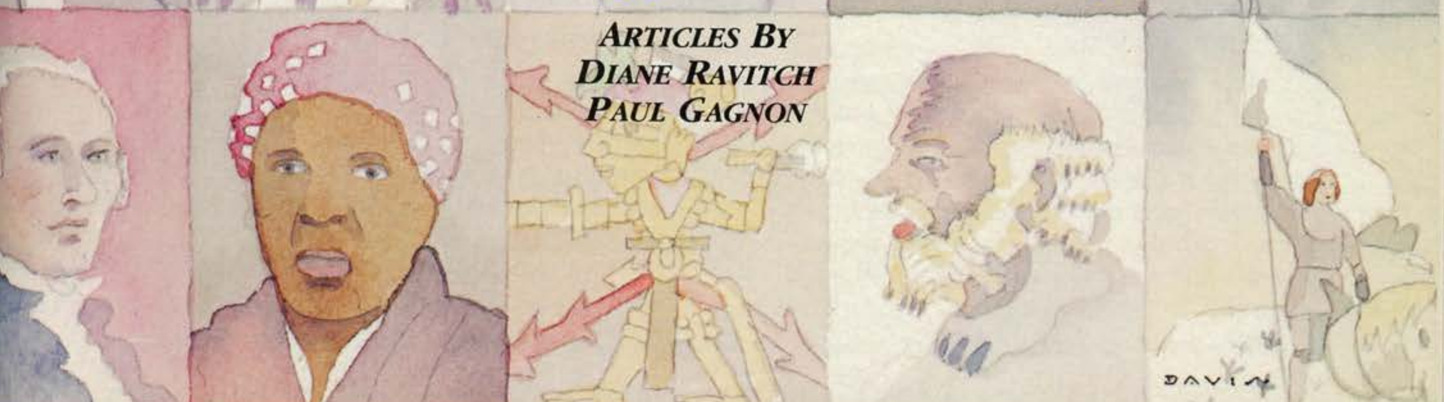
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
SPRING 1985

AMERICAN Educator

Our Fading Past: What Has Happened to History?

Articles By
Diane Ravitch
Paul Gagnon



Make your classr

...just follow the ideas and instructions in BULLETIN BOARDS

Yours for 10 days FREE from Macmillan Instant Activities Program®

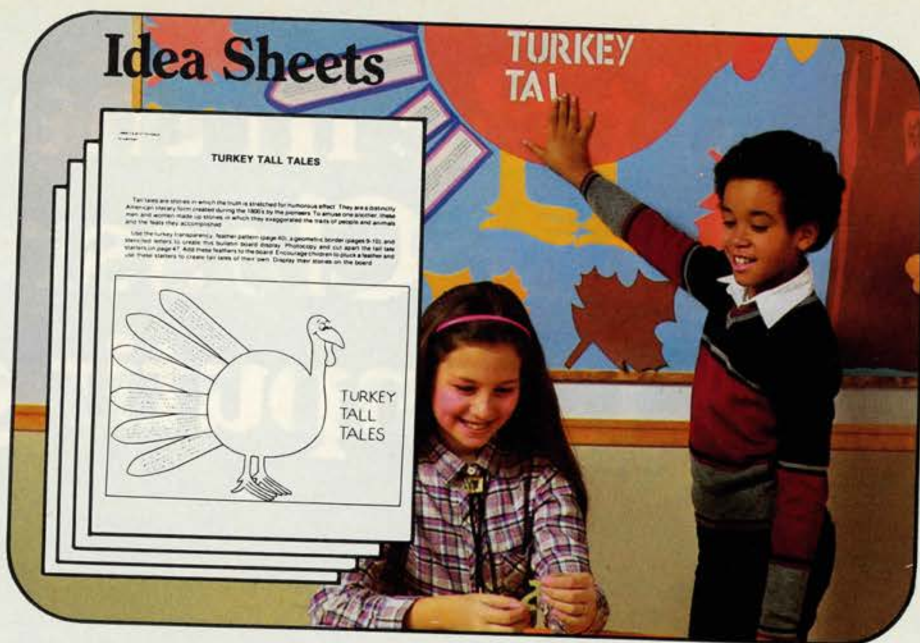
With a week full of different classes, homework assignments, projects and problems—who has time to think up unusual new bulletin boards, let alone make them? Neither you nor any other busy, dedicated teacher. That's why we did it for you. With Bulletin Boards.

BULLETIN BOARDS gives you all the concepts and patterns you need to make dozens of great displays. The "busy work" has been done for you. Just choose your theme, follow the step-by-step directions—and presto! you have a splendid, instructive bulletin board. And each project has several related activity sheets designed to improve children's basic skills and encourage independent thinking.

This exciting new package is just one part of a unique teaching program. Designed for teachers o grades 3 through 6, the *Macmillan Instant Activitie Program* is a series of fun-filled activity sets, each on a subject where you can use some extra help. Bulletin Boards. Reading. Grammar and Spelling. Math. Science. Creative Writing. And more.

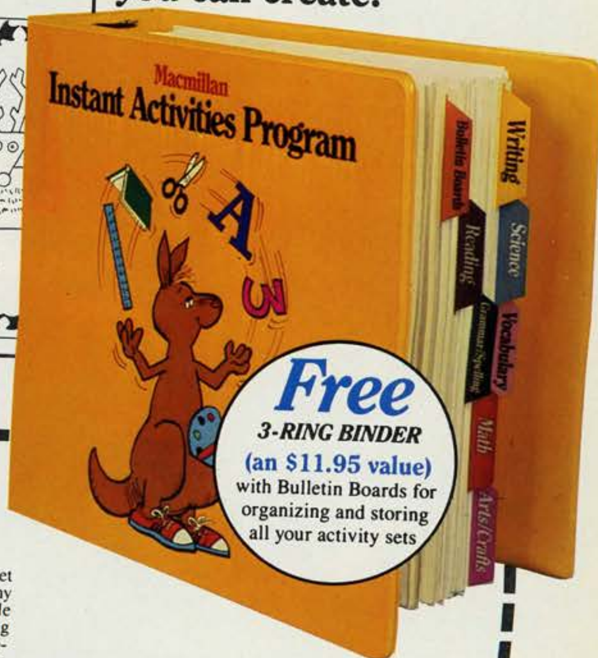
Every set has 112, 8½" × 11" pages of activities, 3-hole punched for filing in the binder that comes FREE with this introductory package. You'll also get at least two special teaching aids for reinforcin each subject's activities. With Bulletin Boards, we've included enlargeable transparencies...and stencils of letters and numbers for boards with a professional look!

Start enjoying the benefits of this unique program by sending for Bulletin Boards, your introductory set. You'll be lighting up your classroom with holiday designs, creative calendars and wall exhibits, while the children have fun with the skill builders activity centers and achievement awards. And of course, this and all following sets bear the seal of outstanding quality teachers everywhere ha come to expect of Macmillan.



m a showplace!

Bulletin Boards
you can create!



Free
3-RING BINDER
(an $11.95 value)
with Bulletin Boards for organizing and storing all your activity sets

Macmillan Instant Activities Program®
P.O. Box 938
Hicksville, N.Y. 11802

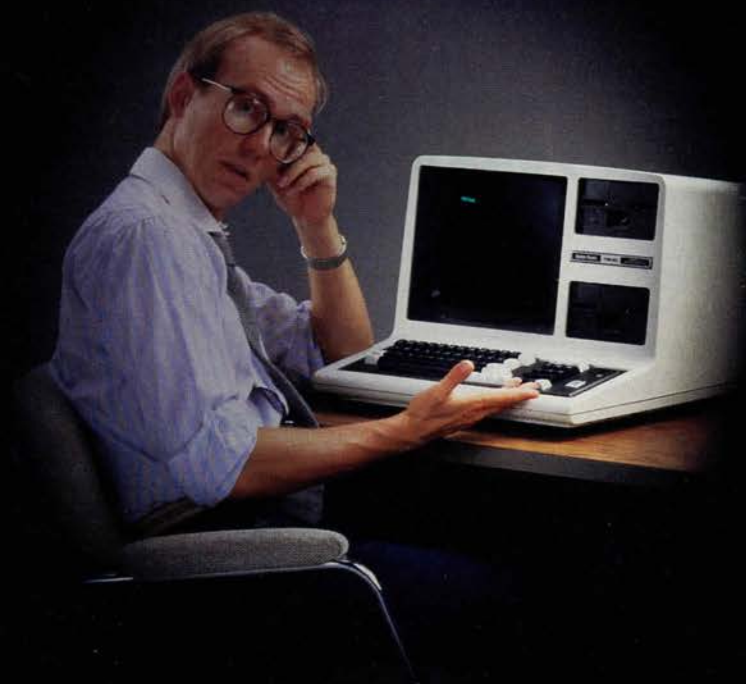
Yes! Please accept my application for the BULLETIN BOARDS set and the deluxe binder for a 10-day free examination and enter my subscription to the *Macmillan Instant Activities Program*. If I decide to keep the BULLETIN BOARDS set, I will pay $8.95 plus shipping and handling. The three-ring binder is a FREE gift with my subscription. I will then receive future activities sets in the *Macmillan Instant Activities Program*, shipped a set at a time, approximately every other month. Each set includes 112 pages of activities *plus* at least two teaching aids—such as a skill-building game and colorful poster—as a bonus. Each is mine for $8.95, plus shipping and handling, and comes for a 10-day free examination. There is no minimum number of activities sets I must buy, and I may cancel my subscription at any time by simply notifying you.

If I do not choose to keep the BULLETIN BOARDS set, I will return it and the binder within 10 days, my subscription for future activities sets will be cancelled, I will not be under any further obligation, and I will owe nothing.

Name ____________________
(please print)
Address ____________________ Apt. ______
City ____________________
State ____________________ Zip ______
(Offer good in U.S. only.)

GAL7 American Educator 3/85 50625

Don't Be in the Dark About Classroom Computing



Enlighten Yourself With Radio Shack's Teacher Training

Free Computer Workshops Available for Educators

Now that computers are an important part of the modern classroom, educators are faced with new obligations. Rapid changes in technology can confuse teachers and administrators alike. If you are trying to find your way into educational computing, Radio Shack can help. We've developed a way to get you and your school quickly into the mainstream of computer education.

Educators are now eligible for free training in BASIC and Pascal languages, as well as Courseware Development. Obligation-free courses available at Radio Shack Computer Centers across the country give teachers hands-on instruction that they can put to use in the classroom today . . . and in the future.

Introduction to BASIC

At the end of this 10-hour elementary training session, you will be able to write simple programs in the popular BASIC language. No prior knowledge of computers or programming is required. The normal cost of this session is $149.95 per person, but it's available to educators and administrators at no charge.

Pascal Programming Course

Radio Shack's complete Pascal computer language teaching/learning system engages students in active problem solving through a series of interrelated lessons.

Educators can now get a free 10-hour introduction to Pascal, using the same materials they may use in the classroom. The normal cost for this session is $149.95—no charge to educators.

AUTHOR I Development System

With AUTHOR I, teachers become actively involved in curriculum development. Courseware can be designed with specfic needs and goals in mind. And it's less expensive than relying on predesigned packages. Our 8-hour seminar demonstrates AUTHOR I's power, versatility and remarkable ease of use. The normal cost for this session of $119.95—no charge to educators.

How Do I Find Out More?

Stop by your nearby Radio Shack Computer Center or call your Radio Shack Regional Educational Coordinator. They'll tell you about training sessions near you that will get you started in classroom computing or computer programming. Now there's no reason to stay in the dark. Learn how to put computer power to work for your school.

For the name of the full-time Educational Coordinator in your area, call Radio Shack's Education Division at 800-433-5682 toll-free. In Texas, call 800-772-8538.

Radio Shack®

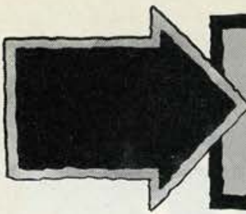
The Name in Classroom Computing™

A DIVISION OF TANDY CORPORATION

For more information about Radio Shack educational products and services, mail to:

Radio Shack, Dept. 85-A-644
300 One Tandy Center, Fort Worth, Texas 76102

Name ____________________
School ____________________
Address ____________________
City ____________________
State __________ Zip __________
Telephone ____________________

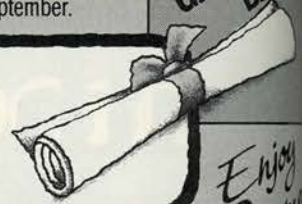


HIGH SCHOOL
SENIOR
(But not much longer.)

SEE YOUR GUIDANCE COUNSELOR.
Ask about the Army.

SEE YOUR ARMY RECRUITER.
Reserve Electronics Maintenance for September.

CELEBRATE GRADUATION DAY.



Enjoy the Summer
(while your friends are job hunting).

JOIN THE ARMY.
BE ALL YOU CAN BE.

BASIC TRAINING.
Do 50 situps, climb over a wall, and run two miles. No sweat.

RECEIVE UNIFORM.
It'll look even better on you after Basic.

SKILL TRAINING.
Start saving for Army College Fund.

WRITE HOME.

ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT DOWN. YOU FIX IT.
(Piece of Cake.)

Make a deal with your buddy: you'll teach him surfing if he teaches you cross-country skiing.

ADD A STRIPE.

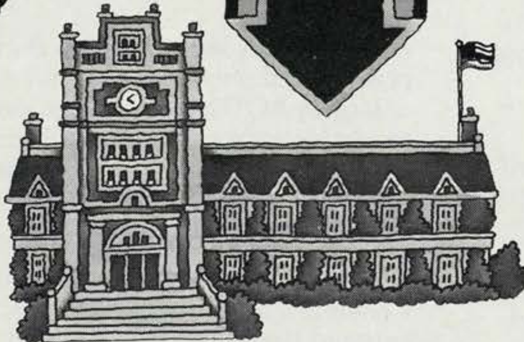
2
SECOND ANNIVERSARY IN THE ARMY.

Spend 30-day leave in Waikiki teaching buddy to surf.

APPLY TO THREE COLLEGES. (Get accepted by all three!)

Celebrate
with Bob, Mike, Susan, Charlie, Al, Mickey, John, Sandy, Jim…

TAKE
$20,100
TO COLLEGE.

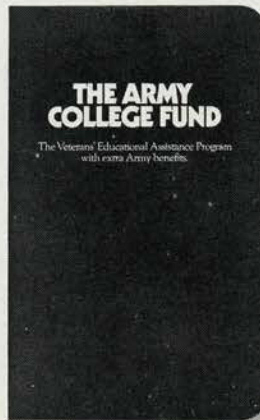


IN THE ARMY, PEOPLE WHO ARE HEADED TOWARDS COLLEGE GET HELP EACH STEP OF THE WAY.

Do you have students who have all it takes to succeed in college except a way to pay for it? The Army can help.

How? Today's Army needs young people who can meet the challenges of learning our high-tech skills. They can even reserve the training they want before graduation, if they qualify. They'll learn about living and working with others. And the Army can help them save money for college.

The Army College Fund is like a savings plan. Soldiers who qualify can save up to $100 a month of their Army pay, which starts at over $570 a month.



The government matches their savings five to one, or more. It can total up to $15,200 during a two-year enlistment or $20,100 in a three-year enlistment.

Your students can learn more about the Army College Fund from their local Army Recruiter, who has booklets explaining the program. The number is listed in the Yellow Pages. The Army's not the only route a bright student can take to college. But it could be the smartest.

ARMY.
BE ALL YOU CAN BE.

PAGE 18

PAGE 28

PAGE 34

AMERICAN Educator

The Professional Journal of the American Federation of Teachers
Volume 9, No. 1, Spring 1985

ALBERT SHANKER
President
American Federation of Teachers

Elizabeth McPike
editor

Mary Power Boyd
assistant editor

Wanda Bailey
secretary

Andrew Bornstein
design consultant

Peter Li, Inc.
advertising representative

Cover illustrated by Susan Davis

Subscriptions: $1.30 of AFT members' annual dues are designated for **American Educator;** $2.50 per year for nonmembers.

Signed articles and advertisements do not necessarily represent the viewpoints or policies of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

American Educator cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

American Educator is published quarterly by the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 555 New Jersey Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20001. Telephone: 202-879-4420.

General advertising office
555 New Jersey Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

American Educator is produced with the assistance of members of Local 2, Office and Professional Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, and members of AFT Staff Union. Composition and printing are done in 100 percent union shops.

© American Federation of Teachers, 1985.

NOTEBOOK **6**

THE PRECARIOUS STATE OF HISTORY **10**
By Diane Ravitch
Unable to satisfy the criteria of relevance and social utility, the study of history has declined sharply in our schools.

FINDING WHO AND WHERE WE ARE: CAN AMERICAN HISTORY TELL US? **18**
By Paul Gagnon
Our "American past" began long before the pilgrims landed. To understand ourselves and our country, we have to start at the beginning.

STRICTLY ARBITRARY **22**
By Peter Seitz
The author, who decided the famous Major League baseball reserve system case, reflects upon his years as an arbitrator and upon the system of conflict resolution and on-the-job justice in which he so strongly believed.

EDUCATION AND THE PRESS: MALIGN NEGLECT? **28**
By Denis P. Doyle
Everyone agrees on its importance, yet, except in times of crisis or ceremony, education remains on the back pages. One of the reasons, says the author, is that hard figures of measurement are missing.

HOW ARE WE DOING? **34**
A Review By Arch Puddington
The country's in a lot better shape than the common wisdom would have it, according to a new book by Ben Wattenberg. Unless we lay claim to our legitimate accomplishments, support for the policies that underlie them will erode.

ON EXHIBIT: CHILDREN'S ART GOES PUBLIC **38**
By Naomi Spatz
In subway stations and on greeting cards, children's art is moving out into the world. Cheers and encores!

LETTERS **47**

Notebook

*Whose Turn Is It? A Review of the Research**

Teachers constantly face the tough decision of whom to call on in class. Choose the enthusiastic student or the apathetic one? In turn or at random? What is the most effective strategy?

Most educators and many educational researchers, including Jacob Kounin (*Discipline and Group Management in Classrooms,* 1970) have argued that more effective teachers randomly select students to respond to questions on the theory that holding students in suspense as to when they can expect to be called upon keeps them alert and holds them accountable for the entire class discussion.

However, Jere Brophy's research on teacher questioning found that teachers who used ordered or patterned turn-taking procedures for selecting students achieved better learning results than teachers who used random turn taking. In a two-year study of elementary classrooms, Brophy and Evertson (*Learning from Teaching: A Developmental Perspective,* 1976) found that teachers who called on students to read in a reading group in a patterned order rather than a random order tended to produce better achievement gains than teachers who did not. Patterned turns seem to reduce the anxiety level in students because everyone knows when they are going to read. This allows students to concentrate more fully on their performance. Furthermore, at least among younger children, they don't appear to circumvent the lesson by not paying attention when other children read and only "boning up" on their paragraph or passage.

The most important advantage of patterned turn taking is that it gives every student an opportunity to be called upon to demonstrate his or her knowledge to the teacher and to receive feedback. It is an efficient way to ensure that all students have equal opportunity to interact directly with the teacher.

Brophy found that teachers who call on students randomly tend more often to call on certain competent students who are more likely to respond correctly or demonstrate skills accurately while ignoring certain other students who experience more difficulty responding. Thus, teachers' expectations of students may unconsciously influence their selections. Still others seem to unconsciously miss students seated in certain areas of the room. For instance, some teachers avoid looking in the direction of the windows because of the glare. Brophy observed one teacher who systematically called on all the students in the class except those seated in the first row.

Patterned turn taking also has implications for student ability levels. In high-ability reading groups or other instructional settings in which there is strong competition for either extra reading turns or opportunities to show off for the teacher, patterned turn taking helps to eliminate some of the need for competition and to ensure everyone an equal number of turns. In low-achievement groups in which anxiety can be a key stumbling block to learning, patterned turn taking has been shown to reduce anxiety or at least minimize it.

In considering the seemingly conflicting research findings on random turn taking versus patterned turn taking, it is important to consider the intent underlying each approach. The intent of random turn taking is to hold students' attention and keep them accountable during the lesson. Brophy's research has shown that, with younger students, such accountability techniques may not be so crucial, but they are necessary to maintain student engagement among older students. Indeed, without such techniques, older students, unless well motivated, are more likely to "tune out" the teacher and the lesson until they anticipate being called upon to respond.

The intent of patterned turn taking is to ensure that all students have an equal opportunity to interact with the teacher and receive feedback, an important factor in student achievement. Brophy argues that the merits of ensuring such opportunities for interaction far outweigh the liabilities of losing students' interest. The best approach for selecting students seems to be a combination of the two strategies. Teachers need to identify processes or patterns for selecting students that allow them to readily determine which students have or have not had an opportunity to respond. Such patterns or processes need not be easily recognizable to the students and can be changed daily or weekly. For example, teachers might use a seating chart to record which students they've called upon during a lesson or over the entire day.

Another consideration is whether to call on volunteers. Brophy and Evertson found that teachers should limit the number of times they call on volunteers in order to control the distribution of opportunities for students to interact with the teacher.

**This research summary, part of a series of periodic reviews in* American Educator, *is based on the work of the AFT's Educational Research and Dissemination Program. The ER&D Program, which won the prestigious American Educational Research Association Award for Professional Service, "translates" research on classroom management and effective teaching into an easily understandable form, then trains teachers to test the research in their own classrooms and to share the results with their colleagues.*

IN HONOR OF EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

Burger King/NASSP Recognition Program For Outstanding Principals and Teachers

As a corporate employer of over 200,000 young people, we recognize the importance of quality education to the nation and to American business. Burger King Corporation has made a major commitment to promote quality education on a national basis.

One part of this commitment was to host a special seminar at South Seas Plantation resort on Captiva Island, FL, December 13-17, for outstanding secondary school educators from each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. This was done to focus local and national attention on those educators who are setting standards for academic excellence.

The five day seminar featured nationally known speakers who addressed trends that will affect education, the impact of national reports, and methods of increasing professional and personal motivation. All expenses to the seminar were paid by Burger King Corporation.

We salute the 102 Teachers and Principals who were in attendance at our first invitational seminar.

J. Jeffrey Campbell
Chairman,
Chief Executive Officer

John Carter, P
Gennette Meeks, T

Esther Cox, P
Jerry P. Bendzak, T

Robert D. Free, P.
Archie Romney, T

Frank Jones, P
C. Ray Baker, T

Jane Martin, P
Francis Clark Chamberlain, T

Carl E. Roberts, P
Kim Natale, T

Jacob Ludes, III, P
Roger A. Morrissette, T

Patrick H. Lynn, P
Teresa G. Carey, T

James Campbell, P
Emma Isler, T

Carlton Henley, P
Cynthia G. Taylor, T

Charles R. Mason, P
Kay S. Harvey, T

Richard Sakamoto, P
Jean Dobashi, T

Al Musser, P
Victoria Roper, T

William H. Schreiner, P
Kathleen Renfro Weber, T

Garth M. Johnson, P
Glen Dean Dillman, T

Robert Blasi, P
Sharon J. Lee, T

Eugene S. Haydock, P
Betty Amos, T

Chester Turner, P
James Moore, T

Florence Rivette, P
Nancy W. Messer, T

Leroy L. Blood, P
Lawrence E. Greenleaf, T

Thurman Butcher, P

Raymond F. Chamberland, P
Kathleen M. Hughes, T

Robert C. Gardner, P

Emeral A. Crosby, P
Marvelle J. Vannest, T

Donald Hovland, P
Donald R. Miller, T

Ramey Beavers, P
Bess M. Moffatt, T

Robert Blaine, P
Jeanne B. Crews, T

Alvin Kober, P
Kenneth Price, T

Paul C. Baker, P
Alfred DiMauro, T

William V. (Mike) Edwards, P
Linda D. Bunch, T

Stanley Stoncius, P
Peter Lund, T

Edward A. Watts, P
Theresa V. Christiano, T

Jean Salas Reed, P
Mauro A. Montoya, T.

Richard Coates, P
Claire F. Deloria, T

Vera Taylor, P
Jean Paul Powell, T

Lester R. Nyhus, P
Jim Papacek, T

Donald Jostworth, P
Molly Palsgrove Davis, T

Kara Gae Wilson, P
Gwen Pasby, T

Donald M. Jackson, P
Evelyn Mae Andrews, T

Kenneth F. Scholtz, P
Francis A. Champine, T

Raymond R. Dicecco, P
Mollie K. James, T

Maurice Waddell, P
Fanya C. Paouris, T

David Bergan, P
Jean Peterson, T

Howard Baltimore, P
Sandra Kaye Hunter Crouch, T

Vance Taylor, P
Jack W. Porter, T

Melvin Thomson, P
Clay I. Petersen, T

Dean Houghton, P
Harry Brusa, T

Harry B. Blevins, P
John K. Pleacher, T

Richard P. Neher, P
Jack Rogers, T

Phyllis Beneke, P
Jessie P. Roberts, T

J. Terry Downen, P
Harry J. O'Connell, T

Paul Martin, Jr., P
Charlotte Levendosky, T

Ms. Carmen I. Felix Alicea, T
Leilani Ah Van, T

Burger King Corporation

Delta Air Lines, Inc. salutes Burger King/NASSP Symposium "In Honor of Excellence" in Education.

Burger King - Reg. U.S. Pat & TM Off. ©1984 Burger King Corporation

NASSP, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, supports the Burger King commitment to education.

Services donated by Thompson Recruitment Advertising to Burger King in recognition of this outstanding program.

RON CAESAR

One Good Idea Deserves Another

A decade ago, when studies by the Exxon Education Foundation showed that it typically took twenty-five years or more for an educational innovation to be adopted by institutions, foundation leaders set about looking for ways to dramatically reduce the time lag. Eventually, they found their shortcut in a program that both starts with and leads to the classroom teacher.

Developed in 1979 by Exxon in conjunction with the New York City Board of Education and with the strong backing of the United Federation of Teachers, IMPACT II helps locate and publicize the best new ideas being developed by teachers and then helps create a professional community by moving those ideas and those teachers out of the isolation of the individual classroom. Each year, teachers who submit the best classroom ideas, as judged by a committee of peers, are awarded $300 "developer grants." This recognition and support is essential, but it is only the beginning.

What distinguishes IMPACT II from other small grant programs is its emphasis on spreading the innovations and establishing contacts among the teachers. This is accomplished in several ways. Brief profiles of the exemplary programs, the materials or facilities needed, and biographies of the developer-teachers are published in a yearly catalog that is widely disseminated. All interested teachers are encouraged to try the programs in their own classrooms, and $200 "adaptor grants" are available for more formal adaptations. Interschool visits are arranged for those who want to get a first-hand look at a program, and developers and disseminators present workshops for their colleagues throughout the year.

According to Dale Mann of Teachers College, Columbia University, who has evaluated the program, the average teacher grantee in 1983 talked with forty-three other teachers about the grant idea and improving classroom practices. For every three hundred developer teachers, two thousand others will adapt their ideas.

Mann emphasizes that teachers were allowed to define and control their own work; the bureaucracy stayed out of their way. "Grant recipients did not have to promise that their students' reading scores would zoom upward. There were no contract reviews or evaluation visits. Teachers were presumed to be capable of such managerial activities as dealing with vendors, purchasing services, and scheduling activities."

When asked which facet of the program was most important to them, Mann reports that "half of the replicators and one-third of the developers chose 'networking,' i.e., meeting other teachers. Opportunities to be trained and to train others, visiting other schools and being visited, publishing one's ideas, collegiality, and recognition accounted for most of the teacher self-interest harnessed by the program."

Building on its success, IMPACT II has now been expanded to Boston, Massachusetts; Houston, Texas; Chapel Hill, North Carolina; and Rockland County, New York.

IMPACT II welcomes inquiries from AFT local unions interested in more information. Local officers may request the IMPACT II Handbook, a how-to manual that describes the program, by writing to IMPACT II, 15 E. 26th Street, New York, New York 10010.

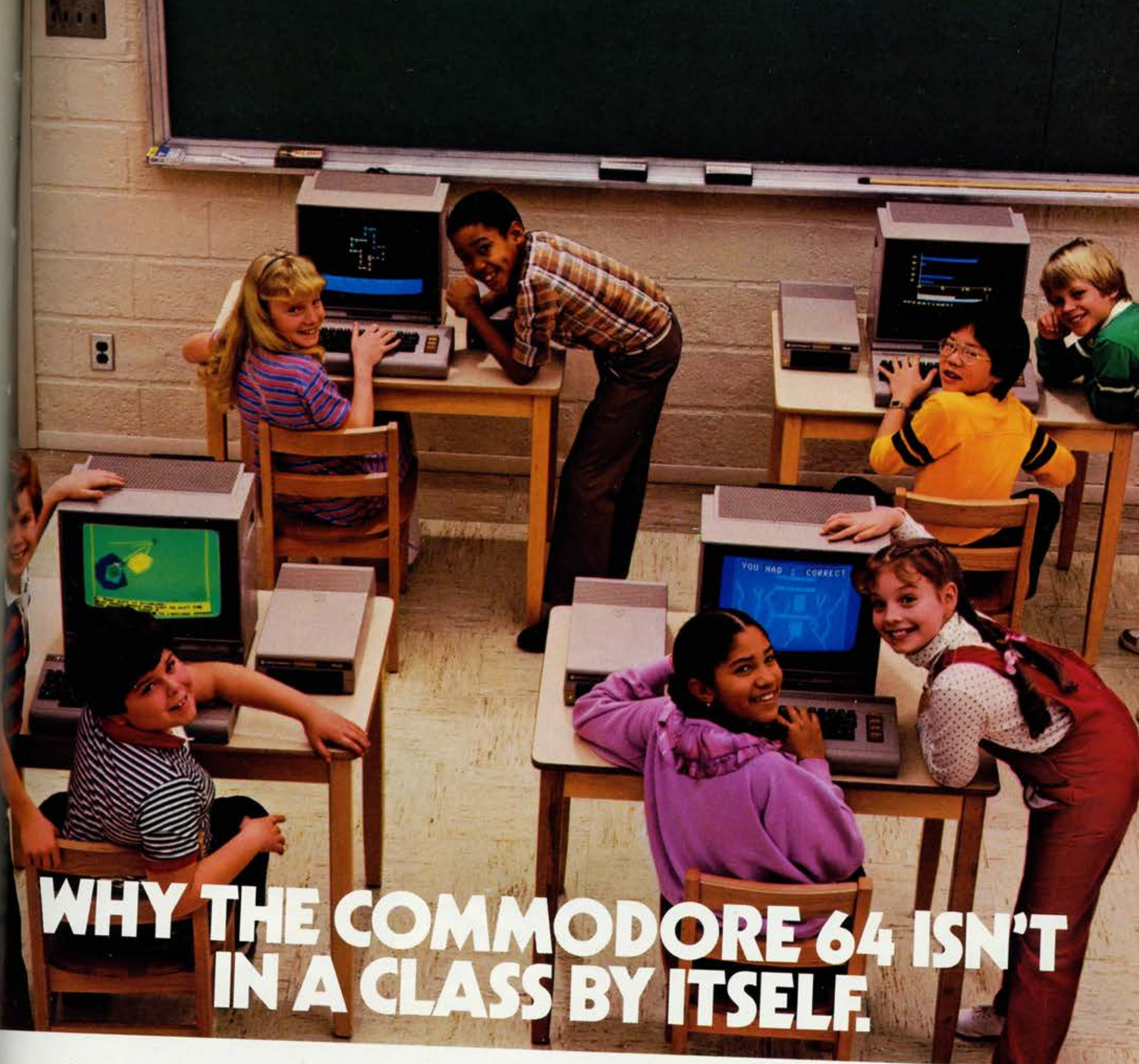
Four Decades of Racial Attitudes

Writing in the October/Novem ber issue of *Public Opinion* maga zine, Tom W. Smith and Paul B Sheatsley of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago review the vast changes that have taken place in American attitudes toward race relations. NORC conducted the first national survey of white atti tudes toward blacks in 1942 and followed it with over a dozen dif ferent investigations of race rela tions over the next four decades. In analyzing the data, the authors point out that the only attitude measure that spans the entire for ty years is a question that deals with school integration — a cri tical area of racial attitudes and one that reflects general levels of racial acceptance (see table). Sup port for integrated schooling in creased by 60 percentage points during the period measured. "The most striking features of this trend," say the authors, "are (1) its massive magnitude, moving from a solid pro-segregation majority to an overwhelming pro-integra tion consensus; (2) its long dura tion, continuing over four dec ades; and (3) its steady relentless pace."

Question: Do you think white students and (Negro/black) students should go to the same schools or separate schools?

	Black/white students should go to the same schools
1942	30%
1956	49
1956	49
1956	48
1963	63
1963	62
1964	62
1964	60
1965	67
1965	68
1970	74
1972	85
1972	83
1976	83
1977	86
1980	86
1982	88
1984	90

Note: White respondents.



At Commodore, we think it's easier for school children to learn about a computer by using it rather than by waiting to use it.

So, we sell the Commodore 64™ at about half the cost of comparable computers.

With the money you save on the Commodore 64, you can afford the things you'll really need: more Commodore 64's.

The Commodore 64 comes with 64K memory, a 66 key typewriter-style keyboard, 16-color hi-resolution graphics, a 9-octave music synthesizer and 3-dimensional sprites.

And the same commitment we make to hardware, we're making to software. We have highly rated Logo and PILOT programs.

Much of the well recognized MECC™ courseware and the Edufun™ Series from Milliken will soon be available.

There are hundreds of other programs, including a wealth of public domain software for the Commodore 64. Our newest additions are 30 early learning programs from Midwest Software.

So you see, the all purpose Commodore 64 really is in a class by itself.

For further information on the Commodore 64 and our 250 Educational Resource Centers, contact your nearest Commodore Education Dealer.

COMMODORE 64

IT'S NOT HOW LITTLE IT COSTS,
IT'S HOW MUCH YOU GET.

Commodore Business Machines Inc., P.O. Box 500M, Conshohocken, PA 19428.
Canada—3370 Pharmacy Avenue, Agincourt, Ont. Can. M1W2K4.

Edufun and MECC are trademarks of Milliken Publishing Company and Minnesota Educational Computing Consortium respectively.

THE PRECARIOUS STATE OF HISTORY

BY DIANE RAVITCH

ORIGINALLY A student of political science, I eventually turned to the full-time study of history vhen I realized that I could not understand the present without studying the past. My continued interest in contemporary issues made me a historian; there was simply no other intelligent way to understand the origins of our present institutions, problems, and ideas. As a latecomer to the study of history, I am — like all converts — a zealous advocate; I believe in the importance and value of the study of history, and I would like to see it strengthened as a subject in the schools. It is rom this perspective that I began to inquire into the condition of history in the schools and how it got that way. As of mid-1984, however, it was nearly impossible to appraise the current state of history in the secondary schools. Educational data collection is today so inadequate that no one can accurately say how history is taught, how well it is taught, what is taught, or what is learned. Most states have figures on course enrollments, and some national surveys have tallied the percentage of children who are enrolled in courses titled "history," but these figures are highly suspect. Because of the enormous variety of practice extant in the nation's classrooms, there is not necessarily any identity of content among courses bearing the same label.

Furthermore, we have no reliable measures of achievement or mastery for the field of history; the makers of standarized tests long ago abandoned the attempt to assess historical or literary knowledge and instead devote their entire attention to abstract verbal and mathematical skills. We can't really say definitely whether high school graduates today know more or less than their counterparts of ten, twenty, or thirty years

---

)iane Ravitch is adjunct professor of history and education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and he author of, most recently, The Troubled Crusade: merican Education, 1945-1980. *A longer version of his article will appear in a forthcoming collection of er essays,* The Schools We Deserve, *to be published his spring by Basic Books. Copyright © 1985 by Diane avitch. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, Inc.*

ago. Because we live in a time of cultural fragmentation, the idea of testing large numbers of students for their knowledge of history seems outrageous. It was not surprising, for example, that many of the national reports of 1983 cited test scores in mathematics, science, and verbal skills, but their bills of particulars omitted any mention of the humanities. We have no objective data to tell us how we are doing because we lack consensus on the minimum knowledge that we expect of all students. We do not agree on what literature is important, nor do we agree on what history should be taught to all American youngsters.

We know that many states require high school students to study only one year of U.S. history, but we do not know what lurks behind the course label. National data tell us that 65 percent of high school graduates in 1982 took at least three years of social studies, but — in light of the minimal history requirement — there is no reason to assume that many of these credits were taken in history. A survey published by the Organization of American Historians in 1975 revealed that in at least five states — New York, Indiana, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Oregon — virtually no training in history was required for high school history teachers. In New York City, the history teacher's license was abolished in 1946, and at present it is not necessary to have studied history in order to be licensed as a high school social studies teacher.

If one were to judge by the accumulation of anecdotal reports — a notoriously unreliable source of evidence — many college professors think that freshmen know little about American history, European history, or any other history. One frequently hears complaints about students who know next to nothing about events that occurred before the twentieth century, or who are ignorant of the Bible, Shakespeare, the Greek myths, or other material that was once common knowledge. As a Berkeley professor put it to me a few years ago, "They have no furniture in their minds. You can assume nothing in the way of prior knowledge. Skills, yes; but not knowledge."

WHILE IT is not possible to know definitely how history is faring in the schools today, there is reason to fear that it is losing its integrity as well as its identity as a field of study under the umbrella called "social studies." The field of social studies, in the view of a number of its leaders, is in deep trouble. In a 1973 study published by the Center for Education in the Social Sciences and the Social Science Education Consortium, Bob L. Taylor and John D. Haas claimed that "secondary school social studies curricula are in a state of 'curriculum anarchy,' which is to say that local curriculum patterns are more varied than at any other time in this century. No longer is it possible to describe a typical state, regional, or national pattern of social studies curriculum. Furthermore, it appears each junior or senior high school in a given school district is 'doing its own thing.'" A 1977 study by Richard E. Gross of Stanford University found that the field was characterized by increased fragmentation and dilution of programs; by a growth of electives and minicourses; by a rapid proliferation of social science courses; by a drop in required courses; and by a tendency toward curricular anarchy. In keeping with these trends, other reviewers noted the pronounced absence of agreement about the content of the field.

While the field of social studies was having an identity crisis, history as a subject was struggling for survival. The 1975 study by the Organization of American Historians reported a significant dilution and fragmentation in the teaching of secondary school history. In New Mexico, the trend was toward ethnocultural courses; in Hawaii, toward integrating history into a social science framework focused on problem solving, decision making, and social action; in Minnesota, teachers were encouraged to shift from historical study toward an emphasis on concepts that transcend "any given historical situation." The OAH representative in California predicted that history would yield time to such "relevant" topics as multicultural studies, ethnic studies, consumer affairs, and ecology. Similar reports about the deteriorating position of history within the social studies curriculum came from Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Wisconsin, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Illinois, and Iowa. The OAH report confirmed what many had long feared: History in public high schools has been seriously eroded, absorbed within the amorphous field of the social studies.

The OAH survey, like the Gross study, was conducted in the mid-1970s and reflected the curricular fragmentation of that time. A survey carried out in the mid-eighties would doubtless show that many states, cities, and school districts have substantially increased their graduation requirements. Yet, even a cursory review of the actions taken in the early 1980s would reveal that history continues to be left out in the cold and that social studies requirements have been increased without reference to history. Even the tough-minded National Commission on Excellence in Education failed to mention history as a necessary subject of study for all American students. Thanks to the hazy and unfocused nature of the social studies, students may meet the enlarged requirements by taking more courses in current events, drug education, sex education, environmental education, citizenship education, values education, law studies, economics, psychology, or other nonhistorical studies.

HOW DID history fall to this sorry state? A review of the "history of history" suggests that certain ideological and political trends caused history to lose its rightful place in the public high school curriculum.

History entered the public school curriculum as a regular subject of study before the Civil War, but it did not become well established until the end of the nineteenth century, as secondary school enrollments grew. History, English, modern foreign languages, and science entered the curriculum as modern subjects, in contrast to the classical curriculum of mathematics and ancient languages. Most public schools offered one or more history courses, such as ancient history, medieval history, English history, modern European history, and U.S. history. The schools of the nineteenth century also offered courses that were predecessors of the social sciences: courses, for example, in civil government, political economy, and moral philosophy. By 1895, 70

A review of the 'history of history' suggests that certain ideological and political trends caused history to lose its rightful place in the public high school curriculum.

percent of the nation's universities and colleges required a course in U.S. history for admission, and more than a quarter required the study of Greece and/or Rome.

In order to understand the fate of history over the years, it is necessary to examine the rationale for its inclusion in the curriculum. Why study history? It was argued, first, that history offers valuable moral lessons by demonstrating the kind of personal and national behavior that should be admired or abhorred; second, that history enhances personal culture by revealing the great achievements and ideas of the past; third, that history inspires patriotism; fourth, that history trains good citizens by defining civic virtue; fifth, that history reinforces religious ideals; and sixth, that history strengthens and disciplines the mind.

Some of these rationales were profoundly damaging to the integrity of the subject. Promoting history as an instrument for the teaching of morals, religion, and patriotism undermined respect for history by treating it as a form of propaganda. It distorted the most essential value in history, which is the search for truth. The subject was even more severely injured by the proponents of mental discipline, who believed that rote memorization of the textbook strengthened the mind; this method must have destroyed student interest in the content of history, and it certainly reared up legions of people who hated historical study (though they might better have directed their ire against the tyrannical method by which it was taught).

BETWEEN 1893 and 1918, three major reports were issued on the public school curriculum; these were important not only because they influenced practice, in some cases quite substantially, but also because they vividly portrayed the ideas that were dominant or gaining ascendancy among leaders of the education profession. Everyone interested in history as a secondary school subject should read them, because by reading between the lines, it is possible to discover the answer to the question, "What happened to history?"

The first major report on the curriculum appeared in 1893, the product of a group called the Committee of Ten. During the late nineteenth century, it had begun to seem to many educators that the high school curriculum was growing in uncontrolled fashion, without rational plan. In response to this sentiment, the Committee of Ten was created by the National Education Association as the first national commission on the high school curriculum. It was composed of distinguished educators, including five college presidents. The committee established nine subject-matter groups to make recommendations on content and methodology.

The report of the history advisors was remarkable. This group, which included both academic scholars (one was a young Princeton professor named Woodrow Wilson) and school officials, attacked the rote-memorization method of teaching history. Memorizing facts, they said, was "the most difficult and the least important outcome of historical study." The group commented, "When the facts are chosen with as little discrimination as in many school textbooks, when they are mere lists of lifeless dates, details of military movements, or unexplained genealogies, they are repellent."

The committee argued that when history and its allied branches were instead taught in a manner that teaches judgment and thinking, and when they were taught in conjunction with such studies as literature, geography, art, and languages, they "serve to broaden and cultivate the mind. . . . They counteract a narrow and provincial spirit. . . . They prepare the pupil in an eminent degree for enlightened and intellectual enjoyment in after years . . . and they assist him to exercise a salutary influence upon the affairs of his country."

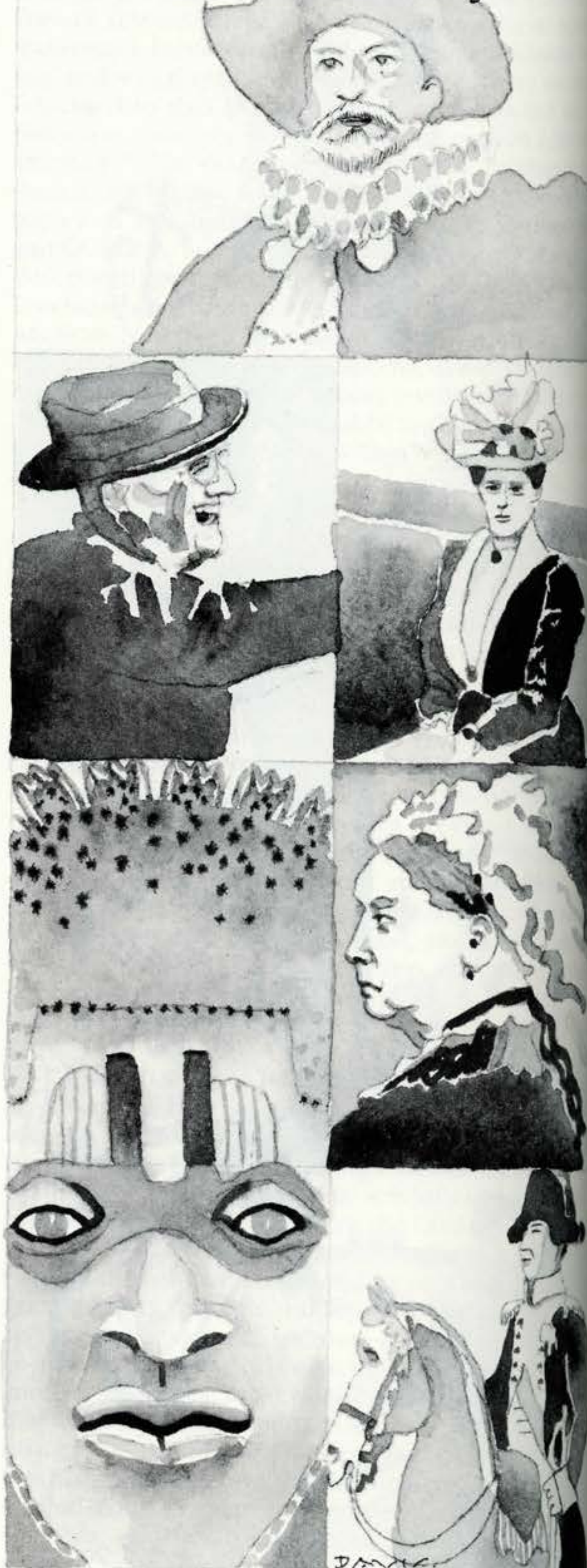
The committee recommended an eight-year course in history, beginning in the fifth and sixth grades with biography and mythology. American history and government would be taught in the seventh grade; Greek and Roman history, in the eighth grade; French history (as an illustration of European history in general), in the ninth grade; English history (because of its contribution to American institutions), in the tenth grade; American history, in the eleventh grade; and intensive study of a special historical topic, in the twelfth grade.

The history committee insisted that its recommendations were not intended for the college bound. On the contrary, they said, "We believe that the colleges can take care of themselves; our interest is in the school children who have no expectation of going to college, the larger number of whom will not enter even a high school." They argued that there should not be separate courses for the college bound and others. Under such a system, they said, those who would get the most education later on would be the only ones to get any training in history in the schools. Such a distinction, "especially in schools provided by public taxation, is bad for all classes of pupils. It is the duty of the schools to furnish a well grounded and complete education for the child," regardless of his later destination.

A FEW years later, another group, the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven, wrote a document that affected the teaching of history for many years. Like the Committee of Ten's history conference, the Committee of Seven was deeply critical of the rote system of history teaching. It endorsed the use of varied methods to stimulate the interest and participation of pupils. It criticized the typical textbook as "mental pabulum" and urged the introduction of supplementary materials. It recommended the inclusion of biographies, primary source materials, and innovative techniques. It conceived of history not only in terms of political institutions and states but also as the study of the social and economic fabric of human activity. It recommended a four-year course in history for the secondary school: First year: ancient history to A.D. 800; Second year: medieval and modern European history; Third year: English history; Fourth year: American history and civil government. The committee made these recommendations not because this particular sequence would prepare students for college, but because the members believed that historical study was the very best sort of general education for all children.

The committee complained that there were too many people teaching history who lacked appropriate training and expressed the belief that history teachers should have a firm knowledge of their subject, should

By 1915, the overwhelming majority of high schools offere courses in ancient history, medieval and modern Europea history, English history, and American history.



have command of professional skills and methods, should have the enthusiasm to inspire students' interest in the struggles and conflicts of the past, and should themselves be lifelong students of history as well as teachers.

The Committee of Seven believed that the best way to understand the problems of the present was through study of the past; that students would best understand their duties as citizens by studying the origins and evolution of political institutions, not only in their own society but in other societies and other times; that the ability to change society for the better depends on knowledge of our institutions and our ideals in their historical setting. Further, they believed that historical study teaches students to think, cultivates their judgment, and encourages accuracy of thought. They believed that history was a synthesizing subject that belonged at the center of the curriculum because it gave meaning and coherence to everything else that was studied.

The report of the Committee of Seven in 1899 set a national pattern for the history curriculum. By 1915, the overwhelming majority of high schools offered courses in ancient history, medieval and modern European history, English history, and American history. Furthermore, in most high schools, American and ancient history became required subjects. A historical survey of history teaching in 1935 held that the history departments of the nation's high schools "attempted to swallow the report of the Committee of Seven 'hook, line, and sinker.'"

IF THE story of the history curriculum ended in 1915, there would now be good news about the status of history. The overwhelming majority of high schools, we would discover, would offer at least three years of history, including ancient history, European history, and American history, and nearly half would offer English history. It would be necessary only to recall the reports of several other numerically named committees — the Committee of Eight, the Committee of Fifteen, and the Committee of Five, among others, and to note the emphasis on biography, mythology, legends, and hero tales in the elementary grades. The same approach, brought up to date in the 1980s, would certainly include histories of non-Western societies. But 1915, alas, was the high-water mark for traditional, narrative, chronological history in the schools.

Nascent social and political trends were by then making their mark on the public school curriculum, deeply affecting the teaching of history. In the 1890s, history had been deemed a modern subject, but only a few years later, during the first decade of the twentieth century, educational progressives began to treat it as part of the "traditional" curriculum. The traditional curriculum became a target for progressives, who sought to modernize the schools and to make them responsive to the needs and problems of contemporary life. In the opening decades of the twentieth century, progressivism emerged as a dynamic movement in American life, committed to social progress, social betterment, and social reform. Many of the ills of the nation were associated with the vast hordes of poor immigrants who crowded into the cities. The schools were given the primary responsibility for Americanizing immigrant children. Not only were they to function as academic institutions, teaching English to their charges, but to assume a custodial role, preparing the newcomers to be good citizens, training them for the job market, and introducing them to the ordinary necessities of daily life, such as nutrition and hygiene.

To meet some of these needs, new courses entered the high school curriculum, such as training for specific trades, sewing, cooking, and commercial studies. As high schools added practical courses, curricular differentiation became common. In many schools, there was a manual training course of study, a vocational course, a commercial course, and, for the academic elite, a college preparatory course. A "course of study" was a carefully sequenced series of individual courses, lasting two, three, or four years; in schools where curricular differentiation was fully developed, in keeping with the latest pedagogical thinking, the students' selection of a course of study was often tantamount to the choice of a vocation. The admonitions of the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Seven on behalf of liberal education for all children were scorned by progressives as an attempt to force everyone into a narrow academic curriculum. The reformers insisted that an academic curriculum was inappropriate for children who intended to go to work and that there must be different programs for the small minority who were college bound and the vast majority who were job bound.

Progressive educators became accustomed to thinking of the schools in terms of their social function and to asserting that the work of the schools must meet the test of social efficiency. In education, social efficiency meant that every subject, every program, every study must be judged by whether it was socially useful. Did it meet the needs of society? To the new profession of curriculum makers and policymakers, the prospect of shaping society was doubtless far more exciting than merely teaching literature or history or science. In contrast, the traditional curriculum seemed anachronistic: What point was there in teaching history, science, literature, mathematics, and foreign language to children who would never go to college? How was society served by wasting their time in such manifestly "useless" and impractical studies? Although not all school officials or teachers agreed (and many strongly disagreed), educational leaders in national organizations and in major schools of education repeatedly asserted that the traditional curriculum was intended only for the children of the elite and was inappropriate to schools in a democracy.

BY WORLD War I, social efficiency was widely accepted as the chief goal of education, and this consensus emerged full blown in the third major report on the secondary curriculum, prepared by the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. Published in 1918, the report of this group was known as *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, and it is generally considered the single most important document in the history of American education. It proclaimed a utilitarian credo that deeply influenced the nation's schools

for decades to come. The main objectives of a high school education, according to the Commission, were these: "1. Health. 2. Command of fundamental processes. 3. Worthy home-membership. 4. Vocation. 5. Citizenship. 6. Worthy use of leisure. 7. Ethical character." In contrast to the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Seven, the *Cardinal Principles* strongly endorsed differentiated curricula, based on such future vocational interests as agricultural, business, clerical, industrial, fine arts, and household arts. The report gave welcome support to proponents of vocational education, curricular tracking, and useful subjects and to those who believed that academic studies were only for the college-bound elite; it disappointed those who wanted all children to have a liberal education.

Like the earlier Committee of Ten, the Commission established subject-matter committees, which wrote individual reports. But this time there was no committee on history. Instead, there was the Committee on Social Studies, whose report appeared in 1916. The committee defined the social studies as "those whose subject matter related directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups." The major purpose of modern education, said the committee, is "social efficiency." By their very nature, the social studies "afford peculiar opportunities for the training of the individual as a member of society. Whatever their value from the point of view of personal culture, unless they contribute directly to the cultivation of social efficiency on the part of the pupil, they fail in their most important function." By this standard of utility and relevance, there was scant justification for the study of ancient civilizations or premodern societies.

But history was not to be jettisoned altogether. The principle enunciated by the committee for deciding what history to teach was this: "The selection of a topic in history and the amount of attention given to it should depend . . . chiefly upon the degree to which such topic can be related to the present life interests of the pupil, or can be used by him in his present processes of growth." The committee was blunt in stating that the widely adopted four-year history sequence set out by the Committee of Seven less than twenty years earlier was "more or less discredited," based as it was on "the traditions of the historian and the requirements of the college." Appeal to pupils' interests, not transmission of knowledge, was to determine the content of history courses.

The acceptance of social efficiency as the touchstone of the high school curriculum proved disastrous to the study of history. What claim could be advanced for the utility of history? Knowing history didn't make anyone a better worker; it didn't improve anyone's health; it was not nearly so useful for citizenship training as a course in civics. When judged by the stern measure of direct utility, history had no claim except its utility for meeting college-entrance requirements; without these, there was scant defense for history's study. Professional historians might have argued that the study of history teaches children how to think, how to reach judgments, how to see their own lives and contemporary issues in context, but they seemed content to abandon curricular decisions to the pedagogues who scorned these claims. Nor could history meet the immediate needs of young people, in the sense that it did not tell adolescents how to behave on a date, how to be popular with the crowd, or how to get a job. In the new era of social efficiency and pupil interests, the year-long course in ancient history began to disappear from American schools, and before long the four-year history sequence was telescoped to three, then to two, and, in many places, to only a single year of American history.

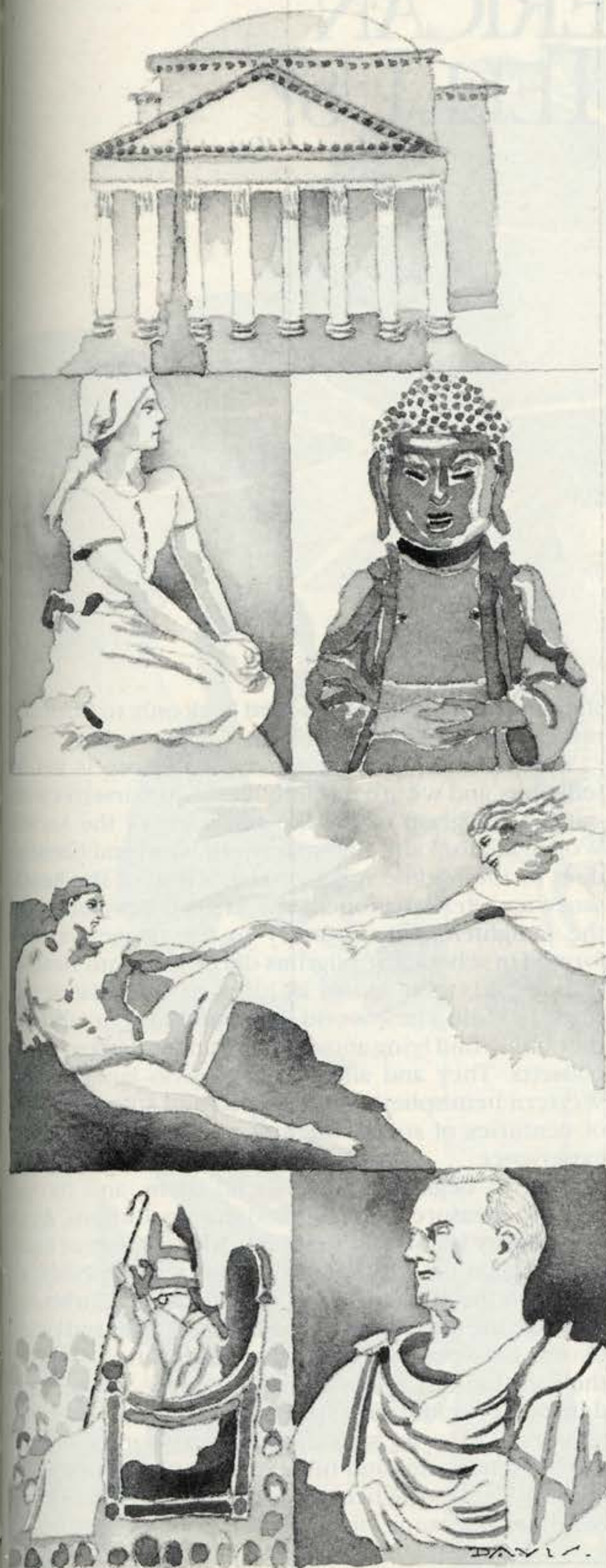
IN THE decades that followed the 1916 report of the Committee on the Social Studies, the emphasis in the social studies curriculum shifted decisively toward current events, relevant issues, and pupil-centered programs. The introduction of such courses was not, in itself, a bad thing. A modern, dynamic society needs schools in which students study the vital problems of the day and learn how to participate in the democratic process. But the time for the new subjects was taken away from history. Except for American history, which was thought to be useful as preparation for citizenship, the place of historical studies shrank in the schools. Even in the elementary schools, where earlier generations had studied biography and mythology as basic historical materials, the emphasis shifted to study of the neighborhood, the community, and preliterate peoples, a trend encouraged by the report's recommendation of courses in "community civics."

Of course, the report of the Committee on Social Studies in 1916 was not responsible for the erosion of the position of history; the report merely reflected the ideas, values, and attitudes of the emerging education profession. Unfortunately, these ideas, values, and attitudes were not congenial to the study of history for its own sake, nor even to the study of history as a means to improve the intelligence of the younger generation.

Subsequent efforts to reexamine the social studies curriculum did little to restore the once-lofty position of history, because the ideology of social efficiency maintained its dominance. When the American Historical Association created a commission to analyze the social studies in the midst of the Great Depression, the commission declared that the most important purpose of the social studies was to produce "rich and many-sided personalities." Whatever the other courses in the social studies may have been capable of doing by way of promoting personal development, it is difficult to imagine anyone claiming that the study of history produces "rich and many-sided personalities."

Even the innovative curricula produced after Sputnik I, known collectively as "the new social studies," failed to restore history in the secondary schools. This was not because the case for history was weak, but because the case that should have been made was never made at all. The approach of the "new history" of the 1960s proceeded on the assumption that children should be taught to think like historians and to learn the historical method, just as students of science were learning to think like scientists and learning the scientific method. The problems with this approach were many: first, few children then or now actually know enough history or have enough context to make it worthwhile or possible for them to conduct a genuine historical investigation; second, historians themselves do not agree on the

The acceptance of social efficiency as the touchstone of the high school curriculum proved disastrous to the study of history.



definition of a single "historical method"; third, learning the process of how to write history is appropriate to graduate students but not to students in school, and it is certainly far less interesting than learning the actual stuff of history.

FOR HISTORY ever to regain its rightful place in the schools, educators must accord value to the study of history both for its own sake and for its value as a generator of individual and social intelligence. History has a right to exist as an autonomous discipline; it should be taught by people who have studied history, just as science and mathematics should be taught by persons who have studied those subjects. The other social studies also have their unique contributions to make, but their contribution should not be made by stealing time from history or by burying the study of history in nonhistorical approaches.

In 1932, Henry Johnson of Teachers College, Columbia University, wrote a delightful review of the teaching of history throughout the ages, somewhat misleadingly called *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences.* Johnson quoted a sixteenth-century Spanish scholar, Juan Luis Vives, to explain why it is valuable to study history. "Where there is history," wrote Vives, "children have transferred to them the advantages of old men; where history is absent, old men are as children." Without history, according to Vives, "no one would know anything about his father or ancestors; no one could know his own rights or those of another or how to maintain them; no one would know how his ancestors came to the country he inhabits." Vives pointed out that everything "has changed and is changing every day," except "the essential nature of human beings." Johnson referred to seventeenth-century French oratorians, who believed that study of history cultivated judgment and stimulated right conduct. He cited their view that "history is a grand mirror in which we see ourselves. . . . The secret of knowing and judging ourselves rightly is to see ourselves in others, and history can make us the contemporaries of all centuries in all countries."

History will never be restored as a subject of value unless it is detached from the vulgar utilitarianism that originally swamped it. History should not be expected to teach patriotism, morals, values clarification, or decision making. Properly taught, history teaches the pursuit of truth and understanding; properly taught, it establishes a context of human life in a particular time and place, relating art, literature, philosophy, law, architecture, language, government, economics, and social life; properly taught, it portrays the great achievements and the terrible disasters of the human race; properly taught, it awakens youngsters to the universality of the human experience as well as to the magnificence and the brutality of which humans are capable; properly taught, history encourages the development of intelligence, civility, and a sense of perspective. It endows its students with a broad knowledge of other times, other cultures, other places. It leaves its students with cultural resources on which they may draw for the rest of their lives. These are values and virtues that are gained through the study of history. Beyond these, history needs no further justification. □

Finding Who and Where We Are: Can American History Tell Us?

By Paul Gagnon

A FEW YEARS ago, David Donald, professor of American history at Harvard, stirred up a little storm on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times* by wondering whether his courses were still worth teaching. Students expected, he said, to understand how their American past related to the present and the future. But teaching them the truth as he saw it would only reveal his own sense of "the irrelevance of history and of the bleakness of the new era we are entering." We were no longer "people of plenty," in David Potter's phrase, airily confident of solving every problem by simply cooking up a bigger economic pie. As resources dwindled, the lessons of "incurable optimism" students learned from the American past were "not merely irrelevant but dangerous." Was it not his duty, Donald asked, "to disenthrall them from the spell of history, to help them see the irrelevance of the past?"

Professor Donald was worried for the wrong reasons. American history is not irrelevant or misleading because it is optimistic. Does one nourish optimism by studying the slave trade, the Civil War, the Depression, or Vietnam? It is, however, irrelevant and useless to many people because it is drastically insufficient on its own. We have taken to teaching it by itself, as though it were rooted nowhere, as though the "American past," in which David Donald's students hoped to find understanding of themselves, reached back only to Columbus rather than to Noah and before.

The plain fact is that American history is not intelligible, and we are not intelligible to ourselves without a prior grasp of the life and ideas of the Ancient World, Judaism and Christianity, of Islam and Christendom in the Middle Ages, of Feudalism, of the Renaissance and Reformation, of the English Revolution and the Enlightenment. Contrary to the image we often formed in school, the pilgrims did not sail into view out of the void, their minds as blank as the Atlantic sky, ready to build a new world out of nothing but whatever they could find lying about the ground in eastern Massachusetts. They and all the others who landed in the Western hemisphere were shaped and scarred by tens of centuries of social, literary, political, and religious experience.

Even to begin to comprehend them, and through them to measure ourselves and our institutions, American history is not nearly enough. Ideas of human equality and dignity, of individual moral responsibility, are based on the ancient texts of Judaism and Christianity — as are the debates between individualism and collectivism, between reformism and resignation, between the spiritual and the material. The glory and failure of democracy emerge with the Athenians. Our constitutional ideas go back to Rome, are worked out during the feudal era, find full expression in seventeenth-century England. Whence the notions of civil rights, of religious tolerance or intolerance, of economic and social justice, of free enterprise and free inquiry, of

---

Paul Gagnon is professor of modern European history at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and a member of the Paideia Group.

DAVIS.

academic freedom and cultural innovation, of faith in science, reason, and progress? And what battles were won and lost, and why won and why lost, over them all? Those who sailed westward to land here did not in fact try to build a new world at all but struggled to rebuild what they treasured most of their old world in a new setting.

In this perspective, ours is one of the great, multifarious adventures of human history. It can fascinate the young, who need and want to find themselves in time and place, to see where their life histories join the history of the race. Their "American past?" Their blood ran in men and women working the soil of Burgundy and the Ukraine, of China and Africa, before the Normans set out on their conquests. Our ideas of good, evil, honor, and shame weighed upon Jews and Greeks and Christians before the Middle Ages. But we do not want to look back. We do not even look south of the Rio Grande. We prefer the myth of the New World, the U.S. world, innocent of the stains of the old or of the rest of the hemisphere, somehow outside of the ordinary human condition. It is our own special sin of pride, shutting out the possibility of comprehending ourselves, much less of understanding others. Its educational consequence has been the shrinking of American history to mean only U.S. history and the nearly total abandonment of Mediterranean, European, and British history, the study of that Western civilization whose ever-shifting ideas and works, both beneficent and destructive, have made us what we are.

What remains in most "American" history courses, though not always so misleading as David Donald feared, is not nearly enough to tell us who we are, where we came from, why we think the way we do, why others may think differently, and how the world got itself into the present situation. As George Steiner once put it, what passes for education in this country amounts to planned amnesia. Historical studies, apart from whatever can be called the required year of U.S. history — sometimes no more than a few "projects" — have no fixed place in the curriculum. The recent vogue of Global Studies, sometimes in the guise of World History, is of no help, or worse. As ill-defined and superficial as U.S. history is parochial and fragmentary, World History pretends that students can compare their society with others before they know very much about themselves.

WE HAVE always talked a great deal about education for citizenship. But we have usually been content with promoting right attitudes, "doing values" out of current events or case studies, rarely out of any systematic historical knowledge of what Western peoples have actually done in the past, so that students might reflect for themselves upon what has been good or bad, foolish or wise. Even less do we offer them the history of ideas, of competing social and political philosophies, out of which the free citizen could work at his own perceptions. We seem unwilling to lay the record open.

Many of our freshmen arrive at college, after twelve years of school (presumably in the "college track"), knowing nothing of the pre-Plymouth past, including the Bible! All too frequently, they have not heard of Aristotle, Aquinas, Luther, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Burke, or Marx. They often know nothing of the deterioration of Athens and Rome, of Czarist Russia and Weimar Germany, and next to nothing of the history of science, technology, industry, of capitalism and socialism, of fascism and Stalinism, of how we found ourselves in two world wars, or even in Vietnam. They have been asked to read very little and to reflect hardly at all. At eighteen or nineteen, they are unarmed for public discourse, their great energy and idealism at the mercy of pop politics and the seven o'clock news.

Most college curricula offer no rescue. In the modern American university, nobody takes responsibility for what is taught. Faculty members avoid prescribing any subject matter in particular. The participatory democracy of curriculum making somehow always manages to end at the same point: Anything must be declared to be as good as anything else, lest the balance of departmental enrollments (and faculty positions) be disturbed. The arguments are not, of course, so crudely put. We academicians are too skilled at spinning high reasons for low acts. Letting students ignore the events and ideas that have shaped them and their world is called freedom of choice. Amnesia becomes liberation. The notion that freedom can proceed only out of requirements is too deep for us, especially at budget time, and as enrollments fall.

If American education is ever to be made democratic, so that, as deTocqueville said, democracy may be educated, nothing will be more crucial than a common, sequential study of history throughout the elementary and secondary years. Only history, and particularly the history of Western civilization, can begin to help us find who we are and what choices we may have before us. But history is also, in Clifton Fadiman's words, a generative subject, upon which the coherence and usefulness of many other subjects depend. It is essential to a serviceable view of art, architecture, drama, and literature, of the evolution of the natural sciences and social sciences. These are high claims for the uses of history, but they are justified by the aesthetic and intellectual experiences of countless Westerners, stretching back through time from Churchill to Thucydides. And such claims must be kept uppermost in mind, for otherwise it would prove impossible to decide what is most worth

Their blood ran in men and women working the soil of Burgundy and the Ukraine, of China and Africa, before the Normans set out on their conquests.

In making up our syllabi, we have to be brave enough to declare that some things are indeed more important than others.

teaching out of the enormous mass of historical data facing us.

In making up our syllabi, we have to be brave enough to declare that some things are indeed more important than others. Brave, because we know ahead of time that our selection will be imperfect, subject to attack. We have no choice; time is limited. So we must pose the question and do our best to answer it honestly: What has made us what we are? What have been the truly shaping experiences for the Western, the American, mind? It is not a short list: the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome, Judaism and Christianity, Feudalism and the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, exploration and capitalism, absolute monarchy, the English Revolution, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, Industrial Revolution, Social Revolution, Imperialism, total war and what we must now call the shrinking planet! Something substantial of all of these great experiences must be taught. Not only a few, but all, or the complexity will be missed and the tremendous drama of our own time will go unperceived.

IT WILL be objected that a focus on the history of Western civilization is not sufficiently "multicultural," that it leaves out much of the past for native Americans, Afro-Americans, and Asian-Americans. The first response is that a well-ordered, junk-free, twelve-year curriculum would have plenty of room for the study of non-Western cultures. French public schools, for example, offer *seven* post-elementary years of history, geography, and culture, amply covering every corner of the world. We can learn from our old sister republic, which now graduates as high a proportion of young people from high school as we do — but all from a common track of academic subjects, heavy in history and the humanities. It is their belated way of responding to deTocqueville's plea that equality be ennobled by preparing all for citizenship and personal cultivation, above and beyond any strictly vocational expectations. Shall we strive for less?

The second, more fundamental, response arises from the nature and needs of any society. Whether by past force or recent choice, the people of non-Western origin living in this country are now part of a community whose ideas and institutions, for good and ill, grow out of the Western experience. Whether they seek to enjoy and enrich Western society, or to exploit or even overthrow it, all citizens need to know much more about it than most do now. And there is little hope that mainstream Americans can come to sympathetic understanding of strangers in their midst, or of foreign lands and cultures, without first facing up to the historical record of the best and worst in themselves. It simply makes no sense in our schools to start anywhere but with the Western experience, and to start from the beginning. As Rousseau might say, we all now owe each other a close knowlege of it, as partners in a social contract.

EDUCATING FREE citizens is the most demanding of all forms of schooling. Freedom requires a level of personal autonomy and dignity that is possible only when mind and spirit are richly nourished, nourished beyond anything needed for the highest careers or professions. Free people need heartening lives after work and beyond politics. Perhaps the greatest contribution of history to personal liberation is its revelation of the countless alternatives people have found for personal fulfillment and social well-being. The history of Western civilization offers an immense range of ideas and ideologies, of ways to organize political, economic, and social life, of paths to personal integrity or salvation, of modes of behavior, styles of cultural and intellectual creation. Such a sweep of alternatives frees the student from the cacophony of prevailing fads and orthodoxies, from media hype, and from the grip of present-mindedness dear to special pleaders and profit seekers. The personal dignity of free choice can proceed only out of knowledge of the alternatives possible in private and public life, knowledge that only history can provide.

As the Athenians said, whatever is vital to a full personal life is thereby conducive to active, effective citizenship. The politics of self-government is the most difficult of all, the most decisive for the destiny of most people. What can the study of history contribute? For one thing, the habit of thinking critically. History insists upon the difference between fact and wish. Although the same evidence may mean different things to different observers, the evidence cannot be wished away. It is there to be wrestled with, real and immovable, complicating our dreams and preferences. History constantly forces us back to reality, making us skeptical of quick judgments, cheap and easy answers, resounding slogans. It is the natural enemy of frivolity and abstraction, pushing us to demand evidence, to decide for ourselves the meanings of events, the sense or nonsense of ideas and men, to look behind words to reality.

How do citizens "grow up" and comprehend reality in the human condition? No sensible teacher would claim that maturity is the product of schooling alone. We learn most, of course, from direct experience, in the family, at work, in the street, in struggle, sickness, and loss. But we cannot directly experience everything of significance to the life and work of mankind. Schooling must extend our experience in many directions. Otherwise, we are prisoners of our *milieu*, ignorant (either in bliss or despair) of untold dimensions and possibilities.

(Continued on page 44)

STRICTLY ARBITRARY

What Do Arbitrators Do?

By Peter Seitz

No matter how carefully written, collective bargaining contracts are subject to interpretation — and violation. As a result, thousands — and probably tens of thousands — of grievances are filed each day on behalf of working men and women by the unions of which they are a part. Where it is entered into and executed in good faith by all sides, the grievance-arbitration system can be a quiet avenue of justice through which a worker's voice is heard, his grievance aired, evidence produced, arguments made, and his case found worthy or wanting. The matters taken up, both common and grand, make up the everyday fabric of worklife. The great majority of grievances are resolved without going to arbitration, but the system draws much of its strength from the knowledge that a careful adjudication and binding decision by a neutral third party is available if necessary. We thought our readers would be interested in the reflections of a man who devoted most of his professional career to the job of being an arbitrator and to the system of conflict resolution and on-the-job justice in which he so strongly believed.

—Editor

FOR MORE than thirty years I have been a full-time arbitrator of management-union disputes. I have often been asked, "What's your line?" When I respond that I am an arbitrator, I find frequently that it conveys little or nothing to the inquirer. I have been distressed by the general lack of understanding about what arbitration is and what arbitrators do. The purpose of my article is to convey, in a kind of *Guide to the Perplexed*, some of the basic features of the American system of labor arbitration.

Arbitration is an ancient process for resolving conflict; it is probably older than our system of courts. The earliest arbitration known to me is that which furnished the basis for attributing transcendent wisdom to King Solomon. To my knowledge, it is the *only* episode on which his reputation for wisdom is grounded. It will be recalled (as recounted in I Kings 3:16-28) that two harlots competed before the king for sole custody of an infant. Each claimed to be the mother. King Solomon suggested — some would say out of desperation, others would say with cunning — that the child be divided in two with a sword and the halves distributed equally to the litigants (a classic if brutal illustration of the art of compromise). One of the harlots was content that this be done. The other, pleading that the child's life was more important than her custody of one-half of its person, told Solomon that he should spare the child's life and give custody to her adversary. Impressed by this exhibition of motherly love, Solomon gave custody of the whole child to the harlot who would spare its life. "And all Israel . . . saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment." King Solomon has been basking in universal commendation for wisdom ever since.

My arbitration experience leads me to take a revisionist position toward the episode. It seems to me that the harlot who prevailed in the case shrewdly took the measure of Solomon and decided that he was what would now be called a "bleeding heart" — that is, a "pushover" for a clever but insincere ploy. Her plea was not as disinterested as Solomon assumed but rather was

a deceptive stratagem to win the case.

If my analysis is correct, Solomon's reputation for wisdom is undeserved. Moreover, he would not be regarded today as qualified to become a member of the National Academy of Arbitrators. It may well be that, occasionally, some arbitrators are similarly gulled by advocates; however, such incompetence gets bruited about quickly in industrial relations circles, and any arbitrator who performed his services in so incompetent a manner would not long be an arbitrator.

FOR CENTURIES, common law court judges were hostile to the process of arbitration because it offered an alternative to court litigation. Public judges, who in the early days of English law were compensated for their services by the litigants, could not reasonably be expected to encourage what they regarded as a competing quasi-judicial process. Those days are now long past. Today the American law courts and the federal and state statutes not only encourage but often defer to arbitration decisions, particularly those that resolve disputes between employers and unions concerning the interpretation and application of collective bargaining agreements. Resort to arbitration in employer-union disputes is an established public policy, nationally and in most states. Arbitration has replaced strikes and lockouts as the predominant feature of our national labor policy.

Probably the most outstanding feature of grievance arbitration is its wholly consensual and voluntary character.

There are two types of labor arbitration. One is called *interest arbitration* because it establishes for each party the interests that will be expressed in the collective bargaining contract. In interest arbitration, the arbitrator determines, for inclusion in the agreement, those provisions on which the parties were unable to agree in their negotiating sessions. The other type of labor arbitration, called *rights* or *grievance arbitration,* is much more frequently resorted to and concerns itself with rights and duties of the parties. Grievance arbitration, in other words, concerns the *interpretation and application* of the provisions in existing collective bargaining agreements that govern the continuing relationship of employers and unions. By far, the greatest number of arbitrations involve grievances alleging that contract rights have been violated.

Rights and grievance arbitration are used in both the private and public (or governmental) sectors. With a few exceptions, such arbitration is only used when there is a bargaining relationship between an employer and a union. Probably the most outstanding feature of grievance arbitration is its wholly consensual and voluntary character.

A BIT of history may be helpful. In the 1930s and 1940s, American industry was plagued with innumerable strikes and work stoppages occurring during the lives of collective bargaining agreements, causing great loss to production and the earnings of employees. Frequently — and as still occurs in England, France, Italy, and other industrial nations — when conflict arose about the proper interpretation and application of the terms governing the relationship, workers had no practicable or effective means of resolution available except to walk off the job or resort to other means of self-help regardless of whether the action was authorized by their unions. To meet this problem, collective bargaining contracts began to include provisions that prohibited employee strikes and management lockouts. This prohibition could not have been imposed fairly without also affording employees and their unions a satisfactory forum for the resolution of their grievances. If disputes about the many newly created rights and duties established by collective bargaining agreements were to have been resolved by litigation in the public courts, the court calendars would have become intolerably congested, the cases would have been subject to interminable delays, and the cost of litigation would have been more than employees and their unions could bear. In addition, many people believe that judges in public courts — who are called upon to decide all manner of disputes — might not possess the particular experience and special expertise demanded for the resolution of industrial conflicts. It was thought that a system of private jurisprudence — that is, arbitration — would better serve the requirements of the parties than conventional litigation in the courts. Arbitration promised not only to reduce delays and costs but to deliver better-informed judgments than the public courts could furnish.

As a result, a grievance arbitration system was developed as a part of the national labor policy to furnish just such a forum to resolve disputes. Model contract provisions providing for the new arbitration system were drafted and made available to parties in conflict. The model provisions now appear in tens of thousands of collective bargaining agreements and possess whatever modifications the particular circumstances require. The grievance arbitration system calls for formal meetings by management and union officials, on an ascending hierarchical scale of steps, to examine the facts and consider the merits of the grievances filed. The objective of these grievance sessions is to resolve controversies, if at all possible, by the concerned parties themselves, without the intervention of an arbitrator. If these grievance sessions fail to produce an acceptable resolution, the unsatisfied party can appeal through the

---

Peter Seitz, a lawyer by training, was the sole arbitrator in the famous Major League baseball reserve system case. Mr. Seitz died shortly after completing this essay. *This article is condensed from the* American Scholar, *Vol. 53, No. 4, Autumn 1984.* *Copyright © 1984 by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. Excerpted with permission of the publishers.*

grievance procedure to arbitration, which is conducted by a single arbitrator or by a board of arbitrators, whichever the parties choose.

Let me stress again the wholly voluntary character of this grievance arbitration system. It exists only when the parties agree to its existence. The parties themselves, as an alternative to resorting to economic force, create and administer the system. Instead of litigating before a judge in a public court, the parties themselves mutually designate the arbitrator of their choice and agree to be bound by his decision, one made in their own private, quasi-judicial tribunal. Harry Schulman, one of the leading expositors of the grievance arbitration plan, described the system as "private industrial self-government."

A further advantage of arbitration is that there exists no code of practice and procedure such as that which governs court litigation. The arbitrator is bound to the arbitration practices developed by the parties and the requirements of due process and fair hearing. Beyond those, he conducts the hearing in a manner that will ensure that its major objective will be achieved — namely, that he will leave the hearing informed of all the facts and arguments in order to render a decision that will be perceived as just and knowledgeable. To achieve this end, he need not apply the technical rules of evidence adhered to in courts of law; he can choose any traditional court practices, procedures, or customs that, in his judgment, serve his needs in making a just decision. He can tailor the procedures to the special circumstances of the case.

THIS DESCRIPTION — stated perhaps with excessive brevity that prevents taking into account many important aspects of the process — limns the institutional structure of the American grievance arbitration system. But who exactly does the arbitrating? How are arbitrators chosen? What are the significant characteristics of the calling?

In the late 1930s and the 1940s, when thousands of new collective bargaining agreements with grievance arbitration clauses were being negotiated, it became necessary to develop a cadre of acceptable arbitrators who would be available on call to serve the disputing parties. Manifestly, it was critically important that arbitrators be wholly impartial and not have any disqualifying interest in the disputes. It was of equal importance that each of the disputing parties should be able to repose its full confidence in the arbitrator as one who was free of predisposition, bias, or institutional relationships that might interfere with the rendering of a fair and proper award.

In the early years of grievance arbitration, relatively few persons were accepted as impartial. Unions were highly suspicious of lawyers who had represented managements, even in litigation alien to industrial relations problems. In 1947, when I served as the assistant to the director of the Federal Mediation Service, a vice-president of labor relations for a prestigious company told me, "I should have to be out of my mind to risk putting the investments of our stockholders in the hands of some long-haired professor serving as an arbitrator." Notwithstanding such fears, a small group of acceptable arbitrators was found for employers and unions; and, as time went on, with the exercise of discriminating care, the number of acceptable arbitrators grew. Today, more than six hundred persons in the United States are members of the National Academy of Arbitrators, and about half are full-time professional arbitrators. Arbitrators who are not members of the professional association probably number more than a thousand.

The word 'compromise' touches a highly sensitive arbitral nerve . . . . I do not compromise; I decide.

Arbitrators come from a variety of walks of life. Some have had experience in federal and state government work in which they were required to maintain an impartial stance; some were (or are) academics; some are clergy; and some are retired management or union officers who have painstakingly earned reputations as acceptable arbitrators.

People who arbitrate regard themselves as following a profession, one that differs in important respects from other well-recognized professions. Arbitrators do not have to follow a prescribed curriculum of study or pass a battery of qualifying tests or obtain a government license to practice, as do doctors, lawyers, dentists, accountants, and teachers in primary and secondary schools. Many arbitrators are members of the bar, but many others have no legal background whatsoever. The basic standard for recognition as an arbitrator is general acceptability and designation by the parties. That standard can be more exacting than may be imagined. Every time an arbitrator renders a decision, somebody wins and somebody loses. An arbitrator will not long remain in the calling if the losers are not satisfied that the decision was fair and that the judgment, even if not agreed with and approved, was rational and in accordance with the evidence. It is doubtful that government regulation or licensing produces a higher degree of professionalism than the rigorous selection system employed for choosing arbitrators.

AT THIS point it seems pertinent to address the popular misconception that arbitrators *compromise* disputes. This, as a Soviet diplomat would say, is extreme provocation. The word *compromise* touches a highly sensitive arbitral nerve. It suggests that the arbitrator, like Solomon, has a proclivity to decide complicated issues by the simple procedure of dividing by two. Were the arbitrator's life that uncomplicated! To those who harbor such a misconception I point out, with a great effort of patience, belied by my beating pulse and a certain edgy quality in my voice, that I do not compromise; I decide. This requires some explanation. *Com-*

promise means an arrangement in which a dispute is resolved by each of the disputants conceding to the other interests for which it had contended. By the time a dispute reaches the arbitration table, the parties should have had abundant opportunities (in the course of grievance "step meetings" and otherwise) to explore the possibilities of settling the dispute on mutually acceptable terms. When at long last they come to arbitration, the arbitrator asks the parties to agree on the wording of the specific issue that they are submitting to him for an arbitral award.

For example, they might ask the arbitrator to decide such an issue as whether, in denying a vacation to employee X in 1982, the employer had violated article VIII of the collective bargaining agreement, and, if so, what remedy is appropriate. An issue stated in such a manner confers no plenipotentiary powers on the arbitrator. If he should picture himself as Zeus on Mount Olympus dispensing his own brand of godlike justice, he is badly in need of therapy. The issue — in point of fact a specific question about a particular violation of the parties' agreement — calls only for a yes or no answer. If no contract violation occurred, that is an end to the matter. If a violation has in fact occurred, the arbitrator exercises his best judgment in deciding what relief is appropriate under the terms of the agreement. The case may, in the arbitrator's judgment, call for relief or remedial action that is different from that which the moving party had desired; however, this is not "compromising" but fashioning a remedy appropriate to the circumstances. An arbitrator who "compromises" in his decision on an issue is derelict, and his decision runs the risk of being vacated in a court test.

If the arbitrator should picture himself as Zeus on Mount Olympus dispensing his own brand of godlike justice, he is badly in need of therapy.

The limitations on an arbitrator are either self-imposed or required by law or by the Code of Professional Responsibility of the National Academy of Arbitrators. For example, arbitrators are expected to comply with the historic requirements of fair hearing and procedural due process of law. Capricious, arbitrary, or whimsical conduct by an arbitrator in conducting a hearing or deciding a case can result in the award being vacated by the courts. In preparing his decision, the arbitrator is restricted to answering the question submitted and to assessing the facts presented at the hearing. He has no franchise to go outside the record made before him. Another requirement of the professional code is that an arbitrator make a full disclosure of any interest, association, or relationship that, in the reasonable judgment of either party, might impugn his impartiality and fairness. He should be compensated for his services and expenses according to the terms of the agreement of the parties; or, if the subject is not mentioned therein, he should bill each of the parties for one-half of the total. As important as any of the above mentioned restrictions is the prohibition against the arbitrator dispensing his own personal brand of industrial justice. His decision must have fidelity to the terms of the agreement and to its essence as he perceives it. He may be a private judge, but one with limited powers.

ARBITRATORS MAY be retained for a specific number of years, or for the length of the parties' collective bargaining contract, in which case they would decide all grievance disputes that might arise thereunder. These mediators are variously called umpires, referees, or permanent arbitrators.

Strictly speaking, though, there is no such thing as a permanent arbitrator. The title is no more than an expression of wish fulfillment and is a contradiction in terms. Arbitrators are as vulnerable to coups, rudely dispossessing them of their office, as leaders of the Third World nations. When an arbitration case is lost, the unhappy management or union advocate is held accountable by his constituents and clients, and the arbitrator makes a convenient scapegoat. Like the Athenians who made it a habit to exile unsuccessful military leaders, the losing party frequently exiles the hapless arbitrator from its dispute-resolving system; but, again like the Athenians, with the passage of time and unsatisfactory experience with other arbitrators, the exiled arbitrator's imagined sins are on occasion either forgiven or forgotten, and he is recalled for further services.

The instability of the relationship of the arbitrator and his clients may be illustrated by recounting a personal experience. For some six or seven years, I was the sole arbitrator selected by the Major Leagues of Baseball and the Players Association for the arbitration of grievances. I sat as the impartial chairman of an arbitration board that consisted of one member designated by the Major League clubs and one by the Players Association. Following the refusal of the Supreme Court (in the *Flood* case) to overrule a previous decision rendered in the 1920s, which had stated that baseball was not subject to the antitrust laws in connection with the reserve system then in effect, a grievance was filed by the Players Association in behalf of a player, Andy Messersmith, attacking that reserve system. Under that system (based upon contract provisions and Major League rules), a player would sign a standard contract form for one year of service. A provision in the contract declared that at the end of the year the baseball club, at its sole option, could extend the period of service for yet another year simply by proffering a similar contract with the same self-renewing clause. If the player refused to sign the proffered contract in the second year (or in any subsequent year, as long as he was on the club's roster), he could not offer his services to any other club because the Major League rules forbade all other clubs from tampering with the player.

Messersmith, who was a highly talented pitcher, had served out his initial year and his option year. He filed a

Immediately after I signed the document, the board member designated by the Major Leagues handed me a pink slip.

grievance because he had been prevented from negotiating with other clubs. If he did not prevail in the arbitration, his club would have had exclusive use of his services for the rest of his baseball years. In other words, he would not have an opportunity to peddle his skills to other clubs that might compensate him for his services at a higher rate of pay.

In the course of extended hearings, it became evident that there were many considerations weighing heavily in favor of some kind of reserve system. The large financial investment in club franchises, the wide diversity in the financial resources of franchise holders, the fan interest in individual players as members of a local team, and the need for relative parity among clubs, as well as other considerations, strongly argued for a reasonable reserve system. The players' union recognized the need for a reserve system, but it complained that the one grieved was too restrictive and inconsistent with a fundamental principle of a democratic society — namely, the freedom to perform services for the employer of one's choice.

During the executive sessions of the arbitration board, I became aware that the parties were shortly to negotiate a new collective bargaining contract. The record of the case disclosed that the parties had never had an adequate opportunity in their previous negotiations to bargain fully as to the terms of an appropriate reserve system. There was no question in my mind that the parties were much more competent than I to devise a less restrictive and more satisfactory system by themselves — and, in any event, the question of what such a system might be had not been submitted to me as an issue for my decision. Accordingly, I offered to withhold a decision until the parties held their negotiation sessions, during which they could reach an agreement about the terms of an acceptable reserve system. The Major Leagues were not persuaded by my recommendation. I was told to proceed with the case to its conclusion.

After extensive discussion at executive sessions of the arbitration board, I prepared a draft of a proposed decision in which Messersmith, the grievant, was *not* bound to the specific club with which he had contracted for the rest of his athletic life. The proposed decision further stated that he was a "free agent" at liberty to bargain with any other clubs for his services. I have to assume that the Major Leagues were well aware of the contents of the proposed decision several days before a final copy of the document was readied for signature. (The irrepressibly curious will find the decision in *Professional Baseball Clubs,* 66 LA [Labor Arbitration Reports]: 101. [The National Bureau of Affairs, Washington, D.C.; 1976].) Immediately after I signed the document, the board member designated by the Major Leagues, who was vigorously dissenting from the majority decision, handed me a pink slip; the Major Leagues no longer desired my services as its arbitrator. And they have not requested my services since then.

When news of the decision came out, sports broadcasters and reporters announced that the sky was falling. There were notable exceptions to this hysteria, among them the late Red Smith, a Pulitzer Prize winner. The indignation of the club owners struck a Wagnerian chord of even deeper resonance. It sounded like the last five minutes of *Götterdämmerung,* or the Twilight of Baseball. I was accused of having destroyed the national pastime. To the players, of course, I was the Great Emancipator who saved them from a life of indentured servitude. These conflicting characterizations were grossly exaggerated. Baseball players were not slaves, although, to be sure, the freedom to contract for their personal services had been wrongfully denied them. As for the national pastime, the prophecies of chaos and destruction were unfulfilled by experience. Since the decision, the number of hot dogs, bottles of beer, soft drinks, and tickets sold in baseball stadiums has escalated to unprecedented heights, and the competition among baseball teams has never been keener.

The decision in the Messersmith case may or may not deserve credit for this happy state of affairs. But, when the dust finally settled, the Major Leagues and the Players Association did what should have been done before the decision was signed: they negotiated a mutually agreeable reserve system for baseball. If there is a moral in this, it is not for me to declare. I am an arbitrator. My sole function is to *decide* the issues presented by the parties.

LABOR ARBITRATION is one of the most successful institutions generated by industrial society. It brings justice to those in conflict. If the forum of grievance arbitration were not available, the national policy of collective bargaining could not have been made to work. Arbitration substitutes a system of rational and peaceful resolution of conflict for counterproductive measures of self-help or the resort to economic force. It replaces the law of claw and fang by a system of industrial jurisprudence. But, like other institutions in our society, it has its limitations and weaknesses.

Its greatest limitation is that the arbitral forum is available only to employees who are members of labor unions having collective bargaining agreements with their employers. Very few employees not in unions enter into individual contracts with their employers, and few of those contracts have stipulations that disputes may be arbitrated. Most unorganized employees in the nation are employed at the will or whim of their employer and are not protected by collective bargaining clauses that stipulate they can only be discharged for "just cause," which, ultimately, is determined by an arbitrator.

Arbitration is not a universal prescription for in-

(Continued on page 45)

EDUCATION AND THE PRESS: MALIGN NEGLECT?

BY DENIS P. DOYLE

EDUCATION AND training — public and private, higher and lower, vocational and academic, adult and continuing, employer based and school based — is the nation's second biggest domestic "industry." Only health care commands more of our treasure and energy.

Largely tax supported, education appropriations require affirmative votes in local elections, state elections, and duly consitituted legislative bodies. What we believe about education shapes how we vote on education issues and education candidates. In turn, what we know depends in large measure on what we read. Our daily news sources are not only a bastion of democracy, they are the arbiters of public policy.

How education is viewed, then, both by newspaper editors and the public at large, determines the coverage education receives in the daily press. The perspective that editors and reporters bring to their jobs is decisive in determining both what is covered and how it is covered.

For example, think of education as a service industry so vast it commands nearly 7 percent of GNP. Elementary and secondary education alone employs nearly five million adults and serves forty-five million children 180 days per year. It not only employs highly trained professionals, but small armies of cooks, janitors, gardeners, bus drivers, and clerks. It is highly diversified, segmented into 15,500 independent units and overseen by ninety thousand trustees who are themselves the power structure of the communities in which they live. If you were a newspaper editor, how would you cover it?

Alternately, envision the schools as the nation's principal engine of economic energy and productivity, an enterprise that accounts for most of our national wealth and the capacity of individuals to find satisfying and rewarding work. Human capital — acquired skills, abilities, attitudes, and knowledge — is developed first in the school, then in the workplace. Most analysts agree that human capital has never been more important and that its importance increases each year. And as past is prologue, we are now entering a knowledge-based, interdependent global economy. How would you cover the story?

If economic growth doesn't impress you, consider the formal organization and transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. Born naked and in ignorance, only man possesses culture and technology, the organized knowledge passed from generation to generation. Without schooling, civilization as we know it would be unthinkable. How should that continuing story be covered?

Denis P. Doyle is director of education policy studies of the American Enterprise Institute.

VOL. XVIII NO 3

Think of schools as the principal source of our political stability and tranquility, the civilizing and socializing institution that above all creates and maintains a shared set of national values and a national commitment to democratic processes. How would you cover it?

Examine the budget of your state and its localities and pick out the single biggest item of public expenditure. In most jurisdictions, education represents over half the budget. It is an item that commands the undivided attention of the governor, state legislators, and other elected officials. They could not avoid it if they wanted to. What kind of story does this present, and who would you assign to cover it?

Finally, think of a massive social institution that imparts basic skills as it provides custodial care, showcases adolescent athletics, commands substantial public resources, but only intermittently commands sustained public attention. How would you cover it?

Given the size, scale, scope, and importance of schooling, one might guess that it would be front-page news day in and day out. But with the exception of specialty magazines — education journals — education is only rarely reported on in its full richness, variety, and texture. Unfortunately, coverage of education news in America is sparse, uneven, and sensational because newspaper editors — and the public at large — do not think education is newsworthy. Education as the *sine qua non* of democracy, the backbone of international competitiveness, the source of basic and applied research, the wellspring of technology is a topic well suited to commencement speeches and pious homilies, but does not find its way into our daily papers.

WHILE GENERALIZATIONS about so diverse an industry as the country's 1,711 daily newspapers are risky, how most papers cover education is revealing. As a general rule, two themes predominate. First is education as ceremony and honor. In these stories, scholarship winners, athletes, majorettes, chess and debate champions are cited by school and name. These are the "feel good" news stories that fill space as they permit achievers to be honored and get some local names into the paper. Interestingly enough, these stories are almost never accompanied by any analysis — they are straight description. The closest thing to analysis will be a human interest story — a Laotian or Vietnamese immigrant who becomes valedictorian in spite of enormous obstacles. We learn that Asian families prize education and value the life of the mind, that the children work hard and are supported in this endeavor by parents who take school seriously.

Treating accomplishment as a celebratory occasion — rather than an opportunity to analyze what underlies success — is deeply ingrained in American life. The most vivid example is the way in which the names of National Merit Semifinalists are released. The names are not given to researchers or policy analysts. (For example, I cannot get copies on my own but must get them from a friend in the press.) The names are given only to high school guidance counselors and newspaper reporters *exclusively* for informational purposes. The accompanying documentation warns in the sternest tones that no interpretation of the Merit results is appropriate. The instructions are explicit: Neither the student nor the school may take any credit for the award. So far as the National Merit Scholarship Corporation is concerned, winning the Merit is like winning the lottery.

Indeed, if it is simply a matter of "innate intelligence" — whatever that might be — it *is* like winning the lottery and deserves no further analysis. But what if "developed verbal and mathematical reasoning ability" is influenced by the school? What if teachers play a role in bringing these high scorers along? What if nurture as well as nature is involved? There is fertile ground for analysis.

The second education "story" is education as politics and theater, education as a process of competition for scarce resources and as a stage upon which actors strut. In this case, substantive issues fall by the wayside. The education story becomes a recap of the most recent outburst at the school board meeting, disputes about busing, arguments over school closings, debates about football eligibility, strikes and labor-management disputes, real or imagined. Not far behind are the stories with lurid details about assaults on teachers or students, child abuse, drugs on campus, and guns in the hall.

All of these issues deserve public attention, from ceremonies to the blackboard jungle, but in few of them is there room for thoughtful analysis and carefully developed substantive stories. Indeed, the substantive stories are so few that each careful reader will have his own list. In the past year or so, my list includes Bill Trombley's *Los Angeles Times* pieces on the dumbing of textbooks, Ed Fiske's *New York Times* series on Japan, Elsa Walsh's *Washington Post* story on textbooks, Burt Schorr's *Wall Street Journal* article on magnet schools, David Savage's *Los Angeles Times* analysis of testing and measurement, Larry Feinberg's *Washington Post* story on Washington-area valedictorians, and Jim Bencivenga's *Christian Science Monitor* take out on great books. But these stories and stories like them are the exception that prove the rule.

Unfortunately, what seems to be the rule for educa-

With the exception of specialty [m]azines — educational journals — education is only rarely reported on in its full richness, variety, and texture.

[...]tion is the same rule for other human services, welfare [o]r police work for example. The police beat is the [q]uintessential example — the thin Blue Line stands [b]etween society and barbarism, but the stories that [a]ppear are almost exclusively about crime and corrup[...]tion. I mean by this not the crime and corruption that [t]he police ferret out, but the crime and corruption of [w]hich they are occasionally accused. The work of [p]olicemen and women — criminology if you will — is [o]nly infrequently the subject of serious reporting.

By way of contrast, think of other areas of public and [p]rivate life and how they are covered in your daily [p]aper — what merits sustained attention? Business, fi[...]nance, economics, travel, food, health, national defense, [s]ports, and politics. Not only do these subjects receive [d]aily attention, they are also the subject of nationally [s]yndicated columns. It is noteworthy that there is only [o]ne national column on education, and the American [F]ederation of Teachers must run it as a paid advertise[...]ment.

WHAT ARE we to make of this? The press is sending a message, loud and clear. Editors think educa[...]tion is boring, that except as politics, theater, and cere[...]mony, readers won't and don't want to read about it. [U]nless you believe that 1,700 newspapers are wrong, [t]here must be a good deal of truth to the assertion. If [t]here were not, some enterprising editor or publisher [w]ould enter the breach. The market may not always [w]ork perfectly, but if there were pent-up demand for [e]ducation stories, someone would figure it out and fill [t]hat market niche. Before despairing, however, it is [u]seful to look at those papers that do a good job, to [u]nderstand both why and how they do. As well, it is [u]seful to think about barriers to good reporting, both [i]nside and outside the media.

Many of the barriers inside the media are obvious: Covering the White House or state house is more in[...]teresting and exciting than covering the school house. Hot reporters, both those who have arrived and those who are rising stars, gain fame and fortune from covering the "big news." "Scotty" Reston, Davie Broder, Lou Cannon, Jack Nelson, Al Hunt, Bob Woodard, and the other luminaries of the print media made their reputations by covering the big stories that grab the nation's, and often the world's, attention. For better or worse, an "exclusive" with the president (or his accuser) commands headlines; only in the case of dire bad news (or very rare good news) do education exclusives do the same. Education reporting — like police reporting — is at best a way station in the career of most ambitious reporters.

The other barriers to good education reporting are more subtle. Identifying good education coverage is not an exact science, it is an exercise in judgment. The standards I employ are not Olympian detachment and objectivity but fairness, balance, and accuracy. I do not object to a reportorial point of view as long as it is fairly and honestly revealed. I expect reporters to care about their subject and bring some intensity, even passion, to their calling. Some things are more important than others, and a good reporter must have values congruent with the subject at hand.

Even with these elastic standards, the list of good education reporters is not long. Of necessity my list will be idiosyncratic, depending on whose work I have the opportunity to read. I do not see the *Portland Oregonian* very often, for example, and can only observe that it has a reputation for thoughtful and careful education coverage. But I do read the majors — *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The Christian Science Monitor* and *The Los Angeles Times* — and it is clear to me that the most complete and thoughtful coverage is provided by *The Los Angeles Times.* This is not meant to disparage the others. Without question, individual stories in the others are as good as individual stories in the *Times.* Rather, the *Times* simply devotes more intellectual and financial resources to education than the others, making it the most comprehensive and the most lively.

THE *TIMES'* tradition of good education coverage is an old one, and it has gotten markedly better in the past several years for two reasons: Noel Greenwood and David Savage. Greenwood is a former education writer of note and is now a deputy managing editor. He sits in on the story conferences that determine what will run, on which page, when. He cares about education, takes it seriously, and gives it major play. In large part, he is able to do so because he recruited one of the best education writers in the business, David Savage.

Savage still gets stuck covering L.A. City Unified School Board meetings, but he really has a national beat. His writing is distinguished not just by his clear prose style but by the subjects he chooses. He picks themes that are complex, intricate, and interesting and develops them clearly and lucidly. Most importantly, he follows his own instincts and does not take "no" for an answer. He is an investigative reporter in the best sense of that term. This quality is probably most important in judging him an outstanding education writer because the education community makes reporting extremely difficult. Think of it for a moment. Where is the *hard*

education news? How do you get it? What is the bottom line?

A random selection of Savage's stories makes interesting and illuminating reading. They are characterized by full and factual reporting. They strive for comparison and contrast. The reader is given a sense of change over time and distance. Savage provides a sense of the intellectual and historical context, what has changed, in what ways, how much, and why. The task is not an easy one because there are no education box scores, batting averages or Consumer Price Index. There is no education Super Bowl or World Cup by which judgments may be made about education status or progress. And this lack of hard measurement, though by no means the only problem, is, I believe, a major and often overlooked barrier to education claiming its share of the news. The reporter who strives to give the reader a sense of change over time — which is what the continuing story is about — must dig in a way that the economics, sports, health, or defense reporter does not. All good reporters must dig a good deal, of course, and the best more than others, but in most fields, the reporter is given a running start because of the way the field organizes and presents itself. Sports is clearly the most dramatic example. Because it is so dramatic, it is easy to slight its fascination with numbers; to do so, however, is to miss the opportunity presented by a very successful object lesson.

Measures of American education need not be mindless box scores, SATs or ACTs, the California Test of Basic Skills, or Stanford-Binet tests. Neither the public nor policy makers much care what the measure is so long as it is reasonably accurate and can be understood without a Ph.D. in statistics or psychometrics. They simply want some "outcome" measures upon which they can rely.

In most activities, the hard news is what we in the trade call "outcome measures," a sort of arithmetic profit and loss statement. The results tell the story, the narrative simply dresses it up. Sports tells it with a vengeance. Travel and food coverage do it. Economics and finance does it. Even health reporting does it. Indeed, in all those areas that receive regular coverage, there is a continuing story as well as breaking news. *Science Times, The New York Times'* excellent weekly supplement, does not need a cholera epidemic to spark a health story or an imminent collision of an asteroid with Earth to cover astronomy. These are subjects with their own internal dynamics that produce regular outcomes that are worth covering. They are disciplines that accumulate knowledge and reveal it. As sciences, they submit to measurement that permits comparison and contrast across time and space.

THE IDEA of measurement implies standards against which we judge performance. Although quantifiable outcomes are easier to report on — the Colts trounced the Bengals twenty-one to fourteen, for example — they are not the only part of the story. Newspapers regularly cover issues for which there is no "hard" measure, no final scores or bottom line. They review movies, plays, concerts, and operas, and the big dailies even have Sunday book sections. There is no set of numbers — except the number of books or seats sold — to which anyone pays attention. But even in the case

of "subjective" coverage, there are commonly held standards, and we find the reviewer penetrating and insightful when we agree, dull and pigheaded when we do not.

But education exists in limbo — anecdotal and subjective stories tell you little. The standards of performance — including the data that would be needed to measure them — are hard if not impossible to find. And far too often the educator's response has been to assert that the numbers are no good, the methodology flawed, the measures inappropriate. While each of these rejoinders is technically correct, they are as politically inappropriate as blaming the thermometer for the fever. If we have inadequate measures of education performance, what should we do to improve them? And while we are at it, why are existing measures so poor? They are not poor because the media prefers it that way or because policy makers wish to remain blissfully ignorant. They are poor, by and large, because the education system — which spends $120 billion per year — strenuously resists measurement.

An example is the mockery the Chief State School Officers have made of the National Assessment of Educational Progress. First, they insisted that there be no national testing: ergo, there would be a *national assessment.* Then they insisted that there be no state-by-state comparisons. Only in November of 1984 have they come to realize that this was a counsel of futility, because this kind of information is precisely what the public wants. It is information that newspapers would give their eyeteeth to get — good, old-fashioned, invidious comparisons. So long as educators refuse to play the game this way, there is no continuing story. Poring over existing data, the reporter finds that all schools look alike, precisely because there is no measurable way to distinguish among them.

In great measure, this is a product of the fact that education is today practiced much as it was in the time of the pre-Socratics: A teacher lectures, students listen. Neither technology nor the "science" of education has

The greater the capacity of the reporter to provide comparison and contrast that can be fairly measured, the better the education story can be told.

significantly changed the process. We are not beneficiaries of a mature discipline that can point to breakthroughs in the way science or medicine can. The truth is that teaching is still more art than science. This does not diminish the enterprise, but it does make it harder to cover. Reporters no less than teachers or parents find it hard to describe and analyze the erosion of standards, the replacement of chronological history with the study of "problems," the "dumbing" of textbooks. In particular, it is no surprise that the reporter who sees the education beat as a preliminary rotation in anticipation of bigger assignments turns to ceremony and process.

FINALLY, REPORTERS, no less than the public at large, are not trained to think about education. And far from inhibiting them, or suggesting humility, it seems to give them license: Indeed, who among us does not think we possess expert knowledge of the system of which we were once all a part?

In part, this is understandable. The vision of the common school was a noble one; it would be an enterprise that would serve all equally and serve all equally well. Schools were not meant to be different — indeed, they were meant to be the same. With the publication of the first Coleman report, many came to believe that this was in fact true. Differences in school outcomes were attributable to differences in children and their backgrounds, not differences in schools. Now what worse message could be sent to teachers — nothing you do makes a difference. It is all luck of the socioeconomic draw.

Fortunately, there has been some progress in education research, and the second Coleman report disabuses us of this preposterous idea. Unfortunately, Coleman's statements about public and private school differences have tended to obscure his most important finding, one that should cause all teachers to take pride in their work: There are differences among schools; it makes a difference which school you go to; and given the choice, go to a good one, not a bad one. The good ones can and do overcome background variables of race, ethnicity, and income. The important difference is not public or private school, but good schools rather than mediocre schools. And what makes the difference? The quality of teaching.

I mention Coleman for another reason. His work is and has been newsworthy. He is the only academic sociologist in history to receive much coverage in the mass media. In part, this is because his conclusions are provocative; but more importantly, his conclusions are backed by numbers. Now they may be wrong numbers, or right numbers wrongly interpreted, or wrong numbers wrongly interpreted, but there is a lesson in this for educators who would like to see education covered every day in the local paper. If education is to be covered as an ongoing story and not just breaking news, there must be a story ongoing, one that can be told, and one that points to, if it does not reach, conclusions. To do this job, numbers are essential, as important to education reporting as to sports reporting.

AS CITIZENS who care about education, we should not exonerate the news media and expect the burden of telling the education story to fall exclusively on the profession. A major barrier to good education reporting is still institutional lethargy in the press. Many editors will not give education the space it deserves. As writers of the caliber of Savage, Feinberg, Fiske, and Bencivenga reveal, education stories "play" if they are carefully reasoned, clearly written, and lively. Reporters with energy, inquiring minds, and editorial support can get good stories.

But the fact remains that, for years, many educators thought silence was golden. To think so today is both delusional and dangerous. The competition for scarce resources in the public sector will continue to intensify, particularly as the baby boom matures and intergenerational friction becomes a reality.

In large measure, future education appropriations — from the federal government, state governments, and localities — will be a function of what policy makers *perceive* to be the place and importance of education in modern society. The use of the term *perceive* is not meant to be pejorative. Modern life is too complex for us to be expert in more than a few things. In a democracy we must rely on perceptions, not all of which can be informed by hard science and fact. But education can, and I am convinced that the more factual the reporting — the greater the capacity of the reporter to provide comparison and contrast that can be fairly measured — the better the education story can be told. The better it is told, the greater the willingness of the public to support it. If education is to get its fair share of public and private resources, then, it must have a story to tell and tell it effectively. To do so, education must submit to measurement, however limited. Without measurement, there is not a continuing education story, only breaking news. As we all know from painful experience, breaking news is too often "bad news." The time-worn adage of politicians — "the only thing worse than bad news is no news" — offers scant comfort. If education is to meet its obligations to the nation's young, the continuing story must find its way into print on a regular basis. □

How Are We Doing?

Taking a Second Look at the Condition of the Country

A Review By Arch Puddington

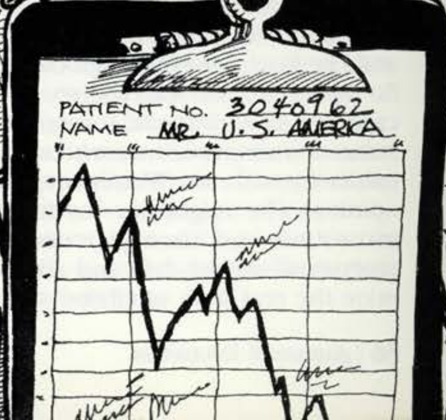
The Good News Is the Bad News Is Wrong by Ben J. Wattenberg (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984, 431 pp. $17.95).

FEW WORDS in the English language have been as systematically abused as the word "crisis." A far-from-complete list of the "crises" that have been heralded over the past decade or so would include an environmental crisis, a cancer crisis, a crisis of dwindling resources, an immigration crisis, a housing crisis, a crisis in structural unemployment, a crisis of female poverty, several educational crises, a crisis of rampant materialism, crises of morals, values, American will. Some crises seem to have taken up permanent residence in the pages of our major newspapers and on the network news programs, although, to be sure, the cause of today's crisis may be fundamentally different from the causes a few years previously. Take the schools. Where public education was once excoriated for a rigid curriculum and an overly regimented classroom environment, now the problem is said to be an absence of discipline and order and a general weakening of academic standards.

In the formation of the perception of the American economy and American institutions as floundering in a perpetual state of anarchy and near collapse, nothing is more crucial than the role played by the mass media. Here an instructive example is the media's coverage of the nuclear power industry. Clearly, the accident at the Three Mile Island power plant was an important event worthy of the critical press attention it received (although not deserving of such headlines as "Nuke Plant Out of Control" or "Nuke Cloud Heading for New York," which appeared in a New York tabloid on successive days). What is questionable, though, is the thrust of coverage devoted to the nuclear industry *after* the accident occurred. Never has an institution been subjected to stricter, and, in some cases, more inane, scrutiny. Article after article appeared in *The New York Times* and other newspapers, providing detailed accounts of practically every routine shutdown or minor malfunction of nuclear plants throughout the country. Every fact reported in these articles may well have been accurate. Nevertheless, the obsessive focus on routine problems that posed no safety threat created, perhaps unintentionally, an impression that serious problems

---

Arch Puddington is executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and editor of Workers Under Communism.


PATIENT NO. 3040962
NAME MR. U.S. AMERICA
Bad Diagnosis for Country's Future
Everything Down
The Journal

existed in every atomic power plant in the United States. The media have also placed the issue of transporting nuclear waste materials in a highly misleading perspective, in the process stimulating an atmosphere of unwarranted semi-hysteria. The result of all this has been to bewilder the public and contribute to the crippling of nuclear power at a time when our most important military and economic rivals are moving forthwith to expand nuclear power production and reduce dependency on oil.

THE CRISIS mongering so evident in the media's treatment of nuclear power is discernible in many other American institutions, although the consequences are not always so readily observable. Often, far too often in fact, the underlying message is that American society has failed. This message is not only wrong, it is a serious strategic mistake, especially for those who care about the continuation of an active role for government in addressing the country's social problems. To begin with, the American people do not believe that their society has failed and have little patience with those in the political realm who preach a message of despair and guilt. On the other hand, there is a noticeable trend for Americans to accept the proposition that *government* has failed and to punish those, mainly liberals, who favor an affirmative role for government in the social sphere. The reasoning is easily enough comprehended. If government social programs, largely conceived and executed by liberals, have fallen well short of the intended results, it necessarily follows that the conservative argument that liberal social programs amount to little more than "throwing money at problems" must contain a good deal of merit. It was precisely this self-defeating liberalism that, for many, seemed to declare, "We have failed; give us a mandate to fail again," that was rejected by the voters in recent national elections.

At a time when many liberals are analyzing and brooding over the implications of the 1984 election, a careful reading of Ben J. Wattenberg's newest book, *The Good News Is the Bad News Is Wrong*, would seem an essential exercise toward the development of the ideas and strategies necessary for future revival. Wattenberg does not write from the perspective of a liberal, and his thesis is not that liberalism has succeeded, but rather that America has succeeded. He is insistent, however, that, to the degree that liberalism has contributed to a successful America (and Wattenberg believes the contribution to be substantial), liberals should claim the credit due them instead of grousing over the fact that a perfect society has not been realized.

The current study is organized much like his two earlier books on the state of American society — *The Real Majority* (co-authored with Richard Scammon) and *The Real America*. Each chapter deals with a specific aspect of American society — the economy, health care, the environment, foreign policy, education, the status of women and minorities, the family, business, the media. In each case, Wattenberg sets forth the dominant opinions (he might say myths) about the particular institution, and then proceeds, through a rigorous analysis of census data and attitudinal polls, to determine the real state of affairs.

To the degree that liberalism has contributed to a successful America, liberals should claim the credit due them instead of grousing over the fact that a perfect society has not been realized.

The message of *The Good News* is likewise similar to the conclusions reached in Wattenberg's earlier books: American society, he is convinced, is far healthier and the American people far more optimistic than our political, intellectual, and media elites would have us believe.

PERHAPS THE most impressive section of *The Good News* deals with media alarmism over environmental and health problems. A few years ago, for example, it was frequently asserted that America faced a looming "epidemic" of cancer, much of which was attributed to workplace and other environmental factors. This theory is effectively demolished by Wattenberg with a straightforward analysis of the relevant data. In fact, any increase in the cancer rate is due to the simple fact that Americans are living longer and are thus more likely to develop cancer in their later years. But when cancer rates are "age adjusted," the data demonstrate that, if anything, cancer levels have actually declined during the postwar period in all categories except lung cancer. Lung cancer, of course, is primarily caused by cigarette smoking, a voluntary act, and not by the existence of carcinogens in our foods, factories, or power plants. Moreover, improvements in the treatment of cancer have produced a veritable revolution in life expectancy for those who contract the disease.

> In the early part of this century, relatively few cancer victims had much expectation of long-term survival. By the 1930s, the data show that the five-year survival rate for cancer patients was about one person in five. By the 1940s, it had climbed to one in four. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was one in three. These days it is better than half, according to the National Cancer Institute.

Official statistics also reveal that overall life expectancy has undergone a dramatic increase during this century, with the most dramatic improvement coming since 1970. Wattenberg notes: "It would be hard to make the case that society is harmful to your health if, collectively, we live so much longer and the gains have been so great so recently."

Furthermore, the data reveal that the increase in life expectancy has not been a phenomenon limited to the better-off in America. "Blacks, disproportionately poor in America and starting from a lower base, have in recent years seen a greater rise in life expectancy at all ages than have whites. Blacks are still behind, but by less than before; about five years behind whites at birth, about three years at age forty, about even at age sixty-five."

While Wattenberg has been an outspoken critic of

extremist tendencies in the environmental and consumer movements, he is generous in giving credit where it is due. He notes that the campaign to increase the safety of American factories, roads, and homes has paid rich dividends, noting that there was a 17 percent drop in the number of deaths due to accidents during the 1970s. At the same time, an across-the-board improvement could be discerned in the environmental sphere: The acreage of land set aside for public parks rose dramatically; and the number of Americans who made use of our parklands rose at an even greater rate (64 percent between 1970-83). The number of Americans served by municipal systems that treat waste water rose from 40 million in 1960 to 157 million in 1980. By almost every measurement, air pollution has declined substantially just in the years 1975-82. And then there is evidence of a more anecdotal nature: that Lake Erie, once considered nearly dead, supports extensive recreational use; that salmon fishing thrives on Lake Ontario for the first time in years; that swimming may soon be permitted in the Potomac River.

These results constitute nothing short of a revolution in America's treatment of the environmental problem. Yet the achievements spelled out by Wattenberg were made during a period when, according to the media and the environmental movement, America faced an ecological crisis of unprecedented dimensions. The most significant environmental development — massive, widespread progress — was buried beneath a constant stream of stories about the impending depletion of the ozone layer, toxic waste poisoning, the menace of nuclear power, the ravaging of forests by acid rain.

In the space of a single generation, the percentage of older Americans living in poverty has been reduced by about two-thirds.

ANOTHER AREA where a dramatic transformation has been recorded is the socioeconomic status of the elderly. In the space of a single generation, the percentage of older Americans living in poverty has been reduced by about two-thirds, from 35 percent in 1959 to under 15 percent in 1982. Even more impressive has been the reduction of the ratio of poverty among the elderly to poverty in general. Back in 1959, 35 percent of the aged were living in poverty; the rate for the population as a whole was then 21 percent. In 1982, on the other hand, the two rates were about the same: 15 percent for the aged, 15 percent for all persons. Moreover, if one figures in the value of the various social benefit programs, which in recent years have gone disproportionately to the elderly, the percentage of the elderly impoverished is reduced much further, to a mere 4.1 percent. Wattenberg emphasizes the crucial role of Supplementary Security Income payments, a federal welfare program for the elderly, blind, and disabled Americans that was enacted, almost without notice, in 1974. This program, he maintains, "has had the effect of de-stigmatizing a quiet transfer of funds to a group of Americans who need the money and to whom most other Americans do not begrudge it." Furthermore, Wattenberg points out that while most Social Security and Medicare payments are apportioned to people above the poverty line, this fact does not demonstrate, as some critics suggest, that America has turned its back on the poor. He notes: "One big reason that so many of the Social Security recipients are now 'middle class' is precisely because Social Security has helped push them up into these brackets." Wattenberg persuasively describes these developments as a "massive, unprecedented transfer and redistribution of wealth, which affected just about every senior citizen in America."

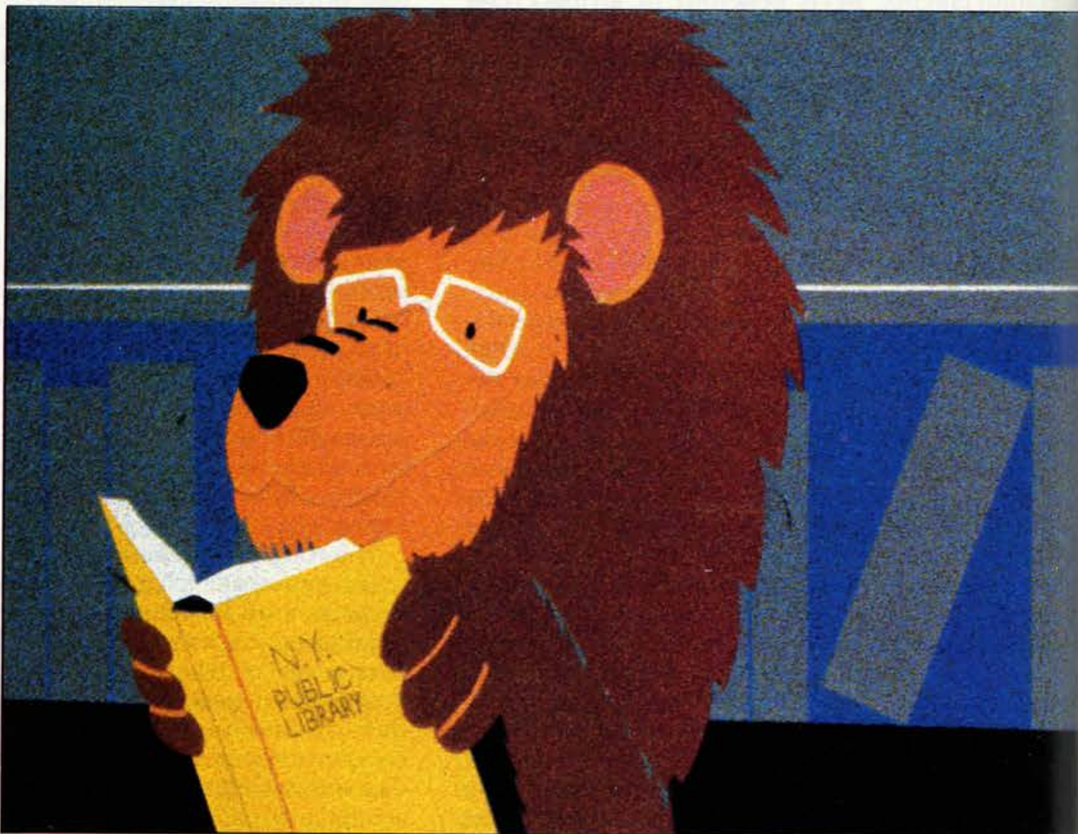
The condition of black Americans has also undergone some impressive changes, although the evidence of progress must be weighed against the persistence of a number of serious problems. On the positive side, the percentage of blacks living in the suburbs has risen dramatically, as has the percentage of those owning their own home. Despite major differences over such controversies as busing and affirmative action, polling data indicate higher and higher levels of racial tolerance among whites. Blacks have also registered important gains in education: Black college enrollment has skyrocketed, blacks aged twenty-five to twenty-nine have achieved essential parity with whites in terms of the number of school years completed. Blacks have also been increasing their membership in the higher paying and more prestigious occupations at a faster pace than whites. Blacks are less likely than in previous years to work as maids, hod carriers, and farm workers and more likely to work as computer specialists, skilled technicians, nurses, and accountants. The number of black military officers has increased at a far higher rate than whites; the number of black-owned businesses continues to rise; and the number of black elected officials has grown by substantial numbers.

On the negative side, the unemployment rate for black adults remains at a critical level, generally about twice the rate for whites. When times are prosperous, black joblessness stands at levels generally deemed recessionary; when times are bad, black joblessness rises to Depression-era levels. Blacks are also much more likely to be the victims of violent crime than whites, and as Wattenberg notes, if the crime rate in the black community is decreasing, it is not by much. Finally, there is the massive increase in the number of illegitimate births, divorces, and female-headed households, a development that Wattenberg credits as a major reason for the persistence of black poverty and the failure of black income to rise as a percentage of white income.

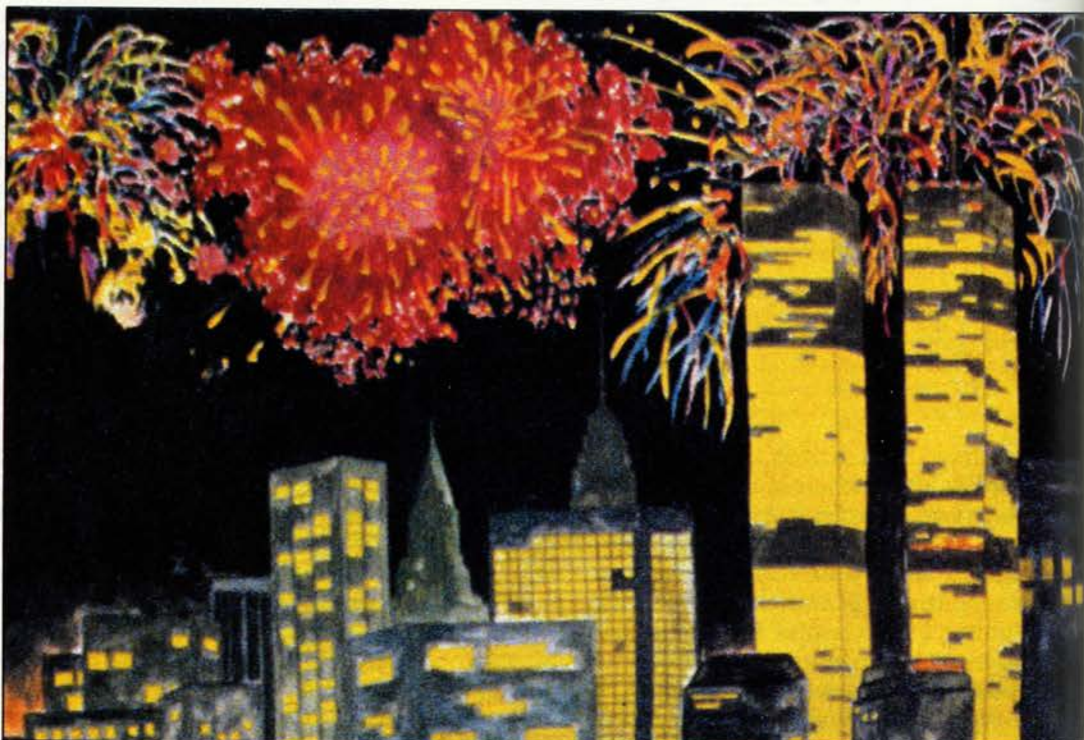
While the record of black progress is a mixed one, the status of blacks is substantially better than generally believed. More to the point, the major remaining problems — notably adult unemployment and the rise in female-headed households — can be dealt with through

(Continued on page 46)

Brolio Melendez
Grade 12
High School of Art and Design
New York, N.Y.
Teacher: Frank Iovino



Amy Law
Grade 8
Marie Curie JHS
Queens, N.Y.
Teacher: Rose Mosner



Car cards: Over three thousand original student works of art were seen by hundreds of thousands of people as they rode the city's buses and subways. The cards, sized to the exact transit dimensions, allowed space for the student's name, age, school, and teacher.

On Exhibit: Children's Art Goes Public

This 4' x 6' acrylic on wood brightens a subway station as part of the city's Adopt-a-Station program.

By Naomi Spatz

WHILE ART may have its own rewards, there is an undeniable exhilaration for the artist of any age to see his work in a public space. As one sixth grader put it, "When you see your work in public, you think, 'Wow! Am I really this good?' "

There are endless opportunities for children's art to go public.

Naomi Spatz is assistant director of public relations for the United Federation of Teachers in New York City.

Teachers have been ingenious, taking the child's first offering from the home, moving it to the classroom, school hallways, and then out into the world. Banks, shopping centers, corporate headquarters, supermarkets, hospitals, nursing homes, walls of buildings, subways, buses, and railway stations have all played host to children's art, and now their offerings have crossed the oceans to foster international cultural understanding. One teacher's idea has spawned others; successful performance has gained institutional acceptance,

Entries in Channel 13's Student Art Festival are shown on television during station breaks.

Prisca Ekken
Grade
I.S. 4
New York, N.Y

Maria Rodriguez
Grade 12
St. John Villa H.S.
Staten Island, N.Y.

ven eagerness, to exhibit student achievement in self-expression.

The simple fact is that the public loves children's art, and the child — whatever his or her age — gets a super surge of self-esteem when that art goes public.

The New York City experience is worthwhile looking at because it has a bit of everything or, perhaps, a bit more of everything. With its hundreds of galleries, world-renowned museums, and art auction houses, New York City is the art capital of this country, perhaps the world. While New York has all these stimuli, it is highly competitive: It may be easier to obtain exhibition space outside of New York.

Nevertheless, New York City teachers have met the challenge and found ways to get students to create art and to go public with it. These teachers have been supported by the board of education, by parent and community groups, by public authorities, by networking (IMPACT II), and, most importantly, by a very active New York City Art Teachers Association (NYCATA) within the United Federation of Teachers, local 2 of the American Federation of Teachers. Anyone who has ever been involved in an exhibit — publicizing an art competition, stimulating entrants, organizing and judging the event — knows that careful planning is needed. AFT local unions can play a major role—with an art committee acting as coordinator.

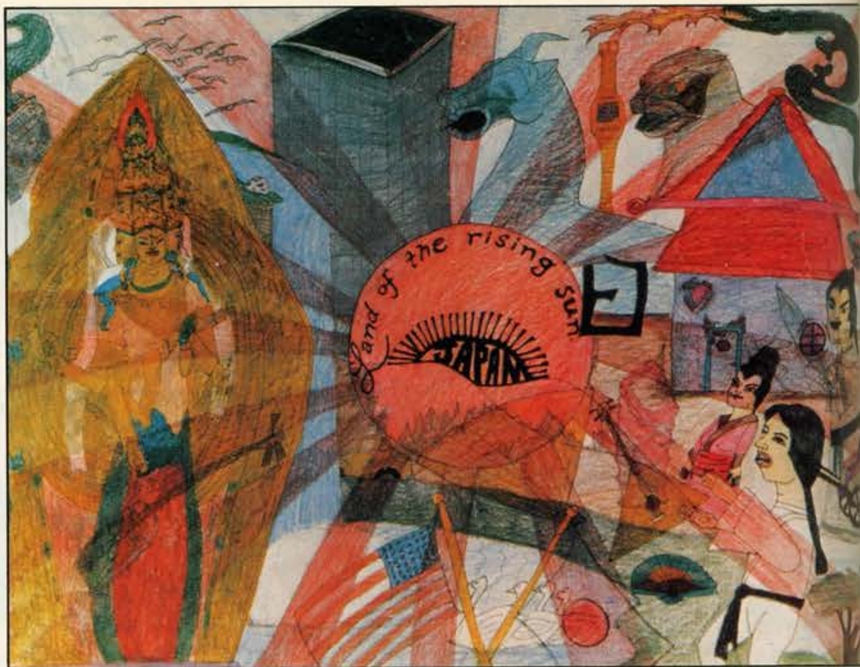
The UFT took an active role in promoting student art in public places as part of its campaign to counter the "bad" image that schools had. Parents, teachers, and students knew that learning and art flourished in the schools, but often the public, who had no contact with schools, held negative views. The UFT sponsored a number of student art exhibits, including a citywide "design-a-card" competition. Winning designs were printed in color and sold as all-purpose greeting cards. They were used by AFT president Albert Shanker and other UFT officers and members as holiday greeting cards. Gift packs of cards were sent to legislators and policymakers to show the good work coming out of the schools. The winners, in addition to getting printed copies of their own work, won U.S. Savings Bonds.

Some art teachers, including Joan Davidson, the president of NYCATA/UFT, have reservations about the winning-losing aspects of art competitions, such as medals awarded at New York state's Olympics of the Visual Arts. While realizing that "competition in our society is inevitable," Davidson says, "art *always* involves a personal success." To emphasize the positive aspects of the art experience and counter the negative win-lose side, Davidson reminds students who are entering competitions that "there is no right answer, judges are subjective, and many artists whose work hangs in museums today never exhibited or sold a painting in their lifetime."

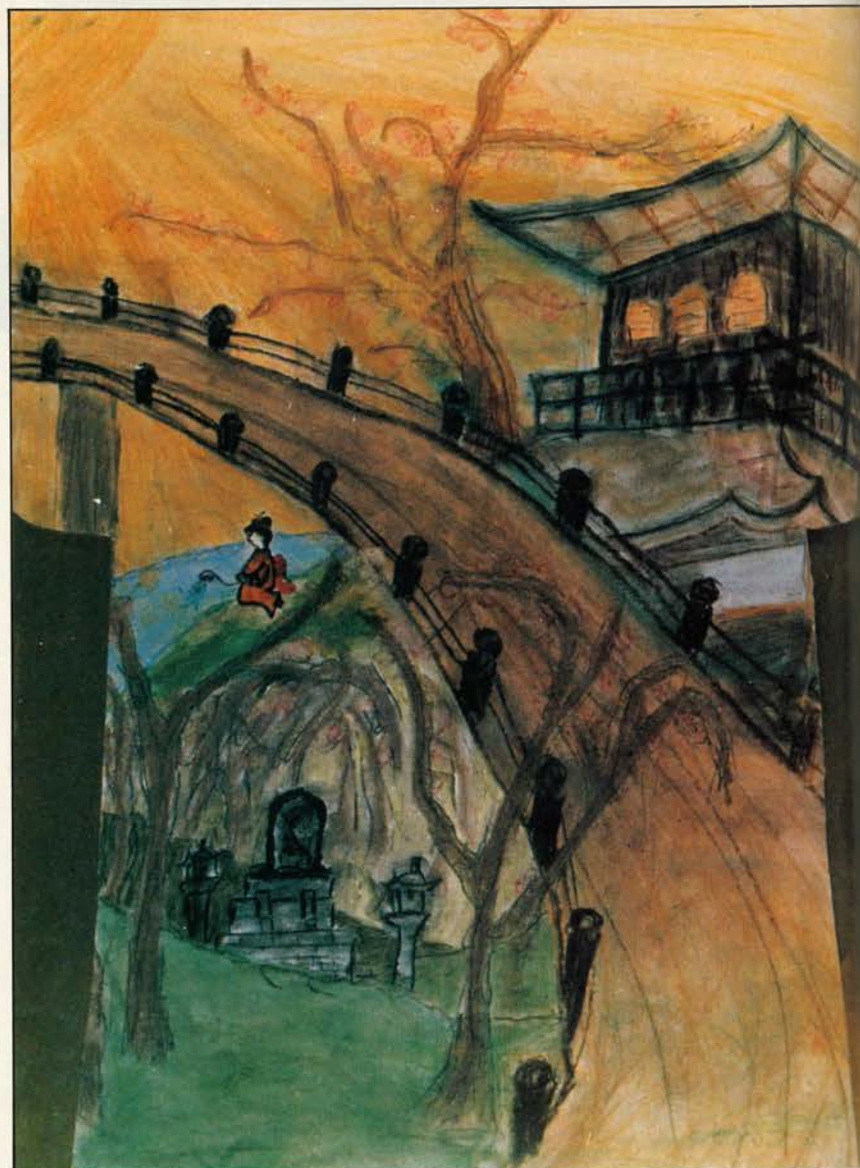
One approach that gives every serious entrant public space but yet rewards excellence is New York City's Bus and Subway Car Card Competition. Over three thousand original student works of art are displayed on buses and subways, traveling hundreds of miles around the city. Twelve entrants in different age categories win awards for the excellence of their designs, and their work is displayed in New York City's transit museum. The winners, their teachers, and their parents are honored at a special city ceremony. The project is a cooperative effort of the UFT, which publicizes the event in the union newspaper and prints and distributes the car cards; the transit authorities, which offer the space and hang the artwork; the Art Teachers Association, which serves as both catalyst and judge, along with the board of education; and of course, the classroom teacher, whether artist or not, who encourages the child to enter the competition. (The car cards, sized to the required transit dimensions, are imprinted by the UFT with set spaces for the student's name, age, school, and teacher.)

Television offers other opportunities for student art to go public. Channel 13, the PBS channel in the New York City metropolitan area, sponsors an annual Student Art Festival. Each year, three thousand students submit paintings or photos to the festival from which one hundred or more are selected for a tour of the tri-state area of New Jersey, Connecticut, and New York. Entries are shown on television during station breaks. NYCATA/UFT selected fifty-two winning entries from city students to exhibit at the UFT's student art gallery. (The UFT's second floor meeting room walls have been turned over to the art teachers for student art exhibitions.)

In addition to individual efforts at self-expression, teachers have found good community outlets for group work. Student artists, working together, have painted murals on nursing home walls to cheer the patients, decorated supermarket windows with holiday themes, and designed murals for blank walls to beautify neighborhoods. One exciting and practical project



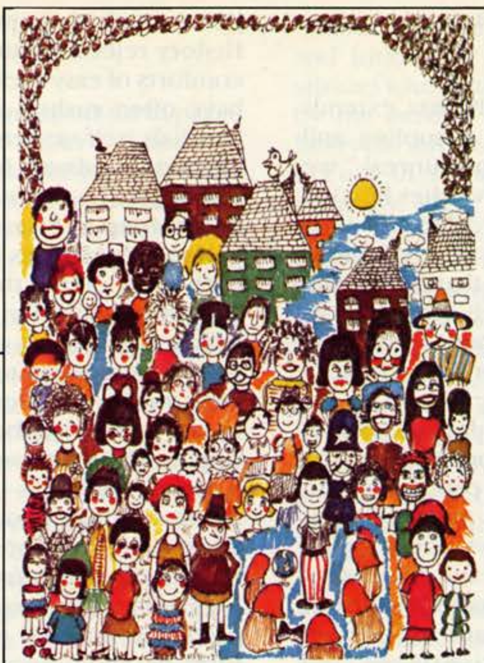
Margaret Anderson
Age 15
Pulaski Middle School
Detroit, Mich.
Teacher: Suzie Dickow



Caitlin Kirmser
Age 13
John Philip Sousa J.H.S.
Port Washington, N.Y.
Teacher: Jean Coran

Winners of Japan Trail '84 — and their art teachers — traveled to Japan for a two-week tour of that country's art and culture.

Emily Putterman
9th Grade
Junior High School 234
Brooklyn, N.Y.



Everyone sending — and receiving — one of these greeting cards is reminded of the high-quality work coming out of the public schools.

Erica Pickman
2nd Grade
Public School 4
Staten Island, N.Y.

was a combined school and community effort to decorate subway stations as part of the city's Adopt-a-Station program. Under the guidance of an enthusiastic teacher-artist, high school students learned to use color and form to design murals in silhouette. They were painted at subway stations, each mural showing what that neighborhood is known for — shopping, schools, etc. The teacher on the project, Joyce Ellen Weinstein, reports that the kids were overwhelmed with their success, and the neighborhood loved and respected these murals — none has ever been defaced by graffiti.

Student art is also traveling abroad. One show went to Japan — on TDK's Japan Trail — accompanied by the students and their teachers. In a competition sponsored by TDK, the Japanese audio/video tape company, and with the assistance of the Asia Society, seventh and eigth graders from six cities across the country submitted their visual impressions of Japan. Students and teachers were selected to visit Japan for two weeks during the summer, to meet students and their families, and to explore Japanese art and culture. This year, TDK and the Asia Society are extending the Japan Trail competition to more American cities, and India is joining the international student art exchange.

Wherever the art goes, in the beginning it is individual self-expression. Teachers use many different approaches to spark that expression. Most agree, however, that when the student artists see their work on exhibit, they experience a surge of self-esteem and confidence that is irrepressible, causing teacher and school to seek ever new avenues for children's art going public. □

Finding Who and Where We Are

(Continued from page 21)

History, together with literature and the arts, extends our experience. To those who decry schooling and book learning as merely secondhand and "unreal," we must respond in two ways. First, whatever lies beyond our immediate experience is no less real for all that. Even a secondhand notion of reality is better than ignorance. Further, it is universally evident that direct and secondhand experience work upon each other to clarify and deepen both. The more we know of life, the better we understand history. The more we know of history, the better we understand life.

As extension of experience, history lets us look at other people, places, and times — for perspective, the ability to compare ourselves and our problems with them and theirs. Perspective nourishes patience, sympathy, courage — antidotes to anger, envy, and self-pity. Without perspective, how shall democratic citizens respond to leaders who must, in deTocqueville's words, "stand apart from the tendencies of the age and present men, when necessary, with alternative views and values?" All — not only the few — in a democracy must have wisdom about human nature, about people's needs and desires as these are revealed by philosophy and history.

WISDOM IS a big word. In what sense is it nurtured by history? Can the study of history through the secondary school actually develop qualities of mind that approach political wisdom? Let us take a few examples. The young surely can learn history's great law of consequence: Whatever is done, or not done, will have its price and will be paid for, perhaps twice over, by somebody (often innocent), sooner or later. That lesson from Thucydides, or from the origins of the War of 1914-18, or from the history of slavery in the United States, is, moreover, frequently reinforced by hard experience in the playground or on the street.

History also suggests reasonable expectations of life and politics. It repeatedly teaches a dual lesson: the everlasting hardness of most human enterprise and the ever-recurring margin of chance to make things better, just enough to impose on us the duty to persevere. History rejects optimism and pessimism, refuses us the comforts of easy idealism and easy cynicism. Americans have often rushed from liberal crusades to the most churlish, self-centered hopelessness, prey to the disillusion that always follows upon illusion over what it is reasonable to expect from life — the mark of a people unschooled in history.

History proposes a sensible definition of heritage as both the good and the bad imposed upon us by the past.

History proposes a sensible definition of heritage as both the good and the bad imposed upon us by the past. Western civilization is not treasure alone but a mixed legacy of resources and limitations we must understand if our choices are to be made realistically. Heritage is what we have to work with, no more and no less. If we ignore it, we risk the future. If we fail to recognize the origins, the costs and complexity, the fragility of our heritage, we shall — like Ortega's mass man — assume that everything good from the past is somehow given, permanent, free for our instant gratification, requiring nothing in return from us.

History offers no blueprint, no specific solution to particular political problems. One of its lessons is the folly of expecting such. The essence of history is change. Still, it reveals much about human behavior, its possibilities and its limits, what may be expected under certain conditions, the danger signs to be noted, the aspirations to be taken into account, the effects of pride and ideology, the fruits of endurance and attention to detail. It suggests the insights sometimes gained out of failure and the dangerous temptations of success. Again, the lessons do not tell what is certain, only what may sensibly be expected.

In sum, historical study offers the citizen the perspective, the sense of reality and proportion that is the first mark of political wisdom. As James Howard and Thomas Mendenhall say in *Making History Come Alive*, the student comes to see that not every difficulty is a problem and not every problem is a crisis. Restraint and good judgment are the fruits of perspective. Whether difficulty, problem or crisis, all have their dimensions in time. Too long have Americans debated political choice as though nothing had ever happened before, as though the past had left behind neither lessons nor limits for our choices. The saddest proof that we have failed to take seriously deTocqueville's plea to educate democracy is our casual, chaotic, and minimal schooling in history.

The study of history does not guarantee either wisdom or courage. There are too many ways to be unwise or defeatist. But its perspectives do innoculate us against some of the lower orders of stupidity, those states of mindless illusion and disillusion that discourage us from working hard at learning anything at all. No other study comes so close to placing us in reality, but it must reach far beyond Professor Donald's history of the United States. We cannot know ourselves without knowing the entire Western past. We cannot know others, or our situation and theirs, without knowing the history of the rest of the world. As long as we deny ourselves a usable past, we shall have nothing to measure ourselves by. Until history, both Western and non-Western, takes its full role in American schools, we shall remain captive to amnesia, disoriented, often depressed and, possibly, as David Donald said, dangerous. □

(Continued from page 27)

dustrial peace, as many thunderers in the editorial pages and in broadcasting would have us believe. Whenever the public interest is threatened, the media bellow for arbitration. Arbitration is highly useful, particularly in industry; but if it is overused or misused, arbitration will dilute the benefits of the national collective bargaining policy.

I have emphasized that arbitrators do not compromise. This is certainly true of grievance arbitration, but the very purpose and design of interest arbitration is to carry on, at the level of the interest arbitration board, those failed negotiations that led the parties to an impasse. In such an arbitration (typically quasi-legislative rather than quasi-judicial in nature), a majority vote of the arbitration board is required. The impartial arbitrator, whose signature to the award is indispensable for a majority decision, has the clout to force concessions from his colleagues that in the pre-arbitration contract negotiations the parties themselves were unwilling or unable to make. If he cannot obtain unanimity, he is in a position to persuade them to narrow their differences in the controversy and then obtain concurrence from one or another of his colleagues to a decision that he perceives as fair. In this process, compromise, a procedure alien to the quasi-judicial process of grievance arbitration, is not only useful but, manifestly, essential.

Interest arbitration is not favored by most employers and unions. It chills collective bargaining and substitutes a neutral's decision for one that should be made by the parties that must administer and abide by it. Resort to interest arbitration in the public sector usually occurs in situations in which work stoppages may critically affect a broad public interest. Whether interest arbitration should or should not be invoked (notwithstanding the damage it might wreak upon collective bargaining) is a most difficult decision to make. An interest award may be rendered, and a court may require compliance with its provisions. No assurances exist, however, that employees will work for the wages and under the conditions that the interest arbitrators have imposed. In a highly critical labor dispute, if they should refuse to do so, the foundations of a democratic society would be tested and strained. This has always been successfully avoided in the past, but the hazards persist.

"EVEN THE weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea," according to Swinburne. A squint at the mortality tables informs me that the same can be said of a long career in arbitration. I have found immense satisfaction in the struggle to ascertain what is true or false and in the effort to determine what is fair and just. Arbitration has afforded me that experience because it substitutes a system of civil adjudication and social order for economic force and warfare. I am grateful to have been a part of such a civilized system. □

Humanities Education—

long the subject of vigorous debate in the United States, is currently undergoing renewed, even impassioned, scrutiny. Indeed, although most educators agree that English, history, and foreign languagues should be taught in American high schools, heated—frequently skeptical—discussion of the place and purpose of the humanities in the curriculum has become a significant focus of the growing national concern with excellence in education.

In response, Holmes & Meier is pleased to offer two new works that examine this very topic.

AGAINST MEDIOCRITY
The Humanities in America's High Schools
edited by Chester E. Finn, Jr., Diane Ravitch, and Robert T. Fancher

Distinguished scholars, educators, and educational policy makers assess existing high-school humanities programs and suggest workable means of improving the quality and value of teaching.

"The essays in *Against Mediocrity* are excellent. All of them are written in English, not educationese, and several of them . . . are deeply moving. . . . The strong language and blunt conclusions of *Against Mediocrity* are welcome."
—The New York Times Book Reivew

276 pp. cl. $29.50 pa. $11.50

CHALLENGES TO THE HUMANITIES
edited by Chester E. Finn, Jr., Diane Ravitch, and Holley Roberts

In this provocative volume, the fundamental challenges to the humanities are addressed by leading scholars and educators. As in the related work, *Against Mediocrity*, their spirited yet purposeful examination of such topics as the humanities and democracy in America, the humanities and our cultural heritage, and the humanities vis-à-vis the social and natural sciences consistently links sound humanities teaching to an overall rise in educational quality.

spring 1985 250 pp.

HM
HOLMES & MEIER
30 Irving Place New York, NY 10003

DIANE RAVITCH

The Schools We Deserve

Reflections on the Educational Crisis of Our Time

This major new book brings together the major essays of one of the nation's leading commentators on education. Diane Ravitch here demonstrates the combination of good writing, sound judgement, common sense, and historical scholarship that have earned her a unique place among writers on American education. In these essays, Ravitch examines the major controversies of our time—the use and misuse of tests, tuition tax credits, the place of humanities in the curriculum, desegregation, bilingual education, and the debate about the quality of education in American schools. Together, the pieces illustrate Ravitch's understanding of the relation between schools and society, her recognition of the unintended consequences of educational reform, her faith in the disciplined use of intelligence for social improvement, and her abiding commitment to good schooling.
$19.95

The Troubled Crusade

American Education 1945–1980

Ravitch's widely praised history of the controversies that have beset American schools and universities since World War II is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the condition of American education today. "The right book at the right time."—HAROLD HOWE, II, former U.S. Commissioner of Education
Now in paperback, $8.95
cloth, $19.95

Basic Books, Inc.

10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022

HOW ARE WE DOING?
(Continued from page 37)

a combination of government policies, economi
growth, and attitudinal changes within the black com
munity. That the condition of blacks is not hopeles
needs to be acknowledged if for no other reason than t
convince the American people that government initia
tives can make a difference.

IT IS especially instructive to read Wattenberg's ac
count of American success after an immersion, such
as I have recently had, in the study of social condition
in the Communist world. The contrasts, particularl
between the Soviet Union and the United States, are
striking, and even more striking given the fact that i
many areas where progress has been registered in the
United States, the Soviet Union has experienced a
measurable decline. Infant mortality rates in the Unite
States have shown a steady decrease, even during th
worst recessionary periods; in the Soviet Union they
have risen, a development almost unheard of in the
industrialized world. Male life expectancy has risen i
America; it has dropped in the U.S.S.R. The United State
has an aggressive environmental movement and an im
pressive record of progress in the fight against pollu
tion; in the Soviet Union, environmentalists must pub
lish their writings in *samizdat* while efforts to stem
pollution are invariably given a low priority. America i
in the midst of an explosion of technological in
novation; the Soviets must purchase (or steal) high
technology from Western nations. Elderly Americans
can look forward to retirement in dignity; senior
citizens in the Soviet Union must accept menial jobs i
order to supplement measly pensions.

The reason that the United States is gaining while our
major rival has stagnated has very little to do with
differences in climate or the inherent backwardness o
the Russian people. Our strength, rather, derives from a
system that encourages initiative, innovation, and par
ticipation, in sharp contrast to the Soviet system, which
punishes competence and assumes that a centra
government, and only a central government, should se
the priorities for society.

Although *The Good News* was not intended as a class
room text, it would serve as a valuable resource in any
course that examines American democracy. While not a
theoretical study, *The Good News* presents, in a highly
readable and consistently direct way, a powerful cas
for the success of democracy as it has evolved in this
country. Freedom, in the broadest sense, has made it
possible for the American people to select from a wide
variety of career, housing, geographic, educational, and
political options. Democracy has made America a
strong society, militarily, economically, and in
tellectually, as well as a tolerant society (witness our
willingness to accept large numbers of foreign immi
grants each year). The message of American success is
one that the American people seldom hear from a media
obsessed with the latest crisis of the week. It is, never
theless, something that Americans seem instinctively to
understand. This vague recognition, unformed and
poorly articulated, has now been given order and sub
stance in Ben Wattenberg's remarkable book. □

Letters

PROFESSIONAL ISOLATION

As a long-time specialist teacher, I am grateful to Susan J. Rosenholtz and Susan J. Kyle for writing their article on a problem that has escaped public scrutiny for a long time: teacher isolation (Winter 1984). Sometimes even practice teaching, strange as it may seem, may give a strong taste of what is to come, especially in the case of young specialists, who are often sent to scantily supplied schools where they are the only ones providing instruction in their area. This isolation continues into professional life, as there is very often no way to integrate the subject taught into the overall curriculum. Periodic supervisor visits may often reinforce feelings of being totally alone, incompetent, and helpless. And a cardinal rule is never to air classroom gripes at lunch, if diets and movies are the favorite topics. Often the air is full of distrust, negativism, and outright malice born of frustration. Classroom teachers certainly suffer, but the problem is often compounded for specialists. Here's hoping for more collaborative schools. Then everyone will benefit, most of all, of course, the children.

—MIRIAM GREENWALD
Merion Station, PA

MORE USES OF ERROR

In her otherwise excellent article entitled "The Uses of Error," Angelica Braestrup makes a few errors she might care to make use of.

She gives an example of a chemistry (more appropriately, physics) multiple-choice question showing two spherical balloons at the same temperature, one with a radius about twice that of the other. Since the balloons have necks at the bottom with strings attached, they may be assumed to be identical toy rubber balloons. The question is: Is the pressure in the larger balloon

A) Greater than that in the smaller?
B) Less than that in the smaller?
C) The same as that in the smaller?
D) None of the above?

Since every possible relationship is covered in responses A, B, and C, answer D is a "filler" as would be recognized by an ignorant but intelligent student.

She suggests that the uncertain student may choose C "... because, so they tell me, it seems the 'safest.'" To the ignorant but intelligent student, C will appear the most dangerous because it is the most specific.

Since the ignorant but intelligent student has reduced the choices from four to two, the "odds" are now in his/her favor and he/she should guess either A or B. This is a bad multiple-choice question simply because it is impossible to formulate four "attractive" answers only one of which is correct.

But the question is scientifically bad also. Ms. Braestrup says she is "... barely a novice student in science," but she falls into a trap she seeks to have students avoid. She has RECOGNITION rather than KNOWING. She recognizes that the problem involves pressures and volumes as does Boyle's Law, but she does not know that in addition to equality of temperature, Boyle's Law requires the equality of the amount (mass) of gas. From her figures, I estimate the larger balloon has four times the gas as the smaller. Using Boyle's Law, she concludes that the smaller balloon has a greater pressure than the larger balloon.

We are not told the relaxed size of the balloons. If the smaller is relaxed and the larger is blown up, then the pressure in the larger is greater.

Pressure in a toy balloon is a complicated business. It is hard to START blowing up a balloon because of the relatively sharp curvature of its surface. Once the inflation is started, the pressure drops and inflation becomes easier as the curvature of its surface becomes more gradual. Rubber is a complex material. If you stretch a rubber band, you will find the force to elongate it increases roughly proportionally to the stretch until you near the breaking point where the rubber becomes much stiffer. If the larger balloon is ready to burst, it may have the greater pressure.

The question is, therefore, scientifically bad. To improve the question, one would have to state the relaxed radius of the balloons and the inflated radii of each together with the stress-strain function for the rubber. Given all this information, the analysis is highly advanced, and Boyle's Law is quite irrelevant!

At the risk of making this letter too long, let me state a similar but much simpler question: Given two soap bubbles of different size blown from the same soap mixture, which has the greater pressure? (The smaller does.)

—JAMES RICHARDS
Professor of Physics
Agricultural and Technical College
Delhi, NY

The author responds:
I would like to thank Professor Richards as well as the others who wrote in pointing out my errors. I intend to follow my own advice and learn from them.

—ANGELICA BRAESTRUP

ONE TEACHER'S LEGACY

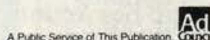
Your article "Resilient Children" evoked personal memories of a special teacher who was a role model in 1939 and who used "positive experiences at school" way before others to help alleviate the stresses of children in P.S. 43, the Bronx.

After the death of my father, I was transferred to a school that gave con-

PLEASE DON'T SLAM THE DOOR WHEN OUR COLLECTION AGENCY DROPS BY.

50% of our nation's blood supply is donated through the Red Cross. Much of it comes from blood drives set up by companies just like yours. So please keep your doors open. And arrange a blood drive tailored to your company.

American Red Cross



TEACHERS

School Administrators,
All School Personnel
Needed Now

LOCAL & NATIONWIDE

Write or Call
Immediately
for application

(212) 548-3267
(201) 944-6181
(201) 944-6311

AAA TEACHERS AGENCY
525 Main St. Fort Lee, NJ 07024

Don't let your lungs go to pot.

Smoking marijuana is a lot more dangerous than you think. And a lot less cool.

Recent studies show that pot can do a lot more damage to your lungs than anyone ever thought. Especially if you're young.

So, if you smoke, or if you're thinking about it, think again.

Space contributed by the publisher as a public service

stant corporal punishment, and I deteriorated after a two-year bout. Luckily, I moved and was placed in Miss Helen Norris's class. She launched me emotionally for life. She gave me jobs to do that made me feel unique and important: watering plants, filing, marking test papers, doing errands. She gave me "an environment that was predictable" and I healed. She talked with me daily and complimented me while giving "meaning to my life." I dreamed of being a teacher like her who made drill full of fun and laughter. At Christmas, she took us all to a toy store and gave us $5 to buy anything we wanted! She was caring and competent.

We had warmth and a relaxed time in her class while we grew academically. I kept my dream and became a teacher, modeling my class after hers! I regret I never returned to tell her what she did for me. Maybe giving her apples and waiting outside her door, long after I was in her class, gave the message. She gave me a legacy for life.

—NORA KELLY POLINSKI
Valley Stream, NY

HUCK'S MORALS

In her article "What's Moral About Huckleberry Finn" (Fall 1984), the writer, June Edwards, defines "true morality" as something that "lay not in the religious teachings of the day but in the actions of this uncultured boy who followed his own feelings, defied authority, and helped a fellow human being gain freedom."

Stripped of all its outward trappings, this type of morality boils down to a matter of personal preference — the situation determines right or wrong. If all members of any given society were to accept this standard of morality, survival of that society would be short-lived. To document this last statement, see Arnold Toynbee's *Civilization on Trial* and/or Erwin Lutzer's *The Morality Gap*. How would it be possible under the system advocated by June Edwards to measure the morality of any action if the standard of measurement is constantly changing — that is, each person using the situation to determine what indeed is right or what is wrong?

—JAMES H. SEAHOLM
Sawyer, MI

HUGE SAVINGS ON POPULAR MAGAZINES

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES

9 Northern Blvd., Box 258
Greenvale, N.Y. 11548 516-671-7744

WORLD BOOK ENCYCLOPEDIA--Endorsed as best product of its kind!
SPECIAL SALE PRICE--84 ed. Limited, while supply lasts.
Call or write for sale price quotation.

PUBLICATION	USUAL PRICE	YOUR PRICE
..ir Progress		22.50
..erican Artist:9 is.	18.00	10.97
..erican Film	20.00	12.97
..erican Health:9 is.		11.95
..erican Heritage	24.00	18.00
..er.Photographer(8 iss)		6.65
..ericana	11.90	6.00
..alog:Sci-Fi:10 iss	16.25	9.97
..tique Monthly	18.00	9.97
..rchaeology		18.00
..t News	22.00	16.95
..e Artist's Mag.(9 iss)		9.97
..ts & Activities	15.00	13.50
..ts & Antiques	36.00	24.95
..t & Auction	36.00	26.95
..ts Magazine	33.00	30.00
..mov Sci-Fi:10 iss	16.25	9.97
..ronomy (9 iss)	18.00	15.75
..lantic Monthly	18.00	9.95
..tenzione (8 iss)	15.25	7.97
..dio	17.94	8.97
..dubon Magazine	16.00	15.00
..to Racing Digest	7.95	5.97
..toweek (30 iss)	12.60	9.90
..ckpacker	18.00	14.97
..seball Digest:10iss	12.46	7.97
..sketball Digest	9.95	7.97
..auty Digest	15.00	11.70
..stways	12.00	7.95
..tter Homes & Gardens		12.97
..cycling	14.97	9.97
..rd Watchers Digest		11.00
..ck Enterprise	10.00	6.00
..ardroom Reports		14.97
..ating	18.00	15.97
..n Appetit		15.00
..ttom Line/Personal		9.99
..wling Digest	12.00	9.97
..siness Advocate	28.00	19.95
..siness Week	39.95	27.95
..lifornia:(CA only)	15.00	7.50
..mpus Life		14.95
..r & Driver	15.00	9.99
..r Craft	12.94	7.97
..ts	16.50	11.95
..t Fancy	15.97	11.95
..tholic Digest		10.97
..nging Times:15 is.	18.00	9.87
..rist'n Sci.Monitor	96.00	72.00
6 Months		38.00
CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE SECTION		
..ys Life (13 iss)	10.80	9.96
..ickadee:age 3-8		15.00
..ild Life:age 6-10	11.95	9.97
..ildrens Dig:7-11	11.95	9.97
..ildr. Playmate:4-8	11.95	9.97
..blestone:8-13		18.50
..icket: age 6-13	18.50	15.75
..ony Jr: age 6-12	8.00	5.00
..fted Children Newsletter		24.00
..mpty Dumpty:age 4-7	11.95	9.97
..k & Jill:age 6-8	11.95	9.97
.., MD:age 9-13	11.95	8.95
..pet: age 8-14		6.00
..yssey:9 iss:8-14	12.50	11.00
.. age 8 & up		15.00
..e Soup: age 8-12	17.50	15.95
..tle: pre-school	11.95	9.97

PUBLICATION	USUAL PRICE	YOUR PRICE
-COMPUTER TEACHERS,USERS,BUFFS		
A+(2)	24.97	19.97
Ahoy(3)		19.95
Analog Computing(5)	28.00	24.00
Antic(5)	24.00	21.95
Apple Orchard(2)		24.00
Byte		21.00
Classroom Computer Learning (with directories)	22.50	15.95
Color Micro Jnl(1)	16.50	15.50
Compute!	24.00	20.00
Compute's Gazette(3)		24.00
Computerworld		44.00
Computer Graphic Wld		30.00
Computers & Electron.	16.97	12.97
Computing Teacher		21.50
Creative Computing	24.97	19.97
Digital Review	29.97	24.97
Dr. Dobbs Journal		25.00
Electronic Learning	19.00	15.00
80 Micro(1)	24.97	21.97
Electronic Games	28.00	19.97
Enter(for children 10-16)		12.95
Family Computing: 8 iss.		9.97
Forum 68	21.00	19.95
Hot CoCo(1)	24.97	21.97
InCider(2)	24.97	21.97
MacWorld((2)	31.00	24.00
Micro		24.00
Microsystems	26.97	21.97
PC(4) (26 iss per yr)	34.97	29.97
PC Age(4)	24.00	21.97
PC Tech Journal(4)	29.97	24.97
PC World(4)	24.00	19.00
PCM:Portable Comp.Mag.(1)		28.00
Personal Computing:9 iss		8.97
Popular Computing	15.00	11.97
Rainbow(1)		28.00
Run(3)	19.97	17.97
Teaching and Computers		15.95
(1)For TRS-80 users (TM Tandy)		
(2)For Apple users (TM Apple)		
(3)For VIC (TM) Commodore		
(4)For IBM (TM) PC users		
(5)For Atari users (TM Atari)		
************************************		
Circle Track	19.95	9.98
Coach	17.95	12.95
Coinage	14.00	11.95
Columbia Journ.Rev.	16.00	9.95
Collectibles Illustrated		12.97
Collectors Mart	18.00	15.96
Commentary		33.00
Connoisseur	19.95	15.95
Consumers Digest		13.97
Consumers Reports		16.00
Cons. Research:9iss	15.00	8.97
Country Journal	15.00	11.95
Country Music		11.98
Cruise Travel	12.00	9.97
Cruising World		18.00
Cycle	14.00	7.99
Cycle World	13.94	6.97
Dance	23.95	22.00
Daytime TV	15.90	9.90
Digital Audio		19.97
Dirt Rider	11.94	7.97
Discover	22.00	14.95

PUBLICATION	USUAL PRICE	YOUR PRICE
Dog Fancy	15.97	11.95
Dog World	18.00	15.95
Downbeat	15.75	7.95
Early Years		13.00
Ebony	16.00	9.97
The Economist	85.00	51.00
Educ. Technology	49.00	39.00
Ellery Queen Myst:10 iss.		9.97
Esquire	17.94	9.95
Essence	10.00	9.00
Exceptional Parent		16.00
Fact	22.00	14.00
Family Food Garden	9.00	6.95
Family Handyman	9.95	5.95
Feeling Great		15.97
Field & Stream	13.94	7.94
Fifty Plus	15.00	8.97
Financial Wld.18 iss	29.00	18.95
Fishing/Hunting News	29.95	21.95
Flying	19.00	15.97
Food and Wine	15.00	10.00
Football Digest	12.95	7.97
Forbes	42.00	28.00
Forecast-Home Economics		16.95
Fortune	39.00	19.50
Forum	18.00	15.00
Gallery	32.00	22.00
Games Mag.(2 yrs.22.97)		15.97
Golf Digest	19.94	9.97
Golf Magazine	15.94	7.97
Golf World		22.00
Good Housekeeping		14.97
Gourmet	18.00	15.00
Great Foods Magazine		12.00
Guns & Ammo	11.94	9.97
Harpers Bazaar		16.97
Harpers Magazine	18.00	11.97
Health	18.00	9.00
High Fidelity	13.95	6.98
High Technology	21.00	15.00
Hitchcock Mystery:10 iss.		9.97
Hockey Digest	9.95	7.97
Hockey News		22.95
Home	15.00	9.90
The Homeowner	15.00	7.50
Horizon (10 iss)	21.00	14.95
Horseman	11.95	7.95
Hot Rod	11.94	8.97
House Beautiful	15.97	11.97
Hunting	11.94	8.97
Inc	18.00	12.00
Income Opportunities:10 iss		3.98
Infoworld	31.00	23.40
Inside Sports	15.00	9.97
Instructor	20.00	12.97
Interview	20.00	18.00
Investors Daily (6 Mos)		42.00
Jerusalem Post:24 is	18.46	15.97
Jet	36.00	26.00
Kiplinger Tax Letter		42.00
Kiplinger Wash.Letter		48.00
Ladies Home Journal	20.00	10.00
Lakeland Boating	15.94	7.97
Learning	16.00	9.90
Life		27.00
Lottery Players Mag	24.00	18.00
Mechanix Illustrated	11.94	6.94
Medical Update	12.00	9.95

PUBLICATION	USUAL PRICE	YOUR PRICE
Media & Methods	24.00	18.00
Metropolitan Home	15.00	7.50
Modern Photography	13.98	6.99
Modern Screen		13.50
Money	29.95	19.95
2 yrs.		39.90
Mother Earth News		18.00
Mother Jones	18.00	12.00
Motor Trend	13.94	6.97
Motorboating/Sailing	15.97	12.99
Motorcyclist	11.94	5.97
MS Magazine	14.00	10.50
Muscle & Fitness		29.95
Musician	18.00	10.97
The Nation (24 iss.)		9.95
National Geographic		16.50
National Lampoon	11.95	9.95
National Law Journal	55.00	27.50
National Review		30.00
Nation's Business	22.00	15.95
Natural History	15.00	11.95
Needle & Thread	14.00	10.50
Needlecrft for Today	14.00	10.50
New Age Journal	18.00	15.00
New England Living	9.99	6.99
New Republic	48.00	28.00
New Shelter	10.97	9.97
New Woman		15.00
New York (NY,NJ,CT)	33.00	19.98
ALL OTHER STATES		24.00
New York Alive	10.00	6.95
N.Y.Review of Books	25.00	23.95
New Yorker	32.00	20.00
2 yrs.		40.00
Newsweek	41.00	20.80
2 yrs.		41.60
North Shore (2 yrs)	10.00	7.95
Old House Journal	16.00	13.95
Omni	24.00	17.97
1001 Home Ideas	18.00	9.00
Organic Gardening	12.97	9.97
Outdoor Life	13.94	7.97
Outside: 10 iss	16.00	8.97
Ovation	16.00	8.00
Parents	18.00	11.95
Penthouse	30.00	26.00
People	51.50	25.75
2 yrs		51.50
Pet'sen Photographic	13.94	6.97
Pickup and Minitruck	11.94	6.97
Playbill (Broadway Shows)		15.00
Playboy	22.00	18.50
Playgirl	20.00	17.50
Popular Bridge	9.95	7.95
Popular Mechanics	11.97	9.97
Popular Photography	12.00	7.99
Popular Science	13.94	7.97
2 yrs		15.94
Present Tense	14.00	8.77
Prevention	13.97	12.97
Pro	18.00	9.97
Pro Football Weekly	39.00	34.00
Progressive	23.50	18.50
Psychology Today	16.00	12.97
Radio Electronics	15.97	12.97
Reader's Digest		13.93
Redbook	11.97	9.97
Road & Track	17.94	8.97

PUBLICATION	USUAL PRICE	YOUR PRICE
Rock Video		21.98
Rolling Stone	19.95	12.98
The Runner	17.00	12.97
Runner's World	19.95	15.90
Sail	21.75	17.95
Salt Water Sportsman	18.00	15.00
Saturday Evening Post		12.97
Savvy Magazine	12.00	9.97
Science '85	18.00	13.95
Science Digest	13.97	11.97
The Sciences		12.00
Scientific American		24.00
Sea Magazine	15.94	8.97
Seventeen		13.95
73 (Amateur Radio)	24.97	21.97
Shape (6 iss)	10.00	8.97
Ski	11.94	6.97
Skiing	10.00	4.99
Skin Diver	13.94	6.97
Soap Opera Digest:26 iss.		22.75
Soccer Digest(6 iss)	7.95	5.97
Sport	17.50	8.97
Sporting News:23 iss	18.00	9.97
Sports Afield	11.97	9.97
Sports Illustrated:	53.50	26.75
2 Yrs.		53.50
40 Iss		19.85
Stamps		16.50
The Star	16.95	14.95
Starlog	23.99	22.99
Stereo Review	10.00	4.99
Stereophile	20.00	14.97
Success Magazine	14.00	8.97
Successful Woman	24.00	18.00
Tax Hotline		9.99
Teen	12.95	7.95
Teenage	12.00	9.97
Teen Beat		11.95
Tennis	13.95	6.98
Time 52 wks	51.50	25.75
104 wks		51.50
40 wks		19.85
Town and Country		24.00
Travel & Leisure	20.00	18.00
True Story	14.95	8.97
TV Guide	31.20	26.00
Twilight Zone	15.00	11.97
Ultrasport		11.95
U.S. News and World Report (Educators only)	41.00	20.50
US Magazine	23.95	14.95
Vegetarian Times	19.95	14.95
Venture	18.00	9.00
Video	15.00	7.50
Video Review	12.00	6.97
Village Voice	32.76	22.00
W Magazine	26.00	17.95
Weight Watchers	11.97	9.97
W.Coast Rev.of Books	12.00	8.94
Women's Sports	12.00	8.95
Workbasket	6.00	5.00
Workbench	6.00	5.00
Working Woman	16.00	12.00
World Press Review	17.95	9.95
Writer's Digest (9 iss)		9.97
Yachting		18.00
Yankee	15.00	12.95
Young Miss	14.00	10.95

AFT SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES, Box 258
9 Northern Blvd., Greenvale, N.Y. 11548

MAIL MAGAZINES TO: Please make check payable to: AFTSS

NAME ______

ADDRESS ______

CITY ______ STATE ______ ZIP ______

VISA or M/C NO. ______ Exp. Date ______

SCHOOL ______
YEAR OF GRADUATION
OR FACULTY POSITION ______

PLEASE SEND THE FOLLOWING MAGAZINES:

NAME OF PUBLICATION	YEARS	PRICE
	TOTAL	

All subscriptions are for one year unless otherwise noted.
Guarantee: Our prices are the lowest, our service the best.
New Orders: Publishers take from 6 to 12 weeks to start your subscription.
Renewals: Please send the address label from your magazine at least 8 weeks in advance of expiration date.

Don't forget... QUEST Conf. July 10-13 1985

Washington Sheraton Hotel

Washington, D.C.

HAVE YOU WONDERED...

- where education reform is leading?
- what reform means for teachers and higher education faculty members?
- what's being proposed and by whom (AFT, governors, legislators, administrators and business?)
- how reform will improve educational quality and the professional worklife of teachers?

WOULD YOU BENEFIT FROM MORE INFORMATION ON...

- career ladders
- teacher and administrator evaluation
- discipline
- the impact of new technology
- secondary school reform
- early childhood education prospects
- student and teacher testing
- teacher education
- effective teaching techniques
- school / university / business partnerships
- teacher incentive programs
- increased teacher decision-making authority

LOOK!

As a professional, you want to be in the driver's seat on these issues, so plan to attend the best and biggest conference on education reform.

Hotel Room Rates

$50 / night - single
$60 / night - double
$75 / night - triple
$85 / night - quad.

To obtain conference and hotel registration information, contact your local AFT office or write Marilyn Rauth, AFT Educational Issues Department, 555 New Jersey Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20001.

American Federation of Teachers
555 New Jersey Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit #3826
Washington, D.C.