty existing here.'

"Goslin denied the board of education's contention of a deep-seated rift within the school system and termed the charge plain eyewash. He said his professional opposition had through 'careful planning' and with the support of 'certain community minorities' undermined his administration by influencing the board of education.

"TAX OPPONENTS

"The 'community minorities' referred to by Goslin were believed by the school board, according to its members, to be in fact the majority of Pasadena voters who had defeated last June's school tax increase measure because of displeasure over Goslin's policies.

"Goslin contended that certain unidentified groups were nothing but 'self-appointed saviors of the American scene who are afraid of the social and political consequences of free education'."

"NEWSPAPERS ACCUSED

"'I would not go so far as to say the press in this area is opposed to the public schools,' Goslin continued, 'but I would say that the press has so mixed its reporting and reaction about the program of education, administration of the school system, financial problems of the schools and other matters as to leave the reading public in a confused state about the basic institution—their school system.'

"Immediately after the Pasadena Board of Education had accepted Goslin's resignation, the educator told the boardroom audience that he had brought his controversial case out into the open primarily to establish the democratic right of teachers and laymen alike to differ in their educational opinions."

## CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion of your committee concerning the Pasadena situation is that there is nothing involved in Pasadena that can not be settled by the citizens of that city, but it is also apparent that Pasadena must have a school administration which will try to give the people the type of public education that they desire. The problem in Pasadena is not so grave but that much good should come from this controversy because today in Pasadena there is more interest in education than ever before. It is through this public interest and the exercise of the franchise that Pasadena should arrive at a solution to its problems. For, rightly or wrongly, it is the law in California that the citizens within each school district through the election of their board of education shall control the policies of their own schools. And it is certainly one basis of American government that the composite opinion of the people is seldom wrong and is always safe.

However, the committee found certain conditions in Pasadena which should be corrected. Surrounding Pasadena are many well administered school districts. These districts use methods as modern as those in use in the Pasadena schools, but they have also eliminated many methods and procedures modern or "progressive" which tend only to incite criticism and controversy; for if there is one thing clear about the Pasadena school administration, it was its obstinacy in insisting on clinging to methods of instruction, textbooks, films and other study materials in the face of strong disapproval by parents and charges of unfitness of this program.

There are available textbooks which could replace those in use which do not contain or recommend the study of the works of authors who have been active in the subversive attack on our American institutions.

The board could have avoided much embarrassment and the pupils would have greatly benefited if responsibility had been fixed for the selection of textbooks and library books.

It should be a matter of permanent record which individuals on the staff, read or examine textbooks and recommend their purchase. Advisory committees from the community could well be used to assist the administration.

Of course, more latitude is expected in the selection of reference books for the library, but here again, it should be a matter of record which staff members approve each book for purchase. This is just good management to bring about the efficient use of tax funds as well as an intelligent selection of books of value.

It should seem clear that if a choice is to be made between retaining controversial methods or their elimination for the sake of harmony within the system, that any one method of teaching is not that important—particularly if, by its elimination, harmony and confidence in the system will ensue.

One of the solutions to the problem in Pasadena would seem to be a closer cooperation between the school administration and parents of children of school age. One of the best ways to accomplish this would be

through a greater understanding and agreement between the parents and teachers as to the aims of their school program.

The presence of a lecturer in the summer workshops who was affiliated with communist front organizations could be expected to cause dissatisfaction and criticism. With the availability of several fine universities in the near vicinity, it is not strange that there arose much opposition to the use of school moneys for the promotion of these summer workshops. This is especially true at a time when the school system was asking for an increase in funds.

It should also be remembered that an interested and enlightened public will vigorously object to the subjection of the teachers of their children to the doctrines of visiting lecturers who have long communist front affiliation backgrounds.

Your committee could not understand why, with the educational talent available in Pasadena with many years of distinguished and satisfactory service in the Pasadena school system, that it was necessary to go outside to fill so many of the higher positions within the administrative staff. This is especially true when considered in connection with the appointment of a person such as Mr. George Gerbner to a position well up on the administrative staff of the superintendent of schools after having served in the school system for a period of only three years.

When these factors are considered together with the activities prevailing at some of the school board meetings such as audience packing, booing and catcalls which were allowed to drown out the voices of interested resident citizens of Pasadena in attendance, and the vigorous support of the school administration by the *Daily People's World*, the communist newspaper, one should certainly hope to find as was the case in Pasadena, a thoroughly aroused public. The following is a typical excerpt from the *Daily People's World*. This appeared in the April 28th issue, 1950:

> "SHOWDOWN NEARS IN FIGHT ON PASADENA SCHOOL POLICY
>
> "Pasadena, April 27—Basic principles of modern progressive education are being challenged in a showdown rapidly developing in the Pasadena City School District. The vital question of segregated schools, the widely practiced system of creating 'neutral zones' in order to allow white supremacist parents to divert their children away from 'mixed' schools; the question of adequate social services in the schools such as school nurses, counseling and psychiatry services; the question of full-time 180-minute daily sessions for kindergartens—these are some of the questions in the balance.
>
> "There are others, the enlargement of the classroom system by five new schools to lessen the pupil load per teacher and to avoid half-day sessions; the question of increased salaries for teachers and noncertified school personnel are some of the others.
>
> "THE CHALLENGE
>
> "On top of it all there has risen the question: Shall a relatively small group of private citizens, including the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce and Realty Board, be given a right to act as a sort of vetoing body over and above the school board?



> "THE MORE PROGRESSIVE MAJORITY OF PASADENA'S POPULATION, INCLUDING THE NEGRO PEOPLE, AND PROGRESSIVE, CHURCH AND VARIOUS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, ARE LINING UP TO SUPPORT THE FORWARD-LOOKING EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT WILLARD E. GOSLIN AGAINST THE WHITE SUPREMACIST CLIQUE AND PENNY-PINCHING CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND REALTY BOARD.
>
> "The showdown is rapidly developing.
>
> "On Wednesday of this week, the so-called Pasadena School Development Council proposed that a supercommittee of the C. of C., real estate interests and the Development Council itself be authorized to fine-tooth-comb the school budget and say whether it was satisfactory to these special interests before being officially adopted by the board of education.
>
> "This was the latest move in the general assault on Superintendent Goslin's program of education in Pasadena. But the main battle of the moment is undoubtedly that around the school board-announced rezoning of junior high school districts, soon to be followed by a similar rezoning of elementary school boundaries. * * *
>
> "FALSE CHARGES
>
> "The economy boys howled that Goslin wanted to spend $150,000 for counseling and psychiatric services—it turned out to be $13,000. He also wants $11,000 for additional school nurses and doctors.
>
> "For these and for other increased expenses of salary increases, opening of new schools and lengthening of the kindergarten day, the school board is proposing a special election on June 2d to allow the voters to increase the elementary school tax limit from its present ceiling of 90 cents per $100 of assessed valuation to $1.35.
>
> "In sum total, reactionary, white supremacist, tax-dodging forces in Pasadena, finding themselves unable longer to dominate and control the city's school system, are trying by a multiplicity of attacks to unseat the superintendent of schools and cow the board of education into submission.
>
> "Labor is solidly backing the program, particularly the nonjimcrow rezoning, through the San Gabriel Valley AFL Central Labor Council. The National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Student Christian Association at John Muir and Pasadena City Junior Colleges, the Pasadena Unitarian Fellowship, the Independent Progressive Party, the Workshop of Human Relations of the Parent-Teacher Association, have spoken out on the program to date."

Undoubtedly, one of the main factors in creating the general dissatisfaction apparent was the lack of familiarity with the local problems and conditions by those in the policy-making positions. Certainly the dissatisfaction evidenced by the public opinion survey cannot be entirely attributed to Dr. Goslin's administration. However, some of the actions taken by Dr. Goslin and his administration would not have come about if the school system had been directed by someone who had a good knowledge of the problems peculiar to that locality.

The most serious single fact brought to the attention of your committee during these hearings was the apparent disregard of the school

administration and the Board of Education of the charges that materials being used in the schools were subversive. It is clear from the testimony, that the administration and the school board made no attempt to ascertain the truth of these charges despite the fact that the matter was repeatedly brought to their attention.

It is also dangerous for the teachers of Pasadena to allow their own organization to be used to attack the character of groups from the general public who are legitimately attempting to change policies decided upon by the administration. This committee is certain that the average educator in Pasadena, whatever his understandable enthusiasm in the recent election, would not be in favor of the use of his organization by a small group to personally attack the opposition. It ill becomes public employees to be intolerant of citizens who disagree with them.

The committee found no one in Pasadena who was unwilling to support sound education, and the elimination of the basis for these controversies would greatly benefit the school system through the attraction of firm support from all elements from within the community. However, your committee did find people in Pasadena who felt that opposition to the school administration was something subversive and anti-American. It should be remembered that one of the fundamental concepts of our government is that officials and policies may be lawfully changed and the advocacy of such changes is not subversive. This, in fact, is one of our fundamental liberties. Subversion should be applied only to those who would attempt to overthrow the government through the use of force or other unlawful means and not to the attempts through the ordinary course of politics to remove those who hold office subject to the will of the people.

While your committee found no clear cut evidence of known subversives actually within the school system itself, the national publicity which Pasadena received as the scene of fascist opposition to the public schools, together with the aggravation of the intense interest which the communist newspaper displayed in the situation, has led your committee to believe that communists were attempting to use this controversy to their own advantage. The communist techniques of the *Daily People's World* intensified this conflict—and changed it into a smear campaign and an issue of personalities in an attempt to undermine the faith of the people in public education. One of the surest indications that the Communist Party is influential and attempting to use a state of affairs for its own purposes is to see one-time fellow travelers pushed to the top in organizations over steady, hard working loyal Americans.

It seems clear that the Zoll pamphlet lacks the importance credited to it not only by those in Pasadena but also by national educational organizations. It was the sworn testimony of several responsible witnesses that the use of this pamphlet was not the result of a planned campaign by a national organization, but that it was simply acquired by a local group who felt it met their needs and used it.

It is the hope of your committee that Pasadena is on the road to harmony in its school system. The interest which a great majority of the people in Pasadena are now evidencing in their school system will be a forceful influence in directing educational policy in approved and productive lines satisfactory to the people.

## ADDENDUM

Just prior to the publication of this report, CAREY McWILLIAMS, whose long record of communist front affiliations may be found in Appendix II of this report, published an article in the January 3, 1951 issue of Christian Century, entitled "The Enemy in Pasadena." This article appears to your committee as further evidence of the attempt of the communist party to make an incident out of the Pasadena situation.

It is interesting to note that Mr. McWilliams quotes from the Harold Benjamin article, included in this report in Appendix VII, and conducts an attack upon the same nebulous group entitled "The Enemy."

The following is an excerpt from this article:

> "In selecting Pasadena as the testing ground, the Enemy demonstrated real insight. Pasadena is not only a well known community but it has been rated the model small city of the nation. If the control of its schools could be captured, the school systems of even larger communities might be captured and by the same methods. In Pasadena, also, the opposition was commanded by Willard E. Goslin, one of the outstanding public school administrators in the country. If Goslin could be routed—so the Enemy reasoned—lesser administrators would be easy victims. The victory which the Enemy has just won in Pasadena, therefore, demands careful study as a model in miniature of the big battle for control of public education which is now shaping up in the United States."

It would seem to your committee, however, that "The Enemy" Mr. McWilliams is attacking is simply the majority of the citizens in Pasadena who voted against the tax increase in the election of July, 1950.

## APPENDIX I

# COMMUNIST FRONT AFFILIATIONS OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS

*John Howard Lawson* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee to Save Refugees (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 362)
American Peace Mobilization (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 432 f)
Artists Front to Win the War (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 577)
Hollywood Democratic Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 781)
Motion Picture Artists Committee (Cong. Com., App. IV, p. 1138)
Hollywood Writers Mobilization (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 786)
International Labor Defense (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 831)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 942)
League of American Writers (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 968)
National Committee for Peoples Rights (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1179)
American Youth for Democracy (Cal. Sen. Com. Rep., 1947, p. 96)
Peoples Educational Center (Listed as Communist-dominated by the U. S. Atty. Gen.)
Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio
Statement by American Progressive Defending the Moscow Purge Trials
American Friends of the Chinese People (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 370)
Golden Book of Friendship with the Soviet Union (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 721)
The Book Union (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 589)
Harry Bridges Defense Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 599)
Frontier Films, Inc. (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 732)
Jewish Peoples Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 935)
American Writers Congress (Cong. Comm., App. IX, p. 974)
League of Workers Theaters (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1026)
New Masses (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1350f)
Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1384)
The New Theater (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1453)
The Sunday Worker (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1458)
Schappes Defense Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1561)
Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1566)
Theater Arts Committee (Cong. Com., App. IX, p. 1627)





*Lester Cole* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Progressive Citizens of America (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 60)
Signatory to the statement on Moscow trials (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 97)
Democrats for McCormick (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 215)
Hollywood Ten (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 239)
Communist Party member (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 274)
Hollywoods Writers' Mobilization (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 275)
League of American Writers' School in Hollywood—"Radio Workshop" (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 276)
Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 279)
Anti-United States, Pro-Soviet, Pro-Communist People's Daily World (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 346)
Screen Writers' Guild (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 372)

*Gordon Kahn* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Screen Writers' Guild (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 372)
Editor June, 1947 issue Screen Writer (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 372)
Friday Night Film Series at Screen Cartoonists Hall (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 373)
Contributing material to Screen Writer (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 374)

*Howard Koch* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

"Fight Thought Control"—Hollywood Writers Mobilization (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 58)
American Russian Institute (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 170 and 171)
Civil Rights Congress (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 202)
Hollywood Ten (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 241)
Executive Council of Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 255)
Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 279)
Progressive Citizens of America (4th Report Un-American Activities in Calif. 1948, p. 355)

## APPENDIX II

# AMERICAN DEMOCRACY TODAY AND TOMORROW

**By Ryllis Alexander Goslin, Omar Pancoast Goslin, Helen Frances Storen**
**Harcourt, Brace and Company. N. Y., 1942 High School Text**

The text is a masterpiece of writing and has a most attractive format. After reading it, one can understand how many high school students have received their views favoring government control from the cradle to the grave. The authors have done a capable and adroit job of undermining the principles of private enterprise, yet concealed this propaganda among the words so that the text must be completely studied to understand its full implications.

The use of this text in our high school classrooms today constitutes a menace to the principle of freedom of individual thought and action. It tends to undermine our economic system.

The text endorses socialized medicine (p. 333). It extols the advantages of cooperatives, while hitting at private enterprise (p. 302). For instance, the text praises farmer-owned cooperative oil wells, refineries, chains of gas stations and cooperative insurance companies providing "all types of insurance which the farmers need." Also, "cooperatives bring electric light and power to many farms." Is this to suggest here that only cooperatives furnish electric light and power to farmers? On pages 351-354 praise is to be found for other cooperatives, including insurance, credit unions, medical care, production and marketing.

*Utilities and Transportation.* The text advocates government ownership of utilities (an endorsement of TVA will be found on page 464), complete government control of transportation, communications and finance, as well as price-fixing by government. On page 433 is to be found the following: "Those who advocate the extension of public ownership to utilities point out that efficient service is maintained; that rates are comparable to those charged by private-owned utilities; and that revenues accrue to the community which offset the necessity of raising funds by taxation. Nearly 100 cities in the United States assess no local taxes because of profits from publicly-owned electric plants, which at the same time are able to offer rates generally lower than privately-owned plants."

*Credit and Banking.* "Government measures have been adopted to deal also with the proper use of credit. Since practically all bank deposits are now insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, government banking inspectors are seeing to it that the average bank uses its credit privileges to the advantage rather than the disadvantage of its depositors. * * * Some economists point out that the proper use of credit is so important to the functioning of our economy that this privilege should be removed from private hands and should be taken over almost entirely as a function of government. * * *" (P. 464.)





*Interest-free Money.* "We have seen that high interest rates greatly increase the price of a home. There are those who recommend, therefore, that the government offer interest-free credit to home buyers, as had been done in certain European countries before the war on public housing projects. * * * There would undoubtedly be resistance to such a proposal, just as some banks at present refuse to handle government-insured FHA loans. (Here appears a black hand with the thumb pointing down—presumably the recalcitrant banker's.) But as certain communities discovered the practical advantages of such a plan, and banks realized the prosperity in their communities, created by a continuing program of improvement, objections might be gradually overcome." (Pp. 514, 515.)

*Housing.* "If we are to encourage new homes for all our people, it is obvious that home building must be stimulated through reduction or cancellation of taxes. Some states and communities have tried this with considerable success. The impetus to business in general from continued activity and the influx of new families into those areas creates other taxable values which readily offset the loss to revenue from new tax-free homes." (P. 516.)

*Price Ceilings and Controls.* "For instance, a plan to establish a ceiling on all prices would protect the consumer from exorbitant profits and would stimulate all producers to increase their efficiency, so that the margin of profit could be preserved. At the same time the plan would include devices to detect evidences of price-fixing; prompt use of this power would restore competition. By such methods planning would become a reinforcement of the principles of free enterprise." (P. 538.)

Even a reading of the few quotations listed indicates the tragic misunderstanding being created in some high school classrooms today.

The bibliographies of recommended reading accompanying most of the chapters of the text reviewed above seem to deserve comment. On page VII of the preface the authors state: "suggestions for further reading are found at the end of each chapter; each book or pamphlet has been selected because it serves to enrich and extend the discussion. These reading lists are for the student and care has been taken not to include titles that might prove too difficult." The original material for the review of this text was taken from the Educational Reviewer of Oct. 15, 1949.

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(Some of the organizations shown have been listed as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States; these are indicated by an (A) following their names; some have been listed as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and are indicated with an (H) following their names; others have been listed as subversive by the California Committee on Un-American Activities and are indicated with a (C) with the date and the page number of the report.)

Suggestions for further reading and the names and Communist affiliations of the authors include:

On pages 145, 325, and 576 of the text, American Democracy Today and Tomorrow, reference is given to "My America" and "From Many Lands"; "Dynamite" and "Two-Way Passage" by Louis Adamic.

*Louis Adamic* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Committee for Yugo-Slav Relief, (A)
American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
American Round Table on India, (C) (1948, p. 353)
American Slav Congress, (AH)
Civil Rights Congress, (AH)
Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo, (H)
Films for Democracy, (H)
Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, (C) (1948, p. 262)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (AH)
League of American Writers, (AH)
National Citizens Political Action Committee, (C) (1948, p. 115)
National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, (AH)
National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, (A)
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (AH)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
Progressive Citizens of America, (C) (1947, p. 369 and 1948, p. 354)
Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, (H)
Win the Peace Conference (Congress), (A)

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On page 379 "The Living Jefferson" by James Truslow Adams.

*James T. Adams* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organization:

National Institute of Arts and Letters, (C) (1948, p. 330)

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On page 458 of the text, reference is given to "Battling the Crime Wave" and "The Story of Punishment," by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes.

*Harry Elmer Barnes* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Committee for Struggle Against War, (H)
American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, (H)
American Youth Congress, (C) (1948, p. 181)
Champion of Youth, (C) (1948, p. 196)
Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War, (C) (1948, p. 211)
International Juridical Association, (C) (1948, p. 265)
National Committee of American Civil Liberties Union, (Cited as heavily infiltrated with Communist and fellow-travelers and frequently following the Communist line and defending Communists, particularly in its Los Angeles unit), (C) (1949, p. 270)
On page 376 of the Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Seventy-Fifth Congress, it is set forth that in November 1937, a group of individuals led by Prof. Corliss Lamont,



crowded the Madison Square Garden in New York to celebrate the 20 years of Communist rule in Russia. On December 3rd, the same year, 1937, again led by Prof. Corliss Lamont, another throng gathered in New York to celebrate the adoption of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union. These included in addition to many others: Harry Elmer Barnes, Edwin Burgum, Louis Budenz, Jessica Smith, Max Bedacht, Malcolm Cowley, H. W. L. Dana, John Elliott Lovejoy, Sherwood Eddy, John Kingsbury, Mildred Fairchild, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Henry Goddard Leach, Langston Hughes, Maxwell Stewart, Oswald Garrison Villard, and others.

Harry Elmer Barnes was a member of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, and an honorary vice president of the Freethinkers of America (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 694-696)

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The authors of Democracy Today and Tomorrow, have suggested for further reading for the student the *Building America Series* on the following pages: 51, 70, 113, 193, 271, 325, 361, 379, 412, 458, 506, 520, and 576. The Senate Investigating Committee on Education, Third Report, found the *Building America Series* to be unfit for use in our schools.

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"Modern Housing" by Catherine Bauer is listed in the bibliography on page 518 of the text.

*Catherine Bauer* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American League for Peace and Democracy, (AH)
California Youth Legislature, (C) (1948, p. 160)
Civil Rights Council of Northern California, (C) (1948, p. 163)
Frontier Films Advisory Board, (H)
League of Women Shoppers, (H)
National Citizens Political Action Committee, (C) (1948, p. 115)

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"The Coming Struggle for Latin America" by Carleton Beals is recommended on page 576.

*Carleton Beals* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
Friends of the Soviet Union, (AH)
The National committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, endorsing the call for the Friends of the Soviet Union convention in New York City, January 26, 27, 28, 1934, are as follows: Thomas R. Amlie, Roger Baldwin, Carleton Beals, Alfred M. Bingham, Frank Borich, Bishop W. M. Brown, Earl Browder, Julian Bryan, Anne Burlak, George S. Counts, Malcolm Cowley, Edward Dahlberg, H. W. L. Dana, Floyd Dell, James W. Ford, Richard Farber, William Z. Foster, Waldo Frank, Joseph Freeman, Ben Gold, Lem Harris, Clarence Hathaway, Donald Henderson, Granville Hicks, John Hayes Holmes, Roy Hudson, Langston Hughes, Mary Van

Kleeck, Corliss Lamont, Robert Morss Lovett, Scott Nearing, A. Overgaard, Maxwell Stewart, Genevieve Taggard, Justine Wise Tulin, and others, including Jack Stachel.

Of the foregoing, Carleton Beals, Earl Browder, Bishop William Montgomery Brown, James W. Ford, William Z. Foster, Waldo Frank, Granville Hicks, Clarence Albert Hathaway, Roy Hudson, Langston Hughes, Scott Nearing, and Jack Stachel have avowed publicly their Communist sympathies.

Carleton Beals is the author of a section of a symposium "Recovery through Revolution," in which the editor states: "Life and creation belong henceforth to Communism." (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 244 and 245).

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"America Faces the Future" by Dr. Charles Beard, (p. 245), "The Future Comes—The Story of the New Deal" by Charles A. Beard and G. H. Smith, (p. 271), and "The American Leviathan" by Charles Beard and Wm. Beard, (p. 412), are suggestions for reading for the student.

*Charles A. Beard* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, (H)
Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, (H)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Institute of Arts and Letters, (C) (1948, p. 330)
Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Vito Marcantonio to Congress, (H)

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On page 576 of American Democracy Today and Tomorrow, "The United States of Europe" by Alfred M. Bingham is recommended reading for the student.

*Alfred M. Bingham* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
Friends of the Soviet Union, (AH)

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Evaline Burns has a text listed in the bibliography, "Toward Social Security" on page 532.

*Evaline M. Burns* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Consumer-Farmer Cooperative, Inc., (C) (1948, p. 336)
The League of Women Shoppers, (H)

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On page 307 of the text there is suggested for further reading for the student, "You Have Seen Their Faces" by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White.



*Erskine Caldwell* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Book Union, (H)
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers, (A)
Film and Photo League, (C) (1948, p. 238)
League of American Writers, (AH)
League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, (C) (1948, pp. 196, 246)
National Committee for People's Rights, (AH)
National Institute of Arts and Letters, (C) (1948, p. 330)

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*Margaret Bourke-White* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organization:

Film and Photo League, (C) (1948, pp. 238, 247)

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*Stuart Chase,* whose books are recommended reading for the student by the authors in the bibliographies of the text, no less than 12 times, has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee to Save Refugees, (H)
Consumers National Federation, (H)
Friends of the Soviet Union, (AH)
National Council for Protection of Foreign Born, (C) (1948, p. 321)
National Institute of Arts and Letters, (C) (1948, p. 330)
Russian Reconstruction Farms, (H)

Stuart Chase was one of the sponsors of a dinner-forum held under the auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, Exiled Writers Committee, of the League of American Writers, and the United Spanish Aid Committee, all three organizations have been cited as Communist fronts. The dinner-forum was held in New York City, in October, 1941. Other sponsors included: Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont, Louis Bromfield, George Seldes, Maxwell S. Stewart, and Orson Welles.

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On page 506, American Democracy Today and Tomorrow, "The Fight for Life" by Paul deKruif, is recommended by the authors.

*Paul deKruif* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Signatory to the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, (H); Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, (H); Signatory of letter initiated and distributed by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H); Signer of statement to American Progressives on Moscow Trials, (House Un-American Activities Report, App. V p. 809); Signer of Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union.

"Black Folk Now and Then" by W. E. B. DuBois is recommended on page 145 of the text.

*W. E. B. DuBois* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

All-American Anti-Imperialist League, (A); American Committee for Indonesian Independence, (C) (1948, p. 113);
American Committee for Struggle Against War, (H)
American Council for a Democratic Greece, (A)
American League for Peace and Democracy, (AH)
California Labor School, (A)
China Conference Arrangements Committee, (C) (1948, p. 197)
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, (AH)
Civil Rights Congress, (A)
Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy, (C) (1948, p. 208)
Golden Book of American Friendship with Soviet Union, (H)
Jefferson School of Social Science, (A)
He has been a contributor to the "Daily Worker."

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"Too Big" by Morris Ernst, is recommended on page 192 of the text.

*Morris Ernst* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organization:

American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), (H)
He edited and sponsored a book titled "American Stuff," sponsored by the Guilds Committee for Federal Writers, which consisted of Franklin P. Adams, Bruce Bliven, Morris L. Ernst, Lewis Gannett, and Margaret Marshall. Excerpts from "American Stuff" read into the Congressional Record in November, 1938, were so vile in part, they were unprintable. (House Committee on Un-American Activities, pp. 2741-2744)
He served on the national committee of the Sacco-Vanzetti National League with Ella Reeves Bloor, Communist, Norman Thomas, John Haynes Holmes, John Dewey, Robert Morss Lovett, and other members of the American Civil Liberties Union.
He was an officer of the League for Industrial Democracy. The announced purpose of this organization is education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.
He was a member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union. The American Civil Liberties Union has been cited as being heavily infiltrated with Communists and fellow-travelers and frequently following the Communist line and defending Communists, particularly in its Los Angeles unit. (C) (1948, pp. 107-112, 1949, p. 270)



Henry Pratt Fairchild has two books listed in the bibliographies of the text, "People" on page 30, and "Economics For the Millions," on page 229.

*Henry Pratt Fairchild* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Indonesian Independence, (C) (1948, p. 113)
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Council on Soviet Relations, (A)
American Friends of the Spanish Democracy, (H)
American League for Peace and Democracy, (AH)
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, (AH)
Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy, (C) (1948, p. 208)
Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, (H)
Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Science and Professions, (C) (1948, p. 262)
International Labor Defense, (A)
Jefferson School of Social Science, (A)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (AH)
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (AH)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
National People's Committee Against Hearst, (C) (1948, p. 333)
People's Radio Foundation, Inc., (A)
He signed statement defending the Communist Party, (C) (1948, p. 377)
He appealed in behalf of the Red Dean of Canterbury. He signed message to the House of Representatives in January, 1943, opposing the Dies Committee.

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There are three references to "Windows On the World" by Kenneth M. Gould, pages 210, 245, and 271, of the text.

*Kenneth M. Gould* is listed as an Advisory Editor of "Champion of Youth" a Communist Party periodical for youth, (C) (1948, p. 196)

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"Autobiography Of An Ex-Colored Man" by James Weldon Johnson, is listed on page 145 of the text.

*James Weldon Johnson* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Fund for Public Service, (Garland Fund) (H)
National Writer's Congress (H)

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On page 210 of the text, "The Robber Barons" by Mathew Josephson is recommended for the student.

*Mathew Josephson* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
Book Union, (H)

Signatory to Golden Book of American Friendship with Soviet Union, (H)
League of American Writers, (AH)
League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, (C) (1948, pp. 196,246)
National Committee for People's Rights, (AH)
National Institute of Arts and Letters, (C) (1948, p. 330)

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The authors of American Democracy Today and Tomorrow, suggest "One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs" by Arthur Kallet and F. J. Schlink, as further reading for the student.

*Arthur Kallet* (whose party name is Edward Adams) has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Consumers Union, cited as a Communist front "headed by the Communist Arthur Kallet. Ben Gold and Louis Weinstock, both well-known Communists, were also members of the labor advisory committee of Consumers Union." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 153.)

Consumers Union was cited as a Communist front set up by Susan Jenkins, former employee of the *Daily Worker*; Walter Trumbull, who had been courtmartialed in 1925 and sentenced to a 26-year term as a Communist attempting to bore from within the United States Army; and Arthur Kallet. (C) (1943, p. 102)

It was cited as subversive and un-American by the Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3.

The New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission found, "On its labor advisory board were Ben Gold, an avowed Communist and leader of the joint board, Furriers Union, * * * Louis Weinstock. * * *"

Consumers Union was also cited as a Communist front by the Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, (January 1942.)

The *Daily People's World*, cited as the official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast, reported in their March 5, 1938, issue that Arthur Kallet was in Los Angeles to establish a western branch of the Consumers Union. He was listed as the editor of the monthly magazine, *Consumers Union.*

Arthur Kallet has also been affiliated with the Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc., (C) (1948, p. 336); he was a staff writer for the *Daily Worker*, described as "The chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party * * * founded in response to direct instructions from the Communist International in Moscow. * * * The first issue of the *Daily Worker* appeared on January 13, 1924. * * * No other paper or publication of any kind in all American history has ever been loaded with such volume of subversive, seditious, and treasonable utterance as has this organ of the American Communists." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 59 and 60; January 3, 1939, p. 30; January 3, 1940, p. 7; January 3, 1941, p. 14; and June 25, 1942, p. 4.)

He signed a message to the House of Representatives calling upon the Seventy-Eighth Congress to oppose renewal of the Dies Committee (C) (1948, p. 328); Signed call for convention of American Revolutionary Writers, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 561).



*F. J. Schlink,* coauthor of "One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs," was president of Consumers' Research; he was an endorser of Brookwood College, banned as a Communist labor school by the American Federation of Labor. (House Un-American Activities Committee, Report, p. 566.)

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Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd, coauthors of "Middletown" and "Middletown in Transition," also recommended reading, have been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

*Robert Lynd* has been affiliated with the following Communist fronts:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, (H)
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Council on Soviet Relations, (A)
American League Against War and Fascism, (AH)
American Russian Institute, (A)
American Youth for Democracy, (AH)
Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, (AH)
Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, (C) (1947, p. 201)
Signer of Golden Book of American Friendship with Soviet Union, (H)
Jefferson School of Social Science, (A)
League of American Writers, (A)
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (A)
National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, (H) which arranged the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, (C) (1949, p. 481)
National Emergency Conference, (H)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, (AH)

*Helen Lynd* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc., (C) (1948, p. 336)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (AH)
National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (H) which arranged the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, (C) (1949, p. 481)

"Industrial Valley" (a novel) by Ruth McKenney, is listed in the bibliography.

*Ruth McKenney* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Actors Laboratory, (C) (1947, p. 74)
American Committee to Save Refugees, (H)
American Peace Mobilization, (AH)
Artists Front to Win the War, (C) (1948, p. 188)
Harry Bridges Defense Committee, (H)
People's Educational Center, (A)

*New Masses*, cited as a "Communist periodical" by Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688. Also cited as a "Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" (Garland Fund) by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, (March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 80; and June 25, 1942, pp. 4 and 21.)

The California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 160, and 1948, p. 340, states: "Until its recent merger with *Mainstream*, the *New Masses* has been the weekly journalistic voice of the Communist Party. Its first appearance was a monthly. As the *Masses*, it was suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies." *Mainstream* was launched by the Communist Party in January, 1947, dealing with the field of literature and creative arts.

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 9, quotes Ruth McKenney in the *New Masses*, May 31, 1938. She said: "The Communist Party of America operates on almost every conceivable battlefront of this country, in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies clubs, in Harlem, in the deep South, among the intellectuals. All this busy and effective scurrying around is efficiently centralized."

Ruth McKenney spoke at a rally in Philadelphia in protest against the Dies Committee unconstitutional raids on the seizure of material from the Communist Party and IWO offices, (C) (1948, p. 103); she also was one of the sponsors of a dinner-forum held under the auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, Exiled Writers' Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United Spanish Aid Committee. All three organizations have been cited as Communist fronts. The dinner-forum was held in New York City, in October, 1941. Other sponsors included: Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont, Louis Bromfield, George Seldes, Stuart Chase, Maxwell Stewart, Rockwell Kent, Orson Welles, and others. She is listed as writer for the Communist press who had opposed the war during the Stalin-Hitler pact. (C) (1948, p. 136). The House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, App. V, p. 1680, lists her as a signer of an Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-Fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. This Open Letter appeared in the magazine "Soviet Russia Today" in September, 1939.

The *Daily People's World* of September 14, 1946, reported that Ruth McKenney and her husband, Bruce Minton, also a writer, have been expelled from the Communist Party for being guilty of attacking the "basic line of the party and slandering the leadership."



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The authors recommend two books by Carey McWilliams, as further reading for the student, namely: "Ill Fares the Land" and "Factories in the Field."

*Carey McWilliams* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Committee for Spanish Freedom, (A)
American Jewish Congress, (C) (1948, pp. 145 and 149)
American Peace Crusade, (H)
American Peace Mobilization, (AH)
American Slav Congress, (A)
American Writers' Union, (C) (1943, 129)
American Youth for Democracy, (AH)
Black and White, (C) (1948, p. 224)
Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth, (C) (1945, p. 183)
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, (AH)
Citizens Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers, (C) (1948, p. 201)
Civil Rights Congress, (AH)
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, (C) (1948, p. 208)
Committee for Citizenship Rights, (H)
Committee for Free Political Advocacy, (C) (1949, p. 146)
Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, (AH)
Consumers Union, (H)
First State-Wide Legislative Conference, (C) (1948, p. 376)
Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, (H)
Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc., (C) (1948, p. 105)
Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, (A)
International Juridical Association, (H)
International Labor Defense, (A)
International Workers' Order, (A)
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (AH)
Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, (H)
League of American Writers, (AH)
Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers, (C) (1948, p. 279)
Mobilization for Democracy, (C) (1947, p. 369)
National Citizens Political Action Committee, (C) (1949, p. 512)
National Council of American Peace Mobilization, (AH)
National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, (H)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)

National Lawyers Guild, (H)
Negro Digest, (C) (1948, p. 225)
*New Masses,* (A)
Open Letter to American Liberals, (H)
*Pacific Weekly,* (C) (1948, p. 341)
People's Institute for Applied Religion, Inc., (A)
*People's World,* sponsor of conference (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 95)
Pacific Coast Branch League of American Writers, (C) (1945, p. 128)
Progressive Citizens of America, (H)
Provisional Committee People's Educational Center, (A)
Schnerderman-Darcy Defense Committee, (H)
Science and Society, (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96)
Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, (C) (1948, p. 375)
Social Work Today, (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 129)
Spanish Refugee Appeal (Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign), (H)
Signer of Stalin-Hitler pact, other signers were: Robert Morss Lovett, Henry T. Hunt, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, and others, (C) (1948, p. 109)
United Spanish Aid Committee, (A)
Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, (AH)
Western Writers Congress, (H)
Endorser of a "Call" issued by the *Daily People's World* for a "Pro-War Press Conference on Behalf of the *Daily People's World*" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 95)
National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, (cited as heavily infiltrated with Communists and fellow-travelers and frequently following the Communist line and defending Communists, particularly in its Los Angeles unit, (C) (1949, p. 270)
In addition to the fifty or more Communist front organizations in which Carey McWilliams has been affiliated, he was chairman of the Emergency Conference to Halt Blackout of Civil Liberties in California. The purpose of the call was to generate pressure against Assembly Bill 271, a measure which ultimately became the law and is known as the Subversive Registration Act of 1941. (C) (1948, p. 233); He endorsed the call for a fund drive for the official voice of the Communist Party on the West Coast, the *Daily People's World,* July 9, 1943, other endorsers were: Fay Allen, Charlotta Bass, Reverend Clayton Russell, Reuben Borough, Leo Gallagher, Samuel Ornitz, and Albert Maltz, (C) (1947, p. 47); He participated in support of Gerhart Eisler, (C) (1949, p. 523); Sponsored support of arrested and indicted "reds", (C) (1949, p. 526); He is a supporter of Communist bookshops, (C) (1949, p. 516); He sponsored a testimonial dinner in honor of Leo Gallagher, (C) (1948, p. 267); He was an attorney for Harry Bridges, (C) (1949, p. 504); He is listed as one of those who urged Truman interview with Stalin, February, 1949, others listed included: Linus Pauling, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Corliss Lamont, Georgia Harkness and Angus Cameron, (C) (1949, p. 532); He signed an Open Letter Defending the Moscow Purge Trial, (C) (1948, p. 176)
He also signed an Open Letter to President Roosevelt, protesting against attack on right of Communist Party to use the ballot, 1940, (C) (1949, p. 517); he was an instructor in the Field Workers' School, sponsored by the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, (C) (1943, p. 87).



"How to Detect and Analyze Propaganda" by Clyde Miller, is recommended for further reading for the student on page 51 of the text.

*Clyde Miller* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. Cited as a Communist front which defended Communist school teachers, (H)
Associated Film Audiences, (C) (1948, p. 193)
China Aid Council, (H)
Consumers Union, (H)
Institute for Democratic Education, Inc., (C) (1948, pp. 263 and 264)
Jefferson School of Social Science, (A)
League of American Writers, (A)
National Conference on American Policy in China and Far East, (A)
National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (A)
Voice of Freedom Committee. This publication found to be Communist initiated and controlled, (C) (1948, p. 225).
He signed an Open Letter to President Roosevelt, protesting attack on right of Communist Party to use the ballot, 1940, (C) (1949, p. 517); he was signatory to statement to President defending the Communist Party, March 5, 1941, (C) (1949, p. 518); he was a sponsor of meeting "The Soviet Union and Present World Affairs." (C) (1949, p. 528).

The bibliography in this volume lists books by Lewis Mumford, "Technics And Civilization," and "Faith for Living" on pages 542 and 576.

*Lewis Mumford* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Artists Congress, (C), (1948, p. 35)
American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
American League for Peace and Democracy, (AH)
American Youth Congress, (AH)
Book Union, (H)

Coordinating Committee to Lift Spanish Embargo, (H)
John Reed Club, (Special Committee Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 175) also cited by the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 462 and 466.
Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, (H)
National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, (AH)
National Writers' Congress, (H)

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On page 79 of the text, American Democracy Today and Tomorrow, the authors recommend "Declaration of Interdependence" and "Our Free Minds" by Harry A. Overstreet.

*Harry A. Overstreet* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, (H)
American Committee to Save Refugees, (H)
American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
Consumers Union, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
He was a signer of an Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. He was an endorser of Brookwood College, banned as Communistic by the American Federation of Labor. (House Un-American Activities Committee, Report, p. 565).

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On page 79 of the text, "Living Courageously" by Kirby Page is recommended reading for the student.

*Kirby Page* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organization:

American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) (H).
He was a national officer of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 669); he was a sponsor of Brookwood College, banned as Communistic by the American Federation of Labor, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 566).

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The bibliography lists "Sharecroppers All" by Arthur Raper and Ira DeA Reid.

*Arthur Raper* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

Council of Young Southerners, (H)
League of Young Southerners, (C) (1948, p. 336)
National Sharecroppers Fund, (C) (1948, p. 334)
Southern Conference for Human Welfare, (H)



*Ira DeA Reid* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American League Against War and Fascism, (AH)
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, (AH)
National Citizens Political Action Committee, (C) (1948, p. 336)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
National Sharecroppers Fund, (C) (1948, p. 334)
Southern Conference for Human Welfare, (H)

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"Freedom of the Press" by George Seldes is suggested for further reading for the student on page 51.

*George Seldes* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (AH)
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Committee to Save Refugees, (H)
Artists Front to Win the War, (H)
Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War, (H)
Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, (H)
Frontier Films, (H)
Harry Bridges Defense Committee, (H)
In Fact. This newsletter with offices in New York, is published weekly. The editor is George Seldes; associate editor, Victor Weingarten. It is described by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1949, p. 547, as an "especially important smear sheet in the Stalinist propaganda attack on American leadership." It was cited as subversive by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 48.
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (AH)
National American Peace Mobilization, (AH)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
United Spanish Aid Committee, (H)
He was signatory to Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, App. V, p. 1680); He was a member of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union, to attempt to prevent the deportation of Marcus Graham, editor of the anarchist publication, *Man.* (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 694); He was signatory to the statement on the Moscow Trials, (C) (1948, p. 97); He was one of the sponsors of a dinner-forum held under the auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, Exiled Writers' Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United Spanish Aid Committee, all three organizations have been cited as Communist

fronts. The dinner-forum was held in New York City, in October, 1941. Other sponsors included: Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Louis Bromfield, Stuart Chase, Kyle Crichton (alias Robert Forsythe), Martha Dodd, Dashiell Hammett, Ben Hecht, Rockwell Kent, Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont, Ruth McKenney, Clifford Odets, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, Maxwell S. Stewart, and Orson Welles. (C) (1948, p. 234)

He was a supporter of the Stalin-Hitler pact, (C) (1948, p. 351); and he signed a statement defending the Communist Party, (C) (1948), p. 377)

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"Little Steel" (a novel) by Upton Sinclair, is listed in the bibliography.

*Upton Sinclair* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Struggle Against War, (H)
American League Against War and Fascism, (AH)
Anti-Imperialist League, (A)
Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, (H)
Signer of Golden Book of American Friendship with Soviet Union, (H)
International Labor Defense, (AH)
John Reed Club, (H)
League of American Writers, (AH)
National Committee for People's Rights, (AH)
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, (AH)
National Institute of Arts and Letters, (C) (1948, p. 330)
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, (H)
Western Writers Congress, (H)
Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain, (C) (1948, p. 389)

Signer of call in which delegates to United States Congress Against War (AH) prepared a ten-point program and established the American League Against War and Fascism, (AH)

Upton Sinclair called upon all workers to support the Workers Party in its drive for the new daily in Chicago (*Daily Worker*). He joined the Federation of Revolutionary Writers, others who joined the organization were: Theodore Dreiser, Michael Gold, John Don Passos, Langston Hughes, Waldo Frank, Malcolm Cowley, and numerous others. (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 547.); He was a sponsor of Brookwood College, banned as Communistic by the American Federation of Labor, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 566); Upton Sinclair was an international committeeman from America to the World Congress Against War and Fascism which convened in Amsterdam, Holland. Leo Gallagher was also an international committeeman, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 771); Upton Sinclair sent a message eulogizing Biro-Bidjan, the Soviet Government, and ICOR, (C) (1948, p. 261)



On page 542 of the text, "A Planned Society" by George Soule is recommended for the student.

*George Soule* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, (H)
American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
American, Youth Congress, (AH)
Frontier Films, (H)
League of American Writers, (AH)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)

He was a member of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union, to attempt to prevent the deportation of Marcus Graham, editor of the anarchist publication, *Man.* (*House Committee on Un-American* Activities, Report, p. 694); he was a sponsor of Brookwood College, banned as Communistic by the American Federation of Labor, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 566)

George Soule was a signer of a "call" to the Communist Fifth Congress held in New York City in July, 1939, together with such party liners as John P. Davis, Oswald Garrison Villard, Max Yergan, Mary McLeod Bethune, Robert Morss Lovett, and others.

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"Autobiography" by the late Lincoln Steffens is recommended by the authors on page 412 of the text.

*Lincoln Steffens* was affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Struggle Against War, (AH)
American League Against War and Fascism, (AH)
American League for Peace and Democracy, (AH)

He was an editor of the *Labor Defender,* official organ of the International Labor Defense, (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, June 25, 1942, p. 18)

League of American Writers, (AH)

Instructor at Workers School, later in 1943 rechristened the Tom Mooney Labor School, (C) (1947, p. 77)

Associate editor of *Pacific Weekly,* (C) (1948, p. 341)

He signed a "call" for National Convention of American Revolutionary Writers. Other signers were: Earl Browder, Michael Gold, Erskine Caldwell, Waldo Frank, Langston Hughes, Arthur Kallet, Robert Morss Lovett, Paul Romaine, and Genevieve Taggard. The call stated that the League of American Writers would be affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, as was the John Reed Club, (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 561)

The International Workers' Order (AH) named a local the Lincoln Steffens Club, (C) (1949, p. 467)

"Social Security" by Maxwell S. Stewart, is recommended reading for the student by the authors of American Democracy Today and Tomorrow, on page 532.

*Maxwell Stewart* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (AH)
American Committee to Save Refugees, (H)
American Committee for Yugo-Slav Relief, (A)
American Friends of the Chinese People, (H)
American Friends of Spanish Democracy, (H)
American League for Peace and Democracy, (AH)
American Russian Institute, (A)
American Youth Congress, (AH)
Book Union, (H)
China Today, (C) (1948, p. 198)
Committee for Democratic Eastern Policy, (A)
Friends of the Soviet Union, (AH)
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, (H)
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, (AH)
National People's Committee Against Hearst, (H)
Open Road, (C) (1948, p. 336)
Soviet Russia Today, (H)

In addition to Maxwell S. Stewart's Communist front affiliations, he was signatory to Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. (House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, p. 1681, App. V)

Maxwell Stewart and his wife taught at the Moscow Institute in Russia. Mr. Stewart has praised "Soviet marriage and morals." In 1931 he was an "economist" for the Foreign Policy Association. He has been connected with tourists parties to the U.S.S.R. under Soviet auspices. He was a National Committeeman for Friends of the Soviet Union and for the American League Against War and Fascism. He was a signer of a letter addressed to President Roosevelt urging recognition of the Soviet Union

The anti-Communist American Social-Democrat paper, the "New Leader" in its issue for November 1, 1941, states that Maxwell S. Stewart was a member of the editorial board of "Soviet Russia Today," and that he had endorsed the Hitler-Stalin pact, (C) (1947, p. 314)

He signed a petition sponsored by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom calling for discontinuation of the Dies Committee, (H)

Maxwell Stewart was a sponsor of a dinner-forum held under the auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United Spanish Aid Committee, all three organizations have been cited as Communist fronts. The dinner forum was held in New York City, in October, 1941. Other sponsors included: Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont, Louis Bromfield, Stuart Chase, George Seldes, Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Kyle Crichton (alias Robert Forsythe), Matha Dodd, Ruth McKenney, Clifford Odets, Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch, and Orson Welles.

In the summary of findings of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947, p. 370, the Committee finds that the book, "Land of the Soviets," written by Marguerite N. Stewart and edited by Maxwell S. Stewart, is slanted to glamorize the Soviet Union and Communism. By way of comparison the dictatorship of the proletariat under Joseph Stalin is made to appear as a socialist Utopia.

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"The Choice Before Us" by Norman Thomas is listed for the student on page 542 of the text.

*Norman Thomas* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), (H)
American League Against War and Fascism, (AH)
American Student Union. This organization has been cited by the following: (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 80; (Reports of January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 16; and March 29, 1944, p. 159); (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 115); (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, pp. 77 and 539); (Rapp-Coudert Committee, Interim Report, December 1, 1941, pp. 14 and 107); (Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p. 3)
Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc., (C) (1948, p. 336)
National Sharecroppers Fund, (C) (1948, p. 337)
Russian Reconstruction Farms, (C) (1948, p. 357)
United States Congress Against War, (AH)
Workers Alliance, (A)
American Civil Liberties Union. This organization cited as heavily infiltrated with Communists and fellow-travelers and frequently following the Communist line and defending Communists, particularly in its Los Angeles unit, (C) (1949, p. 270)

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"The American Choice" by Henry Wallace is recommended for the student on page 576.

*Henry Wallace* has been affiliated with the following Communist front organizations:

American Committee on Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, (H)
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (A)
American Labor Party, (H)
American Slav Congress, (A)
American Youth for Democracy, (A)
Civil Rights Congress, (AH)
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, (A)
Congress of American Women, (AH)

Made opening speech at Consumers National Federation convention, (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 155)

Equality, (H)

Member Board of Trustees Institute of Pacific Relations, cited as being Communist infiltrated and dominated, (C) (1948, p. 41)

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, (A)

League of American Writers, (A)

Progressive Citizens of America, (C) (1947, p. 369 and 1948, p. 354)

He offered suggestions on "strategy and tactics" in fighting investigating governmental agencies at conference on "thought control" sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America and the Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council. He was a panel speaker at the New York Peace Conference. He sang praises to the "Red" Dean of Canterbury. He is listed as being a guest at the Soviet Embassy, and a supporter of the Soviet Union. The foregoing brief sketch of Henry Wallace's activities indicate his attitude on things Soviet and Communistic.

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The Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948, p. 199, lists as Communists and Communist fellow-travelers who have been writing textbooks for use in public schools the following: Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Mary Beard, Pearl S. Buck, Eveline M. Burns, Prof. Zachariah Chaffee, Jr., Stuart Chase, Edward Corsi, Kenneth Crawford, Carl Crow, Edwin Embree, Abraham Epstein, Morris Ernst, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Hallie Flanagan, Prof. Willystone Goodsell, Arthur Garfield Hays, James Weldon Johnson, Oliver La Farge, Owen Lattimore, Prof. Helen M. Lynd, Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Prof. Kenneth MacGowan, Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, Carey McWilliams, Lewis Mumford, Rose Nelson, Prof. H. A. Overstreet, Prof. Paul Radin, Prof. Holland D. Roberts, Mari Sandoz, William Seabrook, Sigmund Spaeth, Prof. Eugene Staley, Lincoln Steffens, Prof. Bernhard J. Stern, Leland Stowe, Maxwell S. Stewart, Marguerite N. Stewart, Anna Louise Strong, Shepard Traube, James Waterman Wise, Carl W. Wittke, Albert Rhys Williams, Frank Lloyd Wright, Lin Yutang, Dr. Will H. Alexander, Margaret Bourke-White, Prof. Frank P. Graham, Granville Hicks, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

APPENDIX III

# INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

## Pasadena City Schools Secondary Curriculum Publication No. 12—1948-1949

### INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL REFERENCE AND AUTHORS

Page 24: "From Many Lands" by *Louis A. Adamic*

*Louis A. Adamic*—See Congressional Committee Report, p. 574.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 48, 109, 114, 131, 199, 200, 202, 216, 225, 239, 262, 273, 323, 327, 328, 351, 353, 390.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 414, 415, 449, 471, 480, 484, 489, 502, 503, 505, 506, 509, 510, 512, 513, 516, 517, 520, 521, 522, 525, 528, 530, 531, 535, 548.

Page 29: "Sense and Nonsense About Race" by *Ethel J. Alpenfels*

*Ethel J. Alpenfels*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 480.

Page 24: "The Negro in the Civil War" by *Herbert Aptheker*

*Herbert Aptheker*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 480, 489, 499a, 501, 506, 508, 513, 514, 516, 519, 520, 522, 529, 530, 536, 537.

Page 26: "Glass House of Prejudice" by *Dorothy Baruch*

*Dorothy Baruch*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1947: p. 96.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 279.

Page 27: "Patterns of Culture" by *Ruth Benedict*

*Ruth Benedict*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 192.

Page 29: "The Races of Mankind" by *Ruth Benedict* and *Gene Weltfish*

*Gene Weltfish*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 455, 457, 458, 482, 483, 490, 491, 500, 501, 502, 503, 505, 506, 512, 515, 516, 517, 520, 522, 523, 526, 527, 531, 534, 546, 689.

Page 27: "Race and Democratic Society" by *Frans Boas*

*Frans Boas*—See Congressional Committee Report: p. 531, 558, 6233, 8207, App. V 1666.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 109, 112, 114, 141, 151, 163, 200, 211, 226, 239, 270, 327, 350, 351, 358, 377, 391.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 688.

Page 27: "Minority Problems in the Public Schools" by *Theodore Brameld*

*Theodore Brameld*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 480, 484, 488, 499, 508, 524, 527, 535.

Page 27: "American Unity and Asia" by *Pearl S. Buck*

*Pearl S. Buck*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 198, 324, 358.
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 688.

Page 25: "Let My People Go" by *Henrietta Buckmaster*

*Henrietta Buckmaster*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 456, 457, 458, 480, 484, 489, 499, 501, 503, 505, 506, 509, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 521, 522, 525, 526, 529, 530, 531, 534, 536, 537, 547, 688.

Page 25: "In the Shadow of Liberty" by *Edward Corsi*

*Edward Corsi*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 199.

Page 27: "Build Together Americans" by *Mrs. Rachel DuBois*

*Rachel DuBois*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 227.

Page 27: "Black Reconstruction" by *William E. B. DuBois*

*William E. B. DuBois*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 2896, 6233.
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 107, 113, 151, 198, 201, 208, 233, 248.
See People's World, 7/26/50: p. 4.
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 480, 483, 489, 491, 499, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 508, 514, 515, 516, 518, 519, 520, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 536.
See People's World, 7/17/50: p. 2.
See People's World, 8/4/50: p. 4.
See People's World, 8/7/50: p. 9.

Page 25: "Indians of the Americans" by *Edwin R. Embree*

Page 27: "Brown Americans" by *Edwin R. Embree*

*Edwin R. Embree*—See Congressional Committee Report: p. 537

Page 23: "Haym Soloman, Son of Liberty" by *Howard Fast*

Page 25: "The American" by *Howard Fast*
"Freedom Road" by *Howard Fast*
"The Last Frontier" by *Howard Fast*

*Howard Fast*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1947: p. 106.
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 60, 132, 186, 231, 263, 343.
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 447, 460, 480, 483, 484, 485, 489, 491, 499, 501, 503, 505, 506, 508, 509, 512,



514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 531, 532, 534, 535, 536, 537, 545, 546, 562.
See People's World, 7/25/50: p. 8.
See People's World, 8/3/50: p. 9.

Page 23: "A Peculiar Treasure" by *Edna Ferber*

*Edna Ferber*—See Congressional Committee Report: p. 569.
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 240, 263, 330, 389.

Page 23: "Seasoned Timber" by *Dorothy Canfield Fisher*

*Dorothy Canfield Fisher*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 109, 199, 228, 278, 330, 389
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 457, 488, 499, 505, 506, 507, 509, 510, 522, 530, 531, 537

Page 23: "Tiger at City High" by *Joseph Gollomb*

*Joseph Gollomb*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 2185, 6233

Page 24: "Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist" by *Shirley Graham* and *G. D. Lipscomb*

*Shirley Graham*—See California Un-American Activities Report: pp. 481, 483, 490, 500, 501, 509, 514, 516, 517, 518, 519, 522, 523, 525, 526, 527, 535, 536
See People's World, 7/24/50: p. 9
See People's World, 8/4/50: p. 6

Page 27: "Color Blind" by *Margaret Halsey*
"Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers" by *Margaret Halsey*

*Margaret Halsey*—See California Un-American Activities Report: pp. 481, 500, 506, 509, 510, 514, 516, 517

Page 25: "Shakespeare in Harlem" by *Langston Hughes*

*Langston Hughes*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 252, 375, 379, 518, 539F, 547, 561, 569, 579, 624FF, 1366, 1585, 1594, 2177, 3008, 4928, 7729, App. Vol. 10, XXVII
See 1939 House Report: p. 45, App. 1, 809, App. V, 1680, 1682, 1684F
See California Activities Report: pp. 119, 124, 125 (1945 Report). Author of poem "Goodbye Christ"
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1947: pp. 77, 106, 313
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 97, 107, 114, 132, 148, 162, 169, 179, 186, 193, 194, 196, 198, 244, 245, 263, 266, 273, 278, 324, 328, 352, 353, 389, 390
See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 423, 448, 449, 451, 471, 481, 484, 488, 490, 498, 501, 503, 505, 506, 508, 509, 510, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 521, 522, 525, 526, 527, 528, 530, 534, 535, 536, 537, 545, 547, 562, 688
See People's World, 8/7/50: p. 9

Page 25: "Book of American Negro" by *James Weldon Johnson*

*James Weldon Johnson*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 388, 524, 528, 2978

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 145, 199, 247

Page 27: "Into the Main Stream" by *Charles S. Johnson*

*Charles S. Johnson*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 334

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 481

Page 26: "Kingsblood Royal" by *Sinclair Lewis*

*Sinclair Lewis*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 566, 569, 703, 4887, 4889

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 331

Page 28: "When Peoples Meet" by *Alain Locke* and *B. J. Stern*

*Alain Locke*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 151, 198, 226, 248, 270, 328, 377, 392

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 544

Page 28: "Prejudice" by *Carey McWilliams*

"Brothers Under the Skin" by *Carey McWilliams*

*Carey McWilliams*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 1994FF, 7729, 8585

See Joint Fact-Finding Committee Report, 1943: pp. 210, 217, 87, 129, 149, 156, 158, 159, 163, 203

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1945: pp. 193, 139, 137, 128, 127, 183, 141, 194, 195

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1947: pp. 34, 47, 54, 55, 67, 97, 98, 116, 126, 130, 131, 132, 138, 170, 179, 188, 189, 208, 209, 235, 236, 239, 242, 348, 349, 354

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 4, 106, 109, 114, 116, 146, 160, 162, 176, 179, 184, 193, 198, 199, 201, 208, 226, 233, 235, 239, 244, 249, 254, 258, 265, 267, 268, 272, 273, 279, 308, 309, 327, 328, 330, 332, 341, 344, 346, 351, 354, 355, 358, 359, 375, 376, 382

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 146, 147, 419, 435, 436, 448, 449, 455, 464, 471, 478, 481, 488, 490, 498, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 508, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 521, 523, 526, 527, 532, 536, 537, 542, 547, 689

Page 28: "High Cost of Prejudice" by *Bucklin Moon*

"A Primer for White Folks" by *Bucklin Moon*

*Bucklin Moon*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 482, 490, 500, 516

See People's World, 8/4/50: p. 6

Page 26: "Knock on Any Door" by *Willard Motley*

*Willard Motley*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 482, 490, 500, 514, 515, 527, 536

Page 23: "Zeke" by *Mary White Ovington*



Page 24: "Portraits in Color" by *Mary White Ovington*

*Mary White Ovington*—See Congressional Committee Report, App. V, 1680

Page 28: "African Journey" by *Eslanda Robeson* (wife of Paul Robeson).

*Eslanda Robeson*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1947: p. 293

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 172

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 547

Page 26: "Mahatma Gandhi" by *Romain Rolland*

*Romain Rolland*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 119, 271, 278

Page 26: "My Name Is Aram" by *William Saroyan*

*William Saroyan*—See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 331

Page 29: "Democratic Spirit" by *Bernard Smith*

*Bernard Smith*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 375, 4928, App. I, 809.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 193.

Page 28: "When Peoples Meet" by *Alain Locke* and *B. J. Stern*

*B. J. Stern* (alias Bennett Stevens)—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 375, 574F, 4928F, 6221, 6233, App. I 809, App. V, 1623, 1626, 1662, 1681, 1685.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1947: p. 202.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 199, 270.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: pp. 449, 490, 482, 487, 488, 498, 502, 503, 505, 509, 510, 512, 514, 515, 516, 518, 520, 521, 525, 527, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 549.

Page 29: "While Time Remains" by *Leland Stowe*

*Leland Stowe*—See Congressional Committee Report: p. 569, App. V. 1657.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: p. 199.

Page 23: "All—American" by *J. R. Tunis*

*J. R. Tunis,* listed as advisory editor of the Young Communist League—See Congressional Committee Report: p. 5605.

Page 29: "Action for Unity" by *G. B. Watson (Goodwin Watson)*

*Goodwin Watson*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 475, 530, 581F, 1655.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 179, 341.

4/21/43 L. A. Her.—p. 2 Col. 7-8 also 4/22/43 L. A. Exam. p. 14, Col. 2-3.

Ordered dismissed from government service for subversive activities by special Congressional Committee. See list of subversive organizations to which he belonged.

5/19/43 L. A. Exam.: Along with Dr. Robert Morss Lovett and Dr. Wm. E. Dodd, Jr., barred from United States pay roll as radicals by the House.

3/5/41 Signed petition to president and congress in defense of the Communist Party.

1/2/43 L. A. Exam.: Principal political analyst to FCC. Accused of having lengthy record of association with communist front organizations, and supporter of Earl Browder.

Page 24: "Negro Makers of History" by *Carter Woodson*

Page 25: "The Negro in Our History" by *Carter Woodson*

*Carter Woodson*—See Congressional Committee Report: p. 606

Page 26: "Native Son" by *Richard Wright*

"Black Boy" by *Richard Wright*

*Richard Wright*—See Congressional Committee Report: pp. 375, 561F, 1006, 1008, 1010, 4595, App. I 809, App. V 1625, 1657, 1681.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1948: pp. 101, 141, 162, 274, 328, 377.

See California Un-American Activities Report, 1949: p. 471.

## APPENDIX IV

# PASADENA CITY SCHOOLS

Administration Building
351 South Hudson Avenue
PASADENA 5, CALIFORNIA

WILLARD E. GOSLIN
Superintendent

November 16, 1950

SENATOR NELSON S. DILWORTH, *Chairman*
*Senate Investigating Committee on Education*
*California State Legislature*
*Sacramento 14, California*

DEAR SENATOR DILWORTH: The following is a list of individuals who participated in the Dr. Kilpatrick Conference in the Pasadena Public Schools during the summer of 1949.

| | |
|---|---|
| Miss Florence L. Brubaker | Director, Student Personnel, Pasadena City College |
| Mrs. Lorrayne E. Calkins | Dean of Activities, John Muir College |
| Dr. Everett T. Calvert | Principal, Washington Elementary School |
| Mr. Herbert S. Chesebrough | On Sabbatical Leave |
| Miss Mary Elizabeth Davis | On Sick Leave |
| Mrs. Helen Hyder Ellis | Teacher, Fourth Grade, Webster Elementary School |
| Mrs. Karol Greeson | Administrative Assistant to Superintendent of Schools |
| Mr. Charles D. Hall | Teacher, Core, Marshall Junior High School |
| Mr. Ralph J. Hallman | Teacher, Division of Humanities, John Muir College |
| Mrs. Ruthelma Hemstead | Teacher, Third Grade, Allendale School |
| Mrs. Fannie A. Jiroy | Teacher, Third Grade, Edison Elementary School |
| Dr. William B. Langsdorf | Principal, Pasadena City College |
| Mrs. Esther Lewis | Teacher, Temple City Junior High School |
| Dr. Stuart E. Marsee | Assistant Superintendent, Division of Business Service |
| Mr. Joseph Michaels | Teacher, Sixth Grade, Hale Elementary School |
| Mr. Courtenay Monsen | Secretary to the Board of Education |
| Miss Anna Morsey | Assistant Principal, Washington Junior High School |
| Miss Grace Post | Teacher, Fifth Grade, Longfellow School |
| Miss Catherine J. Robbins | Director, Student Activities, Pasadena City College |
| Miss Vera Mayme Rogers | Teacher, Seventh Grade, Wilson Junior High School |
| Dr. Edward H. Rowins | Assistant Principal in Charge of Day School Administration, Pasadena City College |
| Mrs. Dorothy Stever | Principal, Allendale Elementary School |
| Miss Ruth M. Sundbye | Teacher, Kindergarten, Jackson Elementary School |
| Mrs. Ora Belle Theurich | Teacher, Core, McKinley Junior High School |
| Mrs. Gertrude Mullen Waldron | No Longer in the School System |
| Mr. A. Roland Walker | Principal, Willard Elementary School |
| Mr. Frank R. Walkup | Principal, McKinley Junior High School |
| Dr. William N. Wilson | Principal, Marshall Junior High School |
| Mrs. Ella-Mason Wittker | Psychologist, Guidance and Counseling Department |

Very sincerely yours,

WILLARD E. GOSLIN
Superintendent of Schools

APPENDIX V

Thursday, June 1, 1950

# NEWS BULLETIN NO. 5

## P. E. A. Committee on Information

### E-DAY MINUS ONE

Today is a busy day. A small group of people in Pasadena is using all media of propaganda to confuse the issues and to persuade the uninformed that denying adequate school funds in tomorrow's election will save money and will improve education in some vague, mysterious way. Some well-meaning people can still find merit in such arguments.

*Your P. E. A. trusts you will find time today to give them the facts. We hope you will inform all you can reach and reach all who can vote. Tell them that:*

1. Denying funds to open three new elementary schools already built or near completion is no "saving" of tax money.
2. Denying funds to maintain and operate buildings in need of repair is equally wasteful extravagance.
3. There is no possible educational improvement in curtailing services and in retrenchment of the school program if the tax levy fails.
4. Educational program and methods are not issues in tomorrow's election. The issues in tomorrow's election are enough teachers to do the job, enough supplies with which to work, classes small enough that pupils can learn, and a full day of school for each child in Pasadena.

*Only a "yes" vote tomorrow can possibly result in any saving or improvement!*

It may be well to analyze briefly the nature and content of the attacks on the request for school funds to be voted on tomorrow.

| LEFT: *From a Statement of Principles by the Pasadena School Development Council* | RIGHT: *Comment* |
|---|---|
| "The Council believes in adequate school facilities and in high quality, well-paid teachers and proposes to analyze the school budget and expenditures with the idea of getting better results from every tax dollar." | This is to be accomplished by denying funds for opening and operating adequate schools and attacking teachers via radio and public meetings? |
| "During this time it believes that additional cost due to new teaching innovations (sic) should not be entertained except to accomplish demonstrable benefits." | Additional children, higher costs, larger classes and double sessions are facts. New schools and teachers are as "demonstrable" as we can make them. |

The Pasadena School Development Council supplements such "principles" by distributing pamphlets issued by a National Council for American Education, 1 Maiden Lane, N. Y. and written by an Allen A. Zoll of whom you may have heard. If not, we refer you to the following documentation: *N. Y. World-Telegram,* August 25, 1948 under the





heading: "Zoll, Hate-Monger, Promotes New Racket," and October 7, 1949, headed: "Wainwright Quits Educational Council With Fascist Taint;" *Time* Magazine July 10, 1939; *A Measure of Freedom* by Arnold Foerster, Doubleday and Co., N. Y., 1950. Attached is a photostatic copy of the *N. Y. World-Telegram* articles and the cover of the 15-page pamphlet distributed widely at the Pasadena School Development Council meetings entitled "Progressive Education Increases Delinquency." Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the N.E.A., wrote us that this is the kind of propaganda circulated nationally by "penny-pinching, tax-fighting groups that are more interested in their dollars than in the welfare of children and people."

*This is strange company for sincere friends of free, democratic public education. We have only one day left to alert our friends to the danger from such groups. We have only one day left to get out an overwhelming yes vote. Tomorrow is election day. Tomorrow it's up to the voters. Today it's up to us to give them the facts.*

## SAMPLE OF THE MATERIAL CIRCULATED BY PASADENA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION AND DISTRIBUTED WITH BULLETIN NO. 5

### ZOLL, HATE-MONGER, PROMOTES NEW RACKET

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN, *World-Telegram Staff Writer*

Allen Zoll, whose now-defunct American Patriots, Inc., is listed as fascist and subversive by Attorney General Tom C. Clark, is back in business with a new promotion. To drum up support and give it a respectable "front," he's exploiting the names of many prominent Americans who are probably not even aware of his existence.

His new enterprise is called the National Council for American Education of 420 Lexington Ave. Its ostensible purpose is to "eradicate Socialism and Communism from the schools and colleges."

But Zoll, who was denounced as "a very strong anti-Semite" by Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R., N. J.) before the House Un-American Activities Committee nine years ago, is keeping strictly out of sight. So much so, in fact, that Zoll appears on none of the so-called council's literature.

Instead, it carries such names as Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright, the hero of Corregidor; Gene Tunney, former world heavyweight champion; the Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington and Sen. Kenneth McKellar (D., Tenn.), who are listed as governors or advisers.

There are no officers. And Zoll can rarely be found at the Lexington Ave. office. But the *World-Telegram* has indisputable proof that the former associate of the Christian Front and allied hate-mongering movements is the originator and mainspring of the new outfit.

And his name is listed as a trustee in the incorporation papers filed last month in Paterson, N. J., it was disclosed today by the Friends of Democracy, 137 E. 57th St.

Dr. L. M. Birkhead, national director of the Friends of Democracy, at the same time has sent a dossier of Zoll's background to all the persons whose names are being used. "Although this group was formed for the laudable purpose of eradicating Communism from American schools," he told them, "we fear it is scarcely fitted for the task."

In 1939 Zoll appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee to oppose the appointment of Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court on the grounds he was Jewish. This brought down the wrath of the late Sen. William E. Borah.

It also put him in bad with his fascist-inclined coworkers, including George E. Deatherage, whose Knights of the White Camelia used the swastika as its emblem.

Testifying before the Dies Committee, Dudley P. Gilbert, described as the first American to emerge in the role of a potential dictator, said, "I have reason to believe that Mr. Zoll is a complete humbug."





Besides the American Patriots, Inc., Zoll organized the also-defunct American Federation Against Communism. Both Carnegie Hall and Mecca Temple in 1939 barred the two organizations. But elsewhere Zoll presided at a rally which was punctuated by cries of "Throw the Jews out of Christian America!"

His latest pamphlet is entitled "How Red Are the Schools?"

It lists six members of the House on the advisory committee: Harold Knutson (R., Minn.), William Lemke (R., N. Dak.), A. L. Miller (R., Nebr.), Alvin E. O'Konski (R., Wis.), Max Schwabe (R., Mo.) and Karl Stefan (R., Nebr.).

Others listed include the Rev. Dr. Edward Lodge Curran, Rear Adm. F. D. Berrien, U.S.N., retired; Stanley High, former Sen. Gerald P. Nye, Dr. George B. Cutten, president emeritus of Colgate, and Robert L. Lund, former president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers.

Before the war Zoll was indicted on a charge of attempting to extort $7500 from Radio Station WMCA for calling off a Christian Front picket line. The indictment was later dismissed. District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office said today, because it was felt there was insufficient proof of guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

In 1940 the Military Training Camps Assn. rejected Zoll's application for membership. A spokesman said it was acting at the request of Army Military Intelligence.

### WAINWRIGHT QUITS EDUCATION COUNCIL WITH FASCIST TAINT

By FREDERICK WOLTMAN, *World-Telegram Staff Writer*

Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright has resigned as trustee of Allen Zoll's so-called National Council for American Education, it became known today. The hero of Corregidor acted after learning that the promoter's earlier enterprise, American Patriots, Inc., was listed as Fascist and subversive by Attorney General Tom C. Clark.

A half dozen other prominent backers have also repudiated the council, which exploited their names as a respectable "front" from its headquarters at 420 Lexington Ave.

They include Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R., Mich.), Gene Tunney, former heavyweight champion; Stanley High, Reps. A. L. Miller (R., Nebr.) and Karl E. Mundt (R., S. Dak.), and Smith R. Webb, president of Northeast Technical School, Paterson, N. J.

#### ZOLL'S ROLE DISCLOSED.

The exodus started after Mr. Zoll was first disclosed as the new council's shadowy, behind-the-scenes promoter by the *World-Telegram* and the Friends of Democracy, 137 E. 57th St.

Gen. Wainwright expressing gratitude for the information, said at his home in San Antonio, Tex., that his resignation was "a wise decision."

Sen. Vandenberg, whose "endorsement" was used in a council brochure, wrote Mr. Zoll demanding that his name be eliminated. "I could have no remote sympathy of any nature with such a movement," he informed L. M. Birkhead, national director of Friends of Democracy.

HARD TO KEEP TRACK.

Mr. Tunney, in resigning from its advisory committee, explained that "people like myself, who are active in business enterprises, find it very difficult to keep track of the sincerity of organizations alleging to promote Americanism."

"I hope I am usually not so gullible as last night's story in the *World-Telegram* seemed to indicate," wrote Mr. High, an editor of *Reader's Digest,* "but at least I am trying forthwith to rid myself of the consequences."

Mr. High said he was "sorry and chagrined that I did not know more about the council when I allowed my name to be used by it."

The council's ostensible purpose was to "eradicate Socialism and Communism from the schools and colleges." Its promoter was denounced as "a very strong anti-Semite" by Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R., N. J.) before the House Un-American Committee nine years ago.

APPENDIX VI

# PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION INCREASES DELINQUENCY

## "PROGRESSIVE" EDUCATION IS SUBVERTING AMERICA

By ALLEN A. ZOLL, Ph.D.
Internationally Known Sales Consultant

America has had so-called progressive education for over a generation in certain areas. The children first subjected to it are no longer children. They have long since completed their formal education and have become an influential portion of the fabric of American life. On all sides the effects of their "progressive" education are being felt today in our national life. In ever-increasing numbers it is affecting pre-adolescents, adolescents and other young people who will be the voters and politicians and opinion-molders of tomorrow. So long as the underlying bases of "progressive" education remain unchallenged, so long its effects will continue to emerge and increase. The nature as well as the extent of these effects means that we are dealing, not with a mere academic school problem of concern only to professional educators, but with a vital national problem that directly affects the whole social, economic, moral and even political structure of our Republic.

### *The Educated Man*

Before analyzing the effects of "progressive" education, let us ask ourselves: What is education? Or, perhaps it would be better to phrase the question in another way, since we are dealing directly with human personality, and inquire: Who is the educated man?

The educated man is the man who knows the history and grasps the salient facts of the universe, the world, and the society of which he is a part. That is, he is first of all an *informed* man. But he is more than that. He is also a *thinking* man—one who can relate to each other the meaning of the facts of the real world he has come to know, and build upon this foundation a life of intelligent good conduct.

Information and thought go hand in hand: a person who has accumulated vast stores of fact is not an educated man unless he has learned to think-through the meaning of the facts he knows. Nor is the process known as thinking ever really engaged-in by those who lack factual knowledge of the setting in which they live. To imagine that thinking can be accomplished by those who do not possess the tools of thought is one of the illusions of our times.

### *The Old-time Education*

Many people have contended that the educational process of 75 years ago was unduly concerned with the mere accumulation of facts, and was not sufficiently concerned with the development of the ability to think. As a general indictment of American education in that period, I believe this statement could not be maintained. Nevertheless, there were those who believed that it could, and who set out to correct what they thought to be the imbalance.

However, the attempt to correct that supposed imbalance produced another imbalance which gradually developed into a serious distortion. The value of fact was minimized, and fell lower and lower in the new

scale of values. Children were taught to "develop their personalities" and to "think"—apart from real knowledge of the facts of the world in which they lived. And they were encouraged to believe that when they had done this they had become educated and mature.

Of course it is impossible to think validly apart from accurate knowledge of the subject-matter concerning which one is attempting to reason. And to assure impressionable young minds that such "thinking" is valid, is not education at all but is a cruel wrong perpetrated upon the defenseless by those whose business it is to know better.

### *"Progressive" Education Is Pragmatic*

Along with the distortion resulting from the discounting of the factual element of education, and quite inseparable from it, was the emergence of a philosophy with which virtually the whole "progressive" education movement became impregnated. That philosophy was what is popularly called "pragmatism."

Pragmatism as a philosophy competing with other philosophies in the disputations of professional philosophers may seem a harmless thing. Yet, as in the case of any basic view of our universe and its nature, it has implications that filter down from the realm of abstract theory to the world of human action.

The basic affirmation of pragmatism is that no such thing as absolute truth exists. "Truth," in the vocabulary of Pragmatism, is a word to describe a concept that is *useful* at the moment. If tomorrow, or even in an hour, the concept should cease to be useful, it would not be "true" in the pragmatic sense any longer, and would be replaced by a new concept momentarily useful and therefore momentarily "true."

Other philosophies before Pragmatism recognized the partial nature of all human knowledge. Some, as in the case of the Hegelians or the Kantians, held either that the nature of what is known is somehow changed by our observation of it, or that ultimate truth itself is unknowable to our human minds. But until the rise of Pragmatism, the idea that absolute truth exists was never seriously challenged in the whole history of human thought.

Flowing from the very nature of Pragmatism is the conclusion that no unchangeable, always valid, religious doctrines or moral standards can possibly exist. A consistent Pragmatist, therefore, could not possibly be an adherent of the Christian religion, or of any religion that teaches the existence of absolute truth. It is difficult to see how a consistent Pragmatist could even be a *Theist*—that is, a believer in a God possessing the attributes of personality such as intelligence, will or goodness. For these attributes, and that kind of Divine Being, cannot exist if "truth" is only what is momentarily useful to human beings.

As every informed person knows, the philosophy of Pragmatism came very early to dominate the movement known as progressive education. This is not to imply that every adherent or practitioner of so-called progressive education understood the really nihilistic nature of Pragmatism. Doubtless many did not, and do not even today. But Pragmatism became, if not the official philosophy of the new education, at least its underlying philosophy. Nor does the fact that a destructive idea is ignorantly transmitted really have anything to do with the case. Its potential explosive effect is present in it, just as the potential explosive effect of a stick of dynamite remains unchanged even if a child playing with it imagines it to be a roll of cardboard or a roman candle.



### *America Was Founded on Moral Values*

Every civilization known to man has been built upon commonly agreed concepts of how human beings should behave in their relationships with each other. The nature of the society is derived from the nature of these underlying concepts. If those concepts are at length abandoned, the society enters a state of disintegration and flux, until either it is destroyed by a combination of inner and outer forces, or it finds new principles upon which to regulate its life. Both these alternatives are abundantly illustrated in the history of mankind.

The form of society which gave birth to our American Republic was based upon a system of interrelated concepts derived mostly from the Christian religion. Underlying even these basic concepts is the conviction that they partake of the nature of universal and immutable truth—that they are valid always, everywhere and for all. Implicit in them is a view of truth as well as a catalogue of truths. And also implicit in the whole is a set of moral values and standards by which men can and ought to live together.

Now whatever may be said, justly or not, against the education of the nineteenth century in America, this much may be said in its favor: it sought not merely to fill the mind with facts, but it sought also to bind the minds and hearts of childhood and youth to the moral principles basic to our peculiar and distinctive society. It taught not merely that honesty is the best (i.e., most useful) policy, but that it is eternally right to be honest—that anything else than honesty is wrong in the sight of God and man. It taught not that mankind is composed of clever animals, but that the life we live on earth should be lived in the light that streams upon us from God Himself, and that man was made for an eternal destiny. It taught that men should not look to government—a thing of their own creation—for sustenance, but that each man should stand on his own feet and make his own way, thus preserving human dignity, integrity and self-respect. It taught love of country, also—the passionate love for a land which, more than any other land on earth, offered rewards for courage, intelligence and hard work.

In other words, American education produced not simply generations of people possessing factual information, but also generations of men and women impregnated with sturdy moral and spiritual values. And it was the existence of that kind of people which gave to our American nation its strength and its glory among the nations.

### *Our Forefathers Had Greater Intelligence*

Nor should it for a moment be imagined that the products of this earlier educational discipline were not fitted to *think*. In spite of the gibes of the advocates of so-called progressive education, it is perfectly evident to any impartial and historically-minded investigator that the level of public intelligence a hundred years ago was very materially higher than the level of public intelligence today. If that be doubted, the skeptic need only to study the books, the periodical literature and the sermons of a hundred years since. It is true that new words have entered the language, and that the physical sciences have made advances hardly dreamed-of a

century ago. Yet if one will take the trouble to compare public discussions on almost any subject in 1850 with those of today he will discover that the average person of that period was, and had to be, capable of sustained and informed thinking such as would mark today's citizen as being highly exceptional. There were, it is true, slogans and catchwords then as well as today, but the average man knew facts, was interested in facts, demanded that his opponent give him facts, and was much less likely to swallow economic or political buncombe.

### *"Progressive" Education Has Curtailed Thinking*

So-called progressive education, shot through as it is with the blight of Pragmatism, has had a very deleterious effect upon the original character of American education.

The new movement encouraged students to "think" without the labor of learning the facts necessary to accurate thinking. In doing this it not only deprived youth of the needful ingredients of thought, but it encouraged the dangerous illusion that thinking is easy, that it ought to be easy, that it is the fruit of personality rather than of patient, hard work. In short, it taught youth that it was all right to talk but hardly necessary to know what one was talking about. And right here, Pragmatism was ready with its cynical denial of absolute truth—and if there is no absolute truth isn't one opinion as good as another? Why study to get at the true nature of things if there *is* no true nature of things?

For if there is no absolute truth, there can be no absolute moral standards, either. Consequently, under Pragmatism a lie can be "good" if it is momentarily useful. If cheating is advantageous, why not cheat? There are no changeless moral canons any more. Human life is only a slicked-up jungle, subject only to the reign of tooth, claw and craft. Virtue is "mid-Victorian," chastity good only for a laugh.

The tragic and terrifying thing about all this is that it represents not merely rebellion against a moral code, but denial that there can be any binding moral code. It is a fundamental revolution in human thinking of the first order: it is mental and ethical nihilism. If it goes on unchecked, it will mean not merely tragedy for millions of individuals, it will mean the disintegration and final extinction of the American society.

### *Most Teachers Are Guiltless*

It should be stressed again that not all the rank and file of the teachers of the country have any idea that they are taking part in such a revolution, or have any conception of what the consequences must inevitably be. For the most part the teachers in American schools and colleges are sincere, dedicated individuals who have to wrestle with an increasingly thankless job. The work they do is of supreme importance, and they are grossly unappreciated and grossly underpaid. The fault is not directly theirs that they have been made the instruments of a revolution which most of them have no idea is taking place. It is largely the fault of the powerful individuals and organizations in control of the training of prospective teachers, who have to such a large degree succeeded in standardizing curricula that the young teachers have practically no choice as to the basic training they will receive or as to the methods they will employ in teaching when they begin their careers.



### *The Teaching Hierarchy Is Guilty*

Yet on the other hand it can hardly be maintained that the great luminaries of the educational profession, from John Dewey on, have not known precisely what they are doing. How could they fail to know? It is my sincere belief that they advocate the kind of "education" they dispense for the very reason that it will produce a certain type of person, and because enough such persons can transform the society in which they and we live.

The public school system in hundreds of cities and towns throughout the land, while it contains thousands of devoted teachers who groan under the burden of the system they must teach, is fatally committed to these subversive principles of "progressive" education.

### *"Progressive" Education and Age Groups*

The object of education under this "progressive" system, is not to impart information, but to "enable the child to get along with his own age group." There is nothing wrong with a child being trained to "get along" with those of his own age group, who may or may not be his own mental or psychological age. There is serious doubt, however, whether enabling him to do this is the chief goal of his education in the formal sense. If it were, it could probably be better accomplished on the playground than in the classroom. Assuredly, however, a child ought to be taught to get along with people of *any* age group, and he certainly will be thrown among people of all ages and all stages of mental, emotional and moral development when he leaves school.

This attitude is far more dangerous than it may appear to be at first glance. For if the main effort is, not to teach facts, but rather to "induce social attitudes toward others," then the so-called instruction is not really instruction at all, but rather the inculcation of currently popular herd ideas on a mass basis. Currently it is popular to plug hard for the democratic equality of all men, and often the political equality before the law guaranteed by our fundamental instruments of law is stretched like a rubber band to include belief that all individuals are on a dead level in everything, and that it is a modern sin to believe anything else.

### *Automatic Promotion*

One of the more widely known and nationally most harmful phases of progressive education is that supreme confession of educational futility known as "automatic promotion," at present found in the schools of many cities. Under this system, nobody can fail, each pupil is pushed along with his class until graduation, so that he can continue to enjoy fraternal relations with his own age group. In order to graduate, under this method, it is only necessary that a pupil hang around. He does not need to learn anything. Indeed, if he does learn anything he may be charged with being undemocratic: how many teachers I have heard say proudly, "We do not tolerate the 'star system'; we are all equal here!" There are uncounted instances of bright pupils who were rebuked for being bright. One typical instance of this was the case of a child who had been given a work book which was supposed to be for the whole term. Having finished the work in a fraction of the time expected—one afternoon, in fact—he was caustically held up to ridicule before the class. "Now you won't have anything to do for weeks!" said

the teacher, and the child who had entered the class full of ambition and a desire to excel, sat miserably puzzled, unable to comprehend why it was a fault to do his work quickly and well.

Just what kind of product will come from a school system that minimizes factual information, inculcates herd ideas, and pushes all students along together like animals going through a stockyard to the slaughter gate? What but a tragically misshapen generation without the essential elements of education, without the ability to think for themselves, filled only with the desired herd ideas—fit only to be citizens of the authoritarian state? In actuality, this is the very purpose behind the whole diabolical scheme.

### *Competition Is the Staff of Life*

Whether they like it or not, the fact is that competition is one of the basic conditions of human life. It has been since the dawn of history. This basic condition can no more be abolished than can the necessity for breathing. It is a part of the real world, and woe betide the overprotected child when at last it reaches adulthood and must make its own way in the world. Yet so-called progressive education has a profound aversion to this inescapable condition which provides self-respect and gives training in self-reliance and self-support.

Writers and speakers for "progressive" education regulary attack competition as one of the "warping" influences upon the life of a child. In doing so they are evidently supremely unconscious of the fact that in the life span of any organism, from amoeba to man, success in competition is a law both of growth and of stark survival.

Their stupid point of view is based upon the popular but infantile theory that a child who is able to "develop his own inner security" apart from external competition, will be in a better position to hold his own after the protective environment of the school is withdrawn, and he is launched into a competitive world. Yet any person with good common sense knows, or ought to know, that the most perilous thing that can happen to a child is to permit or encourage him to live in a world of imagination and fantasy apart from the world of reality.

### *"Progressive" Education Wrecks the Individual*

Imaginative day-dreaming, even in the most solitary and protected child, must take place within some frame of reference. Since the frame of reference is not the real world, the competitive world, from which the child has been "shielded," it must be either one arising from his own limited experience or one insinuated into his mind by his teachers. In either case, since it lacks the essential ingredients of real life, it is a profoundly unreal sense of inner security, so fragile that when the child by necessity begins to cope with the world as it is, he finds himself a frightened stranger in an environment he does not understand, and the sense of security, false from the beginning, is shattered into a thousand pieces. Then the adolescent or adult finds himself in an environment which appears to be hostile because it is different, which demands adaptations he cannot make, and which lives by mental and ethical standards of which he knows little or nothing. And the sudden confrontation of the problems of such a world is bound to be tragically disintegrative of the whole personality.



### *"Progressive" Education Promotes Socialism*

Yet there is good reason to believe that, at least in the minds of the high-priests of progressive education, all this has been foreseen—and desired. Many people are familiar with John Dewey's famous dictum: "The school should be life, not a preparation for living." If these words have any meaning at all, they certainly imply that the kind of world a child experiences in his "progressive" school should by extension be the kind of world in which he should live out his life as an adult. Otherwise, they have no real meaning. But if that is their meaning, if they are not a mere pleasantry, does it not inescapably follow that the purpose of education as conceived by John Dewey, George Counts and their ilk, is to prepare children for adult life in a society in which competition has been eliminated? And what kind of a society is that? What but a socialist society?

If anyone imagines that I am reading into the minds of Dewey and others designs which do not exist, I invite his attention to their published works. One of the younger high priests of the movement, Dr. Harold Rugg, has stated their purpose perhaps as incisively as it could be stated, in his introduction to *American Life and the School Curriculum,* published in 1936. He says:

"It is primarily for teachers that I have written the book—for teachers and for those lay members of the community who are now willing to accept vigorously their citizenship obligations to participate in the swift reconstruction of education and, through it, of the social order itself."

This is not a quotation taken out of context to make Rugg appear to hold a view he does not hold. If you will read the whole volume, you will find clearly that Rugg understands very well the nature of the American free society, and that it is his deliberate conviction that it is outmoded and ought to be replaced by a society of the collectivist family.

### *Opposes Individualism*

So-called progressive educators have always had a great deal to say about the individual. Their repeated mention of the individual reminds one of the words of the old spiritual: "Everybody talks about Heaven ain't goin' there." For despite its lip service to the individual, "progressive" education is profoundly and fatally anti-individualistic. In place of personal knowledge it encourages acceptance of currently popular mass superstitions. In place of periodic tests (as real life provides) to determine fitness for advance, it pushes the individual along with the crowd—his own "age group." Instead of encouraging personal excellence of effort and rewarding those who succeed, it discourages personal excellence and by the impact of its whole system makes conformity, unquestioning and uninformed, the mental basis of a happy life. By proclaiming that it has nothing to do with morals while at the same time making the hedonism of crowd conformity the moral basis of a happy life, it sets young people adrift without any real moral standards in a world of fatal choices which they are not equipped to make. The only world in which they could be reasonably secure and happy would be a collectivist one in which their occupations would be chosen for them and their lives so meticulously mapped out by authority that they would have no moral choices to make. This is the underlying plan behind miscalled "progressive" education.

Professor Rugg sneers politely at what he calls the "classical" purpose of education to produce citizens who will integrate well with an existing society. Yet if you examine his own theory closely, you will find that his objection is *not* to fitting youth into human society. That is the object of his whole effort. But his objection is to the free society—he is against preparing youth for a competitive society, but very much in favor of preparing youth for a collectivist society.

This collectivist society does not as yet exist here in America. Pray God it never will. But if it does come, we may thank the Deweys, the Counts, the Thorndikes, and the Ruggs more than Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Browder or any of that ilk. But whether collectivism is coming eventually or not, is beside the point for the moment. The fact is, that today, in spite of all, we still have the elements of a free, competitive society.

What is happening, then, is that every year young people trained for one kind of society are being unloaded into another kind of society, and in great numbers. But the "life" for which so-called progressive education has been "preparing" them by making the school itself into a prelude of what is desired for all, is not the actual life with which they must come to terms. They have been prepared for one kind of human relationship, and they are thrust into another.

### Produces Social Delinquency

It is my sincere belief that this disjunction is responsible both for what we speak of as "social delinquency" in the narrower sense, as well as the social and political immaturity and the ignorance that characterizes hundreds of thousands of young people who arrive at voting age. And their inability to understand the real nature of public issues and choices, because they do not understand either the history or the genius of the American society, is a terrifying social delinquency in the larger sense that may well end in the dissolution of the Republic. If it is true (and I think it is) that today's young people are inclined more and more to the political and social "left," it is not because they are truly progressive, but because their so-called education has not fitted them to distinguish between reactionary proposals dressed up in new clothes and those principles which must be maintained if freedom is to endure. They are not naturally more dull than the generations which have preceded them—but thanks to the plotters who have kept them essentially ignorant of their own cultural heritage, they do not possess the information or the historical insight necessary to intelligent choice. The pupils are not to be blamed, but rather pitied. Yet their existence in the condition in which they exist is a greater and more terrifying menace to all America and to our free life than any external menace.

### Tragic Increase in Juvenile Delinquency

Those who have read the Uniform Crime Reports issued by the Department of Justice or who even scan the headlines in the daily press know what moral disintegration is taking place in our society, and the unspeakable forms it takes. They are aware, as well, that year by year the volume of crime committed by those in lower age groups is increasing. The average age of those who commit crime is becoming constantly lower. The Uniform Crime Report for 1949, issued March 20, 1950, reported that youths under 21 constituted 27.4 of those charged with major



crimes. There is no possible doubt that most of this condition is directly traceable to the fatal lack of the right kind of instruction in our schools. Other factors are at work as well—the home and the churches must bear their share of responsibility. Yet even where other influences fail, public education could, if it were operated upon right principles and devoted to right ends, do more than any other influence to restore what is now lacking in American life.

### Jefferson's Definition of Education

In 1819—deep in the Dark Ages as so-called progressive educators think them—Thomas Jefferson was asked by the Legislature of Virginia to define the purpose of higher education. His definition could well be taken as stating the right aim of *anything* worthy of being called "education":

"To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order."

Jefferson, of course, knew that reasoning faculties cannot be developed without the assimilation of factual information. He, himself, repeatedly appealed to history as the guide for national and individual conduct. And he knew, as we should know, that unless the individual can reason upon the basis of experience, his own and that of the race, he is not an educated man. Jefferson himself, a truly educated man, was far from being a blind conformist. Nor can any educated man be a *blind* conformist. Conformist he may become, but his conformity in any specific situation will be the result of intelligent choice based upon adequate information. The educated man is not the herd man precisely because he is personally apprised of the past results of human actions, and makes his individual judgments on the basis of his own thinking. Yet the product of so-called progressive education *must* be the herd man, unless by an effort of his own will he breaks through to reality out of the conditions universe in which educational theorists are holding him captive.

But Jefferson's definition of the purpose of education includes another element, restoration of which to our educational system is necessary if true education is to survive. We must, he said:

"cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order."

### The Educated Man Is a Moral Man

The educated man is, of all men, a person who acts intelligently and whose actions are responsible. No matter how much a man *knows,* no matter how brilliantly he can *reason,* he is not a sound member of human society or fit for leadership among men, unless he has moral principle, unless he guides his own life in paths "of virtue and order." Nor will a society composed of brilliant people *without* the saving grace of "virtue and order" be able long to exist as a free society. Either it will disintegrate, or it will lapse into iron-gloved authoritarianism. Despite the gibes of people like Rugg and Robert Hutchins, the production of moral character is one of the basic aims of anything worthy of being called "education."

### America Founded on Christian Principles

It is a fact which every historically-minded person already knows well: that the moral basis of the American society is founded upon and

derived from, the Christian religion. Since Colonial times, to be sure, we have had (and gloriously so) complete religious freedom. Nevertheless, and in perfect consistency with that freedom, it is also true that the Christian religion and its great fundamentals are woven into the warp and woof of our social fabric. Until recent times it could also be said truly that the Christian faith and its necessary implications were woven also into the character of the vast majority of our people—even of millions who made no formal profession of Christian faith.

The qualities above all that characterized the generations which made America great, which built a great land of freedom and populated it from ocean to ocean, were those of faith in God and the consequent inner moral integrity of those who believe themselves responsible for their lives before their Maker. It was this character of our people that made them courageous and enterprising, and thus resulted in the high standard of material living they attained.

### *Material Abundance Not the Only Requisite*

Now, by a strange paradox, it is that very ultimate product of human character—our high standard of material living—that has been employed by revolutionaries to destroy the spiritual basis that has made it possible. Because we have been so rich in goods, those who would change us from free men into serfs and our society from one of consent into a society of compulsion, have through so-called progressive education attempted to convince the mass mind that only an economy of abundance of material things is necessary for the happiness of mankind—provided they are equitably distributed. That is what they mean by an order which is not "competitive."

But that is a desperately low view of what man is, and of the kind of life that will satisfy his deep inner longings for development and fulfillment. Long, long ago, there was One who pronounced differently:

"A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

Today's materialists, in and out of American education, stridently assert the opposite. To make mankind happy, they cry, merely provide it with a justly divided abundance. Often even people who imagine that they are defenders of freedom adopt this mistaken viewpoint, and try to prove that the free society is better because it can supply more and better abundance. "Look at ourselves and Russia," they cry. "See how much better our standard of living is—that proves our life to be better."

### *Freedom More Important Than Possessions*

Our ancestors would not have readily understood that argument, or thought much of it once they comprehended it. Of course they valued, as do we, anything that will lessen the burdens and increase the enjoyment of physical life. But they would have at once perceived that this is standing upon the materialist's own ground, assenting to his low view of the nature and the destiny of human personality. For the great argument for freedom is not the abundance it provides, but that freedom is the birthright of every man because he is a man, the condition of his development as a man, the only atmosphere in which he can render due service to his Maker. The great reward of freedom is freedom itself. Defend freedom on any other ground and you have lost the battle before it has been joined: often in history the free have been poor and defenseless and harried, yet have gladly and steadfastly chosen freedom with poverty rather than servitude with abundance. That choice was the choice made by practically all those who peopled the colonies which later become the United States; it was the conviction built into the lives of their posterity by home, church and school for generations; it is the only conviction adequate to provide free men with the stamina to remain free, or to regain a swiftly fading freedom.



The same is true in the moral realm, as well. The moral code derived from the Mosaic law and the Christian religion is not a mere series of precepts, folkways or taboos. It is a living faith in the Divine origin of the moral order and the health-giving participation in that moral order of those whom God counts as His children. It is right to do right, not because it is the best policy or because it pays off, but because it is right to do right. And the belief that it is right to do right for its own sake, entirely aside from the human consequences, is only possible to those who believe in a universal moral order flowing from the Sovereign God, and who further believe that earth is but a vestibule to eternity, this life a preparation for the life of the world to come.

### *An Inspired and Inspiring Law*

Our forefathers believed in and followed in their daily lives these eternal verities; they taught them to their children; they expected and required the schools and colleges to teach their sons and daughters these same undying values. For example, on the Massachusetts statute books this statute, passed in 1789, still stands:

"The president, professors and tutors of the University at Cambridge and of the several colleges, all preceptors and teachers of academics and all other instructors of youth shall exert their best endeavors to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety and justice and a sacred regard for truth, love of their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society and the basis upon which a republican constitution is founded; and they shall endeavor to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican constitution and secure the blessings of liberty as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices."

### *We Must Return to the Faith of Our Fathers*

Unless our Nation returns to the simple but spacious faith that gave us our national character and greatness, we are doomed to extinction, to join the long roll of nations which in prosperity have forgotten the faith which created them and the convictions which sustained them. And unless our public education can return again to these great, living truths and without apology can present them as a living faith, I see no human prospect that our free Republic can survive.

So-called progressive education denies the necessity of every factor necessary for our survival as a free people. It has robbed growing youth of the ability to think independently, it spawns its millions mentally

conditioned only for the collectivist state, it robs those it blights of the moral standards by which alone a people may maintain a secure, free, coherent society.

Aside from the high priests of this revolution who deliberately promote this mental and moral nihilism, so-called progressive education is fostered by many thousands of teachers and administrators who simply do not understand its nature and who have no idea of its effects. The latter are not to be blamed: it is the duty of those who see the danger to explain to them the nature of what they do and the inexorable consequences.

Let those who love America, who cherish its heritage and the God who gave it, gird themselves for one supreme effort to reverse the current, to bring our Country and its children back to instruction that will impart information, stimulate individual thinking and restore the almost lost sense of moral obligation. The task is great, but by no means impossible. The damage has been done by man. It can be repaired by man, if those who would repair it are willing to take the time, energy and money to do it.

Nor shall we fight alone. With us always is the One who said long ago and who says again to us today:

"But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

FINIS

### *What You Can Do to Help*

If you as a parent or a citizen are genuinely concerned with today's education and its effect upon America's future, here are some of the things you can do to help:

(1) Join the National Council for American Education and assist in its vital work of eradicating socialism and communism from the educational system, and substituting therefor sound Americanism. The only requirement for membership is that one be a real American. (Write for additional information.)

(2) Send us suggestions, information, pamphlets, clippings—anything that will help in this fight to make America's schools and colleges truly American.

(3) Contribute as generously as you possibly can: the battle cannot be won without money; the more funds the council has, the more effective its work will be.

(4) Help give wide distribution to this pamphlet. Among those in your community who should have it are clergymen, teachers and other molders of public opinion.

Price: Single copies 20¢ (stamps acceptable)
6 copies $1; 50 copies $5
100 " 8; 1,000 " 60
Special price on larger quantities.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION
1 MAIDEN LANE, NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

*Help Save America—Join NCAE*

## APPENDIX VII

# DEFENSE BULLETIN

*Democracy's Defense*
Through Education

Number 35, July, 1950

*Speaker:* Harold Benjamin, Chairman, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, NEA

*Topic:* REPORT ON THE ENEMY

*Place:* National Education Association, Eighty-eighth Delegate Assembly, St. Louis, Missouri, July 3, 1950

In warfare the main job of a reconnaissance troop is to get information of the enemy, to tell who he is, to discover where he is, to learn as much about his weapons and his tactics as possible, to find out where he is weak and where he is strong, and to pass that information quickly and accurately to the fighting outfit the troop represents—the combat team—which in turn passes it on to the division, the corps, and the army.

Your Defense Commission is a kind of educational reconnaissance troop, and it has a combat-intelligence report to give you tonight.

It is the estimate of the commission that a general attack on public education in the United States is now being organized. The enemy is trying our line with a number of local, probing raids, attempting to find out where we are weak or strong, testing his methods of attack, recruiting and training his forces, building up his stock piles, filling his war chest, and organizing his propaganda units.

He has already initiated skirmishes in various places throughout the Country. He has elected a school-board member here pledged to return public education to a Spartan regime of confinement to the 3-R's and low taxes. He has whipped up pseudo-popular revolts there against teachers, administrators, and school programs on the grounds that they are indoctrinating the children in communism, socialism, or at least mentioning democracy, and they are helping to increase taxes. He has defeated a school financing project over yonder because it is designed to make children godless and raise taxes. He is prepared to whip up indignation at a moment's notice on all sorts of topics from the deleterious effects of John Dewey's philosophy on the incidence of juvenile delinquency to the relationship between construction activities in the fifth grade and a lack of respect for the National Colors—but these indignations are largely synthetic and relatively feeble, requiring careful and intensive force-feeding to sustain life—compared with the white-hot indignation about school taxes.

Under the steam of that indignation about spending money for a modern school program, garnished with a variety of pretty, little, cultivated indignations about William H. Kilpatrick's sinister influence and

the spread of atheism nurtured by fads and frills, the enemy has lately gone into some full-scale battles, as in Denver, Minneapolis, Upper Arlington, Ohio, and a number of other communities, large and small. In at least one part of the Country, the Los Angeles-Pasadena-Glendale area in California, he has apparently started an all-out campaign which he is supporting with every weapon in his arsenal.

Who is this enemy?

He comes under many disguises. He has a lot of *aliases,* carefully designed to make a layman confuse them with such names as *National Education Association* (sponsored and issued Building America Series), and *American Council on Education* (fought use of Building America Series). Sometimes he dresses in the fancy uniforms of that super-patriotism of which truly patriotic groups have long since learned to beware. I am thinking of the American Legion's great service to our country in the Department of Illinois' report, "Subversive Activities of Hate Groups." Sometimes this enemy drapes himself in the mantle of religious orthodoxy, breathing pious expressions of opposition to sin along with his lies about public education.

This is the same enemy who fought the establishment of common tax-supported, secular, public schools in this country 100 and more years ago. He fought the development of free secondary education. He opposed bitterly and uncompromisingly every real improvement in American public education for three generations.

Who is he?

First of all, he is a taxpayer, but a taxpayer of unusual type in this country, I am proud to say. He is the kind of relatively unusual taxpayer who, when offered a choice between low taxes and an improvement of education for his people's children, will never hesitate. He will step right over on the side of low taxes. Often his motive is not one of personal penuriousness. He may be a free spender. He will, without a quiver, plank down more cash for hard liquor in a year than he pays for his share of the elementary education of his community. He may and sometimes does give more money to fight public education in one campaign than support of a vastly improved school system would cost him for five years. He is just operating on principle. He is opposed to spending money for public education. If you left the decision up to him, he would spend no money on public education.

There is something behind that particular principle. It was well expressed a few weeks ago in Washington, D. C., by an official lobbyist of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, an executive vice president of that organization, Herbert V. Nelson.

"I do not believe in democracy," Mr. Nelson wrote in a letter read at a Congressional hearing on April 19, 1950, and quoted by the United Press on that date. "I think it stinks. I believe in a republic operated by the elected representatives who are permitted to do the job, as the board of directors should." In a further statement, he added that only "direct taxpayers" should be allowed to vote. Women, he said, should not be permitted to vote at all. "Ever since they started, our public affairs have been in a worse mess than ever," he said.

Mr. Nelson is to be complimented on speaking his views forthrightly. A number of the people who agree with him lack the guts to speak their minds. They talk instead about how "progressive education" is ruining



the Country. And so I admire Mr. Nelson and to show my affection for him I will give him and those in his camp some valuable information.

The teachers of the United States are in a different camp. They believe in democracy. They propose to teach democracy, to help with all their might to make democracy work, and when necessary—as they have done in the past—to draw and fight for democracy. Our fellow Americans in overwhelming force are in the same camp and are pledged to the same missions.

I love Mr. Nelson and people like him, and I say to them earnestly, "Please don't get in the way of this combat team."

The enemy in this campaign against the public schools is also sometimes one, not so admirable as Mr. Nelson, who is often more dangerous because he is a cool and calculating military adventurer. He fishes in troubled waters for the laudable purpose of making a living. He sells his services and his convictions where they will do him the most good.

In the recent Pasadena case, for example, anti-tax groups, heated "patriots," and opponents of Columbia University's "red" pragmatism rallied behind a general, or chief-of-staff, named *Allen A. Zoll.* Mr. Zoll's preparation for this high post has been impressive. It has been documented in Pasadena *Star-News* for June 20, 1950, by M. M. Morrison. Zoll's service included recruit training with such outfits as the Christian Front of anti-Jewish memory and that fellowship of fascists and subversives (I speak by the Attorney General's book here), called *American Patriots.* (New York World-Telegram, August 25, 1948). Zoll also had the advantages of early action under such captains as Gerald L. K. Smith, Jew-baiter; Elizabeth Dilling, indicted three times for sedition, and the ineffable Coughlin of Little Flower fame. Then he branched out as a small-unit commander, leading a fight against the appointment of Mr. Justice Frankfurter lest the Supreme Court be polluted by un-Christian opinions. (*Measure of Freedom,* Arnold Forster, Doubleday, New York, 1950). His greatest success to date, however, is his attack on the major Protestant denominations of the United States in his pamphlet, "How Red Is the Federal Council of Churches?"

As might be expected, of course, Mr. Zoll ran into a few difficulties in all these adventures. He was indicted in 1939 on a charge of attempting to extort $7,500 from a radio station for calling off a Christian Front picket line, but he was not convicted, so that was not too bad. He was kept out of the Military Training Camps Associated by Army Military Intelligence, perhaps jealous of him. (New York World-Telegram, August 25, 1948).

And then he turned to his present campaign. The schools do not teach the fundamentals. The schools usurp the prerogatives of the Christian home. The schools indoctrinate children in un-American ways of life. Evidence is not bothered with. The Hitler technique of repetition is relied upon. Studies of the achievement of children, facts concerning the results of a modern school program—these are nothing to worry about. The plan to follow is to quote the Constitution, Christian Principles, and say the schools are terrible. It is not even necessary to say that they cost money. The chief-of-staff's followers never forget that. In Pasadena, a few weeks ago, they said they were shocked to learn of Mr. Zoll's past connections

but that his pamphlet on "Progressive Education Increases Delinquency" was good stuff, and then they voted overwhelmingly against a badly needed increase in the levy for elementary education.

To the Zolls and their National Councils for American Education, to the tax-haters and the school development councils and school protective leagues which they have set up in many places throughout the Country, we need to pay close attention. We need to get more information about them and their tactics, and we need to pass that information back to our great combat team. That team is our professional group only in part. Its heavy weapons, its armored columns are manned by our people, by the great civic associations, by the veterans' groups, by the women's organizations, by the trade assemblies, by the congresses of parents and teachers, and by all the other powerful behavior-changing and opinion-directing agencies of this democracy.

What we too often call school public relations but probably should more often regard as a hard core of our professional duties—the learning with and for our people—must be carried to a new level in the American public schools. We must learn, better than we now commonly know and practice, the science and art of speaking to our people on their greatest job and of hearing our people speak to us on the same topic.

The enemy in this campaign that seems to be impending is stronger than he looks. If we get our combat team together, however, get the information it needs for its decisions swiftly and accurately before it, even a stronger enemy than this one would make hardly more than a ripple in the smoothness of our advance.

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