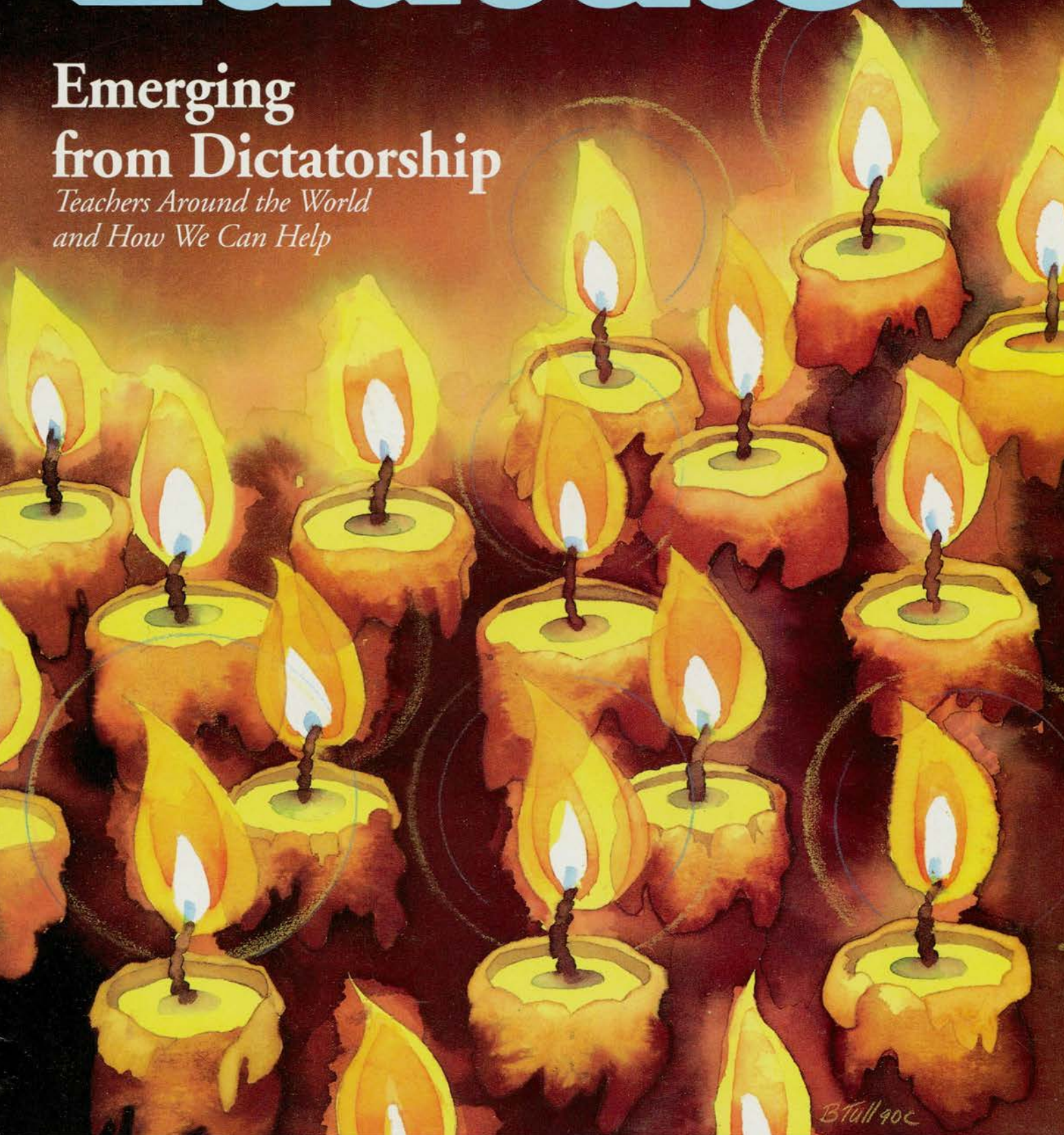


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FALL 1990

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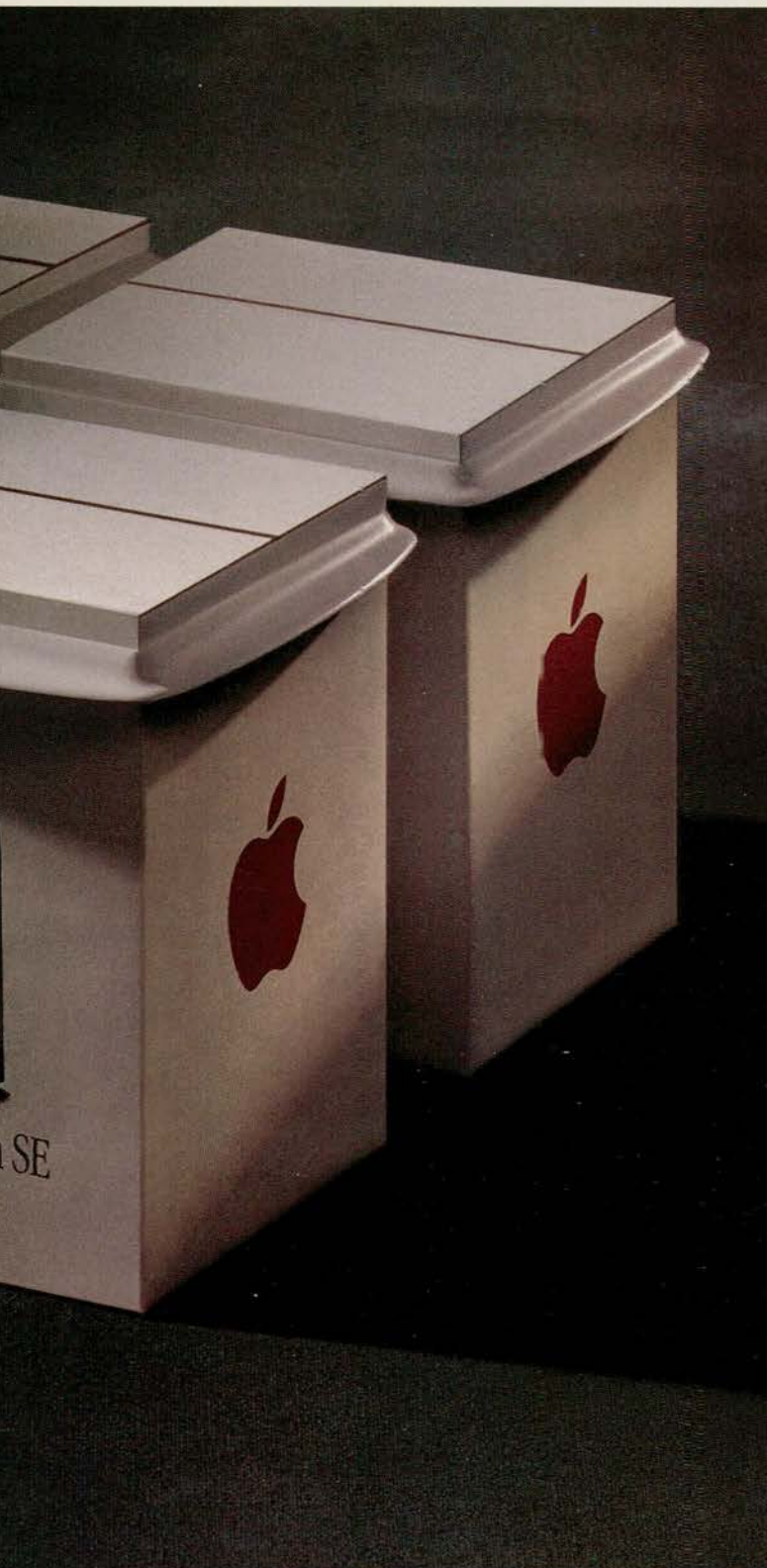
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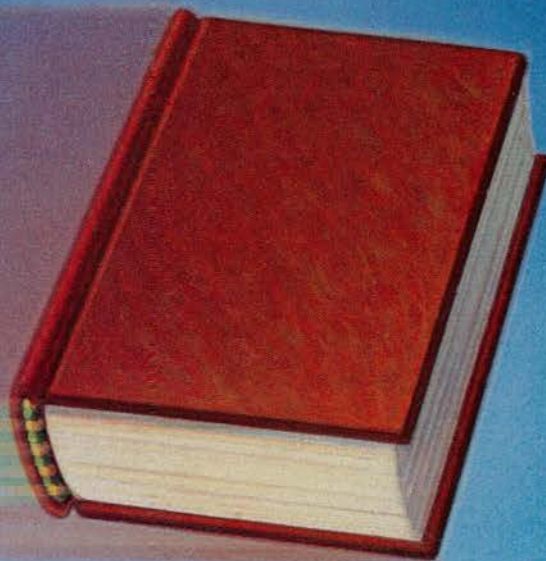
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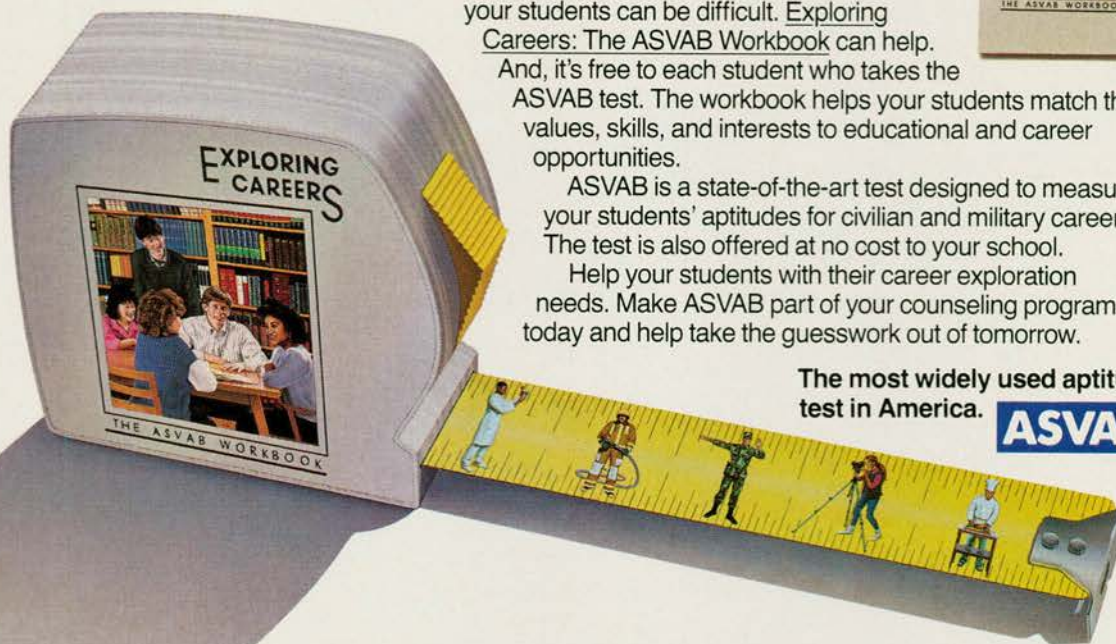
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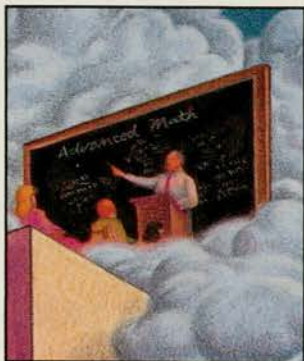
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LETTERS

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SPECIAL SECTION

EMERGING FROM DICTATORSHIP:

TEACHERS AROUND THE WORLD AND HOW WE CAN HELP

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In Eastern Europe, Latin America, and South Africa, there is new hope for freedom and democracy. But under dictatorship, teachers in these countries were badly mistreated, their unions forced underground or out of existence, their schools defunded and transformed into ideological mills. What these men and women have faced, what they do face, and how we can help them rebuild make up the contents of this special section.

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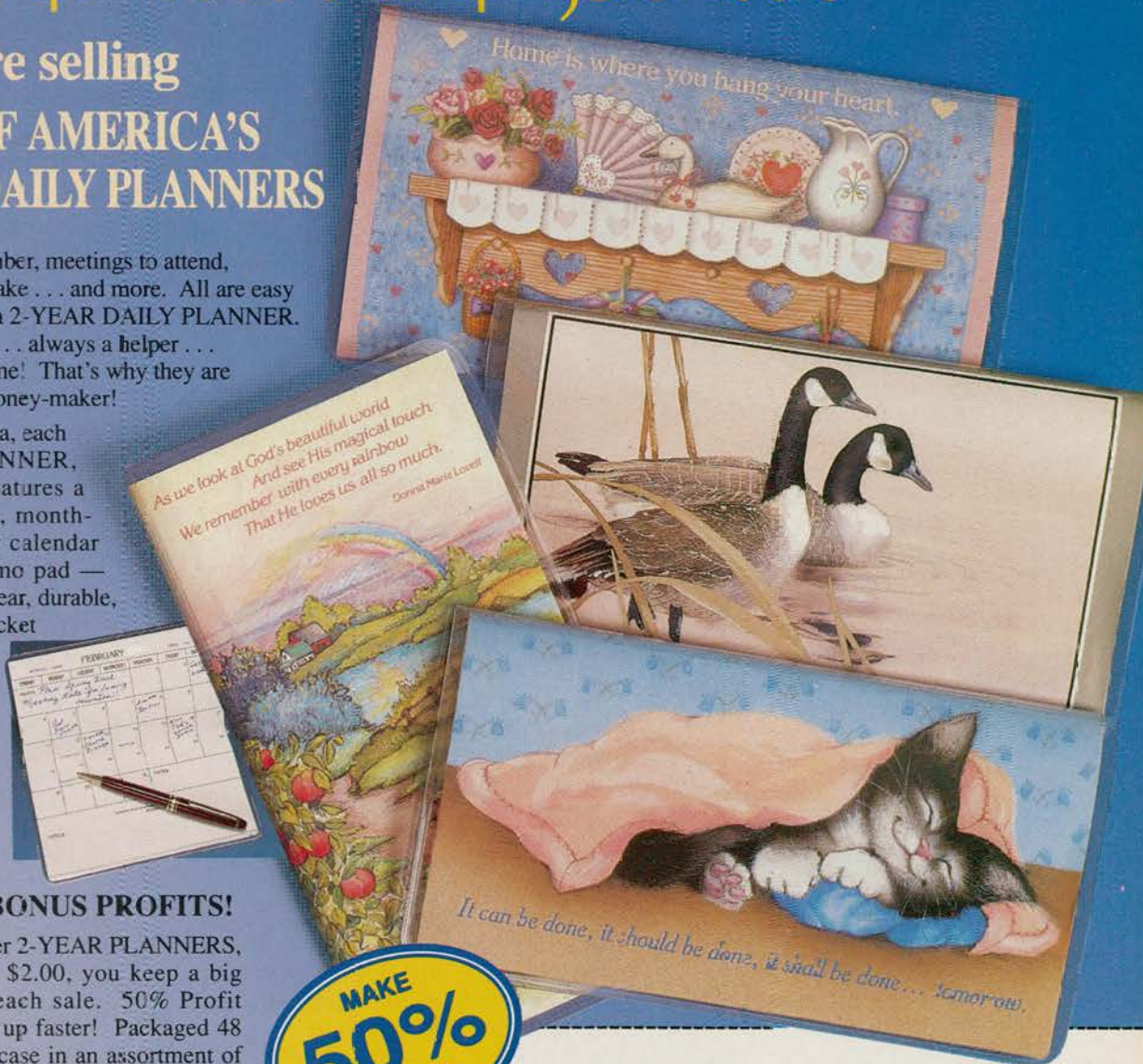
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LETTERS

IN FAVOR OF THE ARTS

In his discussion of the need for poetry in our lives, David McGrath ("And Then They Asked for Hamlet," Summer 1990) has put it strongly and clearly: He states, "... if a human mind has no opportunity to expand, it atrophies and closes ..."

I think it was Edward Villella, a premier danseur, formerly of the New York City Ballet, who visited high schools (including vocational high schools) in order to demonstrate the intricacies of classical ballet. Himself a graduate of a vocational high school, Villella was able to reach youngsters whose previous acquaintance with classical ballet was practically nil. He showed them that ballet techniques required sound muscular development and an appreciation of beauty in movement. In many instances, he touched a latent, but existing, need for such beauty and such poise in movement.

I heartily endorse Mr. McGrath's sentiments, and I found his article exhilarating to read.

—FRANK CAROLLO

UFT RETIRED TEACHERS CHAPTER, NEW YORK CITY

'U.S. HAS NOT BEEN PLURALISTIC'

Diane Ravitch's article, "Diversity and Democracy: Multicultural Education in America" (Spring 1990), is rife with dubious assumptions and distortions of which I will note only a few.

Let us start with her view of American pluralism. "Students must recognize that American society is now and always has been pluralistic and multicultural." It certainly has been multicultural. But "pluralistic"? "Always"? After the American Revolution, the white colonists set up a power structure that excluded just about everyone from participation except white male property owners. The struggle for voting rights for all was not completed until after the Voting Rights Act. The idea that America has "always" been pluralistic is just not true. It is a view that Ravitch likes to have about America, but not a very accurate one.

It is, to use her phrase, "filiopietism."

Pluralism implies that there are many voices and interests and that each one gets a fair chance of being included at different levels of society. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence that this is not the story of America for many people ... There has *never* been a person of color or a female of any color to become president or vice president. There are still no African-American senators. In other critical areas, such as income levels and percent in "high-status" jobs, minorities and women lag far behind. Far from showing a pluralistic America, evidence suggests that the society has been and still is dominated by wealthy white males from the beginnings of American government to the present.

... One of the more outrageous examples of Eurocentrism in U.S. history books is the term "isolationism," particularly as it applies to the period from the end of World War I to the U.S. entrance into World War II. During this period of "isolationism," the U.S. militarily occupied or intervened in the Philippines, Nicaragua, Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.

... [Also], the debates in Congress about ... the Indian "question" will shock some Americans ... The white community was divided between the extermination view versus the extinction view. The expression "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" pretty well sums up the extermination view ... Opponents of such a policy argued that since the Indians were inferior, they would "naturally" become extinct.

These examples of distortions of history, of the Eurocentric filiopietism of our curriculum, are merely recited to expose Ravitch's own agenda. Yes, the "particularists" who wrote the "Curriculum of Inclusion" have a political agenda. But so does Ravitch. That agenda is to control the rate and type of change that seems inevitable as new groups gain more shares of political power, as African-Americans have done in big-city politics.

—TIMOTHY KILLIKELLY

ADJUNCT LECTURER OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
QUEENS COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY, NY

INFO ON MULTICULTURAL ED.

I applaud Diane Ravitch's strong brief in support of multicultural education and against ethnocentric attempts to distort it.

An example of the latter is Portland, Oregon's, frequently cited "African-American Baseline Essays," some of whose sections on ancient Egypt contain so much inaccuracy, exaggeration, and pseudoscience as to compromise their reliability. This Portland curriculum component is being presented to many school boards as a model component of an ideal multicultural curriculum.

Educators must be alert to attempts to distort multicultural curricula. To avert such efforts, curriculum developers include genuine scholars in the curriculum writing process, especially on units embroiled in controversy. The NEH-funded Academic Alliances between educators and the scholarly community are a major step in that direction.

When we were confronted with the "Afrocentric" claims about ancient Egypt in a Washington, D.C., public schools curriculum project, we entered into communication with Egyptologist Frank Yurco of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago and Classical Scholar Frank Y. Snowden of Howard University. Their comments, analyses, and suggestions were invaluable in helping us to separate scientifically valid historical data from inaccuracy, hyperbole and fabrication. Those distinctions are key to the development of a multicultural curriculum that expands students' horizons, not one that traps students in a new ethnocentric myopia.

Educators interested in the packet of scholarly articles assembled on ancient Egypt should write Erich Martel at Wilson H.S., Nebraska & Chesapeake Sts., N.W., Washington, DC 20016.

—ERICH MARTEL
WASHINGTON, DC

NOTE: In our last issue, Esther Rosenfeld, director of Central Park East II Elementary School, was mistakenly referred to as Esther Rosenthal.



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But decades of dictatorship and oppression have created daunting challenges to the educators and students now trying to build democratic societies. Education was underfunded and teachers devalued and poorly trained. Democratic teachers unions were prevented from organizing. Learning and free inquiry were replaced by ideology and indoctrination. In many of these countries, generations of students and teachers have grown up without any knowledge of or experience in democratic ideas and practices. We present some of their stories inside.

Our colleagues need our help. Through AFT's relationships with counterpart unions in Chile, South Africa, and Eastern Europe, we can offer the correspondence and assistance programs described on the following pages. □

ILLUSTRATED BY BOBBI TULL



CEAUSESCU'S SCHOOLS

IN DECEMBER 1989, revolution finally came to Romania, and Nicolae Ceausescu, the most Stalinist of Eastern Europe's dictators, was finally overthrown.

What happened in Romania under Ceausescu is staggering. Workers say that they "lived like slaves," that "Romania was nothing but one giant slave labor camp." Whatever the conditions in one's workplace, whatever the behavior of one's supervisor, the worker had no recourse. Indeed, managers trying to meet production quotas would commonly require workers to work on Sunday—but without pay. In factories that I visited as a member of an AFL-CIO delegation to Romania, we saw safety conditions that were appalling—no goggles, no hard hats, and extraordinary levels of noise and fumes.

A form of literal indentured servitude existed as well. In the early years of communism, violators of various policies were sent to jail, where sometimes they would work on labor brigades and sometimes not. But in the later years, jail was a less common punishment. Instead, offenders were assigned to a workplace and required to report each day, but they would only earn 20 or 40 or 60 percent of their actual pay.

Centralized planning led to the collapse of the Romanian economy just as it led to the collapse of the economies throughout Eastern Europe. But in Romania the economic disaster was given a special dimension. Nicolae Ceausescu insisted on paying back all of his foreign debt. To accomplish this, he bled the Romanian worker and consumer, exporting a huge proportion of the nation's output. As a result, the level of deprivation in Romania was shocking. Romanians whom I interviewed in May said that prior to the revolution, for months, they were virtually unable to get meat except for a sausage made of ligaments and bones. According to one newspaper, doctors who came in shortly after the revolution said they saw a level of malnutrition in children that normally one only saw in drought-starved Africa.

The story that has probably moved the most hearts and most graphically exposed the ghoulish extremes to which Ceausescu took his country is the story of the orphanages. Called the Homes for the Deficient and Unsalvageable, the population of these orphanages grew

This interview was conducted by Ruth Wattenberg, an editor of the American Educator and co-coordinator of AFT's Education for Democracy Project. She was in Romania for two weeks last May as part of an AFL-CIO delegation to that country. The delegation was hosted by Romania's independent labor federation, the Fratia.



Center and top: Hundreds, sometimes thousands, of anti-Communist protesters maintained a 24-hour demonstration in the center of Bucharest for two months, beginning in late April and ending June 14, when the "miners" came and evacuated the square. Bottom: A widow at Bucharest's newest cemetery, created last winter to honor those who fell during the December revolution.

rapidly, partly in response to Ceausescu's extremely harsh anti-contraceptive and anti-abortion policies and partly because extreme poverty led many parents to abandon their children. These orphanages stir memories of their Dickensian counterparts. The *New York Times Magazine* ran pictures from the orphanages showing three and four eight- to nine-year-old boys



AMERICAN EDUCATOR PHOTO

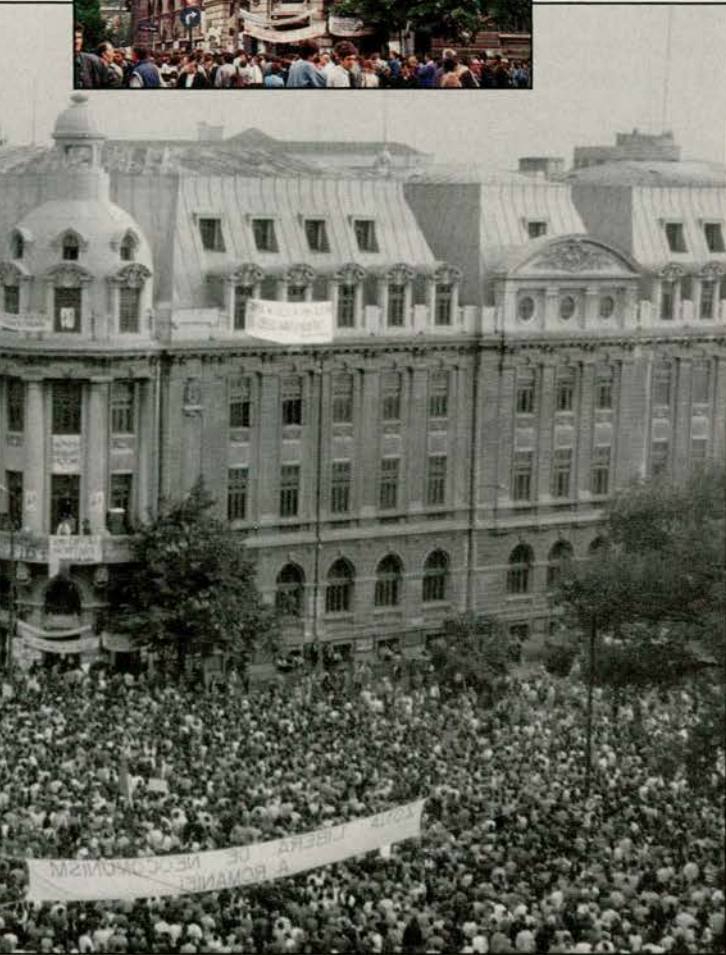


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crowded into a single bathtub, taking baths together in order to save water. When, shortly after the revolution, western aid organizations sent clothing and toys to these homes, the items were often pilfered by the staff. In one home, the staff even went on strike, demanding that their children, who also had gone without toys or clothing for years, should get the toys, not the orphans. According to one Romanian, this incident exemplified what had happened to the fabric of Romanian morality under Ceausescu. "People no longer have compassion, they no longer have honesty."

Stories about the orphanages, about the lack of food and electricity, about Ceausescu's general dementia have circulated through the American press, producing a general recognition that the rule of Ceausescu was extraordinarily brutal. But the special traumas inflicted on Romania's schools and teachers have not yet received attention. That Ceausescu would target the schools for special manipulation should be no surprise. It is through educators, after all, that the hearts and minds and souls of the next generation can be won.

The *American Educator* interviewed Catalin Croitoru, the president of the newly formed Union of Pre-University Educators of Romania (SIPR), about education under Ceausescu and the union's current plans. Croitoru was involved in the founding of the union during the December revolution and is now seeking ways to make the union a force for democratic change in education and in the entire society.

R. W.

* * *

Ruth Wattenberg: *Before communism, what was the condition of education in Romania? What was the status of teachers?*

Catalin Croitoru: Before World War II, Romanian education, as elsewhere in Europe, was of very high quality. Courses were rigorous, standards were high, discipline was good—at least this was the case in the cities. In the countryside, there were not many secondary schools, but students who excelled were able to attend secondary schools in the cities. Teachers in Romania were well regarded. Those who taught in the upper grades were graduates of the university, and, as such, were among the most educated of all Romanians.

RW: *I understand that the schools degenerated after the war, when the Communists took over, and that there was then a liberalization during the first years of Ceausescu's rule—during the sixties. What was the status of the schools during the later years of Ceausescu? Specifically in the last five to ten years.*

CC: In this period, there was a renewed effort to politicize the schools. More hours were devoted to subjects with political content, to the detriment of other subjects. More time was spent on political activities. And within certain subjects, more time and space was devoted to specifically political issues. Teachers who expressed dissatisfaction with such activities ran the risk of losing their jobs, as they would be considered to have views incompatible with being a teacher.

RW: *Political activities, what do you mean? How much time did these activities take?*

CC: First, all the children, down to the very youngest, were included in political organizations. The youngest

were "Eagles." "Eagles of the Homeland" they were called. When they were slightly older, they joined the Young Pioneers. And then, the Union of Communist Youth. Teachers were required to waste a lot of time dealing with these groups—arranging meetings for them, organizing propaganda activities, and so on.

RW: *Did these groups, the Eagles, for example, meet during class time or after school?*

CC: Some during the school day, some after. But education always came last. The distinction between political activity and education also became slight. In first grade, which is when students learn to read and write, practically the whole curriculum consisted of poems praising Ceausescu. And whenever Ceausescu gave a speech, teachers and students of all ages had to go to the auditorium and watch it on television.

Most teachers also had to teach three explicitly political classes each week: one on political information, one on political education, and one related to military training. On Christmas Eve and before Easter, the schools were generally required to hold special social or political events, in order to make church attendance difficult.

And then there was the time spent on agriculture or factory work, which was required of students beginning in ninth grade. This was considered technical education, but for all practical purposes, the students were simply used as labor. This was especially true in the countryside where the situation was really disastrous, and students—sometimes beginning as early as the first grade—had to spend time in the fields gathering crops.

RW: *Did students from the cities have to do agricultural work?*

CC: Yes, of course. They generally did their agricultural work in September, at the beginning of the school year. For the rest of the year, they fulfilled this so-called technical education requirement by working in factories.

RW: *How much school time was spent in either the factories or the fields?*

CC: It varied from area to area. In some cases, it would be one month out of three, in another three or four weeks in school, one week in the factories. In many places it was three weeks per trimester. The schedule was always changing. It was terribly chaotic. In some cases, neither teacher nor student knew where they would be reporting the next week. Sometimes there was no transportation to the fields, and people had to walk an hour or more.

RW: *I visited a number of factories in Romania, and the health and safety conditions were generally abysmal. Welders without goggles, no hard hats, levels of noise and chemical fumes that would be illegal in this country, untrained workers using dangerous machines. Are these the kinds of factories where students took their technical education?*

CC: Yes. The safety regulations were very poor. Sometimes there were bad accidents.

RW: *I've heard stories of students who lost fingers and who were even more grossly disfigured and incapacitated.*

CC: Yes.

RW: *Was the purpose of these work assignments to provide students with necessary job skills?*

CC: No. It was a very superficial education. It was a

waste of time. This technical work was required because it fit with Communist ideology, which revered the proletariat and disdained the educated middle class—and because it took time away from academics and real education. The Communists did not want people to have time to think and learn.

The regime was not interested in the genuine development of the economy or of education. Seen from the outside, this situation indeed seems to make no sense, but this was the situation. It would seem normal that the main objective of a government should have been to train highly skilled people. But in reality, the main purpose of the government was to have cheap labor. Cheap labor as fast as possible.

In the countryside especially, the government did not want students to become interested in becoming educated. Students were supposed to graduate from primary school and then become agricultural workers. Many obstacles prevented rural students from continuing their education. There were no academic high schools in the villages, and very few parents could afford to send their children to a high school in town. Also, a student would have needed very high grades in order to be accepted at a city high school. As a consequence, the number of rural students with an academic high school education is very small. Nonetheless, many of these young people fled the countryside for jobs in the city. So, the purpose of leaving them uneducated was not met. And today, unfortunately, the lack of education among the rural population is a serious impediment to democracy. People with so little education are easily manipulated and misled.

* * *

RW: *From what you describe, there must have been little time available for education. For one-third to one-quarter of the school year, students were out laboring. And a good deal of in-school time was spent on political activities.*

CC: There was actually even much less teaching time than this. Class periods used to be fifty minutes each. In addition, students had fifteen-minute breaks between classes and one longer break. But since Ceausescu forbade abortion and virtually forced Romanians to have children, the number of students increased dramatically. He built virtually no new schools for ten years. The number of students in a class went up to forty or fifty. Then the schools moved to two shifts, and then, in many parts of the country, to three shifts, like a factory. To handle the three shifts, the length of the classes (and of the breaks) had to be cut. Even so, the third shift did not get finished until 7 o'clock at night.

But then there was a new directive: Schools were to use only a minimal amount of electricity. Local Communist Party officials trying to look good often interpreted this to mean no electricity at all. One result was that, of course, classes couldn't be held at night because there was no light. So the three shifts had to be completed by about five in the afternoon. Class time was reduced to forty minutes, or less.

RW: *Was the curriculum altered to reflect the diminished teaching time? Or were teachers still expected to move through the same amount of material?*



PHOTO: MICHAEL CAMPBELL

Catalin Croitoru, president of the Pre-University Teachers of Romania, Romania's new independent teachers union.

CC: The curriculum stayed the same, but it was paid little attention. It was required that all students pass their exams and their tests. You couldn't fail students. The main criteria by which a teacher was regarded as a good teacher were first, that none of his students should fail and second, that all of his students should get high grades. So teachers would be extremely liberal and generous with the grades. Their salaries were actually tied to the grades they gave. If a teacher wanted to do as a teacher should do, and fail a child, that teacher would face great difficulties.

RW: *Meaning what?*

CC: He would have to give up his holiday in order to teach the child, because the child's failure was regarded as the teacher's fault. His salary could be frozen. The local Communist secretary would call him in and lecture him. He would be told that his action threw a bad light on all of his colleagues.

RW: *To be admonished by the party secretary, this is a big deal?*

CC: A very big deal.

The party was the leading force in absolutely all fields. The teacher who maintained or stood his ground was

considered a saboteur and was threatened by the *Securitate* [Romania's secret police force]. He could lose his job, his wife could lose hers . . . The teacher was not regarded as someone who just wanted to do his job well, but as a political dissident.

You know, in Romania we depended on the government for absolutely everything. Food, job, housing, everything. It is not like in America or in another society where you can just leave your job and get another one. There is just one employer in Romania. Once you are fired, there is no way you can get rehired, there is no other employer. That's where all the power was. And each infraction was noted on your personal file; and this personal file followed you your whole life.

Anyway, it was clear that there was no point in a teacher's standing his ground because a teacher wouldn't be able to solve anything by doing that.

* * *

RW: *When you said Ceausescu virtually forced Romanians to have children, what exactly did you mean?*

CC: First, you were fined if you did not have a child by a certain age. And if you had three children or more, you received a pay bonus. So that was one thing. And then there was the anti-abortion law, which made it a crime to have an abortion.

RW: *And what about contraceptives?*

CC: Completely illegal.

RW: *Despite the anti-abortion law, some women no doubt tried to have abortions. What happened to them?*

CC: If it was determined that you had received an abortion, both the doctor and the patient were immediately put in prison and given very long, harsh sentences. Many women received botched abortions and suffered from complications afterwards. They would be dying and still they would be denied any medical assistance, unless they told the prosecutor who performed the abortion. So the prosecutor was there in the hospital trying to find out who had performed the abortion and no assistance was provided until the confession was made. A lot of women died from complications.

Also, no sexual education was provided in the schools. And there were actually policies to encourage high school girls to have children. Before, if a high school student became pregnant, she would have had to quit school. Under Ceausescu it became perfectly legal to stay in school and give birth. If the babies could not then be cared for adequately, the government would put them in orphanages. The purpose of all this was apparently to supply Ceausescu with abundant cheap labor.

RW: *The western press has reported on the abominable conditions in the orphanages. Filthy buildings, little food, children up to several years old who lay in cribs all day and are never picked up, no toys . . .*

CC: Apparently for Ceausescu, these orphanages were good business in another way, as well, because he sold the children.

RW: *Sold them to whom?*

CC: To foreigners who wanted to adopt them, for hard currency.

RW: *You said that the low standard of living led many parents to abandon their children . . .*

CC: The standard of living in Romania was not adequate for raising children. Salaries were very low and food shortages prevented families from raising their children adequately. The low temperatures during the wintertime without heat were very hard to take. It was very hard for an adult to continue to carry on his activities, and it was even more so for a child.

RW: *The children who came to school in this condition—not well fed, not well clothed, having spent the night in an apartment that was not well heated—were the teachers in a position to help the children in some way or were they helpless?*

CC: The schools offered nothing. The only assistance the teachers were able to provide was to allow the children to write with their gloves on and to sit in the classroom with their coats on.

RW: *The schools were not heated either?*

CC: No, no heat.

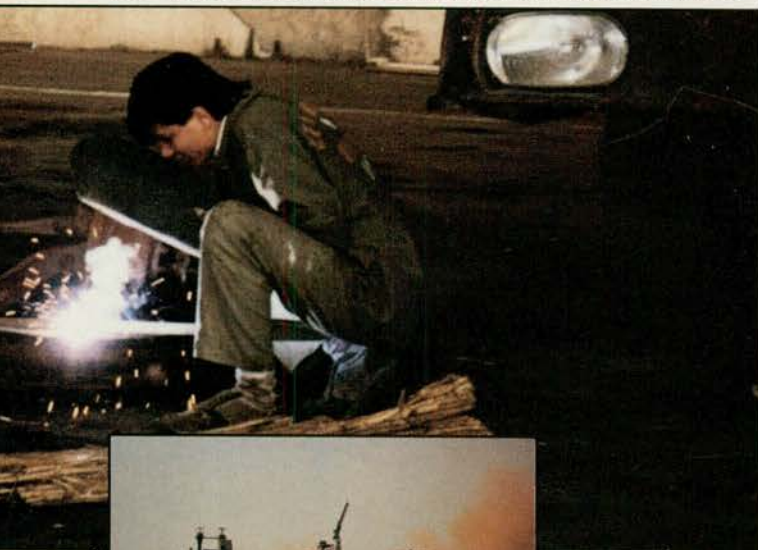
And the schools were in a state of total disrepair. Not only were no new schools built, there was very little money for maintaining and repairing the existing schools. The very few repairs that were made were made with the parents' money—and, of course, parents did not have much money. This was true despite all of the propaganda that education was free and that this was such a great advantage of communism. Lately, even the textbooks had to be handed down from generation to generation; so that after about five or ten years, the textbooks were practically impossible to read anymore. If you wanted your child to have a new textbook, you, as a parent, had to buy it, but that was only in the happy circumstance that you were able to find the book.

Teachers in Iasi [a city in northeastern Romania] and elsewhere reported that the textbooks were so old and filthy that they were responsible for passing on diseases to the students.

RW: *Can you talk a little bit about the kinds of repairs that parents might feel obliged to spend their little bit of money on?*

CC: Repairing broken windows, broken desks and

As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Romanian factories operated with virtually no concern for pollution (bottom) and with little regard for worker safety. Here (top), a young man is welding without goggles or other proper protective clothing.



AMERICAN EDUCATOR PHOTO

chairs in classrooms, restrooms. Here, the janitorial staff was really insufficient. The sanitary conditions were unspeakable. Because of that, during the last years of Ceausescu's regime, there were outbursts of hepatitis and various diseases, like measles, lice, and scabies.

RW: *What health care services were available to the children?*

CC: Very few. One telling example: A nurse would come to a school to immunize the children, and she would handle the entire classroom with one or two needles. Also, there is, and was, an acute shortage of antibiotics, vitamins, and medicines for children.

We have, of course, no private doctors or hospitals. We have only the state medical clinics, which are not good and are insufficient. In Iasi, for example, a city of 300,000, there is only one clinic for children. And in any case, the clinics are open only during the hours that parents are working, so the parents did not take their children to the clinics for normal preventive health care.

RW: *Was this extreme underfunding of education just part and parcel of Romania's general economic collapse?*

CC: No, this was done on purpose. It reflects the Communists' aversion to intellectuals and intellectual life. And they have succeeded in turning people against thinking. In June, when [Ion] Iliescu [the president of Romania] called in the coal miners to rampage against the supporters of democracy,* the miners—along with the Securitate agents who made up much of the crowd of "miners"—showed their contempt for thought by carrying signs that said, "We work, we don't think."

RW: *But do you really think the miners believe that, or do you think they were pressed to carry such signs by the Securitate agents who apparently made up much of the group?*

CC: A great many believe it. This is the attitude of the Communists toward intellectual work. This was state policy. The regime's low opinion of education was conveyed by the dilapidated school buildings, the lack of textbooks, the displacement of academics by propaganda, and by the very low salaries paid to teachers—salaries that were comparable to those earned by unskilled laborers.

* * *

RW: *Tell me about teachers' schedules. How many hours did they work? What did they do during this time? How much time did they actually spend in class teaching?*

CC: First of all, they had to work eight hours a day, six days a week, no matter how many contact hours with students they had. In addition, they had to take part in different ideological activities.

RW: *They worked six days?*

CC: Everyone in Romania worked six days.

RW: *Give me an example of a typical teacher's day.*

* On June 21st, many thousands of coal miners from the Jiu Valley were brought to Bucharest at the request of the Iliescu government to "patrol" the streets. For several days they rampaged, beating up innocent bystanders, trashing the offices and destroying the equipment of opposition political parties, and preventing publication of the nation's only independent, wide-circulation newspaper.

CC: A grade school teacher, for example, might have his classes from eight to twelve. From one to two, he would go to the local [Communist] party headquarters to participate in a meeting where the latest ideological news would be communicated. And then from three to five he would very often have to take the children to a party symposium, or for a visit to the museum of Communist Party history, or to participate in a Young Pioneers rally, and so on. There was always something. It was like a diabolical mind trying to find something for teachers to do each and every day. But this was the general policy toward intellectuals. They should be left with as little time as possible for individual professional training or activities. They should be allowed as little time as possible for personal contacts outside the workplace and, in general, as little time as possible to think.

RW: How often were these party meetings held?

CC: Party meetings used to be just for party members, but they began to have "enlarged" party meetings to which everyone had to come. These meetings used to be perhaps once a month or whenever, but in the last

few years they were every week. They became more and more frequent because, we were told, this was the Golden Epoch of Romanian history. According to Ceausescu, there were more and more reasons to celebrate and to be happy. There were more and more festive occasions that had to be properly celebrated.

RW: Was any school time available for teachers to plan lessons, grade papers, do professional reading, and so on?

CC: There was very little time for that. Generally teachers took papers home to grade.

RW: And what about vacation? American teachers generally have a week or two in the winter, a week in the spring, and about ten or eleven weeks in the summer.

CC: Teachers were theoretically entitled to sixty-two days off per year, plus Sundays. Since teachers worked a six-day week, sixty-two days translated into ten weeks of vacation. But the reality was different. Especially during the summer, teachers were often obliged to spend all but about four of their vacation weeks doing agri-

TEACHING CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

S. Veli Mnyandu is a vice president of the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), a new union whose goal is to merge South Africa's splintered teacher trade union movement into a single, nonracial, democratic teachers union. For his efforts on NEUSA's behalf,



PHOTO: MICHAEL CAMPBELL

Mnyandu was imprisoned for a year in 1988. The AFT conducted a petition campaign for his release, which generated hundreds of letters to South African and U.S. authorities. These remarks are drawn from his speech to AFT's 1990 convention, which both he and NEUSA president Curtis Nkondo addressed.

In South Africa, we have fourteen departments of education. There is a department of education strictly for whites, another for coloreds, another for Indians, another for blacks. There are also other small departments of education for the so-called homelands, really Bantustans. As a national union of teachers, we say that all these separate departments of education must give way to a single nonracial department of education. We are working very hard for this.

The problems faced by our

teachers are severe. It's beyond oppression, what is taking place in South Africa. First, our classes are overcrowded. We have a ratio of one teacher to sixty or seventy students. In the rural areas, it's worse. You will find classes of about 120 students per teacher!

Second, there is no parity in the salary or benefits provided to teachers. For example, white teachers earn 30 to 40 percent more than black teachers with equal qualifications.

Perhaps worst of all, it is a virtual crime for our black lady teachers to fall pregnant—married or unmarried. Why do I say it is a crime? Because no leave is provided. After our sisters and mothers deliver our little brothers and sisters, they must return to school within five, ten, or fifteen days, or they may lose their jobs.

We would like to take up a national campaign on this issue and on that of salary parity. Unfortunately, we do not have the necessary resources. We are struggling now tooth and nail to achieve three months of paid maternity leave.

Fourth, if the administration does not like you, if you are seen as an agitator, the government and the department of education have the right to dismiss you without a fair trial. You are not tried, you are just dismissed. You are simply told that

your services are being terminated in twenty-four hours. We say this practice must be immediately stopped.

Fifth, black teachers in South Africa generally receive very poor training because there are not enough teacher training institutions open to blacks. Many teachers would like to return to school and study. But currently, if a teacher goes on study leave, he or she is not paid. Now, the irony is that we remain unqualified to teach because we are responsible people! We have families, we have responsibilities—I cannot go on a study leave because without my pay my family will suffer. The result is teachers who are unable to improve their qualifications.

Lastly, we have a serious problem with probation. In my country, you can find an old man—someone in his fifties or sixties, someone who has taught for decades—who is still on probation. And, you can find a young man—as young as I am—who has already been certified as a fully registered teacher. Unfairness abounds.

Our circumstances are terribly difficult. But we have hope because all of these laws are made by men. They are not the Ten Commandments. We believe we shall be in a position to remove these obstacles and pave the way for a democratic system of education. □

cultural work, taking their students to camp and other activities, and doing other tasks. Many teachers spent their summers attending university classes on Marxist ideology and the achievements of Ceausescu. Without these classes, they would be ineligible for promotions or raises.

In fact, they usually could take four vacation weeks during the summer and a maximum of one week during the winter. Again, the schools were actually closed for two weeks during the winter, but teachers were needed for various political activities, so they really only had one week off.

* * *

RW: *What steps did the regime take to ensure that teachers behaved in politically trustworthy ways?*

CC: As a teacher, it was necessary to use a heavily politicized, propagandistic curriculum. Any departure from this would mean automatic termination.

In order to advance[†] in his teaching career, a teacher would have to take and pass two kinds of mandatory exams every several years. One cycle of exams was in the teacher's respective specialty, and one was in socialist philosophy. Plus, teachers were obliged to spend a good deal of time taking summer courses on socialism. While it was possible to earn promotions through excellent teaching, it was also possible to do so strictly through involvement in political activities. Further, if a teacher wanted to study for a Ph.D., he or she had to become a member of the Communist Party. That was the quid pro quo. If you want to study, you become a party member.

RW: *So any teacher in Romania with a Ph.D. is a party member?*

CC: Almost.

RW: *When I was in Romania, I spoke with teachers who talked about how difficult it was, upon graduation, to get teaching jobs in the cities where they came from. One woman told me that she was assigned to a job in the countryside far from her family in Bucharest. She decided not to take that job and to come to Bucharest anyway. But then, because she was in Bucharest unofficially, she was unable to get an apartment or a job. She finally was able to get a nonteaching job through a friend of her family's who was the manager of some enterprise. Another woman told me that she and her husband [also a teacher] were assigned jobs in different parts of the country and were, therefore, unable to live with each other for a number of years.*

CC: Sometimes a veteran teacher could come to the city and get a teaching job, but he would have to give up his status as a permanent teacher and accept a temporary job, from which he could be terminated or reassigned at the end of each year. But even these jobs were quite difficult to get and were often obtained through gifts and bribes paid to the educational supervisors who were in a position to allocate these positions. In recent years, all new teachers were temporaries, no matter where they taught. To become permanent, a teacher

[†] In Romania, as in many European countries, teaching is not a job with a single rank as it generally is in the U.S. Teachers are able to move up a career ladder of sorts, earning more pay and taking on more school responsibilities as they do.



AMERICAN EDUCATOR PHOTO

Ceausescu razed miles of lovely old housing in order to erect lavish buildings that would "honor" his Golden Epoch. These children live and play in the never-cleaned-up backdrop of the massive construction project, along with rusty nails, dead animals, and sewage backup.

would have to take a certain exam; and the state stopped offering this exam. So we now have thousands of teachers who are in temporary jobs, and have been for years. They have no opportunity for promotion, and their job security is always in question. They have to be renewed at the end of each year. All of this has obviously meant an enormous amount of additional stress on these teachers. Rectifying this situation is one of the primary goals of our union.

RW: *Through what mechanisms did the state ensure that teachers taught the mandated curriculum?*

CC: The school inspectors provided the basic, fundamental mechanism of control. But as in other fields, among the teachers there were a number who were collaborators with the secret police. Many became collaborators because it was the only way that they could avoid being punished themselves by the police. Also the school headmasters and the party secretary had a vested interest in supervising and verifying that the required curriculum was being taught.

And very often, discipline was kept by the children. They would go home and tell the parents what was going on in the classroom, and the parents would report to the headmaster what was said or done in the classroom. Many of the parents were party activists, *Securitate*, police, or others involved in the country's political control mechanisms.

RW: *Has anyone estimated what portion of the Romanian population was formally or informally connected to the secret police?*

CC: These figures will never be known. There is no way to say. The only answer that comes to mind is the joke: Whenever there are three Romanians together in a room, we know that one must be a *Securitate* agent. As a result, the level of distrust among people is very high, a great impediment to union organization.

* * *

RW: *What will happen this fall? Will teachers be able to teach their social studies courses freely?*

THE CLASSROOM CONNECTION

"We must all learn many things from you, from how to educate our offspring, how to elect our representatives, all the way to how to organize our economic life. . . . But, we too can offer something to you: our experience and the knowledge that has come from it."

—Vaclav Havel,
president of Czechoslovakia,
to the U.S. Congress

The historic changes in Eastern Europe have highlighted the inadequacies of our own history curriculum. A *Washington Post* reporter quoted one high school honors student as wondering, "What is this talk of satellites . . . Are we talking about satellite dishes or what?" A teacher from the St. Louis area sounded a common lament—that while her students had heard about the Cold War and Iron Curtain, "they really don't know what communism means." A chorus of teachers has concluded that, thanks to students' lack of knowledge, many of them had been left unmoved by the dramatic events of the previous year—not just in Eastern Europe but also in Latin America and South Africa.

Meanwhile, teachers abroad are struggling to teach their students about democratic ideas and to involve them in such hands-on democratic activities as student government, student newspapers, and debate clubs.

To help teachers here use recent events to provide drama and interest to their history, government, and civics courses; to provide their students with a new appreciation of the democratic institutions Americans cherish; and to simultaneously provide direct assistance to democratic education abroad, AFT has organized the Classroom-to-Classroom program.

This program matches secondary U.S. social studies classes with English language classes in Eastern Europe and Chile and with social studies classes in South Africa. Students abroad can ask our students questions about democratic life, for ideas about setting up democratic student organizations, and for other information and materials they otherwise would be unable to get. Indeed, in this spring's pilot project, which matched ten Polish and

ten American classrooms, Polish students and their teachers requested information on the structure of democratic student organizations, information on the structure of the American educational system, technical manuals, rules of order for democratic meetings, as well as English-language teaching materials.

During the spring pilot, one Polish student, whose classroom in Zakopane was matched with one in Albuquerque, New Mexico, read that American students were unmoved by Eastern Europe's revolution. She wrote back: "I am shocked. . . . After all, it was the true end of the second world war for us. We started to feel free . . ."

Her letter took the New Mexico students back to December 13, 1981, when martial law was imposed and she was just ten years old. "It was a real tragedy. I can remember till now my father's words: 'And everything will be the same as it was two years ago. The same . . . faces, the same . . . the

same'. People were terrified."

One group of Polish students from Szczecin wanted information on democratic student government, which was provided by their counterparts in Anchorage, Alaska. The Poles then wrote back that they were "astonished" by the detail included in the Alaskan school's Handbook of Student Rights and Responsibilities, in the student council constitution, and in *Robert's Rules of Order*. They asked, "Do you think it is essential to democracy to have such explicitly given rights and responsibilities?" It's an interesting question for students to consider.

The Classroom-to-Classroom program is being expanded this year to include classrooms in Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and South Africa, as well as Poland. If you are interested in involving your classes—and having them respond energetically to requests that may be extended—return the coupon on the back of the *American Educator*. □

The letters from Poland bring drama . . .

Several months [after martial law was declared in 1981] so-called "normal" life began again. I understood more and more. But when my knowledge of our political situation was becoming deeper and deeper I became a greater pessimist at the same time. I did not believe in a better future, in good and valuable life in this country. I dreamt about going abroad. I think this was the worst thing totalitarian system has done to young generation. It deprived us of optimism, willingness to fight, enthusiasm. Everybody thought nothing could be done.

In my opinion the most terrifying thing was that communism reached our minds, it released the worst instincts: egoism, laziness and blocked our ability to think.

You Polish Pal,
Jadwiga Satata

. . . and wit

[The buses] take *everybody*. And although people can't breathe during the journey, they get to their destination alive or dead. And if after this exciting experience you can go to a shop, you can be sure that it will be one of the strangest days in your life. One day, for example, I was going to try a pair of shoes. So, I went of course to the stand where shoes are usually sold. But to my surprise I saw a big queue of people trying to buy toilet paper. I forgot at once about my shoes and queue[d] for the paper. But when I got to the counter they finished selling the paper and only orange jam remained for others.

Nobody in my family likes orange jam and I had to eat it all.

ANNA KRZAK

CC: This is a delicate problem. The educational system in Romania is still extremely centralized. So it's still very difficult for teachers to take the initiative on teaching matters. Part of what our union is fighting for is greater autonomy for the individual schools and for each teacher.

In any case, I think that, for now, only teachers with quite a bit of courage will teach very freely on political topics.

RW: *You fought a revolution in December and overthrew Ceausescu, but still you feel that courage would be needed in order to teach a nonideological version of history?*

CC: Yes, that's right. We overthrew Ceausescu, but it turns out that we didn't really have a revolution, only a coup. We replaced Ceausescu with Iliescu, but the Communists—through the National Salvation Front (NSF) that they organized—still run the country.

RW: *What could happen now to a teacher who didn't toe the proper line in her classes?*

CC: The teachers and headmasters who were Communist activists under Ceausescu are now members and activists for the NSF. Just as before, they put a lot of pressure on those people who think differently from them. Romanians are again afraid of one another. This is all the more true since the Front showed that it thinks people who think differently should be beaten up by the "miners."

We also have a very practical problem. Even if a teacher had the courage to teach in a less ideological way, there are only old textbooks. There are no new materials to teach with.

RW: *And I assume it's impossible to get what we call trade books, the kinds of books that you get at libraries and in book stores?*

CC: Of course we have no books like that. We have not had, and still barely have, any independent publishing houses. The only books that have been published here for forty-plus years have been those that the state wanted published.

And now there are also technical problems that will impede book publishing. There is a paper shortage, and

the printing presses are old and outdated. It will be a long time before we have a supply of these trade books in Romania.

In fact, the government has used these supply problems to create political tensions within the opposition movement. A month ago, the government announced that because it was necessary to print new textbooks for the schools—after all, no new ones have been published for ten years—paper would be diverted to this purpose, and much less paper will be available to the independent press, which, since December, has been very active. The independent newspapers will have to either decrease their circulation or disappear completely.

* * *

RW: *You are the president of SIPR, the Union of Pre-University Teachers of Romania. How did SIPR get started?*

CC: In December, during the days of the revolution, I was one of the many people who was active in trying to overthrow Ceausescu and the Communist regime. As you probably remember, much of this revolutionary activity was centered at the [state-owned] television station. It was important to take over this station in order to tell the rest of the country what was happening. Once the television station was in our hands, the situation was somewhat chaotic, and it was possible for various people to go on television with different messages. I had this idea about a teachers union, and I thought that it could be launched through an announcement on the television. I called my wife, who is a teacher, to discuss the idea with her. She was actually at home talking with her co-workers about the same idea. So I made an announcement on television and gave out our home telephone number. Since then, for the past six months, the phone has been ringing twenty-four hours a day. In about two months we were able to gather sixty thousand members. We asked people to form local organizations and elect local officers. At the beginning of March, we held our first Congress. Several hundred teachers from all over the country attended; and we adopted a constitution, elected national officers, and established some goals for the union.

RW: *What have you accomplished so far?*

CC: We developed a legislative proposal for restructuring education and for improving educational conditions. We had a number of discussions this spring [before the national elections last May] with leaders of the National Salvation Front in an effort to have this legislation approved and implemented. The talks eventually broke down and we called a strike. For one day in March, thirty thousand teachers struck.

The day after the strike, we made it known through the independent press that our requests still had not been met. The drivers' union, which is a newly organized and very strong union, supported our proposed legislation by organizing a caravan of truck drivers that circled the government buildings for several hours. This greatly distressed the government, and they agreed to sign the proposed legislation that we had presented to them.

Interestingly, they would sign only if we allowed the Communist (teachers) union to sign as well. This Com-



AMERICAN EDUCATOR PHOTO

Between the December revolution and the May elections, Romania's independent press flourished. It was said that one thousand different newspapers were founded and published during this time.

munist union was a holdover from the pre-revolution days. In those days, as was true of all the "trade unions," the role of this union was not to help teachers or education but to ensure teacher compliance with party directives. The unions were responsible for, among other things, distributing housing and providing nice vacation opportunities to members. Their control over these benefits gave them a great deal of leverage over their members. Since the revolution, these unions have changed their names, claiming to be, for example, the Free Independent Union of Teachers. They want to confuse people as to who they are and who we are, so as to reduce our ability to recruit members.

So, in order that our union did not get too much public credit, the government insisted that the leaders of that union be able to sign the document as well.

RW: What did the legislation provide for?

CC: The number of contact hours with children

would be reduced to eighteen per week, and sixteen per week in the villages. Class size would be reduced to twenty-six pupils on average. And salaries would be increased by 20 percent in the countryside. These special improvements for the countryside were necessary because it is important to attract teachers to those areas.

The structure of education would also be altered. Headmasters and inspectors who previously were appointed by the education ministry—and therefore were answerable to the party—would now be elected by the faculties.

RW: So have these changes taken place?

CC: Unfortunately, with the landslide election victory of the National Salvation Front in May, it now may be a while before these changes are actually implemented.

RW: What are the current plans of your union?

CC: The independent trade unions are practically the only viable democratic institutions in Romania. The

REBUILDING AFTER PINOCHET

Osvaldo Verdugo is the president of Chile's national teachers union, the Colegio de Profesores, and the recipient of AFT's 1990 Bayard Rustin Human Rights Award. The following is based on his speech and remarks to the AFT convention.



PHOTO: CURTIS ACKERMAN

The following is based on his speech and remarks to the AFT convention.

In 1973, when the Pinochet dic-

tatorship first came to power, all existing trade unions and professional associations were outlawed and eliminated. They were replaced by new national associations controlled by hand-picked, pro-government representatives. Thus, all public school teachers were forced to join and pay dues to the *Colegio de Profesores*, a government-front organization that maintained itself and its policies through control of teachers' pension and welfare benefits.

In the 1980s, Pinochet's military government stepped up its efforts to control teachers. It decentralized education and handed over the administration of public schools to the nation's mayors, all of whom were personally appointed by Pinochet. These mayors were given unrestricted control over the spending of education funds and over the hiring and firing of teachers. An immediate result of this reorganization was increased

spending on administration and decreased spending on schools, books, and teachers salaries.

When the International Monetary Fund asked the Chilean government to reduce its debt by reducing public expenditures, education spending was further slashed. In one month, nearly 20,000 teachers—almost one-tenth of the nation's teaching force—were fired. The local mayors who had control of hiring and firing made sure that it was the democratic union and political activists who were the first to be fired.

By the mid-1980s, the government-run teachers union had become so corrupt—and such an embarrassment even to the government—that the military government agreed to hold new union elections in December 1985. To ensure victory, the government used its enormous financial resources and its control over the media to influence the election. Local mayors used threats and fear tactics to manipulate school-teachers into voting for their hand-picked candidates. In addition, the government tried to discredit the opposition and exacerbate the traditional divisions that had long existed within the opposition movement.

Against the odds, despite the coercion, our coalition of democratic teachers narrowly defeated the government-sponsored slate. But we quickly understood that our

ability to improve the lives of our teachers and students was limited so long as Chile was ruled by a dictator. Our recommendations, our demands, our strikes led not to improvements but to harassment, threats, and jail sentences. Therefore, one of the first tasks of the newly democratic *Colegio de Profesores* was to play an active, crucial role in the campaign to unseat Pinochet.

Chile has now returned to democracy. We now have the freedom to organize on behalf of improved teaching conditions and better education. But our mission is a difficult one. One major task is to reorganize Chilean education so that there is real democratic participation at the local level. Instead of having locally appointed mayors controlling education, we need to organize local groups of teachers, parents and elected leaders to find ways to improve schools. We need more money for the schools and to rehire teachers who were fired under the dictatorship. Both these goals will be hard to achieve because the new democratic government faces real economic constraints.

An educational system that adequately serves the diverse sectors of our population and that can promote economic and technological development on our continent is our goal. Such an educational system will serve to support democratic consolidation in our country. □

political parties were virtually destroyed when the miners rampaged through Bucharest in June. The government has made various threats to nationalize or shut down the only independent newspaper, *Romania Libera Fratia*, which is our independent labor federation—the equal of your AFL-CIO—was formed in February to bring together the many new independent trade unions that began organizing after the revolution. It now has nearly one million members from fifty different unions and from all over the country. The teachers can be a particularly effective and helpful union because we have members in every part of the country and because our members are in a position to educate the next generation about democratic ideas.

We are theoretically a large union, with sixty thousand members. But we need to strengthen our organization in order to have the impact that sixty thousand members should have. We want to establish a newspaper to communicate with our members, and we want to provide training to our leaders so that they can build strong local organizations.

Also, we are very interested in preparing our members to teach about democratic ideas. This will be a great challenge. We have thousands and thousands of teachers who have taught nothing but scientific socialism and related subjects. As things free up, what will they teach? Where will they learn about these subjects and ideas that they never studied? Where will they get the materials with which to teach? We would like to be very involved in this area.

RW: *Are you materially prepared to pursue a serious organizing effort?*

CC: No. We have no office, no telephone, no staff, and no means to acquire any of this. Also our country is without the infrastructure that could facilitate an organizing effort. For example, the television and radio are run by the government. We cannot expect to get any publicity for our activities from these media—except, of course, negative publicity. Our labor federation has a weekly four-page newspaper. But in order to get the paper around the country, it has had to use a van provided for it by the AFL-CIO. The only other efficient way

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Whether it is South Africa or Eastern Europe, the teachers unions in these countries face dual and daunting challenges. On the one hand, they must press their governments to address basic union issues: substandard wages and benefits, lack of tenure, and the lack of supplies, educational opportunities for teachers, and class-size caps. At the same time, these unions must spearhead major education reform campaigns—in South Africa, for nonracial, equitably provided education; in Eastern Europe, for democratic education.

The AFT convention hosted leaders of the new democratic teachers unions from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and South Africa. We asked them what they faced and how American teachers could help.

In South Africa, years of oppression and neglect have left the classrooms bare of even the most basic supplies. "Paper, pencils, chalk, notepads, blackboards—we lack it all," said Curtis Nkondo, president of the National Education Union of South Africa. "Our classes often have nothing but a few torn, old textbooks to be shared by dozens and dozens of students."

In Eastern Europe, basic supplies are also scarce. And in both Eastern Europe and South Africa, schools



Zoltan Pokorni
Hungary

PHOTO: D. K. SMITH



Curtis Nkondo
South Africa

PHOTO: MICHAEL CAMPBELL



Jaroslav Kalous
Czechoslovakia

PHOTO: D. K. SMITH



Ivo Raidovski
Bulgaria

PHOTO: D. K. SMITH

are often without basic office and education technologies—copy machines and electric typewriters are scarce, as are overhead, slide, and film projectors (and slides and films).

Very high proportions of South African teachers have been denied access to quality teacher education. As a result, teachers want to educate themselves and are interested in information on teaching methods and in seeing professional journals and student textbooks from their fields.

In Eastern Europe, there is a great demand for schools to teach the values, practices, and institutions of democracy. But there are no new textbooks for teachers to turn to and no supplementary materials. Even trade books on democratic ideas or novels that depict life in a democratic society are hardly available, since the publishing of such books had been prohibited until recently.

Zoltan Pokorni, spokesman for

the Hungarian Democratic Teachers Union (PDSZ), put forth this request: "In the United States there exist films¹ and a huge variety of textbooks and other curriculum materials that teach about democratic ideas. Can they be collected for us?"

Jaroslav Kalous, from the Pedagogical Union of Czechoslovakia, says, "We need not only books about democracy, but also information on practicing democracy in our classrooms. In our country, the teacher just stands in front of the class and lectures. No student ever asks a question."

Teachers in Eastern Europe want information on teaching techniques that encourage students to ask questions, think independently and work together. They want advice and materials that will help them organize in their schools such democratic training grounds as student governments, student newspapers, and debate clubs, all of which are today nonexistent but much



PHOTO: HELEN TOOTH/AP/WU

to get a newspaper around the country is by train. But the train also is run by the government. And, in general, newspapers published by opposition groups are thrown off the trains before they ever reach the outlying areas.

We want to have a newspaper for our union, but consider the obstacles. First of all, there is a paper shortage. We would likely have to receive paper from overseas. Second, all publication facilities are owned by the state. An opposition organization would need its own typesetting and printing equipment. And then we would need a van to deliver the newspapers.

Of course, large-scale printing equipment is not our only problem. Xerox-type equipment is very rare. So are computers and office supplies. And we have very few books that explain how to organize trade unions. It is, therefore, very difficult to run an efficient operation. But we are trying and making progress.

For us, contact with your union and members is so helpful. It shows us what is possible in a democracy, in a classroom, and for a trade union. In fact, the help we get from teachers in the United States will be critical. □

desired. And they want to see journals that will bring them up to date on developments in their fields.

The demand for English-language training in Eastern Europe is also enormous. This fall, for the first time in decades, students in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria can opt to study English, not Russian. But there are virtually no English teachers. Wiktor Kulerski, a former leader of Teachers Solidarity in Poland and now the deputy minister of education for the Solidarity government, says, "There are 18,000 Russian teachers in our country and just 1,500 teachers for all Western languages combined." Teachers want assorted English-language books and magazines; specially designed English-as-a-Second Language materials; and to correspond with American teachers who teach English to the non-English speaking.

Finally the basic resources needed to organize a union are scarce. In Eastern Europe, paper is in short supply, and independent print shops are virtually nonexistent; unions that want to print newsletters need their own desktop publishing systems and printing presses. In South Africa, printing and type facilities may exist, but the fledgling unions often don't have the funds to use their services. In all the countries, copy machines,

electric typewriters, and such mundane items as paper, index cards, paper clips, Post-it notes, staplers, staples, and tape can all be hard to come by, as is the cash needed to buy stamps, envelopes, telephones, and other office basics.

To help these teachers abroad, AFT has organized the following assistance projects, which are being phased in over the course of the school year.

Classroom to Classroom: Through this project, an American secondary social studies class will be paired with an English language class in Eastern Europe or Chile or a social studies class in South Africa. (See "Classroom Connection," pg. 19.)

Teacher to Teacher: Through this project, an American teacher will be matched with an overseas counterpart who teaches the same subject matter to similarly aged students for correspondence on pedagogical and disciplinary issues. U.S. teachers should be prepared to share professional journals, sample textbooks, advice, information, and even teaching materials over an extended period.

School to School: Two schools will be paired in order that the U.S. school may generate advice and material support for its counterpart. U.S. faculty would respond to

inquiries about educational matters and try to collect from the school or school system unused textbooks, typewriters, bulletin boards (or whatever is needed), etc. for shipment to their counterpart school. Information regarding shipment will be provided; schools will be responsible for making their own shipment arrangements.

Book and equipment drives: Some teachers and schools may prefer to run a book drive (texts and/or tradebooks) or an equipment drive (for example, if a certain model of computer, copier, or typewriter is being phased out from their school or school system) that would aid a number of different foreign schools or union locals. Local organizers will be responsible for making shipping arrangements.

In addition, local AFT unions are encouraged to adopt local union counterparts in these countries and provide material and technical assistance to them.

To sign up or receive more information, complete and return the coupon on this magazine's back cover. □

¹ Videos are also wanted, but American videos must be converted to Europe's "PAL" standard, which costs about \$80-\$100 per hour of footage, a generally prohibitive cost for these unions.

'YOU'RE GOOD, BUT YOU'RE NOT GOOD ENOUGH'

Tracking Students Out of Advanced Mathematics

BY ELIZABETH L. USEEM

BY NOW, U.S. educators are all too familiar with studies that document the poor performance of our students in mathematics. Numerous reports have shown how American students lag behind their counterparts in many other countries and how they fail to achieve at levels that are essential for success on the job or in college.¹ We are especially unsuccessful in exposing a significant number of secondary students to advanced mathematics, especially calculus, a standard twelfth-grade advanced mathematics class in many other industrialized countries.² One of the major reasons for this is that our ability grouping/tracking practices in the middle grades exclude most students from the course sequence that leads to calculus, or another advanced fifth-year math course, during the senior year. If students are not placed in pre-algebra in the seventh grade or algebra in the eighth grade, they have very little chance of pursuing an accelerated curriculum in the secondary grades. By allowing so few into this accelerated course sequence in the middle grades, we restrict the supply of students who will be eligible for advanced mathematics work in later years.³

Mathematics tracking in the U.S. favors those students who are high achievers in the elementary grades, leaving little room for "late bloomers." Selection for accelerated math usually occurs at the end of the sixth grade (sometimes at the end of the fifth or seventh grades), long before students have concrete educational and occupational plans. U.S. teachers and parents accept this early sorting into differentiated math curricula because of their belief that mathematics achievement depends more on innate ability than it does on effort.⁴ Only 16 to 17 percent of the students are in this track in the eighth grade, a percentage that drops off steadily during the high school years, so that by senior year, only 5 to 6 percent have persisted into calculus.⁵ By contrast, students in many other countries are routinely exposed to algebra in either the seventh or eighth grade, and senior

year "advanced math" is usually calculus. Thus, as Zalman Usiskin and other researchers have pointed out, material considered "accelerated" in the U.S. is often standard fare elsewhere.⁶ Most of those not chosen for the accelerated course sequence in the middle grades in this country are placed in "regular" math, an unchallenging curriculum that has been criticized for its repetition of elementary-level arithmetic topics.⁷

It makes a good deal of sense, then, to re-examine our tracking policies with an eye to placing a substantial percentage of students in a more accelerated course sequence. First, we need to increase the numbers of students in our advanced mathematics pipeline if the U.S. is to have an adequate pool of scientifically and technically trained personnel. As it is, we have a very small pool of American-born students entering college who are prepared to handle college-level mathematics successfully. Indeed, scientific and mathematics disciplines at the college and university level have increasingly come to depend on the influx of international students to fill and staff courses.⁸

Second, there is the issue of individual opportunity. Those who are placed in the accelerated mathematics course sequence in the middle grades and continue in it in high school gain several important advantages. They have access to the best teachers, a demanding curriculum, and motivated peers. They score substantially higher on their SATs and have a better chance of being admitted to a selective college or university.⁹ The calculus course on the transcript, especially AP calculus, signals to the guidance counsellor and college admissions officer that the student is a member of an academic elite. Most importantly, students who are exposed to calculus concepts in high school are more likely to pass a calculus course in college.¹⁰ Since calculus is the "gateway" course to more than half of all college majors, and since approximately 35 percent of college students (and as many as 60 percent in some large schools) either fail or withdraw from the course, prior high school training in the subject constitutes a significant advantage for a student.¹¹ Many high school math teachers argue that calculus is currently taught more ably at the high school than at the college level because high school classes are smaller and meet more frequently, homework is more often assigned and graded, good teachers covet the assignment to instruct the course,

Elizabeth Useem is an associate professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and is chair of the Massachusetts Youth Policy Council. She has written articles on tracking and on school desegregation and has authored a book on the relationship between education and high-technology industry.



and teachers are more available to students for extra help.

Although the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) does not advocate the formal study of calculus in high school, preferring instead that the concepts be introduced informally in other courses, my view is that the evidence cited above justifies the study of calculus as a capstone course of an accelerated math sequence. But whether calculus or another course should be the capstone of a five-year sequence is not the major issue. The more important point is that much larger proportions of students need to take algebra in the middle grades so that there is room in their senior-year schedule for either calculus or another advanced math course.

Given the advantages both for workforce quality and for individual opportunity, one would assume that high schools would make special efforts to boost the numbers of students pursuing an advanced math sequence that ends either in calculus or in another fifth-year course, such as discrete math and/or an enriched pre-calculus course that introduces certain calculus concepts. My research into the placement policies of twenty-six school districts in the Boston area, however, found that many schools have tracking policies that actually discourage the study of advanced mathematics. Further, these policies vary arbitrarily from one school district to the next so that a student who is deemed qualified for the accelerated track in one town is classified as unqualified in the next.¹²

Consider the contrasting policies of the public schools in neighboring towns in suburban Boston, which I studied during 1988 and 1989. Both towns were middle- to upper-middle-class communities that have highly regarded school systems. The junior high school in one of them, which I shall call Community A, and the middle school in Community B had both adopted a "middle school philosophy," clustering students into smaller groups with a team of teachers and abolishing ability grouping in most academic subjects. Their approaches to the issue of student placement into one of three mathematics ability groups in the seventh grade, however, were quite different. In Community A, a smaller proportion of students (18 percent) were originally recommended for accelerated mathematics. In this district, the course was defined as being only for those of "exceptional ability" in mathematics, and the math administrators did not believe that being in an accelerated math sequence was important for students' educational opportunities.

Selection criteria for entrance into accelerated mathematics in Community A were restrictive. In order to be recommended for the seventh-grade pre-algebra course, students had to score high on two out of three criteria: the teacher's recommendation, a score in the top 15 percent among students in that town on a standardized test (which equalled the top 1 to 2 percent of students nationally since the *average* score for students in that town was over the 95th percentile nationally), and a score above a particular cutoff on a "homemade" test designed by the system's mathematics coordinators. The town coordinators monitored the recommendations of the sixth-grade math teachers in the elementary schools to ensure adherence to systemwide criteria.

Some districts appear to encourage or "pump" students into advanced mathematics while others "filter" them out from those courses.



In Community B, a higher percentage of students was assigned to accelerated mathematics in seventh grade (30 percent), and the district was in the process of implementing a new policy that would place more than 40 percent of the seventh graders in the advanced track. These differences in assignment at the seventh-grade level were reflected in twelfth-grade enrollments in calculus, which was the typical capstone course in the accelerated course sequence in these twenty-six school districts: 12 percent of the seniors in Community A's high school took calculus, while twice that proportion (23-24 percent) did so in Community B. The sixth-grade teacher's recommendation determined the assignment to seventh-grade math groups. Standardized test scores were not relied on at any phase of the course assignment system in the middle and secondary grades. The mathematics chair in that district believed that many students would benefit from taking calculus in

high school and thus advocated placing large numbers of students in the accelerated group in the seventh grade. His attitude typified the district's mistrust of early and rigid ability grouping and its attempt to boost achievement expectations:

My experience in math has been like my experience in coaching soccer. When you cut a kid in sports, it's all over. It takes great courage to go out for that sport again. It is the same in math. If you are sorted out in math early, you've lost out right off the bat . . . Calculus is not for everyone but many *more* people should take it.

The contrasting perspectives of the two districts were reflected in the language of the high school course catalogs. In Community A, the catalog stated that "if you have exceptional mathematical ability, interest, and motivation, you are invited to study mathematics at the honors level." In Community B, the catalog simply stated that the accelerated math classes were for "able students," a less intimidating description.

Another pair of geographically contiguous districts, which we shall call Communities C and D, reflected a similar pattern of contrasting policies. In this instance, the two towns were among the wealthiest communities in the state and had very homogeneous college-bound student bodies. In Community C, 35 percent of all eighth graders were enrolled in eighth-grade algebra, and 38 percent were taking calculus, very high percentages by any standard. The mathematics coordinator in this town had strong feelings about opening up the "fast track" to large numbers of students. As he put it, "I prefer to err in the direction of letting them in . . . [This is] not 'giving in' but is 'providing opportunity.'" Like the mathematics coordinator in Community B, he felt students who took calculus in high school were advantaged when they went to college. "I favor having kids get into calculus. We should find ways to help them get around roadblocks."

In neighboring Community D, an area of country estates and expensive housing developments, very few students were placed in the accelerated curriculum. Only 14 percent of the eighth graders were taking algebra, and 11 percent were enrolled in calculus, percentages falling below the state average and substantially below those of Community C. (In Massachusetts, between 15 and 23 percent of pupils are in eighth-grade algebra, and 13 percent take calculus.)¹³ The high school had a policy of discouraging parents who tried to boost their children into the accelerated curriculum. The mathematics coordinator contended that "parents hire tutors and often have kids stay in a higher level than they should be in . . . Kids are very pressured by their parents."

As these comparisons indicate, students' chances of being placed in an accelerated mathematics curriculum in the middle and secondary grades vary substantially from one school district to the next. Among the twenty-six school districts I studied, four had fewer than 15 percent in eighth-grade algebra, nine had between 15 and 23 percent (the two estimates of the statewide average), and 13 had more than 23 percent. Three districts had between 40 and 50 percent of their eighth graders in algebra. Calculus enrollments exhibited even

greater variation with as many as 46 percent in the course in one district and as few as 4 percent in another. Ten of the twenty-six districts had fewer than 13 percent (the statewide average) in calculus, nine had "average" enrollments ranging from 13 to 19 percent, and seven systems had a fifth or more of their seniors enrolled in the course. Recent work elsewhere by other researchers has documented similar disparate enrollment patterns among districts.¹⁴

What accounts for these variations? There are two principal explanations that emerged from my study. First, and not surprisingly, the opportunity to be placed on the mathematics fast track depends on the social class composition of the community. Communities with higher average levels of parental education are more likely to have higher enrollments in advanced mathematics courses. In this study, for example, eight of the ten districts with below-average calculus enrollments were blue-collar cities and towns.

Second, the probability of being assigned to accelerated math depends on school and school district policies. Some districts appear to encourage or "pump" students into advanced mathematics while others "filter" them out from those courses.¹⁵ Those districts that encouraged the assignment of students to the accelerated sequence usually had math coordinators/chairs who believed that many students benefited from taking calculus or another fifth-year math course in high school and who believed that entrance criteria to the fast track should not be elitist or selective. The encouraging districts did not rely heavily on standardized test scores as placement criteria. If they did use standardized or other tests, they did not have high cutoff points for admission to accelerated work. They were not hostile to parents' or students' attempts to "override" the school's placement recommendation through a waiver process, and they tended to assist students (transfers and "late bloomers") who were taking two mathematics courses simultaneously in order to catch up with the accelerated students.

Districts that filtered students out of the fast track had policies based on a set of beliefs that placement in an accelerated math sequence was not particularly important for students' future educational opportunities, that admission to accelerated courses should be restricted to an intellectual elite who scored high on standardized tests early in their school careers, and that schools were highly accurate in their placement decisions. Administrators in these districts were less open to parent involvement in placement decisions. In a seemingly random fashion, school districts that were "pumps" existed alongside districts that were "filters." The variations in administrators' attitudes were striking. Consider, for example, the views of mathematics chairs and coordinators on the selection of students into mathematics ability groups. Some were firmly convinced that schools should segregate students early and discourage them from moving up to a more advanced level:

"We wanted to segregate the top group students [in fourth grade] as early as we could . . . and in sixth grade they are grouped as homogeneously in math as we can get them . . . it is efficient that way

(Continued on page 43)

HOMELESS CHILDREN COME TO SCHOOL

BY KARIN CHENOWETH AND CATHY FREE

IN CLASSROOMS across the country, there are children who come to school each morning after spending the night in barracks-style shelters. All too often, instead of spending their evenings doing homework, they've had to keep a watchful eye on drug abusers, street criminals, or former mental patients living alongside them. Frequently separated from other family members, wearing clothing that may make them targets of ridicule, and denied a decent breakfast—thanks to shelter policies that rigidly schedule meals without regard to school opening times—these youngsters may be too busy keeping body and soul together to learn the lessons, the sports, and the social skills that we are trying to teach.

According to the Children's Defense Fund, these youngsters are among an estimated 50,000 to 500,000 homeless children, many of whom are of school age. The National Conference of Mayors estimated that in 1988 the demand for shelter by families increased by 22 percent after increasing 32 percent in 1987.

The increasing number of homeless children means schools will have to become more responsive to their special needs. This will mean rethinking certain bureaucratic rules—for example, homeless children often have been denied admission to school because their parents were unable to produce the coin of the realm: the necessary birth certificates, guardianship papers, and immunization records. School attendance may also be foreclosed by lack of money for transportation to a school no longer nearby, for school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Schools may also have to get involved in providing or coordinating such special services as health care, counseling services, and before-and after-school care, and special tutoring programs—services that would benefit the non-homeless as well.

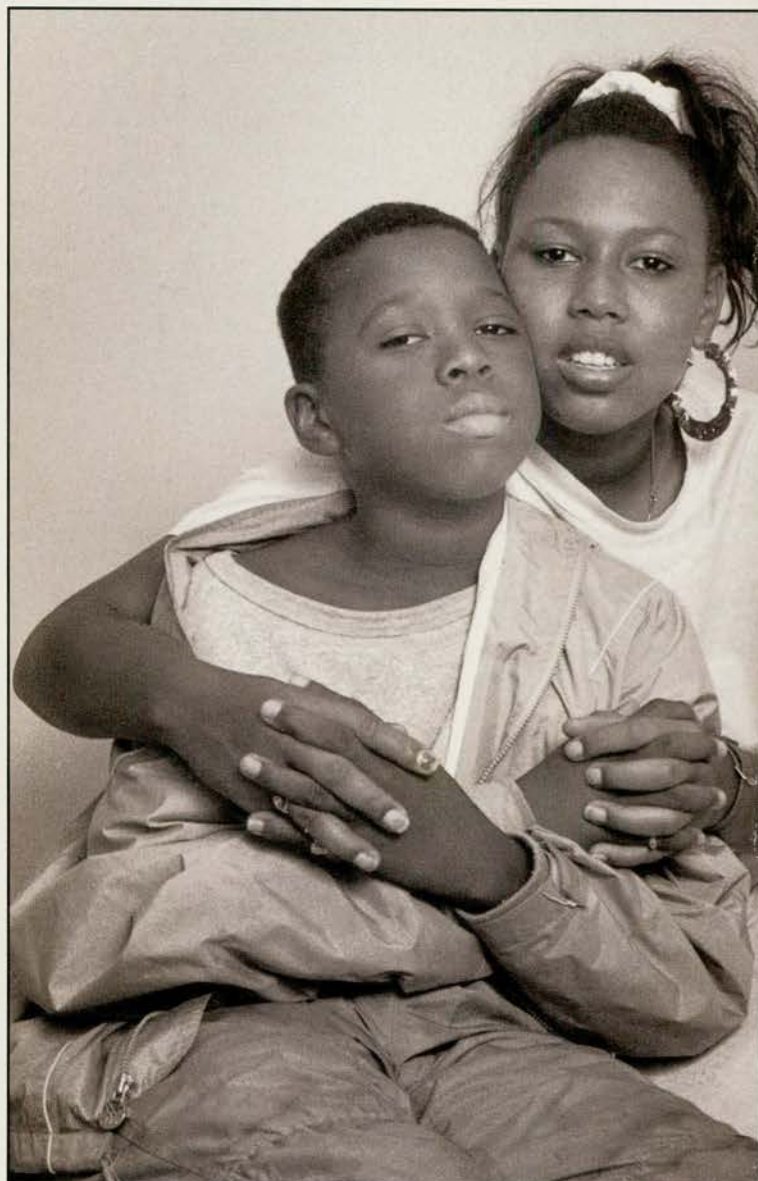
This autumn, Congress will consider amendments to the McKinney Act on Education for Homeless Children that address these issues and fund demonstration projects that model how best to provide needed services to homeless children.

The lives they live and the problems they bring to school are best described by the students themselves.

* * *

Interviews of Washington, D.C.-area children were conducted and edited by Karin Chenoweth, a freelance writer. Salt Lake City interviews were conducted and edited by Cathy Free, a writer for the Salt Lake Tribune who, along with photographer George Janecek, is preparing a book on homeless children.

ANTHONY, 12, has lived in the Capital City Inn and Pitts Motor Hotel, two shelters run by the Washington, D.C., government that are most notorious for drug dealing and violence. When he and his mother left one of the shelters to live in an apartment, drug gangs used their new home as a crack house. For one year, Tony lived with his brother and stepfather and attended Middleton Valley Academy, a public school outside Washington. In August, he moved back with his mother, who again was living in a city shelter. In August, Tony still did not know what school he would be attending in the fall.



Middleton Valley—that's my best school, because they taught me a lot, and you go on nice trips. They taught us upper math when I was in the fifth grade. They taught us upper English. They don't know about saying it's hard.

Middleton Valley was my favorite school, because they had good teachers and they calmed me down. When I went there, I was the wildest kid there. I used to be getting into fights all the time. And I was lazy and didn't do my work. But they calmed me down and got me back on track. My teacher—I thought she would give me a D—but she gave me a C in behavior. When I saw that C, it made me cry. I knew she had confidence in me. After that I was on the right track.

When I first got there, I looked ugly and people called me stinky. I ain't had any friends. I wore pants so tight they cut off my circulation. And my shirt was big, the sleeves hung down. It was my brother's shirt. I wanted to cry. I used to cry a lot, I'll be honest with you. Then I told my sister, and she bought me some clothes. They was cool. They made me look good...That's why I love my sister. She's like a second mother to me. She always made sure I had food and clothes.

When the teacher asks where I live, I just ignore her or tell her no, I don't want to tell you, it's private. When the kids find

out you live in a shelter, they make fun of you, call you stinky. One time, the first day I went, I only went one day, and never went back. 'Cause they teased me. I ditched school for a week, then went to another school. My mother transferred me. At [the new school] they didn't care I was in the shelter.

[The shelter I'm living in now] is clean, I'll give it that. The only thing wrong is it has giant rats. Not inside, but just outside. The Pitts, that was filthy. Capital City—that's tore down, now—that was the filthiest. Lots of violations. Not fit for human habitation.

[Living in the shelter] is very difficult. People are running up and down, babies crying, a lot of troubles. Not too many drugs in this one, but in every other one. . .

My best friend's mother got shot for being a witness. She had a baby. She saw a robbery and she testified. And they came out and shot her. Her son was my best friend, and I used to go with his sister. The father is left with seven kids. She was real nice. She be one of the nicest ladies in the shelter. She'd give the kids money sometimes.

I want to be a lawyer. If I can go to college, I want to be a lawyer or a doctor. If I don't get the grades or the money for college, I'll go into the army or be a policeman and move to L.A., because that's where the action is. I want to be part of the action.

I want two or three kids. And I want to bring them up different from what I lived. I don't want them living in a shelter.

CRYSTAL, 17, lives at Washington D.C.'s Independent Living Program of the Sasha Bruce Youthwork. She is working for her high school equivalency.

I dropped out of eighth grade because my mother was homeless at the time and I didn't want people to know I was living at the shelter. Plus, I was smoking drugs, and drugs was on my mind. PCP, crack cocaine, and alcohol. [To get the money] I did whatever I had to do.

We came from New Jersey—Paterson. My cousins used to steal my mother's money. She would get a check and pay the rent, and they would steal the rest of the money. My mother got tired of it, so she went to the shelter. Then they moved us into this apartment, and there was only one bedroom, so my mother took us to another shelter [the Capital City Inn, in Washington, D.C.]. At the shelter I started smoking cocaine. Everybody was smoking crack cocaine there.

You can't be nothing without an education. [I want to be a] surgical nurse or computer operator. I always wanted to be a nurse. When I was little, I would always play nurse and bandage up with Band-Aids. And I always liked computers, too. [After I get my GED] I'll go to nursing school [or a computer training program].

When I was in the fifth grade, I was smoking PCP. I wanted to learn, but I couldn't comprehend because of the PCP. I was smoking all the time, and it was like I couldn't function. But I still passed.

I thought [smoking PCP] was good, because everybody else was smoking it. But I didn't notice until last year that it had an effect on me, that I couldn't learn because drugs were eating up my brain cells. . .



PHOTOGRAPH BY EARL DOTTER



PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE R. JANECEK

JACOB is 11 years old and the oldest of seven children. His family has been on the move, traveling from one town to the next, all of his life. For three months, his family lived in Salt Lake City's family shelter.

It's not hard to say good-bye to friends anymore. I can say good-bye easy. I'm used to it, now. All my life, we've traveled off and on because my daddy likes to travel. The earliest thing I remember was when I was 6, and we traveled down to San Bernardino, California, where I was born. This time, my daddy came here because he says he wants a new job and wants to get a house for cheap. I don't really understand it, I guess. The last time we were in Salt Lake City in the summer of, I think, 1987, we stayed at the shelter three months, then moved into a nice house. Daddy had a good job, and I thought we were going to stay. But we left again. We always leave.

I've lived all over—Washington, North Carolina, Montana, California, Oregon, Utah, and a few places I was too little to remember. I've been to a lot of schools—about ten, I think. The longest time I ever went to school was when we lived in Oregon for a lot of years. My daddy was a craftsman in Oregon. He made a lot of metal tools. We even had ourselves a five-bedroom house, and I had my own room because I'm the oldest. In my room, I put all my posters on the wall, and I had a dresser where I used to stack my little drawings. I had my own bunk bed.

I don't like to travel. My mom doesn't either. She keeps saying that if Daddy keeps traveling, she's going to run away. See, when you travel, you have to sleep in the car and sit for hours and hours, from 8 in the morning until 10 at night. We don't stop except for getting gas and something to eat or going to the bathroom.

Traveling, we usually don't get nothing hot to eat. We

eat donuts for breakfast, and for lunch we get stuff for sandwiches. Dinner is usually donuts and milk or potato chips. If there's no money, we usually get donation money by stopping at a church. They'll usually put you in a motel and tell you where to get something free to eat. Sometimes, you want more to eat, but you don't dare say anything because there's too many other people who need to eat, too. So you just sit there. The longest I ever went without food was one whole day. I was real glad to get something the next morning.

Because we've traveled so much, I've missed a lot of school. The last time I was in school before now was when we were in this shelter last year. And we only got to go a few days because we left the shelter in September, right after school started. So I missed a whole year. Usually, Daddy would drive us to a school near where we were camping, but this time, we didn't do that because we were moving so much. I'm supposed to be in the fifth grade, but I'm in the third, because I'm so far behind.

I got lonely, not going to school. The first day coming here we got so excited about going to school again, we kept telling Mom, "Hurry, hurry! Let's get ready! We're going to miss it!" Stacey, the teacher, was surprised at how good my reading was and asked me how come I knew so much. I told her that I'd been practicing, so the next time I went to school, I'd know exactly what to do. I love doing mathematics. On the road, I'd have Mom make up some problems for me, and I'd solve them. And I'd practice my spelling while we traveled, too. We'd pass a sign on the road and I'd memorize how it was spelled. There were names of towns, cafes, stores—that kind of stuff. I'd spell it out loud in the car and Mom would tell me if I got it right.



PHOTOGRAPH BY EARL DOTTER

JOHN, 16, is living in the Independent Living Program of the Sasha Bruce Youthwork. He is preparing to enter tenth grade.

I can't stay with my grandmother, 'cause she's in a senior citizen home. And I can't stay with my mother, because—I like her but I can't stand her attitude. I can't stay with my father because I don't know where he is. He don't stay with his girlfriend any more. I got some [aunts and uncles], but I don't really know where any of them are at.

When I was going to elementary school, I just kept getting transfered from school to school. My mother said she didn't feel it was a good school. One year I got transfered at least five times in one year. I had to stay back, because I never got to complete the whole semester.

And then she said I was doing good. I was getting As and Bs or Bs and Cs, something like that. I ain't never brought home a bad grade. Except for when I got in junior high, in the seventh grade, because I started hooking school and stuff, and then I started doing drugs and stuff like that, and then I didn't want to go to school no more.

This boy I used to know—he was getting [the cocaine] from somebody. He was selling it for them, and I was selling it for him. . . He'd give me a certain amount, tell me to sell that. I'd bring him back the money, and he'd

give me what I earned. And then after that, I'd go buy some shoes and clothes. In one night I'd earn at least about \$1,000. Every night I had about \$500. I had about fifty pair of tennis shoes. I had a lot of clothes, but I had more shoes than I had clothes. I had a whole lot of sweatsuits.

Really I don't think it's worth it. When you're selling drugs, you've got to watch your back all the time to see if somebody's going to rob you or if the police can come and lock you up.

Most of the time I have to control my attitude. Because when I was in the fourth grade, I had this real bad attitude. If somebody made me mad, I would just curse them out. I'm trying to get away from that. It gets me in trouble like that. It keeps me away from a lot of things in life that I want.

[I want to] try and become an artist or a carpenter. Mostly I like to work with my hands. It don't really have to be a carpenter; it could be like working on cars or something. I like to make things and work on something.

I stopped dealing drugs because I felt that education was more important than money. You can always get money. . .



KATRINA is 10 and lived at Salt Lake City's homeless shelter with her mother, stepfather, and 17-year-old sister. The family was evicted from their Midvale, Utah, apartment. "My mom lost her job," she says, "and was behind on the rent. The man told us we had two hours to get out and we didn't know where else to go. So we came here."

I hate being homeless. People look at you like you're no good. I'm embarrassed when people come in to bring clothes or food and see me here, because they're rich and I'm not. When I get older, I want to ride in a big limo for a few hours to see what it's like to be rich. I've always wondered what it would be like to buy whatever I want. If I were rich, I wouldn't have to eat slop from the soup kitchen and stand in line with all those homeless men. They sometimes scare me. I don't want to end up like them—old and dirty, living in the gutter and getting beat up all the time.

But I know what it's like to be beat up, too. I hated living in Midvale because every day I was beat up by stuck-up girls, and teachers were always grabbing my arm real hard when I was noisy and kicking me out

of class. At that school in Midvale, other kids would give me dirty looks and tease me. Sometimes, I'd have to wear the same clothes twice, or I'd get up late and have to run to school without brushing my hair. I didn't look as nice as the other kids. I didn't have new clothes, so they'd push me and tease me.

I remember this one girl, Sarah. Everybody thought she was real pretty, but I thought she was ugly because she was mean. She'd call me names in front of everybody. She'd call me "poor." "Poor girl, poor girl!" That's what she'd say. One day, I got real mad at her and pushed her as hard as I could. I tried to ignore her, but I couldn't. I had to stick up for myself. So I got in trouble for it, and the principal sent me home. But I didn't care. I was glad I stuck up for myself.

Here at this school, I still don't have very many friends, but at least nobody bothers me. I do pretty good at math, and the teacher is nice to me. A lot of times, I don't get much work done though, because I like to sit and imagine other things. I keep telling myself that I wish I weren't here and that I had a lot of money.

KARI is 13 years old. She was traveling with her family from Florida when their car broke down ten miles outside of Salt Lake City. This is the second time in one and one-half years that they have stayed at Salt Lake City's homeless shelter.

I was born in Thousand Oaks, California, but I grew up everywhere. I don't know why my parents keep moving all over—I guess it's just that my dad likes to travel. He gets bored in one place, doing the same job. My whole life we've traveled around. I'll bet I've lived in twelve or thirteen states, maybe more. In some towns, we'd just stay one night and leave. Other times we'd stay a few weeks or a few months. I haven't lived any place longer than a year.

A lot of times, I ask my mom why we have to live like this, and she just sits me down and says there isn't any money. She says we'll move out next month, but I kind of doubt it. I've heard that a lot now, and it's hard to believe. My dad gets \$200 a month to help clean the shelter, but most of that has to go for food and stuff. So I don't think he can save enough to get us out.

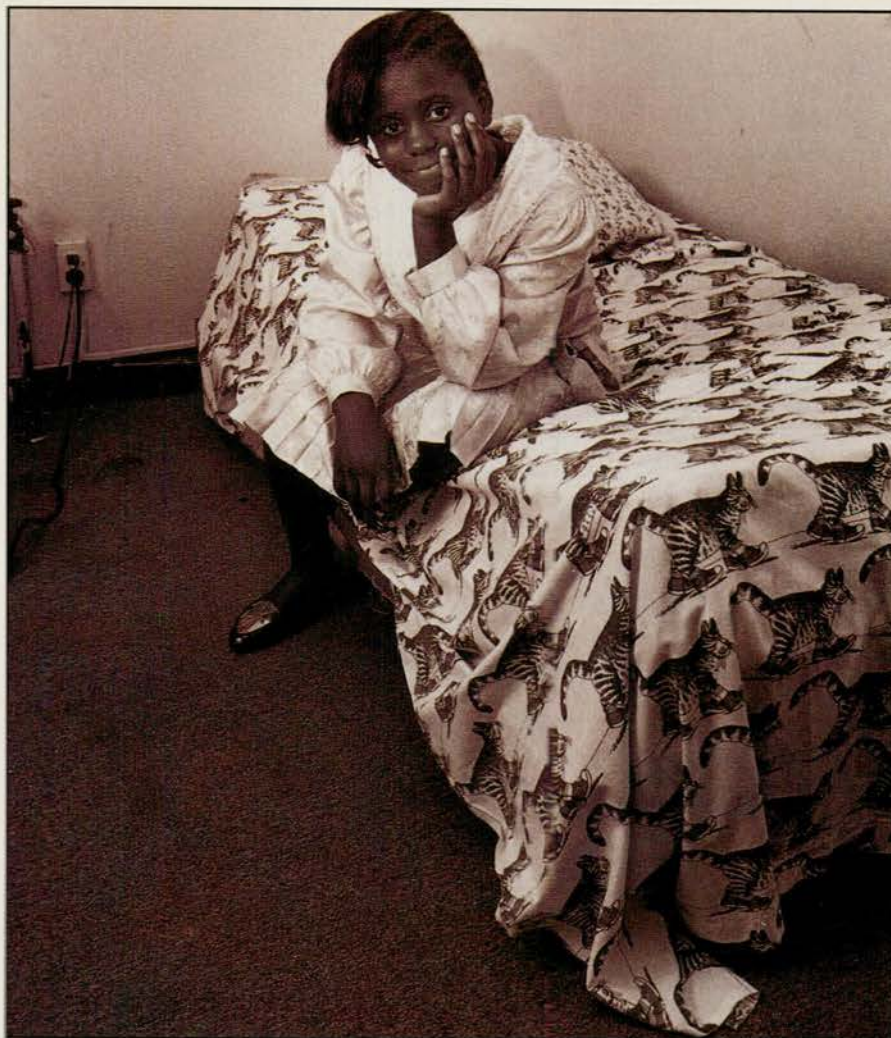
Sometimes, I get real angry here because we don't get nothing to eat, and you have to go hungry. We get lunch in school, but you're not



allowed to cook here, so unless you've got money to buy something for dinner, you get nothing. A lot of times we just eat soda crackers or something like that. Tonight, I'll have a few pieces of bologna. We eat a lot of bologna. On the road, if we're out of food, we'll stop at a police station and they'll give us something. Or we'll line up at a soup kitchen. I get sick a lot, and I think it's because I don't eat right. If somebody gets sick here, everybody gets sick.

My favorite subject is math, and I also like to read. My favorite book is *Little House on the Prairie*. I'll bet I've read it a thousand times. I like to because it's about adventure and that's sort of what my life is like. One night, when our car got stuck in mud and we had to sleep in the car, I pretended I was Laura. Well, I know it's different, but I still like the book.

Besides reading and math, I also like to keep a journal in school. Sometimes, I get so mad [I write that] I wish I could disappear. Other times I write about the shelter and how I can't wait to leave. Sometimes, it's too personal, like about my old boyfriend and I don't want to tell anybody. I guess a lot of times, I wonder what it would be like if things were different.



PHOTOGRAPH BY EARL DOTTER



PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE R. JANECEK

Kari is on the right, her sister Michelle is to the left.

DAISY, 9, has lived in the Greentree Shelter, part of the Baptist Home for Children, for twelve months with her mother, brother, and sister. The shelter is in Montgomery County, Maryland, just outside of Washington, D.C. Her father is staying with relatives. Both parents came from Cuba, as part of the Mariel boat lift.

I don't know where I want to live—a safe place. Not D.C. At a lot of places in D.C. there are drugs, killings, shootings. I've seen this on TV and sometimes I go past it.

[The shelter is] not bad and not good. Not bad is 'cause of the people. They take us fun places. Once they took us to King's Dominion and the zoo—what's very bad is the food. We have soup over and over.

There's a lot of fighting here. There's this boy, he moved, he was fighting with everyone. He had a fight with me. He almost had a fight with my sister. Very bad. The first day they moved, everyone was so

happy.

Math is hard for me. Spelling is easy and hard. It's kind of easy because my teacher gives me easy words. 'Cause we are the purple group, the lower group. I like the red group 'cause they get better words. Like "happy." "Sad," that's a purple word. The red group gets compound words, like "something," "anything."

I'll never be in the BBQ group. I'll never pass that. BBQ is the hardest—dictionary, different, a lot of words—thirteen [letters] long.

I could tell everybody in the whole school [that I live in the shelter] and I don't really care, cause I'm not really different than them. I can still write, read, go to school, and learn. I'm not so different from them.

I get shy. Because when I was in third grade my teacher made me stand in front of the classroom telling where did I live, how did I feel there, all these questions. □

If success is measured by college degrees, your students can do well in the Army. We offer a number of services and programs that offer soldiers an opportunity to pursue just about any degree they want.

Army Education Centers. Nearly every Army post has an Education Center where trained counselors advise soldiers about the courses they need, and where to take them, and how to pay for them.

Independent Study. This "university without walls" program permits soldiers to earn college credits by studying on their own.

Non-Traditional Credit. In some cases, soldiers can use their military training, experience and schooling to obtain college credits.

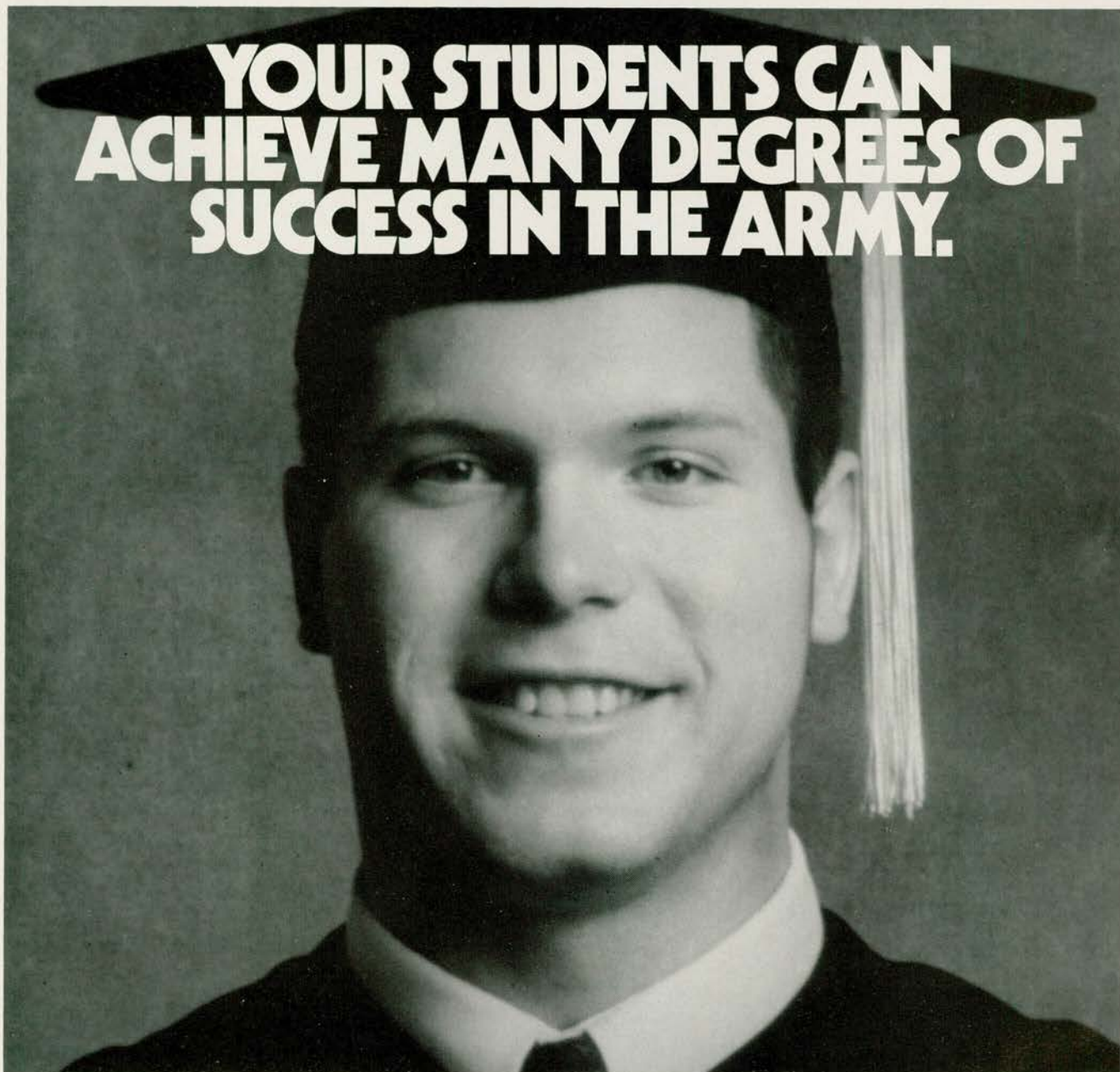
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ACHIEVE MANY DEGREES OF
SUCCESS IN THE ARMY.**



A HISTORY OF US

A Children's History

BY JOY HAKIM

Though history is a swashbuckling adventure story, history texts for children are notoriously, ferociously dull. Critics of elementary school social studies, including teacher educator Charlotte Crabtree and educational historian Diane Ravitch, have called for a new generation of history texts—or better yet, collections of history-related trade books (which are less intimidating to young readers)—the core of which would be strong, engaging narratives. Around these stories—which would both draw students in and anchor the course chronologically—teachers could introduce such important non-narrative material as maps and primary documents.

Joy Hakim, a former teacher and newspaper editor, is writing what could be a model for this new generation of histories. Geared to fifth graders (the age group to whom American history is normally taught), her ten-volume History of Us is a systematic, intelligent history of the United States told in story-style. The stories begin many thousands of years B.C. when the first humans cross the Bering Strait and settle in North America. Subsequent volumes include stories on the American colonies, the founding of the nation, and other traditionally taught topics in American history—as well as stories on the offbeat, little-told events and personalities that will make history an enjoyable read for a ten-year-old. Each volume will be about 100 pages and will include about thirty short chapters. The material will also be published in a magazine called Past Times. Books and the magazine should go into publication next year. Here we present two of her chapters, one from Book 4 and one from Book 7.

Editor

Joy Hakim is a former newspaper editor and elementary school teacher. Her children's history of the United States should be commercially available next year.



Book 4 Chapter 7

THE PARTIES BEGIN

No one could tell George Washington how to be president. No one had done the job before. Washington knew whatever he did would set a precedent. That means that he would be the example and other presidents would follow his lead.

The Constitution outlined the basic tasks of the president, but it didn't go into details. George Washington had to decide many things himself.

As always, he did his very best. He didn't want the president to be like the English king, but he did think it important that the president be grand. He wanted people to look up to the president and respect and admire him.

So Washington acted with great dignity and rode about in a fine canary-yellow carriage pulled by six white horses whose coats were shined with marble dust, whose hoofs were painted black, and whose teeth were cleaned before every outing.

When President Washington held official receptions, he wore velvet knee breeches, yellow gloves, silver buckles on his shoes, and a sword strapped to his waist. He used his coach to tour the country. He wanted Americans to meet their president.

But he couldn't make all the decisions of the executive branch by himself. So he appointed advisors—most of those helpers were called secretaries: secretary of state, secretary of the treasury, and so on. All together they were known as the Cabinet.

He picked the very best people he could find. To help with foreign affairs, he picked an American who had lived in France and knew a lot about foreign nations. Can you guess who he was? Well, George Washington named

Thomas Jefferson as his secretary of state.

You can't run a country without money. Since the days of the Revolution, when the states first united, they had had money problems. Washington needed a good man as a financial advisor. He named Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury. Hamilton organized the nation's monetary system. Many people think Hamilton was the best secretary of the treasury ever.

To head the Army and Navy, Washington chose his old friend Henry Knox. Remember Knox the Ox? He was the general in charge of artillery during the Revolutionary War. Washington named him secretary of war. (Today the person who holds that job is called secretary of defense.)

Washington completed the Cabinet with Edmund Randolph, Virginia's governor, as attorney general. John Adams was his vice president. (Today, there are fourteen Cabinet members. In addition to secretaries of state and defense, it includes secretaries of the interior; agriculture; commerce; labor; health and human services; housing and urban development; transportation; energy; veterans affairs, and education.)

When he needed help writing a speech, Washington turned to a congressman who had one of the finest minds in all of American history: James Madison. (And when Congress wished to address the president, guess who wrote the message? James Madison. So Madison was writing and answering the same messages!)

Altogether, Washington had about 350 people help him manage the new government. That was only 100 more people than he supervised at Mount Vernon.

Almost as soon as the new government got started, something happened that Washington hadn't expected. His two top advisors argued with each other. They really argued. Jefferson and Hamilton had ideas that clashed. They found it hard to compromise. In those days people sometimes watched chicken fights, so when Jefferson wanted to describe himself and Hamilton, he said they acted "in the Cabinet like two fighting cocks."

Both were brilliant men. Both were patriots who wanted to do the best for their country. They just disagreed on what was best. Wow, did they disagree! In fact—this is interesting—political parties developed because of that disagreement.

The country didn't begin with parties—like today's Democrats and Republicans. The Founding Fathers—the men who wrote the Constitution—didn't realize that parties would develop. Washington didn't like the idea at all. He called them "factions" and warned against them. "The spirit of party," said the president, "agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms."

But people just don't think alike. That's what makes politics and life interesting. James Madison understood that. Madison knew that it was dictators who usually tried to force all people to think alike. Dictatorships are usually one-party governments.

Madison believed that in a democracy factions should be encouraged. He thought the more the better. He said they would balance each other and then no one group could become too strong and take control of the government.

Those two fighting cocks—Jefferson and Hamilton—



had ideas that needed balancing. They helped found the country's first political parties. They respected, but didn't understand, each other.

"Mr. Jefferson," wrote Hamilton, "is at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to me and . . . dangerous to the union, peace, and the happiness of the country."

Jefferson replied that Hamilton's ideas "flowed from principles adverse to liberty, and . . . calculated to undermine and demolish the Republic."

Whew! Those are strong words. "Dangerous," "hostile," "adverse to liberty"—did they really mean it? These were men who had built the country together. What was going on?

To put it simply: they disagreed about power and who ought to have it. It was that old conflict that had kept everyone arguing when the Constitution was being written.

Jefferson and Hamilton were both concerned about liberty and power. But how do you balance the two? How do you guarantee freedom? How do you create a government that can keep order and still make sure that government doesn't oppress people? How strong should the government be?

Hamilton believed the government should be strong. If the government was to work for all the people, instead of just the strongest special interests, it needed to be powerful. Hamilton also thought that government should be run by aristocratic leaders, that is, by the prosperous, well-educated citizens who he thought had the time and talents to best run a country. He feared the masses. He thought they sometimes acted like sheep,



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

thoughtlessly following a leader.

Thomas Jefferson feared powerful government. It was justice and liberty for the individual that concerned him. He saw a strong, centralized government as a possible enemy of individual liberty.

He also had faith in ordinary people. He thought they could govern themselves—if they were educated. And so he wrote a plan for public schools and colleges. He wanted an amendment to the Constitution that would provide for free education.

One of the big disagreements between Jefferson and Hamilton was about interpreting the Constitution. Jefferson said the central government—Congress and the president—had only the exact powers listed in the Constitution. All other power belonged to the states. That idea is called “strict construction” of the Constitution.

Hamilton said there are “implied powers” in the Constitution. Implied means suggested. The idea of implied powers leaves the door open for many interpretations. It is an idea that has helped the Constitution grow and change with the times. It is also an idea that can be used to give Congress and the president great power.

Lawyers and Supreme Court justices today sometimes have fierce arguments about strict construction and implied powers—just as Jefferson and Hamilton did. You can now understand those arguments.

But back to 1789: Hamilton’s followers formed the “Federalist Party.” Jefferson’s followers were called “Democratic-Republicans” or sometimes just Republicans.

Now this is confusing, so pay attention. The Federalists and Republicans were not like our Democrats and Republicans, but they were the beginnings of today’s party system. This is what is confusing: Jefferson’s Republican Party was not like today’s Republican Party. If anything, it was more like today’s Democratic Party. The modern Republicans would get started later with a president you will soon read about: Abraham Lincoln.

Jefferson and Hamilton were both good men, and the ideas of each of them have been important in our country. Hamilton was a “conservative,” Jefferson a “liberal.” Have you ever heard people argue about conservatism and liberalism? Well, if you haven’t, you will. That argument almost tore the country apart in 1800; it continues today. Which do we think is better: conservatism or liberalism? We think it is the tension and the compromises between those two ideas that have helped make this country great. We need Hamiltonians, we need Jeffersonians, and we need to have them work together.

Which is just what has always happened in America. That is not true of many other nations.

In some countries, today, people who speak out against the government are put in jail, or even killed. Members of the losing party are thrown out of the country or killed. That has never happened in America. Here, since the time of President George Washington, winners and losers have always agreed to work together—as Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton did. What does that mean for you? Do you have to be afraid of being on the side of the losing party? Can you speak out for an unpopular cause? Of course you can, you’re an American.



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Top: Not all Federalists and Republicans were as civil in debate as Jefferson and Hamilton. Here, Republican Representative Matt Lyon and Federalist Representative Roger Griswold go at it on the House floor with fire tongs and a hickory stick. Bottom: George Washington and Cabinet members (from left to right) Henry Knox, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and Edmund Randolph.



A VILLAIN, A DREAMER, A CARTOONIST

Do you every worry about air pollution or about dishonest politicians? Well, so did people in the nineteenth century.

Just to reassure you—most politicians are honest, and most air is clean. But that is no reason to relax. There are people around who will mess up the world if we let them.

One of the worst, in the years after the Civil War, was a man named William Marcy Tweed. He was called “Boss” Tweed and he ran New York City. New York had problems—big problems—especially problems of air pollution and traffic congestion. Some 700,000 people lived in New York, most of them squeezed into a small area near the tip of Manhattan Island. Much of the city’s business took place around a famous street called Broadway. Trying to walk or take a horsedrawn bus

down Broadway was a nightmare. People were so thick it sometimes took an hour just to move a few yards. And talk about pollution—whew—hold your nose while we tell you about it.

New York was home to more than one hundred thousand horses. Now a healthy horse dumps between twenty and twenty-five pounds of manure a day. Imagine all that smelly manure spread around by wheels and feet. When the manure dried, it turned into powder that blew in your face and went up your nostrils. But that wasn’t the worst of it. In the nineteenth century, people and businesses could burn anything they wanted. Mostly that was coal, which puts black fumes in the air. Even worse, Standard Oil had a New York refinery. Oil refineries, without controls, give off terrible, noxious fumes. Hold on, that’s not all. When Boss Tweed controlled New York, there wasn’t much in the way of sanitary services. So people often dumped their garbage in the streets. Garbage smells—especially in August. Are you choking? Well, we still haven’t mentioned the pigs. Pigs ran about eating garbage and leaving their own smells and dumpings. And then there were flies and disease. But you may have heard enough.

There you are in the middle of Broadway, and you

HURDLING TOWARD PUBLICATION

IT WAS with considerable innocence that I began my quest to publish a good children’s history. I assumed—given the documented need for such a history—that if I could write one, the publishing world would fall at my feet. After all, how many reports and articles had explored the unreadability of existing history textbooks? I was to learn differently.

But I began optimistically, talking to teachers and school administrators about what was needed. A good friend—a social studies supervisor in Rochester, New York (a community that pays its teachers more than any other city in the U.S.) was very helpful. So was Ginny Jones, the head of social studies in Colorado. So were many school people in Virginia.

I wrote a hundred pages of text and took it to the curriculum supervisor in the Virginia Beach schools. He led me to a social studies teacher who taught two fifth-grade classes. That teacher used my book in one class, a new history text in the other. Her comments were helpful.

This story was carried in Network News and Views, a publication of the Educational Excellence Network.

A young teacher in an inner-city New Haven, Connecticut, school wanted to try the book—and did. Students in Rochester sampled it. Some children in a Norfolk private school read it. An English-as-a-Second language teacher asked to use it with her students. All of them gave me feedback. It was far more enthusiastic than anything I had anticipated.

Eileen Sclan, Diane Ravitch’s research assistant, wrote: “*During my fifteen years of teaching, I’d dream about having materials like yours.*”

I hadn’t expected letters from children. But, because the book addresses them directly, many children seemed to want to write me with ideas and comments. It was a delightful and unexpected bonus.

Several parents called asking for copies of the book (even though it wasn’t published). A talk show host in Norfolk heard about the project and asked me to read some chapters on TV. He was astounded by the call-ins. That led to a session on talk radio. Again, the response was amazing. These were adults calling and they wanted to know more about American history and where they could get this book to read to their children. (And, I suspect, read themselves.) All of this made me

aware of the deep hunger many Americans have for more knowledge of our history.

While I was being encouraged by my potential audience, I was collecting a bizarre group of rejection letters from publishers. Most of the editors said they liked the concept, but the trade publishers said it was clearly a textbook, and the textbook publishers said it was clearly a trade book. All said, between the lines or in words, that it was too expensive to risk something innovative.

Actually, the concept—history in storybook form—isn’t innovative at all. Before I began to write, I studied the field—I read today’s history books and those written generations ago. The old books were all in story form and were engaging. Children love stories and are likely to remember them. So I returned to that traditional format.

I soon found that textbook critic Frances Fitzgerald was right: Textbook development has become so expensive—no publisher is willing to risk trying anything different. “In recent years,” says Fitzgerald, “four hundred companies have competed fiercely . . . to sell more or less the same product to the same people.” Besides, there is no place in the very sophisticated, bureaucratic

want to get away. You climb on a horsedrawn bus. It sways back and forth so violently some passengers get seasick. You try walking. But there are no streetlights (they haven't been invented yet). Horses, people, buses, carriages are all pushing and shoving on Broadway. Pedestrians get killed all the time in traffic accidents. Have you had enough of the good old days? So had a lot of people in the nineteenth century. The politicians said all that soot in the air was a sign of modern progress, but most people were beginning to gasp for fresh air.

Fresh air was the last thing that Boss Tweed cared about. He was a scoundrel who controlled most of the city's jobs and services. He used his power to get money for himself. He bribed others and then forced them to do what he wished. Here is an example of the way he worked: A new city building was to be built; Boss Tweed became the contractor and charged the city three or four times what the building actually cost. He put the difference in his pocket. Then he filled the building with \$50 sofas and charged the city \$5,000 for each of them.

How did he get away with that? Well, he was charming—in a scoundrelly way—so he fooled people. Many citizens didn't realize he was stealing from them. And because he was so powerful, those who did know were

afraid to do anything about it.

Except for a quiet, frail little man named Alfred Ely Beach. Beach was a genius—an inventor, a publisher, and a patent lawyer. He invented one of the world's first typewriters. He called it a "literary piano." Beach invented other things, too, and because of that he understood about patents. If you invent something, and you want to be sure that your idea is not stolen, it is necessary to register your idea with the Patent Office in Washington. As a patent lawyer, Beach helped many inventors with their patents.

Beach did many things and did them all well. When he was only nineteen, he took over a small magazine called *Scientific American* and helped make it the fine journal it is today. He became publisher of the *New York Sun*, and it became an important newspaper.

But that isn't what we want to tell you about. We want to tell you of his fight with Boss Tweed. Beach wanted to do something about the traffic congestion. He thought and thought and finally came up with the idea of putting a vehicle underground. He called it a subway. He knew Boss Tweed wouldn't let him build it—unless he agreed to give Tweed millions of dollars. And Beach was too honest a man to pay off a politician.

textbook industry for an individual writer—although every reader knows that good writing is almost always the product of a single voice.

I might have given up, except that I was getting considerable encouragement from some of the education theorists as well as from school administrators and children. Diane Brooks, manager of social sciences in California, invited me to visit and attend a meeting of the textbook adoption committee. She, and they, gave me some positive and constructive criticisms. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, saw some of the manuscript and said it was "of superb quality." Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation, said, "I had intended to scan the material you sent me, but when I started reading [it] I couldn't stop. Your writing is fascinating . . ."

But I still wasn't getting anywhere with the publishing world (one publisher did offer me a job as a writer), so I decided to try the foundation route. There again, I seemed to fall between the cracks. Most foundations have criteria that exclude children's book writers. A spokesperson for a major foundation told me that if I were an academic with yet another study

showing the need for history texts, they probably would finance me.

By this time my head was bloody from all those brick walls. I kept asking myself when I would show good sense and just give up. I was doing freelancing to pay some bills, but there is a momentum when you start something like this—I couldn't seem to quit. Yet frustration is too mild a word for what I felt.

The history book had now turned into a series of ten small books. (The first one starts with hunters and fishing folk crossing the Bering Strait, the last focuses on the Civil Rights Movement and twentieth century multiculturalism.) The books clearly addressed a national need; they had proved successful with children, parents, and teachers; they were far better than anything currently available. I'd been told they had the potential to set standards in the field. And it looked like my children would be the only ones to read them.

Then I spent a day in Williamsburg and ran into an old friend, Paul Nagel (biographer of the Adams and Lee families). I told him my sad story. "If anyone can help you it will be Byron Hollinshead," said Nagel. He was right.

Hollinshead, chairman of the board of *Americana Magazine*, publisher of *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, publisher of *American Lives* (a new journal of biography), and former head of Oxford Press, not only liked the manuscript—he was willing to take a risk and publish it!

Even better, he came up with the idea of publishing the work in two formats: as a series of books and as part of a history magazine for children. I loved the magazine concept. A magazine would give an immediacy to history and flexibility to the material. We talked about putting my text in the center of the magazine—with three holes punched—so children could remove it, put it in a binder, add their papers and teacher materials, and create their own history book.

Roger Kennedy, director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, heard what we were doing and said to us that the museum wants to participate, probably by making the magazine part of a membership package in a projected American history club at the Smithsonian.

There are still a few hurdles to be jumped—but we seem to be on our way.

J.H.



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

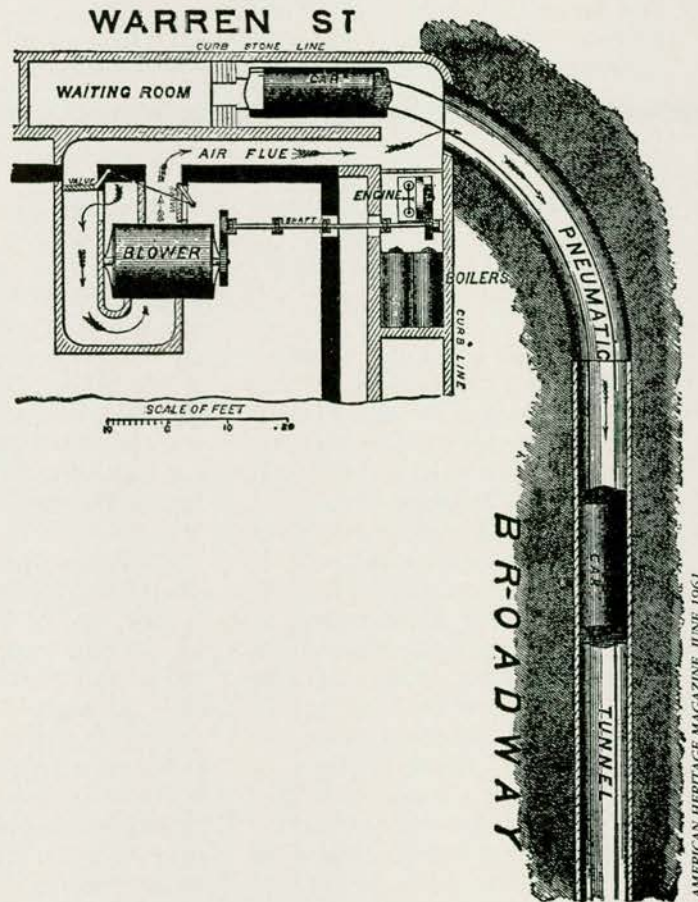
He decided to build a subway and not tell Tweed. He built it right under Broadway, and no one knew he was doing it! He invented a hydraulic† tunneling machine and a pneumatic* subway. He got workers to work at night and to haul dirt away in wagons with wheels muffled so they wouldn't make noise. It took fifty-eight nights of secret work to get the tunnel done.

In February 1870, a group of New York newspaper reporters got invited to a reception. They were surprised when they were led underground into a beautiful, large waiting room. Paintings hung on bright walls, a pianist played at a grand piano, a fountain splashed, and gold fish swam in a giant tank. Beach had done it! His subway was ready. The reporters all took a ride in a cylinder-shaped wooden car. The car had handsome upholstered seats, fine woodwork, and gas lamps. It fit tight—like a bullet in a rifle—and moved down tracks inside a round brick underground tube. It went right under Broadway, under all the pollution and traffic.

What made it move? A giant fan blew it 371 feet. There the subway car stopped, tripped a wire, the fan reversed itself, and sucked it back.

Beach saw his subway as a model for a grand subway he had planned. It would carry twenty thousand passengers a day and go for five miles—to Central Park he said—at a speed of a mile a minute. A mile a minute? Nothing had ever gone that fast.

What happened is a long and complicated story, and we can't tell it all here. People flocked to Beach's subway, they rode back and forth under Broadway. Beach gave the subway's profits to charity. Boss Tweed was outraged! He controlled all the streetcars in the city. This was a threat to his power. He must have pounded his diamond-ringed fingers. He got in touch with the governor—his governor—he'd bribed and bought him. The state legislature passed a subway bill. Tweed's governor



AMERICAN HERITAGE MAGAZINE, JUNE 1961

Clockwise from top left: William Marcy Tweed, 1823-1878; Thomas Nast cartoon deriding Tweed's corruption; and a sketch of the pneumatic subway from American Heritage.

† Water-powered
* Air-powered

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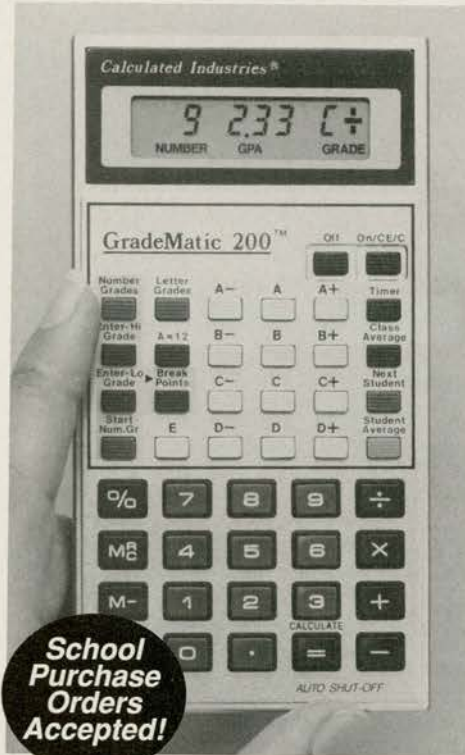
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vetoed it. Beach worked hard—talking to congressmen—and a second subway bill was passed. Governor John T. Hoffman vetoed it again.

Finally the newspapers began writing editorials telling the truth about Boss Tweed. A cartoonist—named Thomas Nast—drew funny cartoons that showed Tweed as the wicked man that he was. Tweed threatened Nast. "I don't care what the papers write about me—my constituents** can't read," said Tweed, "but, damn it, they can see pictures!" When threats didn't work, Boss Tweed offered Thomas Nast half a million dollars to stop drawing his cartoons. Nast kept drawing. Now people were getting angry about Boss Tweed. Most New Yorkers just hadn't known what he'd been doing.

Tweed was arrested and charged with fraud. He had lied, stolen, and cheated. He was sent to jail. William Marcy Tweed died in jail at age fifty-five. So much for that bad guy.

The state legislature finally passed a third Beach Transit Bill. But now the stock market was in trouble. It was hard to raise money and Alfred Ely Beach no longer had the energy, or the money, to build his grand subway. The subway under Broadway was closed and sealed up.

Beach turned to publishing and helping others. Inventors loved him. One day Thomas Edison brought a talking box to him. Beach turned a handle on the box. "Good morning, sir," said the machine. "How are you? How do you like my talking box?"

Beach spent what money he had left on others. He founded an institute in Savannah, Georgia, to give free schooling to former slaves. He taught himself Spanish and founded a scientific magazine in that language. At age sixty-nine, he died quietly of pneumonia, loved and respected by those who knew him.

When New Yorkers finally built a subway in 1912, workers tunneling under Broadway were startled to come upon a grand reception room and a small, elegant subway. Today, scientists say a jet-powered subway in a vacuum tube could whoosh people across the country at amazing speeds. They call it a new idea. Alfred Ely Beach had something like that in mind more than a hundred years ago.

** Constituents are the people who can vote for a politician.

'GOOD, BUT NOT GOOD ENOUGH'

(Continued from page 27)

... In high school we make the push to make kids realize their own capabilities and not think they can do more than they can."

"It is better to make a mistake and err in the direction of holding a kid back."

"Just because a kid has a high I.Q. doesn't mean he's capable of doing algebra in the eighth grade. He may not have the neural connections . . . You can expect too much."

"I follow the eighth- to ninth-grade placement criteria *rigidly* [except for ESL kids] even when I know a kid can make it [who doesn't meet the formal criteria]."

"Some people say it's a working-class community and we shouldn't have too many people in accelerated math."

Mathematics administrators in other districts, however, had a more flexible and expansive view of placement:

"It is better to have more kids in accelerated math programs in the middle grades, because once they are cut out, it is extremely hard to get back in . . . Many are late bloomers . . . They are bright but are not ready at that time but are ready two years later and you have cast a lifetime sentence on them. Some baseball players make the major leagues who never made Little League . . . It is easier to have homogeneous grouping restrict the numbers in eighth-grade algebra but the harm that that does to the other 20 to 30 percent is unforgivable philosophically. I believe in 'let them try it . . . They can always drop back.' Always give the kid the benefit of the doubt. Once you go down a notch, it is hard to get back up."

"We *like* to overpopulate the seventh-grade pre-algebra so the students will have an opportunity. [We used to make] algebra in the eighth grade an *elite* course. We grossly underestimated the abilities of a lot of our kids. We have to be flexible if we want more kids involved in math."

School districts also vary in the degree to which they allow or encourage parental involvement in course selection and ability group assignment in mathematics. In some districts, parents have virtually no direct control over the process, especially those like Boston, where admission to selective public high schools or gifted and talented programs is heavily dependent on standardized test scores.¹⁶ In other districts I have studied, parents had some room to maneuver but were discouraged from intervening to boost their child's placement, particularly if they were overriding a teacher's recommendation. Sometimes they were counselled that course changes would "mess up" a student's schedule, particularly if the student wanted to drop back down a level once the year had started or was told by school personnel that "overrides don't make it." Parents in some schools were made to feel that they

were being "pushy" or were creating undue stress for their children by requesting that they be moved to a higher math level.

It is true that some parents are contributing to stressful anxiety levels in their children by insisting they be taught course material that is too demanding for their child's current level of achievement or maturity. Such intervention has been labeled the "dark side of parent involvement" by sociologist Annette Lareau. All teachers can cite examples of inappropriate parental influence. At the same time, in the face of ample evidence that the U.S. curriculum in many subjects is far less rigorous than that of many other countries and in view of the comparatively low achievement levels of U.S. students, it is time to reconsider this issue of parent push. In many instances, parents are correct in asserting that their children are unchallenged, especially in grades where the regular math curriculum is highly repetitive. When parents of elementary and middle grades students ask, "Why is the class still reviewing last year's material in November?" they have a legitimate complaint.

PARENTS OFTEN encounter more than just hostile attitudes as they attempt to assist their children through the curricular maze of courses offered at comprehensive public high schools. While some schools do an admirable job of explaining the intricacies of the course choice process, most do not give parents all of the information they need about course sequences and course context to make wise choices.¹⁷ Most parents of sixth graders, for example, do not understand that their children will not be able to take calculus as seniors if they fail to be placed in pre-algebra in the seventh grade.

In addition, the course planning materials that parents and students receive from schools often use language that can easily discourage those who might be considering signing up for difficult courses or attempting to move up an ability level. Nearly half of the school systems I studied, for example, described advanced math courses as being "fast paced and rigorous" and for students who were "mathematically talented" or "gifted" or of "superior ability."¹⁸ Thus, while average students in many other countries enroll in such courses, they are reserved in the U.S. for a smaller, more elite group.

Schools have other procedures that have the effect of "cooling out" parents and students who wish to take



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more demanding mathematics courses. In many districts, parents who wish to override a teacher's recommendation have to sign a formal waiver form that explicitly states that the parents are taking this step against the recommendation of the teacher and that they must bear the responsibility if the child does not succeed. Some high schools require one or more parent conferences with teachers, counsellors, or administrators when a parent is seeking an override. In parent conferences, a student's standardized test scores are frequently used to convince parents that their child is not qualified for a higher level. Sometimes, in cases where parents clearly have unreasonable expectations, this use may be legitimate, but in many cases the tests do not accurately measure the child's motivation and achievement potential and are inappropriately used to discourage students from taking more challenging courses.

Several of the most affluent districts in my study had a substantial number of parents who tried to override teacher recommendations. These towns used intra-district test comparisons rather than national norms to convince parents that their children were not qualified to be in the top group in *that* town. Entrance criteria to the accelerated courses were very stringent, with the result that teachers and administrators often had to convey the message to excluded students and their parents that "you're good but you're not quite good enough." As one high school mathematics chair put it:

Parents [of middle grades students] will look at the national test results and see that their child is scoring above the 90th percentile. We tell the parent that the student is strong and may make 650 on the SAT math but that he is only in the 68th percentile in this town and should not be in the top group.

Ironically, in towns like this where there are large numbers of high-achieving students, some choose to develop even more exclusive criteria for eligibility into accelerated math rather than acknowledge that most of the students in the district, by national standards, are qualified for admission. By doing this, they are imposing arbitrary and artificial limits on the numbers coming through the advanced-math pipeline.

Those students who make it past these obstacles into accelerated math courses tend to be the children of white, well-educated, and affluent parents. These parents, especially those who have at least a college degree, are considerably more knowledgeable about the meaning and consequences of course choice. In my interviews with eighty-six mothers of middle grades students (chosen at random in Communities A and B), I found that these women and their spouses were much more likely than others to understand the tracking process and their own child's place in it and to have access to a wide range of information about teachers and courses. Much of this information came from their involvement in school affairs and their frequent communications with other parents. Moreover, they were more likely to intervene at the school site to ensure that their children were placed in challenging courses and advanced ability groups and were far more inclined to exert influence over their children so that they would agree to enroll in

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difficult mathematics courses.¹⁹

In the two middle- to upper-middle-class communities I studied in depth (Communities A and B), nearly all of the children (89 percent) in the accelerated math group had fathers with graduate degrees. In the bottom group, almost half had fathers with a high school education or less. These findings are similar to those of national studies that find a strong correlation between students' family background and their placement in eighth-grade algebra and in calculus.²⁰ College-educated parents possess a range of resources—money, greater knowledge of academic subject matter, understanding of the workings of educational bureaucracies, access to information, self-confidence, and certain kinds of interpersonal skills—which make them more likely to intervene in ways that boost their children's course placement and achievement levels.²¹ Even they, however, are often frustrated in their efforts to seek out more challenging mathematics programs for their children. Parents with little formal education or who do not speak English are much more seriously handicapped in understanding and intervening in course placement. School policies that limit the information available to families or that require parents to take special steps, such as signing waiver letters or appearing at override conferences, are especially daunting to parents who themselves feel less confident in school settings.

As we look to the future, schools must adopt a set of more encouraging policies in order to propel many

more students into the advanced mathematics pipeline and to ensure that this group includes a representative share of lower-income and minority students. (Females are still reasonably well represented at the twelfth-grade level. In 1989, they made up 42 percent of those taking the AP calculus exam.)²² To begin with, schools should eliminate or minimize tracking and ability grouping wherever possible, especially in the middle grades. This is especially important in schools with large numbers of working-class and lower-income students because it is these schools that tend to have the most rigid tracking policies. Special outreach efforts should be mounted to encourage ethnic and language-minority children and children from less-affluent homes to pursue advanced mathematics levels. It is also important that admission criteria for top-level math groups at all schools de-emphasize standardized test scores or at least move away from rigid cut-off scores. Districts with high average student achievement levels should resist the temptation to create evermore elite and exclusive levels of grouping. Concerted efforts should be made to communicate the meaning of course choice and ability group placement to parents.

Comprehensive high schools must offer a full range of advanced mathematics courses. Too many students still attend high schools that do not give them any opportunity to pursue an advanced program of math studies. Moreover, those students who wish to take two math courses simultaneously or go to summer school in

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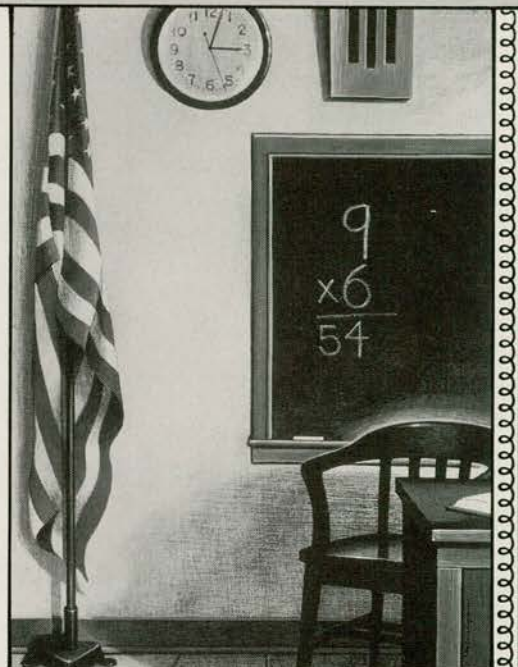
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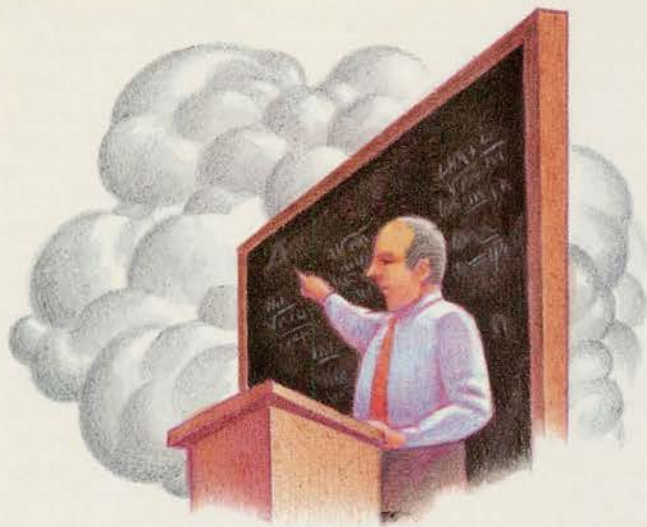


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order to move up a math level should be encouraged to do so. School course catalogs should eliminate intimidating course descriptions that have the effect of scaring students off from advanced study. These catalogs should also have a clear schematic diagram that outlines course sequences.

Moreover, schools should be wary of subtly accusing parents of being "pushy" or "stressing their children" if they seek out intellectually challenging math courses for their offspring. The evidence from abroad and from those U.S. school districts that "pump" children into accelerated sequences is that many more children *can* handle higher-level mathematics than the parents are asking for.

Indeed, if we are to have a better-trained student cohort in mathematics leaving our secondary schools, a more demanding math curriculum must be made available to all students. The common practice of having a small cadre of sophisticated math students while the majority remain perilously undereducated will no longer do. The good news is that there are important changes on this front. The Curriculum Evaluation Standards promulgated by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics in 1989 for all grade levels set much higher achievement expectations for all students, and these guidelines will be reflected in the curricular materials forthcoming from commercial publishers. The curriculum designed by the University of Chicago School Mathematics Project, which places "average" students on a much faster track than has previously been the case, is an example of the kind of new curriculum that is becoming available to schools. Indeed, several of the twenty-six communities I studied, including Communities A and B, are now in the process of adopting this curriculum in the middle grades, a step that significantly enhances the prospects for advanced math study for students who are achieving at or above grade level.

Curricular change is not enough, however. Even the best curriculum and methods can be undermined by school policies and organizational practices that discourage the pursuit of advanced or accelerated math courses. School personnel, especially mathematics coordinators and chairs, need to make a conscious effort to boost the numbers of students who tackle the tough math courses. As they do this, they do not necessarily need to look to other countries for examples of

successful math programs. Some U.S. school districts are already "pumping" large numbers of students through the advanced math pipeline, and they serve as a positive example to school personnel who still spend inordinate amounts of time and energy classifying (and misclassifying) students, convincing many that "they are good but not quite good enough." □

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¹⁴Garet, M.S., and B. DeLany. 1988. "Students, Courses, and Stratification," *Sociology of Education*. 61:61-77; Oakes, J., et al. 1990. "Tracking, Course-taking, and Vocational Education: The Dynamics and Consequences of High School Curriculum Decisions," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston; Sanders, N.M. 1990. "Comparing Tracking Systems: Highways, Byways, and Freeways" and "Tracking and Organizational Structure." Papers presented at the annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

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